Travel Accounts by Victorian Women Travelers in China and Tibet

Sue Grant

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TRAVEL ACCOUNTS
BY VICTORIAN WOMEN TRAVELERS IN CHINA AND TIBET

BY
SUE GRANT

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree Master of Arts Major in English South Dakota State University 1990
TRAVEL ACCOUNTS
BY VICTORIAN WOMEN TRAVELERS IN CHINA AND TIBET

This thesis is approved as a creditable and independent investigation by a candidate for the degree, Master of Arts, and is acceptable for meeting the thesis requirements for this degree. Acceptance of this thesis does not imply that the conclusions reached by the candidate are necessarily the conclusions reached by the candidate are necessarily the conclusions of the major department.

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INTRODUCTION

Travel literature has had a long and varied history. In his book Travel Literature and the Evolution of the Novel, Percy C. Adams pointed out that "travel literature has existed since the beginnings of oral and written literature" (38). "Exodus" in the Old Testament of the Bible is a travel account. Homer's Odyssey and Virgil's Aeneid both qualify. Herodotus claimed to be writing a history, but he included what he actually saw while traveling, which is a travel account. Polemo of Ilium produced travel guide books as far back as 200 A.D. In the thirteenth century Marco Polo traveled to the Orient and produced his own account of this trip. In the fourteenth century, Chaucer used a travel format in Canterbury Tales. Cervantes followed in the fifteenth Century with his form of travel narrative in Don Quixote. By the seventeenth century travel literature had achieved a certain importance. It was, as Robert Crowley pointed out, the favorite reading material of Milton. Milton acquired "the abundant and colorful details he used in his poetry from reading travel accounts" (Crowley vii).

Batten claims that by the eighteenth century travel literature had become "one of the most characteristic forms of prose" (8). During this century not only did many of the most prominent writers read travel accounts, they also wrote them. The list includes Addison, Defoe, Fielding, Smollett, Boswell, and Johnson. "Their enthusiasm for this genre made travel accounts a respected literary form" (Batten 3). Writers in this century read and used the material in travel accounts in their own work. This was especially true of the poets. People like Charles Coe and Robert Crowley have written entire books
about the travel references in the poems written during this time. In the United States, writers like Irving, Hawthorne, Melville, Twain, and Henry James produced travel accounts.

While the history of travel literature is easily traced, defining the genre is more difficult. In 1974 Michel Butor contributed an article on travel and writing to Mosaic but his reasoning is circular. He describes travel as writing, and any form of writing as travel. He never produced a definition of travel literature. Critics and writers assume the reader knows what travel literature is and don’t bother producing a definition other than making a distinction between travel guides and travel literature. Guide books are meant to give specific information to future travelers. Batten makes the distinction between "the purely entertaining travel book and the instructive travel guide" (29). To avoid becoming a mere guide book a travel account must contain something of the author. It needs to have some artistic merit. Guide books continue to be very popular but they are not a form of literature. Guide books need only serve as "how to" manuals for future travelers. These are handbooks for helping people who are on the road, not works with literary merit.

Rugoff also eliminated several other forms of travel accounts with his attempt at definition. Works of specialists who use travel as a vehicle for other matters such as scientific reports, geographies, political and social analysis are better studied in the fields where their work applies and not as travel literature. While diaries and journals provide accounts of particular trips, it can be argued that these are of limited literary value because of their form. Entries in journals or diaries tend to be fragmentary. The material is randomly gathered. The author does not know what might or might not be important to
future events.

The Russian Formalists, a group that believed the value and originality of a work of art resided in its form, have compared travel accounts with prose fiction and conclude that "prose fiction and travel accounts have evolved together, are heavily indebted to each other and are often similar in both content and techniques" (Adams 279). These Russians point out three major differences between travel literature and prose narratives. "Travel accounts have very little characterization, there is no development of minor characters, and there is no psychological line in time" (Adams 279). Again this differentiation of travel accounts from other forms of prose explains what they do not include rather than attempting to provide a workable definition. Writers are willing to say what travel literature is not but are not willing to define what it is. This may be because, as Percy Adams wrote, "travel literature is not a simple 'genre', that it is no more easily defined than is the novel" (161). This might explain why scholars and critics have failed to produce a workable definition of travel literature. In fact the only writers who try to define this genre seem to be editors who feel they must write some type of introduction to their books of excerpts of travel accounts. Rather than define the genre, these introductions usually give a summary of the common elements in the works a particular editor has chosen to excerpt.

The Critical Review of 1766 as quoted by Batten tried to explain the role of the travel writer. He is required "to describe the various objects that successfully present themselves to his view, to communicate anecdotes of the company he is introduced into, and to relate occurrences that offer themselves to his notice" (Batten 39). This
requirement, that travel accounts must be factual and must describe actual experiences of
the author, was something new. Before that time, travel writers often mixed fact with
fiction, or sometimes wrote entirely fictitious travel accounts. *Gulliver’s Travels* could
earlier have been defined as a travel account, but given the restrictions of fact, it would
no longer qualify. The women travelers to the Orient in the late nineteenth and early
twentieth century who wrote travel accounts were able to meet this criteria. Their trips
can be documented by sources other than their own travel accounts. Some are mentioned
as being in China and Tibet by other travelers, others had their trips verified by
biographers or by government officials who lived abroad. When Alexandra David-Neel
was challenged by critics who claimed no woman could have made such a trip, she had a
signed document from the man who met her as she came out of Tibet after her trip. She
recognized this element of truthfulness or factual accounting as one criteria of travel
writing and she wanted documented proof.

According to Batten, by the eighteenth century another element that needed
to be present in order for a work to qualify as travel literature was at least a minimal
narrative. Something of the author had to appear in the work. The writer needed to tell
his story using the narrative form. The women writing of their trips to China and Tibet
used either the first or third person narrative form. Fanny Bullock Workman and her
husband always chose the third person form, and readers today find this often leads to
awkward passages. Annie Taylor used the third person in parts of the book she herself
published. The others used the first person narrative to tell their stories. Isabella Bird
Bishop hid her narrative under layers of facts she had gathered about the sights she was
viewing, but underneath is a narrative of the journey. William Carey wrote the background material for the publication of Annie Taylor's diary. Here the diary provided the narrative, while Carey's background supplied the material necessary to put it into context, thereby making it more than just the publication of a diary of a trip. In fact, it is the relative success of the narratives in these women's accounts by which their travel accounts can be judged.

No matter how difficult the travel account is to define, there is no doubt about the popularity of such works. Herbert West claims that "Most men at one time or another are bitten with wanderlust, with a desire for adventure" (73). Those who could not or did not go could share the adventures of the travel writers vicariously, and thus partially satisfy their longing. West spoke only of men but women too sought adventure. Until the nineteenth century women had to be content with only sharing such adventures vicariously. Women did not travel except in the company of their husbands, and such material was not considered material for a book. In the nineteenth century women were "barred from universities, isolated in their homes, chaperoned in travel and restricted in friendships" (Moers 43). With such restrictions they could not pursue travel or consider writing travel accounts. As Leo Hamalian suggests, women were "immobilized as they were by the iron hoops of convention" (x). But by the nineteenth century "It was becoming possible [for women] to travel alone on trains and even to make up parties to go on riding or walking holidays" (Middleton 7). "Some women were breaking out, traveling alone, and writing accounts of these travels" (Moers 43). The women who went to the Orient represented this transitional group. They stand between the stay-at-home women before them, and the
These first women travelers found that while their accounts were widely read, women travelers were not taken seriously. A poem by Douglas Freshfield, Royal Geographic Society secretary at the time when women first applied for membership in that group, sums up the male attitude toward female travelers:

A lady an explorer?
A traveller in skirts?
The notion's just a trifle too seraphic:
Let them stay and mind the babies, or hem our ragged shirts;
But they mustn't, can't and shan't be geographic.
(Middleton 14)

Mrs. Littledale accompanied her husband on his famous expedition to Lhasa in 1895 as did the couple's dog. On their return Mr. George Littledale received a gold medal from the Royal Geographic Society; his dog was made an honorary fellow and given a silver collar (Booz 183). No mention was made, or notice taken, of his wife's journey. It was easier to overlook the efforts of these early women travelers than to try to explain their motivations for travel in Victorian terms. Women travelers had to go to great lengths to establish credibility for their work.

Rugoff believed that travel books went a step further than just providing armchair travel to a person who could not go himself. He says, "For in the great accounts of travel not only are we exposed to new worlds and new ways of living but we see them through the keenest eyes and best interpreters available" (xxi). A person might lack the ability and the insight to interpret what he was actually seeing in his own travels. Therefore a reader of travel books not only vicariously enjoys the adventure, but shares the insight of the adventure writer as well. Women provided certain insights never before
revealed to male travelers, especially about domestic affairs and activities involving the women of the country visited. Also many of these women travelers actually spoke the languages of the countries they visited. This communication with natives allowed the writers to explain the reasons behind many of the customs and cultural peculiarities that they viewed. Their travel accounts provided the interpretation which would be lacking for an uninformed traveler in the same area.

Harrison Salisbury was one person who thought about the writer's point of view in travel literature. In the introduction to his wife's travel book he explained the importance of including the female point of view. "A woman's eye is not a man's eye. Background and training, upbringing and social conditioning all determine how a particular 'eye' is going to interpret something." (Introduction). If this is true in the modern age, how much more true it must have been in Victorian times when men and women were so differently educated. Women provided a new dimension in travel literature because they literally saw new worlds, different from the ones seen by men who visited the same places. Their books were interesting as well as important. "With all this wide reading of the literature of travel, the influence of that literature on every phase of the history of ideas was incredibly broad and deep" (Batten 7). By adding the woman's point of view, this history of ideas can be expanded even farther.

Adams felt that the most successful travel books and the ones with the greatest literary merit were similar to novels. There are "those travelers who are not only among the most intriguing but whose stories are also closest to certain forms of the novel--the adventurers and the lovers of travel for the sake of travel" (Adams 68). This kind of travel
literature "won a readership second only to novels by the end of the eighteenth century" (Batten 1). Some women included here do not appear to meet Adams' requirements. While they did produce travel accounts that closely resemble novels, none of them except perhaps David-Neel could admit to being an adventurer or lover of travel for travel's sake. The Victorian woman did not claim to seek adventure. Most of the women who visited the Orient, felt they had to explain themselves for going. They provided their readers with a wide range of excuses for traveling although their accounts provide a more realistic picture of their motives which come closer to their unstated love of adventure than to the excuses they give. Perhaps despite their own disclaimers, these women travel writers come closer to meeting Adams' criteria than they were willing to admit. Dorothy Middleton thinks so. She wrote that these women tended to be "romantic dreamers, more intrigued by the exotic aspects of travel, the 'spell of the east' for instance, and with the novelty of independence than driven toward defined goals" (2). Few of the writers would admit this, at least in their published accounts, and sometimes not even to themselves.

Victorians based some of their ideas of what constituted good literature on historical definitions. The Roman poet Horace said "He has won every vote who has blended profit and pleasure, at once delighting and instructing the reader" (Lovett 2). Later Cervantes reiterated the same view when he wrote "literature should instruct and that instruction could be best combined with pleasure...literature should imitate real, not false nature" (Adams 10). The Victorians used ideas like these to condemn the reading of fiction. "Victorian passion for 'improvement' of one's self and others found an outlet in travel and in reading travel literature" (Middleton 6). Rather than "wasting one's time"
reading novels, the reading of travel accounts was approved as a means of improving one's mind. Travel literature has been called a form of "pleasurable instruction". The woman travelers were aware of this and tried to inform, as well as entertain, their readers.

From all these ideas a workable definition of travel literature must be developed in order to judge the written works of the Victorian women travelers. First, the accounts must be true. For the Victorian woman this meant that she must be free to travel, to gather her own information for the account. Second, the writer must be able to interpret what she sees, which implies a certain amount of education, as well as a sensitivity to the culture she is visiting. Third, the travel account should be written in the narrative form and should resemble an adventure novel, the only difference being that fact rather than fiction should be the basis for the story. Fourth, if the writer wishes to be taken seriously by the reading audience, she must develop credibility as an expert on her subject. The best travel accounts generally are written by adventurers who enjoy travel for its own sake, because they will be able to convey this love of their subject to the reader. Most important, the travel account should be a form of "pleasurable instruction."

Men as well as women produced travel accounts that meet these guidelines. But while accounts by men are readily available both in their original form as well as excerpted in anthologies, the works of female travel writers have been either lost or ignored. Fortunately, the Women's Movement of the 1960's has brought back some of the established women writers of the past and this renewed interest in women authors has caused a rediscovery of their travel accounts (Moers xv). Isabella Bird Bishop and Alexandra David-Neel's books have been republished, but other accounts are still in
danger of being lost.

Victorian women were traveling, not only in China and Tibet, but in South America, Africa, and the American west as well. This study concentrates on the women who visited the Orient. By limiting the study, it is possible to see how these women reacted to a similar culture. The cultures of China and Tibet could not be dismissed as simply primitive. Both countries had highly civilized complex societies. Victorian women reacted to this in very different ways, but it was something the travelers to these particular countries had to confront. This makes their travel accounts unique among the travel books being written at the time.

To better understand what these travelers encountered it is necessary to look at something of the history of both China and Tibet during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The political situation in each country determined where travelers could go and had a bearing on the types of travel arrangements they could make.

Up until the early eighteen hundreds, China was completely closed to foreigners. There were no diplomatic relations between China and any western nation. China was economically self sufficient. Only Canton, now known as Guangzhou, was open on a limited basis for trade. The Chinese exported both tea and silk which found ready markets in the west especially in Britain. But China did not need to import anything from the west which caused an imbalance of trade. Great Britain decided to create a market for opium in China and began selling large quantities of opium there. China bought huge amounts of this drug and was forced to deplete its silver supply in order to pay for it, causing economic problems for China. The Opium Wars of 1839 to 1842 resulted. The
Chinese were defeated and the Treaty of Nanking opened five Chinese port cities to British trade and British residence. By 1860 through a series of treaties, China was forced to open more cities, not only to Britain but to other European nations and the United States as well. Missionaries were given the right to travel and live in the interior of China and to own land away from the Chinese coast.

Western nations took advantage of the terms of these treaties and built what came to be called "treaty ports", or foreign concessions on Chinese soil. These treaty ports were enclaves of European culture. In sections of the open cities, the westerners went in, bought land, forced the Chinese out, built western style cities, and developed societies completely isolated from Chinese influence of any kind. Each concession was governed by a western governor, and the laws of the western country applied in the area. Native Chinese were allowed to enter the area for trade, or more often as servants, but otherwise were restricted from contact with the westerners. It became possible for westerners to live within the treaty port and have no contact with Chinese culture at all. Of course the lure of the unknown meant the curious sometimes ventured into the Chinese sections of the city, but western woman did not do this unless they were escorted by men. People who visited the Chinese city returned with stories of filth, crowding, unusual customs, strange eating habits, and other bits of misinformation. Europeans thought themselves to be superior to the Chinese and found every opportunity to report that Chinese culture was lacking. Often the Europeans misunderstood what they did see, but they still felt qualified to report on the "inferior Chinese". It was into these treaty ports that Ida Pfeiffer in 1842 and Isabella Bird Bishop in 1882 ventured. As guests of the Europeans living there, they
saw what their hosts determined was safe for them to see. Bishop managed to escape to
outlying areas but still counted on Europeans for help and as guides.

Missionaries had a better understanding of things Chinese, especially the
missionaries who ventured into the interior of China. The China Inland Mission sent
representatives into the interior shortly after the opening of the treaty ports in 1842. The
missionaries had one great advantage over the travelers of their times and westerners living
in treaty ports, an ability to speak Chinese. Necessary for their work, it also meant they
could learn about the Chinese people through questioning them. They did not have to
rely on what they were seeing with no explanation. Some closed their minds and
concentrated on saving souls for Jesus at all costs. They published lengthy tracts listing
the number of natives contacted and the number of "souls brought to Jesus."

Others began to study Chinese customs, to try to understand ideas so foreign
to westerners. This latter group often became experts on Chinese society and found much
to admire in this ancient civilization. Both groups tried to westernize the mission station
itself. In such a foreign setting it helped them to feel at home when they were surrounded
by western material goods and lived in a style to which they were accustomed. This was
true from the opening of the treaty ports until China once more closed its doors to
westerners. When missionaries extended their hospitality to travelers, which they often
did, it was as western as they could make it. However, those missionaries who studied the
Chinese did take time to explain Chinese culture to their visitors. From talking with
learned missionaries, the early travelers gathered much of the information for their
accounts. Pfeiffer and Bishop both acknowledge this fact. They also mention the luxury
of finding western living conditions so far from home.

From 1851 to 1864 civil war raged in China. The causes were many but included a call for land reform which was opposed by the ruling emperor. Europe supported the emperor and the government during this time because it was in their interests to do so. The Europeans were in China and held land because of treaties with the emperor and his government. If he fell from power, European presence in China might not be tolerated. Europeans therefore became one focus of rebel attacks during the period of civil war. Those Europeans in treaty ports had little to fear, but missionaries, and of course travelers who were isolated, became easy targets. This made travel in China outside the enclaves of the treaty ports almost impossible for many years.

With Tseng Kuo-fan’s leadership the government troops were finally able to reunite China. The new government tried to carry out technological reforms because they found the west was superior in this area. However, the Chinese believed they had superior social and political institutions. These they refused to change and the government became corrupt and repressive. This situation did not improve conditions for travel.

By the 1890’s many Chinese and even the Manchu court strongly opposed European intervention in China. Ever increasing expansion of territories under western control made China suspect that Europe intended to colonize all of China. A popular uprising called the Boxer Rebellion ensued in 1900. During this rebellion, no westerner was safe in China. Nevertheless the movement failed. The Manchu court retained its power, since they had only covertly backed the Boxers, and an uneasy peace was restored.

In 1911 the Manchu court fell and was replaced by a republic that was not
strong enough to maintain central control in China. Instead local war lords each
controlled as much Chinese territory as possible. China was divided into small areas each
fighting with its neighbors. Westerners could not travel between areas controlled by
different war lords. Yet, in spite of danger, Bishop did risk travel in China during this
time. China continued to be divided until 1928 when the Nationalists were able to bring
all of China under a single rule again. By this time all the travelers in this study had left
China.

Political affairs had a great influence on the Europeans trying to travel in and
learn about China. Anti-European feeling, civil wars, lack of a central government, all
made travel dangerous and often impossible. Since travelers frequently did not speak the
language, they were severely limited in what they could report. Fortunately Europeans
who lived in the area, especially the missionaries, were willing to share the information
they gathered. The travelers used this information to flesh out the accounts of what they
actually saw. Politics in China was very much on the minds of Europeans at home since
such affairs influenced trade and diplomatic relationships between China and the west.
This created a market for travel accounts which became very popular reading in a Europe
much interested in the Orient.

If Chinese history is confusing during this era, Tibetan history is even more so.
As early as 1719 China claimed to have control over Tibet. In 1728, two offices of
imperial residents (amban) were set up, one in Lhasa and one in Shigatse. Chinese
officials from the Peking government held these posts and claimed to rule Tibet through
the Lhasa government. The Tibetans claimed that these ambans held only supervisory
powers over the Tibetan government and that Tibet was actually a sovereign state ruled by the Dalai Lama. Whatever the facts, and they are still being disputed, the relationship between China and Tibet continued into the nineteenth century.

Lhasa maintained a policy of isolationism which because of its landscape was not difficult to enforce. When foreigners tried to enter Tibet, officials claimed it was Chinese policy that they be expelled. Actually during the Opium wars in 1839 to 1842 and during the T’ai-p’ing Rebellion of 1850-1864, Chinese influence in Tibet was minimal, but the Tibetans used Chinese policy as an excuse to keep westerners out. During this time Britain had taken over India and had established protectorates in Sikkim and Bhutan (both formerly part of Tibet proper) and in Kashmir which was also called Ladakh. All these lands had populations of Tibetans, but were not under the rule of the Lhasa government.

In 1890 Peking and Britain signed a treaty to establish a border between Tibet and Sikkim but while these powers agreed, Tibet refused to recognize the treaty. Britain became impatient with Tibet’s isolationism. They feared Russian influence in Tibet and felt they had to protect the Indian border by coming to terms with the Tibetans. Britain also wished to remain on good terms with China. While British border officials refused to allow travelers into Tibet, thereby complying with either Tibetan or Chinese wishes, these same officials mounted several military expeditions into Tibet. In 1904 Younghusband led a successful military expedition to Lhasa and concluded treaties with the government there allowing the British limited access in Tibet. Actually the British were allowed certain trade concessions on the border between Tibet and India and were not allowed access to Lhasa.

Such treaties alarmed both China and Russia who feared the British
expansionist policies in central Asia. From 1906 to 1910 Chinese armies tried to gain control over Tibet but were unsuccessful. In 1913 the Dalai Lama declared Tibet independent and closed to foreign visitors. China continued to try to regain control but in 1913-1914 China, Tibet and Britain met at the Simla Conference and signed a treaty declaring Tibetan independence. They also established a border between Tibet and India called the McMahon Line, named after the British commander. China never ratified this treaty and it is still in dispute today, with China and India still engaged in war over the McMahon Line. Today, with China claiming complete control over Tibet and viewing it as a region of China, and the Dalai Lama in India with his government in exile claiming its independence, it is hard to define what really is Tibet.

Whether China, Lhasa, or Britain had control of Tibet mattered very little to the tribes of nomads that inhabited the country. Most Tibetans lived lives not governed by any of these bodies. It was the local brigand that had control as far as they were concerned. Sometimes these bandits honored travel documents, sometimes not, and because Tibet’s landscape makes travel so difficult, they pretty much could do as they pleased.

When the travelers talked of visiting Tibet, they meant different things. In fact it is better to think of Tibet as culture rather than a geographic location during the period when these women were traveling. The borders of this country were always uncertain and who actually had official control was in doubt. Few travelers actually visited the Tibet that owed allegiance to the government in Lhasa. This does not mean that they didn’t experience Tibetan life. Tibetans lived in Kashmir, Ladakh, Sikkim, Bhutan, India, and
China. The travelers experienced and wrote about Tibetan life even if they didn't actually see Tibet proper. Jane Duncan and Fanny Bullock Workman traveled in Ladakh and viewed the Tibetan culture there. Bishop was really in China when she encountered Tibetan culture. Taylor, Rijnhart and David-Neel visited what has traditionally been called Tibet.

Their travel arrangements and their actual journeys were very different depending on where they experienced Tibetan culture. What they were describing was a culture that crossed political borders but was easy to define. Tibetans share a common language that is very different from others in the countries they inhabit. Also Tibetans practice a form of Buddhism that is unique. It is sometimes referred to as lamaism and combines elements of Bon, which was the primitive religion in Tibet with Buddhism which was imported from India. Tibetans generally live on a basic diet of buttered tea and tsampa, a form of roasted barley which is made into a paste and eaten with the tea. Some Tibetans also eat yak but since they are Buddhists who do not believe in killing, this is rare. Tibetans practice polyandry. Their clothing retains a distinctive look and hair dressing and head dresses crossed political borders and remain Tibetan.

Because Tibet was even more inaccessible than China, Europeans found it fascinating. It was a land almost unseen by westerners so any information about it was very popular. Also the customs of Tibet were strange. Supernatural powers were attributed to those practicing Tibetan Buddhism. The landscape of the highest mountains in the world was spectacular. Access to Tibet from the borders with India entailed crossing high passes, some more than 17000 feet in altitude. Even if political barriers had
been pulled down, the physical barriers made access to this land almost impossible. The few who made the trip were real adventurers whose reports on the country were the only information Europe had.

With these political conditions in mind, the travel accounts are more easily understandable. Since these accounts were written, China and Tibet once again closed their doors to foreign travel. The reasons may have been different but until the last decade Westerners could not visit China and Tibet. Even today only some cities in China and Tibet are open to western tourism. There has been a renewed interest in things Chinese and things Tibetan, and there is very little information available about the recent histories of these lands. What these women travelers saw can still be seen today, especially in Tibet. If China has changed since these reports, the changes can be better understood in the light of their accounts. For that reason, reading the travel accounts today can provide interesting insights into two unusual cultures. Also these accounts provide a picture of what sort of woman was willing to risk travel in such alien lands and to return with a desire to share her insights with other westerners. Travelers today who read these accounts can better understand the ancient cultures and can see the changes that have come about in this century. They can also see the same sights.

The brief history contained here has been compiled from the sources listed in appendix A. Appendix C is a map which locates Tibet and the surrounding countries.

In the following chapters the biographies of the women who traveled have been compiled from a variety of sources listed in appendix B under the name of each woman traveler. Their biographies help to explain why each woman chose to travel. The
similarities and differences in their backgrounds, education, and goals in both traveling and writing, had an effect on the kind of account each woman produced. These accounts have been written in a variety of forms. As the genre evolved, the form moved closer to the form used for novels. It is this change in form that makes the travel accounts by Victorian woman most interesting. For a summary of the women, the dates of the trips, and the names and dates of their travel accounts see Appendix D.
PIONEERS

The first European women who traveled in China and Tibet and returned home to write about their journeys did not limit their travels to Asia. They were world travelers. Ida Pfeiffer sailed around the world in 1842. On this trip she visited the treaty ports of China which opened to Europeans that year. Her book included some of the first western glimpses of Chinese society. Although she wrote in German, at least ten editions of her book, A Woman's Journey Round The World, appeared in English. In 1873 D. Murray Smith tried to condense and edit this book. His book about her trip, Round The World: A Story of Travel Compiled From The Narrative Of Ida Pfeiffer, was published in English.

Pfeiffer was followed by Isabella Bird Bishop who visited the Tibetans in Ladakh and published her account of the trip in 1894. In 1899 she published her book, The Yangtze Valley and Beyond, about her trip in China. She was a photographer as well as a writer. Although not dated, her book of Chinese Pictures, a collection of photographs and written comments by Mrs. Bishop, must have appeared shortly afterward. These were not Mrs. Bishop’s first journeys. She had already traveled to, and written about, North America, the Sandwich Islands, Korea, and Japan. Her fame, however, was based on her books about Asia. Unlike Ida Pfeiffer, Bishop did not visit many lands on a single trip. She was able to spend her entire lifetime traveling. On each trip she set out with a particular goal in mind, reached her goal, and returned home to write. Pfeiffer was able to make only two trips, but both of these were around the world, visiting different countries on each trip.
Ida Pfeiffer (1797-1858)

Ida Pfeiffer's trip was very unusual because European women of her generation did not set out to travel around the world. She was born in 1797, in Austria, the only daughter of a wealthy merchant. Raised as a tomboy, she had a very Spartan upbringing, claiming never to have worn dresses until she was thirteen. She was educated at home. In 1806 her father died leaving her a personal fortune. In 1820 she married an elderly lawyer. He exposed government corruption and as a result lost his employment, his fortune, and Ida's money as well. The eleventh edition of the *Encyclopedia Britannica* claimed that at this time her husband "incurred official persecution and was reduced to poverty". In 1835 Ida left him. The two remained cordial but no longer lived together. Ida took her two sons to Vienna and was able to educate them with money from her mother's estate.

Pfeiffer began her travels in 1842. She was forty-five years old, and her sons were educated and secure in their professions. At last she was free to pursue her own dream. Twice she traveled around the world and each trip produced a book. The first book, which was very successful, probably financed her second trip. Not until 1852 was her first book translated into English, bringing her name before the English speaking world. Her trips and books brought her many honors. The king of Prussia awarded her a gold medal for distinction in the field of arts and sciences. She was elected to the Geographical Society of Berlin and the Geographical Society of Paris but was denied membership in the Royal Geographic Society of London on the grounds that she was a woman. Although she did catalog biological specimens and ethnographic objects, her
popularity and her honors were based on her travel accounts.

A visit to Madagascar in 1856 led to her death. Some accounts claim that she contracted fever and either died there or returned to Vienna before dying as a result of this fever. The most colorful account claimed that she unwittingly became involved in a plot to overthrow the government of Madagascar and was expelled from that country. This was probably the case. Queen Ranavola who ruled Madagascar was a bloodthirsty tyrant. Pfeiffer, along with six other Europeans, got caught up in a plot to depose Ranavola in favor of the more humane Prince Rakota. The plot was discovered and the Europeans were expelled from the country. Pfeiffer, though ill with fever, is thought to have escaped with this group of Europeans. According to this account, she later died in Vienna on October 27, 1858. The actual circumstances surrounding her death remain obscure.

Because her book dealt with her entire trip, only a small portion of this first book is devoted to China. But since her trip took place in 1842, the first year that China was open to western visitation, her observations deserve comment. Also, Murray D. Smith's book about Ida's travels, since it was published in English, must be mentioned.

In 1873 when D. Murray Smith published his condensation of her book, he claimed that his little volume "contains all that is most attractive in Madame Pfeiffer's larger work" (vi). His book was hardly shorter than Ida's, had changed her first person narrative into a third person account, and stressed the hardships of the journey and the unpleasantnesses Pfeiffer found in China. In fact Ida Pfeiffer seemed to have found examples of every European misconception and prejudice against the Chinese during her
short stay in Canton. But Smith chose only to include these. He left out most of the favorable things she had to say and hence colored her account.

Pfeiffer left Europe, traveled to South America, around the Cape, up the west coast of South America, to Tahiti and then to Hong Kong and Canton. Traveling by sea entailed a good deal of hardship. Smith reported that she found "that the seas were running so high, and the vessel pitching so violently, that she had the greatest difficulty in steadying herself sufficiently to convey her food from her plate to her mouth; and that at night she had to pack herself tightly into her berth with cloaks and dresses, that she might not be rolled against the timbers and bruised black and blue" (Smith 15). Pfeiffer’s actual report paints the same picture but has the immediacy of first person, is more descriptive, and makes for better reading. She said, "With one hand we were obliged to grasp the plate, and at the same time to hold fast on to the table, while with the other, we managed, with considerable difficulty to convey the food to our mouth. At night, I was obliged to ‘stow’ myself firmly in my berth with my cloaks and dresses to protect my body from being bruised black and blue" (Pfeiffer 11). Smith claimed that Pfeiffer found everything on board uncomfortable, "the provisions were execrable;... the only light to be had was from a tallow-candle; and after eight o’clock at night there was often no light at all" (Smith 93). Yet, conditions like these did not daunt Pfeiffer.

When Pfeiffer found that the only way to get from Canton to Hong Kong cheaply was by Chinese junk, she did not hesitate. Instead, "I looked to the priming of my pistols, and embarked very tranquilly on the evening of the 12th of July" (Pfeiffer 92). She went on to say, "I must also add, that the appearance and the behavior of the Chinese did
not inspire me with the slightest apprehension" (Pfeiffer 92). This is a different picture than Smith painted of the Chinese junk with his references to the "the piratical-looking crew" (Smith 74).

Smith pointed out the danger Pfeiffer was in while visiting China. He explained that "European women were especially detested; because it is declared in one of the Chinese prophecies that a woman will one day conquer the Celestial Empire" (Smith 76). He used this to explain why she had to depend on westerners already living in China for protection and information. Pfeiffer admitted that she had to depend on Europeans during her stay in China. First of all, she did not speak the language. She explained, "No language is so difficult to read and write as Chinese; it contains more than four thousands characters, and is wholly composed of monosyllables" (Pfeiffer 91). She also said, "With regard to social manners and customs of the Chinese, I am only able to mention a few, as it is exceedingly difficult, and, in fact, almost impossible, for a foreigner to become acquainted with them. I endeavored to see as much as I could, and mixed on every possible opportunity among the people, afterwards writing down a true account of what I had seen" (Pfeiffer 99). On such occasions she was pleasantly surprised by their actions. For example, when she found herself traveling alone with some Chinese women, she found them most concerned about her comfort. They all had little stools of bamboo or pasteboard which they used instead of pillows. When they discovered Pfeiffer was without one, they offered one of theirs. Pfeiffer found these "far more comfortable than would at first be imagined" (Pfeiffer 92).

Pfeiffer had come to China with preconceived notions of what she would find.
"I never believed that I should really behold the Chinese, with their shaven heads, long tails and small, ugly, narrow eyes, the exact counterparts of the representations of them which we have in Europe" (Pfeiffer 89). She added that "I myself have never met with a more dastardly, false, and, at the same time, cruel race in my life;" (Pfeiffer 103). Yet she included in her book a long description of the role of the "comprador" in the European household in China. A comprador was a most trusted Chinese servant who actually ran the household and most European business in China. The Europeans did not speak the language or understand the customs of China. This comprador was the go-between who was entrusted with the money for running both household and business. Pfeiffer understood and explained how this system worked although it hardly tallies with her general remarks about the Chinese. Perhaps for this reason Smith left out any mention of the comprador system. He stressed instead that Pfeiffer found the Chinese to be "remarkable for their powers of deceit--they are perhaps the cleverest cheaters in the world" (Smith 81).

Pfeiffer's western feelings of superiority are exposed in the claim "that a dozen European soldiers could put a hundred of them [Chinese] to flight" (Pfeiffer 103). Yet in the same chapter she said, "It is a well known fact, that there is perhaps no nation on the face of the earth equal to the Chinese in diligence and industry, or that profits by, and cultivates, as they do, every available inch of ground" (Pfeiffer 109). She also praised the Chinese artists and craftsmen, although she mentioned that musicians in China left much to be desired. Her view of China was really mixed. Although she found things to support her preconceived ideas, she also found much to admire. When Smith reported her
findings he stressed only the negative.

As a guest of the Europeans in Canton she observed and described their comfortable living arrangements which were very western. She compared this to the mode of life of the Chinese in the same city. Her descriptions of food stressed one of the major differences. While the Europeans had Chinese cooks, they ate dishes prepared in western fashion. Pfeiffer found that the Chinese ate mostly rice, but were able to live cheaply because "they eat dogs, cats, mice, and rats, the intestines of birds, and the blood of every animal, and I was even assured that caterpillars and worms formed a part of their diet" (Pfeiffer 97). Smith found this disgusting, but all Pfeiffer said was "they are not too particular in their food" (Pfeiffer 97).

Smith made much of the fact that Pfeiffer chose to wear male attire. He says, "Madame, who never shrunk from any trial, however severe, consented at once [to wearing male clothes]" (Smith 85). This makes wearing men's clothes seem like a great sacrifice for Ida. Ida explained that the German gentleman who had agreed to take her walking on the walls of the city advised this disguise for her. Her reaction was only that, "I complied with his wish" (Pfeiffer 108). She mentioned her wearing of male attire as something unusual and worth comment but hardly something which required sacrifice on her part. Smith seemed much more willing to accept this as a trial.

Pfeiffer described a visit to a famous temple, another to a mandarin's house, her walk on the city's walls, and a visit to a prison. She described the punishments handed out to prisoners as cruel and excessive. Smith summed up her view when he said, "Life is held cheap here, and people undergo the punishment of death with apparent
indifference" (Smith 79). Pfeiffer also was able to visit some Chinese homes belonging to average people. She found their living conditions foul for the most part, with the unusual addition of flowers to every home which added some cheer. "The Chinaman is an enemy of baths and washing" (Pfeiffer 97). Smith claimed that the Chinese were "adverse to personal cleanliness" (78). The Chinese did not meet the western standards both these writers chose to impose.

Pfeiffer observed first hand the bound feet of Chinese women. She described how this binding was done and the result it had on the foot. Then she went on to say, "To my astonishment these deformed beings tripped about, as if in defiance of us broad-footed creatures, with tolerable ease, the only difference in their gait being that they waddled like geese; they ran up and down stairs without the aid of a stick" (Pfeiffer 100). Smith changed this to read, "Although their feet are so compressed the ladies of China can walk a distance of several miles, and run about with ease, and trip up-stairs without the assistance of a staff" (Smith 80). Pfeiffer's account is certainly more colorful and probably more accurate.

Ida Pfeiffer was a remarkable woman. She was a pioneer in feminine travel and endured great physical hardship in order to see foreign lands for herself. She knew how unusual it was for a woman to make a trip like hers. She felt it was necessary to explain to her readers in her introduction that she had finished fulfilling her traditional woman's role and was free to travel. Her sons were reared and educated. Although she traveled with preconceived notions about what she would find and noted these when she found them, she also was a keen observer and included material which was not consistent
with her prejudices. She downplayed the hazards and hardships of travel. When she mentions them, it is without complaint. Although she was unable to speak the language of the natives, she tried to mix with them as much possible. She was willing to do what was necessary, including donning men's clothes, to get a first-hand view of the country. The Europeans already living in China helped her explore the limited areas open to westerners at the time and she took advantage of their help and knowledge, using what they told her to round out the account in her book.

In 1873 Smith, a British author and publisher, found her account compelling enough to condense and to republish. Why he felt it was necessary to change her words to his own is not clear. He did not do her justice. By changing her work from first to third person, the immediacy of her style is lost. His account is far more prejudiced against the Chinese than Pfeiffer intended. She made a sincere attempt to present what she saw to the reader even if it did not fit into her earlier ideas of Chinese society. Smith picked out material that agreed with his own prejudices, both about the Chinese and about a woman traveler. His account is more lurid, stressing the hardships and stressing the fact that Pfeiffer was a woman.

Pfeiffer's book went through at least ten editions in English, testifying to its popularity. Perhaps Smith tried to appeal to the male reader. But Pfeiffer's book contains a well-rounded view of China and certainly is more accurate in describing what she saw than Smith's version. The Royal Geographic Society of London did not admit her as a member, not because of her work, but because she was a woman. This suggests that they must have discussed her work and found it valuable. Had she been male, this august body
would probably have honored her. Other geographic societies did. But as a pioneer, prejudice against females was one of the difficulties Ida Pfeiffer had to face.

Isabella Bird Bishop (1831-1904)

Another woman who traveled in the 1850's was Isabella Bird Bishop. She did not have to wait until middle age to begin her travels because this woman traveled for her health, at her doctor's recommendation. Only during her brief marriage did she feel that she had responsibilities that prevented her from travel. Throughout the rest of her life she engaged in this activity. Bishop did not visit China or Tibet until after her husband's death in 1892. Much had changed since Ida Pfeiffer's visit fifty years earlier, but China was still a place of mystery to westerners. Little was known about it and the English public was hungry for information. Isabella Bird Bishop was able to provide several travel accounts about both Tibet and China after her visits there. She was already an acknowledged traveler and writer, but her book on her Yangtze River trip brought her the most recognition.

Isabella Bird was born on October 15, 1831, daughter of a clergyman in Yorkshire, England. Very early in her life she was diagnosed as having a spinal problem. Outdoor exercise, including horseback riding, which was to play an important part in her later life, was recommended for relieving her symptoms. When she was in her early twenties, a sea voyage was prescribed to ease her spinal complaint. In 1854 she was sent to America and Canada. This began her long series of travels. She had already developed an interest in travel from reading many travel accounts of visits to America and Asia that were part of her father's library.
After visiting Canada and United States, she traveled to the Sandwich Islands, back to the United States, and to Japan. Then, in 1881, at the age of fifty, after the death of her sister who was her last remaining family member, Isabella married her sister's doctor, Dr. John Bishop. Their marriage lasted only a year, according to most sources, because Dr. Bishop died. During her married life, although her husband claimed she was free to travel as she wished, Isabella stayed at home. In fact, while she was married, she wanted to visit New Guinea but said that she "was married now and it was hardly a place you could take a man to" (Middleton, *Victorian Lady Travelers*, 39). After her husband's death Isabella was able to travel in China and Tibet.

She had published accounts of her stays in America, in the Sandwich Islands, and in Japan before she married. These had gained her the attention of English readers. Her reputation as a travel writer, if not her popularity, was based on her travels in Asia. There she traveled by herself, often with hired native servants, in Chinese dress, with no regard for her health. Because of her fame as a traveler, she was the guest of diplomats in far corners of the world, but she soon tired of their company and the company of missionaries whom she also visited. She was often invited to call on the royalty in the countries she visited, but she preferred to travel alone among the common people, and this solitary travel makes up the body of material in her travel accounts. Her books mention "important" people but only in passing.

Eventually she was diagnosed as having a fatty degeneration of the heart, an affected lung, rheumatic gout, and recurrent spinal weakness. The symptoms resulting from these conditions seemed only to bother her when she was at home in England and
Scotland and were often excuses for further trips to regain her health. She did give up riding side saddle because of her back, but she found riding astride no problem whatsoever. Doctors in Edinburgh were amazed at this woman's ability to travel. "The invalid at home and the Samson abroad do not form a very usual combination, yet in her case the two ran in tandem for many years" (Bishop, *Yangtze Valley*, Introduction xxi). Their only explanation was that "Mrs. Bishop was one of those individuals dependent to the last degree upon their environment to bring out their possibilities" (Bishop, *Yangtze Valley*, Introduction, xvii).

Between 1856 and 1899 she published nine travel accounts, several of trips to China and Tibet, and was called one of the most outstanding travelers of her day. Always a supporter of medical missions, she herself studied medicine in London. Later she founded five hospitals in Asian countries. In her later life, she seems to have developed some missionary zeal but often this served as an excuse for further travels. Her honors include being the first woman to become a Fellow of the Royal Geographic Society and the first woman to address that Society. She was also a member of the Royal Asiatic Society. Her interests included photography, and she took and printed many of the pictures used to illustrate her later books. She also produced a book of photographs of China called *Chinese Pictures*.

Most accounts of her life agree that Bishop died in Edinburgh on October 7, 1904, eight days before her seventy-third birthday while planning yet another trip. Writing and lecturing were means she used to support her travels. Her journeys in China concluded in 1897 when she was sixty six years old. The book *The Yangtze Valley and*
Beyond was published in 1899. She wrote it using a journal, letters, photographs, and a brief diary that she kept while traveling. Her photographs which she developed using the Yangtze river water accompany this book.

Although Isabella traveled extensively in many parts of the world, her husband Dr. Bishop said, "I have only one formidable rival in Isabella's heart and that is the high tableland of Central Asia" (Stoddart 149). This would include Tibet. Perhaps its lure was its inaccessibility for travelers. Whatever the case, after Dr. Bishop's death Mrs. Bishop set out on two trips to this high tableland. The first she wrote about in her 1894 book Among The Tibetans. This trip was made from India and included only western or lesser Tibet which was more or less open to Europeans although few ventured there. The second trip began as a journey up the Yangtze River in China and included a further overland journey into eastern or greater Tibet, which she wrote about in her book Yangtze Valley and Beyond published in 1899, her last and most important book. Because of the present western interest in China and Tibet as well as a renewed interest in travel accounts by women, this book was republished in 1987.

Bishop's intent in writing both these books was to inform the British public about a part of the world which interested them but about which they knew little. The Yangtze Valley and Beyond was written to "be a useful contribution to the popular knowledge of a much discussed region" (Bishop, Yangtze Valley, Preface I). Among The Tibetans, with the same kind of description and written in the same style, was useful for the same reason. Britain had interests, religious, diplomatic, commercial, in the part of the world Bishop described, but the general public did not know much about these lands.
Rev. Gilbert Walshe, whom she visited in Shao Hsing said of Bishop, "Even in the face of the largest and noisiest crowds, Mrs. Bishop proceeded with her photography and her observations as calmly as if she were inspecting some of the Chinese exhibits in the British Museum" (Bishop, *Yangtze Valley*, Introduction xix). But she did not use only observation to acquire information for her books. Bishop did much careful research and in both books she included material which she could not have gathered through observation.

The geography of the regions she visited make up an important part of the text material. She refers to the mountains, the mountain passes, and the cities she passed through by name. In the *Yangtze Valley and Beyond* she included a map by John Murray of London tracing her route and naming the cities she passed through. Among the Tibetans had no map but included her route as part of the text. In both books the altitudes of the mountains and passes are given in exact numbers. She could not have measured these herself because the hypsometer and aneroid barometer which the Royal Geographic Society had lent her had been rolled on by a pony and were no longer accurate. (Bishop, *Yangtze Valley* 356).

Bishop also included populations of the various cities, their major products, the amount of trade done by each, something of the history of westerners in each area, what the westerners had contributed, and the latitudes and longitudes of the cities, mountains and rivers. This does not make for very interesting reading, but gives a scholarly (at least for the nineteenth century) sound to the account. As Bishop gave no sources for this information, the reader is left to wonder how accurate it is, and where Bishop found her statistics. For example, she began her story about the Yangtze River trip by saying,
"Geographically the Yangtze Valley, or drainage area, may be taken as extending from the 90th to the 122nd meridian of east longitude, and as including all or most of the of the important province...Its area is estimated at about 650,000 square miles, and its population, one of the most peaceable and industrious on earth, at from 170,000,000 to 180,000,000" (Bishop, Yangtze Valley 1). About Hangchow she told the reader, "2700 steam launches, owned and run by Chinese, towing 7889 passengers, entered and cleared in 1897 between Hangchow, Shanghai and Soo Chow" (Bishop, Yangtze Valley 29). This was her method of introducing each city she traveled through. She gave what factual information she could gather including statistics like these before describing her own observations of the city.

Among The Tibetans is more concerned with scientifically describing the natural features of the land.

The central ridge between the Nubra and Upper Shayok valleys is 20,000 feet in altitude, and on this are superimposed five peaks of rock ascertained by survey to be from 24,000 to 25,000 feet in height, while at one point the eye takes in nearly vertical height of 14,000 feet from the level of the Shayok River. The Shayok and Nubra valleys are only five and four miles in width respectively at their widest parts (67). She did take the temperatures she reported in this book. The heat of the solar rays is at the same time fearful. At Lachalang, at a height of over 15,000 feet, I noted a solar temperature of 152, only 35 below the boiling point of water in the same region, which is about 187. To make up for this, the mercury falls below the freezing point every night of year, even in August the difference of temperature in twelve hours often exceeding 120 degrees" (124).

Probably such information made Bishop's scholarly reputation, but it makes very uninteresting reading.

She also gave the scientific names of the vegetation she found in Tibet. She found Capufolia horrida and herbs of various kinds growing at 15,000 feet. In fact she
reported much of the land "destitute of any other vegetation than Caprifolia horrida" (Among The Tibetans 123). In the lower valleys she found "hippophae and tamarack thicket" (78). In China, she was able to travel with an unnamed British naturalist for some days and collected specimens of plant life with him (Yangtze Valley 124). She talked of finding dendrolium and ampelopsis (403), Aleurites cordata (278), Aleurites ordata, and Cupressus finebus (245), Cunningham siensis (223), and Brousonetia papyrifera (218), just to name a few. The general reader probably was not familiar with these plant names so it is doubtful how useful this information was, but the names do make her book sound more academic.

Her description of animals native to the regions in these books is similar: scientific but not informative for the general reader, who is not familiar with the Latin names. In Among The Tibetans her description of the yak goes a bit further than just giving its scientific name because Bishop was forced to actually ride a yak. She gave the reader some real insight into this animal. "My first yak was fairly quiet, and looked a noble steed, with my Mexican saddle and gay blanket among rather than upon his thick black locks. His back seemed as broad as that of an elephant, and with his slow, sure, resolute step, he was like a mountain in motion" (64). When she described her experience with the native animals, the account has its greatest appeal for readers.

Bishop must have relied on westerners living in Asia to help her collect the statistics and scientific information she needed for her book. She also needed their help in understanding the culture she observed. In her chapter called "Manners and Customs" in Among The Tibetans, she added the following footnote: "For these and other curious
details concerning the Tibetan customs I am indebted to the kindness of the late Rev. W. Redslob, of Leh, and Rev. A. Heyde of Klang" (108). In the Yangtze Valley she alluded to work and ideas of Mr. Archibald Little, Sven Hedin, Captain Gills, and Mr. Colborne Barber and Consuls at various Chinese treaty ports, as well as the work of many missionaries living in the Chinese interior. She did not speak the languages of the countries she was visiting. She had to rely on translations by westerners, usually male westerners. She was never able to communicate personally with the native women she encountered, something later women travelers found most useful in collecting material for their travel accounts. Lack of language negated the one advantage that Bishop had as a woman traveler. Instead of using interviews with the natives, she did research and interviewed westerners in order to provide a more complete and academic work, but also so she herself could achieve a better understanding of what she saw.

Although she relied heavily on western help while in China and Tibet, Bishop made clear her attitudes about visiting westerners who made their homes in China. She was not content to simply visit those parts of China already familiar to westerners. She said "readers... must be aware that my chief wish on arriving at a foreign settlement or treaty port in the East is to get out of it as soon as possible, and that I have not the remotest hankering after Anglo-Asiatic attractions"(Bishop, Yangtze Valley, 15). This attitude did not prevent her from staying at European homes or missions, visiting the western diplomats, and using European assistance wherever she could find it. In Among the Tibetans before leaving for the journey covered by the travel account, she spent two months traveling in Kashmir. She mentioned this but felt that Kashmir was already so well
known in the west that her trip there merited no further comment. She complained "there
was no mountain, valley or plateau, however remote, free from the clatter of English
voices" (Among The Tibetans 9). This led to her desire to travel further into lesser Tibet.
She accepted the assistance of Dr. E. Neve of the Medical Mission in Kashmir who
agreed to accompany her on the first leg of her journey. He went with her over the first
pass, gave clear instructions to her native guide on how she was to be treated, and assured
himself that Bishop would have no trouble reaching Leh where other westerners were
stationed. (Among The Tibetans 25).

In Leh, the capital of lesser Tibet, she was the guest of two Moravian
missionaries, Mr. Redslob and Mr. Marx, who lived in this remote area with their wives
and ran a medical mission. (Among The Tibetans 54). Bishop wished to travel further so
Mr. Redslob agreed to go with her on a three week journey. She was enthusiastic about
having a westerner for a guide. She said of Mr. Redslob, "Everywhere Mr. Redslob's
Tibetan scholarship, his old world country courtesy, his kindness and adaptability, and his
medical skill ensured us a welcome the heartiness of which I can not describe" (Among
The Tibetans 71). Toward the end of her journey she stayed with German missionaries
in Kylang. She ended her book by saying, "... and early in November reached the
amenities and restraints of the civilization of Simba" (Among The Tibetans 159). That
summed up her attitude toward westerners on the high tableland of Central Asia.
Although she hated the restraints, she felt a certain need for the amenities offered. She
sought out the mission stations as stopping places, accepted western male help in dealing
with her native guides and servants, had western men accompany her when she ventured
into dangerous areas, but still she maintained that she was there to study native populations so she left the western enclaves as soon as she could make arrangements to do so.

This same attitude prevails in *The Yangtze Valley and Beyond*. In Shanghai she could not visit the native part of the city until "Mr. Fox of H M Consular Service kindly offered to accompany me" (*Yangtze Valley* 25). In Hankow she stayed at the British Consulate. Western male friends in Hankow helped her to find a translator and hire servants for her trip up the river. She traveled from Hankow to Ichang with four Canadian missionaries and enjoyed the company of the ship's captain who allowed her use of the saloon for developing her pictures. At Ichang, Mr. Schjoltz, the Commissioner of Customs, was her host, and Bishop devoted several pages of her book to description of the dullness of life for westerners in Ichang (*Yangtze Valley* 95-99).

From Ichang, Mr. Owen Stevenson of the Chinese Inland Mission and Mr. Hicks, a new arrival, accompanied her by boat to Wan Hsien. She was glad for their help with the boat owner or "lao-pan" and said, "they [Stevenson and Hicks] engaged the boat for the next stage to Chungking, which gave Mr. Stevenson some little hold on the lao-pan, who was a mean shifty person, coerced into evil ways... " (*Yangtze Valley* 100). As far inland as Wan Hsien she found western missionaries to visit and stay with when she was not on the boat. Then she found herself without western help. "Finding that it was impossible for a European to accompany me, I decided to venture on the journey of three hundred miles to Paoning Fu alone, and to buy my own experience" (*Yangtze Valley* 190). She found Europeans to help her prepare. "As the guest of a European all difficulties of
arranging, bargaining and paying are lifted off one and put upon a teacher or servant who is use to them" (Yangtze Valley 193). Finally she was all alone in the Chinese interior. Even so, the China Inland Mission had gone before her. At towns of any size, when she left the boat, it was to the Chinese Inland Missions that she headed. For a woman who claimed to be seeking no Anglo-Asian attractions, this seemed like a contradiction.

Her contact with so many westerners in both of these books colored her account. She spent many pages describing their lifestyles, work, what they had accomplished, how they dealt with the natives, rather than concentrating on the Asian population itself. She saw the Tibetan and Chinese civilization in terms of its interaction with what she clearly believed to be the superiority of western ideas and methods of doing things.

Although Mrs. Bishop did not speak the language and had to rely heavily on western help, when she could, she traveled in native dress. Luree Miller felt "The comfortable assurance of age and success gave her the confidence now to wear what she wanted to cover her ample body" (Miller 97). After all, Bishop was fifty-eight when she made her trip to western Tibet and sixty-six before she returned from her journey up the Yangtze River. Also she had achieved many honors. She was an Honorable Fellow of the Royal Scottish Geographical Society before she undertook either of these trips. Age and honors together allowed her a certain freedom of dress. Isabella found this useful. "Chinese dress... blunts the edge of curiosity and greatly diminishes the intolerable feminine picking and feeling of one's garments when they are of foreign material and make" (Yangtze Valley 192).
She had only good things to say about the comfort of Chinese dress, "the extreme comfort of a Chinese woman's dress in all classes, no corsets or waist bands, or constraints of any kind, and possibly the full development of the figure" appealed to her (Yangtze Valley 238). She also claimed she found Chinese dress a useful disguise and said "being bareheaded and in Chinese dress [I] escaped a very great crowd" (Yangtze Valley 168). She never actually described her traveling costume in Among The Tibetans but since she rode astride on her very unpredictable horse and on various yaks, it is doubtful that she wore traditional English Victorian clothing. In Among The Tibetans her lack of jewelry made the native women curious. "They asked if I were dumb, and why I wore no earrings or necklace, their own persons being loaded with heavy ornaments" (29). Her use of native dress seemed to be more for considerations of comfort than an attempt at disguise. The natives were not fooled into believing she was one of them.

Bishop judged Chinese and Tibetan society against what she clearly viewed as the superiority of the west. Her view of the native population contained an odd mixture of favorable and unfavorable observations. She admired Mr. Redslob's view of the Tibetans in Among The Tibetans. She said of him, "The Tibetans to him were not 'natives,' but brothers. He drew the best out of them. Their superstitions and beliefs were not to him 'rubbish' but subjects for minute investigation and study. His courtesy to all was frank and dignified...He was intensely interested in their interests" (79). Bishop claimed that she found, "the Tibetans truthful, independent, and friendly, one of the pleasantest of peoples. I 'took' to them at once at Shergol, and terribly faulty though their morals are in some respects, I found no reason to change my good opinion of them" (41).
Although she said this, there are many other examples throughout the book of a less favorable attitude. "The irredeemable ugliness of the Tibetans produced a deeper impression daily. It is grotesque..." (43). She found their food a "broth of abominable things" (83). She frowned on their system of polyandry (92). Her most telling statement is in the footnote for the following passage: "Many of their ideas and feelings are akin to ours, and a mutual understanding is not only possible, but inevitable" (96). This she footnoted by saying, "Mr. Redslob said that when on different occasions he was smitten by heavy sorrows, he felt no difference between the Tibetan feeling and expression of sympathy and that of Europeans" (96). That she had to have this explained to her causes one to wonder if she really viewed the Tibetans as entirely human.

Her praise of European culture is included in her description of Kylang. Here she wrote about the missionaries stationed there. "The culture was simply wonderful, and the acquaintance with the latest ideas in theology and natural science, the latest political and social developments, and the latest conceptions in European art, would have led me to suppose that these admirable people had only just left Europe" (154). She enjoyed her stay in Tibet, but never lost her idea that European civilization was at the forefront of progress and that Tibetan culture was merely a curiosity. Bishop's view of the Chinese and Tibetans in the Yangtze Valley was similar. When she ventured out of the European sections of treaty ports in order to view the native cities she often met with mud slinging and mob hostility which certainly colored her views. In Liang-shan Hsien she was attacked by a mob and her presence caused a riot which nearly cost her life (215-217). She found
the Chinese to be a very ignorant people. "The ignorance which many men of the literary class show is wonderful, and it comes out freely in conversations in the guest hall" (173). She found, "It is impossible to have patience with their ignorance because of their overwhelming self-conceit. It is passable in Africa, but not in these men with their literary degrees, and their elaborate culture 'of sorts' and two thousand years of civilization behind them" (174).

Once she left the river and entered the area of China where foreigners were rare she received more hospitality. These people knew that she was from somewhere far off but assumed that she was from another part of China rather than from abroad. She was able to mingle with native populations and to take part in their daily lives, but she also had trouble with the officials. Although she had a passport to allow her to travel, this document gave her rank. In interior China the officials refused to believe that a woman could have rank, so they tried to convince her that she could not go on. This was a constant battle in the later part of her trip.

She ended her travel account of the Yangtze Valley with a discussion of British policy in China. She explained how missionaries went about converting people and how they could be more effective in their efforts. She showed how trade with China worked and how it was changing the social system in China. She explained the strengths and weaknesses of the Chinese government and made recommendations on possible changes in British foreign policy in Asia. Her conclusion was that "China is certainly at the dawn of a new era. Whether the twentieth century shall place her where she ought to be, in the van of Oriental nations, or whether it shall witness her disintegration and decay, depends
very largely on the statesmanship and influence of Great Britain" (Yangtze Valley 534). This ethnocentric view summed up Bishop's attitude toward the Asian countries.

Isabella Bird Bishop's travel accounts of China and Tibet can best be viewed as description. She wanted to provide her British audience with a picture of the land she visited. She used sketches in her early work and photography in her later, as well as using words to describe what she saw. She wanted her physical descriptions of the countryside to be as accurate and scientific as possible. Because she was well read in the available material of the day, she was able to provide background information. She interviewed local European officials and missionaries wherever she went and kept journals and diaries so that she could use this information in her travel accounts. Her observations seem to confirm facts she has gathered. The facts and figures of populations, trade, missions, converts, products, and government organizations were included to make her account as scientific as possible. There is an underlying narrative which forms the basis for ordering her information, but she does not tell the reader much about her own personal adventures unless she is using her experience to make some other point. Often she plays down her role as woman. She would like to be viewed simply as a western traveler.

While being a woman did not influence her writing, it did influence her traveling. As a woman she was treated to great concern both by the European gentleman on whom she depended for help in organizing and supplying her expeditions and who often accompanied her, and by the Tibetans who seemed amazed to find a European woman in their midst and who banqueted her and provided her with food.

The mud slinging and riot was directed at her male escorts as well as at Mrs.
Bishop. The Chinese were hostile to all foreigners, not just women. There is nothing particularly feminine about these travel accounts. On occasion she includes incidents and situations she personally encountered but for the most part the accounts are impersonal.

Her conclusions attempted to influence British foreign policy of the day. Travel accounts written in this style by male travelers of that era were popular. Bishop's accounts could have been written as easily by her male counterparts. Only the fact that she was a woman traveler made these accounts unusual. Had she not made the trips but only gathered the information and done the extensive research the books contain, she, as a woman, would not have found an audience for her work. Women of her time did not produce scholarly documents. Her travel made her views acceptable as sources of information about China.

Both Ida Pfeiffer and Isabella Bird Bishop were world travelers at a time when proper European women remained at home. That they actually made the trips they wrote about can be documented by outside sources. There was never any question in their readers' minds that these women had been in China and Tibet. Each provided an acceptable excuse for making the journeys, but at heart both women really loved the freedom of travel. Although they claimed to have traveled alone, neither could have successfully made their journeys without male help. What they really meant was that they were free to make their own decisions, plan their own routes, determine where they would go, and what they would see.

Both women were limited in their observations by being unable to speak the
native language. They had to rely on male interpreters when speaking to the people. This made it impossible for them to take advantage of the fact that they were women who might be able to see a part of the native culture not available to men.

Both these women had strong views on western superiority. They compared what they saw to European standards and usually found the native culture lacking. They went abroad with preconceived ideas of what they would find and found examples to support their views. But both women tried to be accurate observers, and when they found things that they didn't expect, they reported it.

Pfeiffer and Bishop were willing to adopt the necessary costumes for their own safety. Pfeiffer does not balk at wearing men's clothes. Bishop seemed to prefer native dress. She not only found that it disguised her, but she admitted that she found it more comfortable than her Victorian costumes.

In form, their travel accounts did not differ from the travel accounts written by men in the nineteenth century. They used a narrative structure but basically tried to be scientific. The narrative was not the most important part of the account. The descriptions and the information about foreign lands was where their emphasis lay. The present interest in China makes these first person observations of historic China valuable. Their travels gave their works credibility, and this credibility was a pioneering step for women writers.
TRAVELERS WITH A SINGLE MESSAGE

The pioneers, Ida Pfeiffer and Isabella Bird Bishop, wrote travel accounts in the traditional style. Other women traveling during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries produced travel accounts of a different kind. These women concentrated on a particular goal either in their travels or in their writings in order to bring a single message to their reading public. Three women who visited the Orient came back and wrote books with a particular emphasis. Fanny Bullock Workman was a scientist and geographer and her books reflect this. Constance Gordon-Cumming was a woman of society and she returned with the gossip about the westerners living in the east. Annie Taylor was a missionary. Her goal was to stress the plight of the poor Tibetan in order to raise enough money so she could return to Tibet and start her own mission station. Although their books are very different, each seems to have a single message.

Fanny Bullock Workman (1859-1925)

Fanny Bullock Workman was the only American woman who traveled and wrote about the Orient during this era. She was born January 8, 1859, to a former Republican governor of Massachusetts. At the time, her education was extensive for a woman. She was educated at home by tutors and later sent to Miss Graham's finishing school in New York. She completed her formal education with two years of study abroad, in Paris and Dresden. After returning home to Massachusetts, she married a successful physician, William Hunter Workman. In 1886 the Workmans traveled in Scandinavia and Germany. In 1889 William was forced into retirement by ill health, but this ill health
marked the beginning, not the end of the Workmans' explorations.

In 1897 the Workmans traveled to the East to look at the art and architecture of the Buddhists, Mohammedans, and Hindus. They bicycled and wrote travel accounts of their trips to Algeria, Ceylon, Java, Sumatra, South Vietnam (then called Cochin China), Burma and India. It wasn't until 1899 when Fanny was forty and her husband fifty-two, that they began the work they are remembered for, their exploration of the Himalayan mountains.

From 1897 well into the first decade of the twentieth century they concentrated on mountain climbing in the Himalayas, exploring and mapping unknown parts of the Himalayan range. Fanny photographed the land and her pictures illustrate the three volumes the Workmans together produced. These books are *In The Ice World of the Himalaya*, and *Ice-Bound Heights of the Mustagh* (listing Fanny as the first author), and *The Call of the Snowy Hisipar*, listing William first. Actually all their books were co-authored. Only in two of them did the Workmans venture into Tibetan territory, *In The Ice World of Himalaya*, and *Ice-Bound Heights of the Mustagh*.

Rather than travel accounts, these books are scientific works. Besides mapping and photographing unvisited regions, the Workmans measured altitudes with both aneroid and boiling point thermometers; they studied the structures of ice and snow at various altitudes and temperatures; they made meteorological observations; took minimum and maximum sun and shade temperatures, studied the movements of glaciers, and observed and recorded the physiological effects of high altitude living. Fanny wrote about her "personal experiences with rarefied air for the benefit of women, who may not yet have
ascended to altitudes above 16,000 feet but are thinking of attempting to do so."

The three books have much in common. Except for the mention of towns which they left behind in order to go climbing, they have little to say about Ladakh or Tibetan culture. In fact their only direct mention of the culture of Ladakh was to say, "it was a great relief to shake off the officious, noisy, garrulous, irritating Kashmiris, and to take on the quieter, good-natured Ladakhis" (Workman, In The Ice World 9-10). In all these books they saw the native population only as porters. They described how hard it was to get the natives to do the work the Workmans required to make their climbing expeditions possible. They were not interested in learning about the people except in cliches like, "Never trust an Indian, and least of all a Christian Indian" (Workman, Ice-Bound Heights 19).

If the Workmans had any shortcomings as travellers, it was this lack of interest in or understanding of the native population. As Dorothy Middleton wrote, "Almost alone of the Victorian travellers, the Workmans had absolutely no sympathy or common-sense understanding of the local people, into whose poor and remote villages they burst with trains of followers demanding service and supplies" (Middleton 84). This led to serious problems for the Workmans because they were unable to successfully employ natives as porters and guides. Although Fanny spoke several foreign languages, she knew nothing of the languages of the Himalayas and this further complicated their problems. As a solution, the Workmans finally hired Italian porters and guides to join their expeditions.

They also showed little interest in settled regions they traveled through. Instead, they record, "The journey from Srinagar over the Zozi La to Leh, the capital of
Ladakh, some two hundred and fifty miles, is by no means devoid of interest, both as to the character of the scenery, the people and the monuments but. ... we pass it by without comment" (Workman, In The Ice World 16). When they attended a religious festival at Himis, all they said was "Having witnessed the interesting and fantastic ceremonies of the occasion, some of which bore a close resemblance to rites of the Roman Catholic Church, we returned to Leh" (Workman, In The Ice World 17).

It is difficult to determine exactly what countries the Workmans explored because they seem not to recognize political boundaries, but rather to treat the high Himalayas as a single unit. They explored Ladakh with its Tibetan population, but since the people were not their concern this is not very clear in the Workmans' books. Because they were able to travel without official hassle, it can be assumed that they remained in the part of the Himalayas under British control.

Other information they included was intended to help future scientists make a similar trip. For example, they said they did not speak Hindustani which would have allowed them to talk to all the officials they encountered and recommended this language as useful to future travelers. They also discuss how to use people of different nationalities as porters, how they should be paid, how to assemble the necessary materials for an expedition, and how to proceed. While their books make interesting reading, they are unlike the other travel accounts by women. Fanny traveled with her husband. His input may have determined the character of their books. While they were active in this part of the world at the same time as the other women travelers, their accounts are limited to scientific findings. These are not travel accounts in the traditional sense.
But Fanny Bullock Workman was a Victorian woman traveler. She was also an example of the late Victorian phenomenon known as the 'New Woman'. This 'New Woman' differed from the earlier Victorian ideal. She wore sensible clothes, was educated, aspired to the professions, was broad-minded in matters of art and literature, and engaged in physical activities like bicycling and, in Fanny's case, mountaineering. She was considered avant-garde by her generation and exhibited these traits in addition to a strong belief in women suffrage. In fact she had her picture taken atop a Himalayan peak holding a newspaper with the headline which clearly reads, "Votes For Women". She and her husband shared equally in the responsibilities of the trips they made. She was appointed leader in charge of planning and supplying one expedition while her husband concentrated on the scientific work. On the next expedition they exchanged roles.

In 1906 Fanny Bullock Workman climbed a 23,000 foot peak in Kashmir and established a women's climbing record. Other honors that she achieved include the highest medals from ten European geographic societies. She was made a member of the Royal Geographic Society. In November of 1905 she became the first woman to address that group since Isabella Bird Bishop had that honor. She also achieved the first ascent of several Himalayan peaks and climbed a number of mountains over 20,000 feet. Even though some of the Workmans' measurements and mapping later proved to be inaccurate due to confusion and lack of sophisticated instruments, much of their work still stands.

Fanny Bullock Workman died in 1925 in Cannes, France, after an eight year illness. In her will she bequeathed $125,000 to four women's colleges in the United States. She was a firm believer in education for women. She personally felt she had met with "sex
Education, she felt, was a way to prepare young women to compete in the professions. Fanny Bullock Workman should be remembered as a woman pioneer in science and mountaineering. Her work as a travel writer is not that interesting to today's readers. But it is important to remember that this woman was living, working, and writing in this area of the world during the early 1900's.

Constance Frederica Gordon-Cumming (1837-1924)

Constance Frederica Gordon-Cumming may not have made a conscious decision about the focus of her book the way Fanny Workman did, but her book is also only of limited interest today. Her background and reasons for traveling determined the kind of book she produced.

Gordon-Cumming was born May 26, 1837, in Scotland to Sir William Gordon-Cumming who was Chief of the Clan of Cumming and a member of the Royal Geographic Society. Because of her father's position she had an upper-class childhood. Her father had an extensive collection of travel literature which Constance discovered and enjoyed. Many of her relatives had traveled and published accounts of their journeys. The most famous of these was her older brother, Roualeyn George, who was known as "The Lion Hunter". While Gordon-Cumming was attending a boarding school near London, she was taken to the British Museum to see the amazing collection of hunting trophies her brother had brought back from South Africa. Roualeyn published an account of his African hunting trip, which was actually written out by Constance and her sisters from Roualeyn's dictation and from the many diaries he had kept. The book became a best seller in England, but reviewers treated it as fiction. They could not believe
Roualeyn’s tales were actually true. It wasn’t until the famous Dr. Livingstone attested to the truth of the accounts that Roualeyn’s book was accepted as accurate.

Gordon-Cumming finished her formal schooling in 1853 and returned home to Scotland. In 1855 she contracted rheumatic fever and although she recovered, she was warned that it could recur at any time. She also suffered from dyspepsia. She lived with her father until his death, then with a sister and her husband for eight years. In 1867 her young half sister’s husband was posted to India and was accompanied by his wife. Later Constance was invited to travel with this sister’s young son and his nurse when they went to join the couple in India. This was the beginning of her travels.

For the next twelve years Gordon-Cumming traveled in the East. She was the first woman except for wives and sisters of officials to visit many parts of India. Staying a month here and a month there as a guest of English officials who generally were acquainted with her family or at least her family name, she collected material for a two volume work, From the Hebrides to the Himalayas.

With Lady Hamilton Gordon whose husband was appointed the first governor of these islands, she traveled to Fiji in 1875. Later, in 1877 she traveled to Japan with Mrs. Dyer when her husband was chosen to teach engineering in that country. Gordon-Cumming did not write about her stay in Japan since friends at home assured her that this subject had already been covered more completely than necessary. When Gordon-Cumming found Japan too cold in the winter, she went to Hong Kong and spent Christmas on that island in 1878. From there she began her travels in China which resulted in her book Wanderings in China.
After twelve years of travel she returned home. She wrote her travel books and an autobiography which concentrated on her ancestors and family rather than on her own life and travels. She died in 1924 from unknown causes.

Constance Gordon-Cumming published *Wanderings in China* in 1900. This is an account of a trip she made to the treaty ports of China and included a trip to Peking in 1878-79. Because of her manner of travel, her inability to accept other cultures, her narrow point of view, and her limited experiences when she was abroad, her travel account contains little of lasting value.

The treaty ports in 1878 were very European and they made a conscious attempt to remain isolated and insulated from the Chinese. These settlements contained European style homes, banks, stores, and offices. The lifestyle in these enclaves was as close to European as possible. Gordon-Cumming was a visitor to the most important families in the treaty ports. She seldom ventured out into the Chinese city, and never did so without an escort.

She learned something about the customs of the Chinese but usually through secondhand information passed on by the people she was visiting. Nevertheless, hunger for knowledge about China in England made her books popular when they were published. Since many of the people she visited were considered important, it is probable that the gossipy nature of her accounts proved interesting to readers of her day. What the modern reader comes away with however, is a sense of Gordon Cummings not really having experienced China.
She enjoyed her stay in Canton but what she had to say about it makes it quite clear what she considered important. "Here is transplanted an English social life so completely fulfilling all English requirements, that the majority of the inhabitants rarely enter the city!" (Gordon-Cumming 27). She went on to describe the island city created by the westerners and concluded it was "as pleasant a quarter as could be desired" (Gordon-Cumming 27). She visited the Chinese city in Shanghai and her reaction was "Dirt--foulest dirt--is the one impression which remains indelibly stamped on my mind...I felt it a relief to pass from this one, back to the handsome European settlement of large clean houses, of which a most imposing row stretch along the embankment of the fine crescent-shaped harbor" (Gordon-Cumming 2). She was quite content to remain in the parts of city that were familiar to her as a westerner.

Her hosts tried to give her some Chinese experiences while she visited. She visited Chinese homes but was only puzzled by the differences she observed. "A very wealthy mandarin having invited Mrs. Lund to bring her foreign friend to his house, I have had a capital opportunity of seeing the interior of a genuine Chinese home of the very best type, and very puzzling it would be to describe" (Gordon-Cumming 45). Her description proves that she saw its many peculiarities and never considered why the Chinese chose to live in such a manner. She wasn't open to a different culture, she was merely interested in viewing curiosities of China so she could report on how odd these people of China were.

On the coast, Constance was assured of western comforts, but she decided to
venture inland to Peking. "While I was hesitating whether I could face this much-abused journey [to Peking], and yet was told on all hands that I could form no right judgment of China from seeing only the southern half of the empire, my way was made smooth by the arrival from England of Mr. and Mrs. Pirkis, who, with their two children, are returning to the British Legation at Peking" (Gordon-Cumming 351). This was often the case during her travels. Europeans leaped to her rescue and smoothed the way for her. She joined the Pirkis party and so had to make no arrangements of her own. Her view of the capital illustrates the kind of reporting she did. "At last we are in the famous capital of the Celestial Empire! -- the dreariest wilderness of dirt and dust that you can possibly conceive -- a place in which it would surely be horrible to live, however interesting to a passing visitor, for whom all is made smooth by the kindness of residents. [and here she is certainly referring to the westerners who lived there] Much as I have heard to the disadvantage of Peking, lo! the half was not told me" (Gordon-Cumming 366). Gordon-Cumming preferred her visit to Chefoo, "a pleasant and very healthy port, quite the favourite sanitary resort of Europeans whose lot is cast in China" (Gordon-Cumming 351). She was impressed with the "gardens in which our familiar English flowers grow freely" (Gordon-Cumming 351). Why did she leave England if these were the sights that pleased her most?

Her interaction with the native Chinese was very limited. She was taken by her English hosts to visit not only the Chinese cities, but also homes of important Chinese individuals. She had no understanding of language and depended on her western guides for information. Also she was not interested in really meeting any Chinese. She said, "To
my uneducated eye, all these men and all these women are extraordinarily alike. Talk of being 'as like as two peas' I think we might say, as like as two Chinamen" (Gordon-Cumming 31). With this kind of attitude it was not likely that she would have any direct contact with the natives.

She enjoyed the temple theaters of China, but only because of their strangeness. "I really am becoming quite a connoisseur in temple theatres! They are so unique and so very characteristic, that whenever I find myself near a temple whence unwonted discords proclaim a Sing-Song, I make a point of halting and going in, if only for a few minutes. Some are very shabby and one glance suffices; but others are really most fascinating, and enable one to form a very good notion of old Court dress and similar details" (Gordon-Cumming 223). Her review of Chinese theater certainly is mixed as are her reasons for attending.

Gordon-Cumming saw many things because her hosts and guides were kind and wanted her to have a Chinese experience. She appreciated this. "I have had the good fortune to have a long day in the city with Mr Chalmers of the London Mission, who having been at work here for a quarter of a century, and having a keen interest in the manners and customs of the land in which he lives (which is by no means a necessary sequence of long residence!), is a delightful companion on such a ramble, and I need scarcely say that really to enjoy such an expedition, one must go quietly on foot, with all powers of observation on the alert, never knowing what strange novelty will entail a halt at any moment" (Gordon-Cumming 49). She appreciated the knowledge this man had but what she really looked for was the novelty. China didn't disappoint her.
Gordon-Cummings wrote to entertain her English audiences. She did not need the income her books produced, nor was she trying to raise money for Chinese causes. She used both the traveling and the writing to fill her life and to provide English audiences with accounts of strange and bewildering foreign tales. She is more the tourist reporting on the odd lives of exotic natives than a travel writer who wishes to provide genuine insight into the cultures she is visiting. Her western superiority becomes maddening, her name dropping tedious, her florid style with its many exclamation points boring to read, and her lack of background information brings up more questions than she can possibly answer. Dorothy Middleton, who has studied the female Victorian travelers, sums it up when she says, "Miss Gordon-Cumming's books are, alas, almost unreadable..." (Middleton 5). She was a traveler of limited scope, and a writer of little note, but she too was active in the Orient at the turn of the century. Her books were popular during her lifetime. The same cannot be said today.

Annie Taylor (1855-1909)

Annie Taylor was also a woman with a single vision, but her travel account, not her travels themselves, reflect this. Fortunately there are two accounts of her actual travels in Tibet. She produced one which sold well and was popular but which did not provide a realistic view of her trip. Later William Carey, using Annie's diary, rewrote the story of her travels. It is his account that modern readers find most interesting. In order to understand what Miss Taylor was interested in emphasizing, it is necessary to understand something about her life.

Annie Taylor was born in Cheshire, England, on October 17, 1855. Her father
owned the famous Black Ball Shipping Lines and was a Fellow of the Royal Geographic Society. Her mother was a Frenchwoman who had been born to French parents in Brazil. From Annie’s earliest memories she was exposed to talk of travel and travel adventures. At the age of seven she was diagnosed as having valvular heart disease. She was not expected to survive, and since she was such a delicate child she did not attend school.

Early in her life she became interested in, or nearly obsessed with, religion. It became her wish to "open Tibet for God". Her father opposed her entry into missionary work and cut off all funds, but in spite of this she managed some medical training to prepare herself, both at London Hospital and Queen Charolette’s Hospital. She practiced what she learned by visiting the sick in the slums of Brighton. In 1884, at the age of twenty-eight, she was posted to the Chinese Inland Mission. Her father refused to support this trip but later made concessions. Although he cut off her allowance, he did pay her passage and outfitted her for the trip.

In China she studied both Chinese and Tibetan since Tibet was to be her ultimate goal. She was able to travel through China to an area that bordered on Tibet. There she lived among the Tibetans from October 1889 to March 1890. She continued her study of the language and learned Tibetan customs. Illness forced her to return to Shanghai and she was diagnosed as having consumption. Rather than return to England for her cure she travelled to Australia for her recovery.

By 1891 she was again living close to her goal, Tibet, in Sikkim, but the border authorities were watching her because she was a foreigner, so she returned to Shanghai and started her trip to Lhasa via the much longer route through China. On September
2, 1892, she crossed the border into Tibet and started for Lhasa. Because she spoke the language she was able to hire native guides and servants to accompany her. She wore native dress and tried, for a Victorian, to travel lightly. She knew if she was discovered by the authorities she would be expelled from Tibet. Her trip was a disaster. She was the first European to travel toward Lhasa since Abbe Huc made his famous journey in 1844-46. But the authorities discovered her identity. She was arrested and after a harrowing journey was expelled from Tibet. When she returned to England with her Tibetan servant she found that she had become famous. She lectured and wrote articles. The first article was called "Some Facts About Tibet" and was published in a weekly London newspaper called Christian Family Newspaper, a publication devoted to describing missionary work in all parts of the world. The second, "An Englishwoman in Tibet", was published in the National Review in September 1893. Then she produced a paper to be read before the Royal Scottish Geographic Society of Edinburgh and Glasgow called "My Experiences in Tibet". Because she needed money to return to Tibet, she combined these three articles into a book called Pioneering in Tibet. The book contained letters from other Tibetan missionaries as well as Taylor's writings. The book was a sensationalized version of her trip and it sold well in England. As Taylor was really only interested in the money, and in raising funds, this book was an unqualified success. But her friends did not feel that this book did justice to what they knew she had experienced. It was popular, but not accurate.

On February 16, 1894, a prayer meeting was held in Albert Hall to say farewell to Annie Taylor before she returned to the Orient. She had formed a Tibetan Missionary
Band to accompany her and they settled on the border between Sikkim and Tibet. Because of the hardships of this location, the other missionaries abandoned her but she continued to live there and work with the Tibetans. Other Englishmen including missionaries like William Carey who later borrowed Taylor’s diary and wrote a more complete and less sensational version of Annie’s trip, visited her there and sent reports back to England where readers continued to be interested in this female traveler. She left the Orient sometime before 1909 because of ill health. Her later life remains a mystery.

Taylor’s book, Pioneering in Tibet, has no publication date, but the last letter she included is dated 1895 so it was probably published shortly after that. This book was to be used for recruiting missionaries for Tibet. She wished to form the Tibetan Pioneer Mission and for this she needed both money and personnel. In the matter of personnel, she did not want volunteers who would be unable to meet the rigors and challenges of Tibet. Taylor would not expect others to deal with anything she herself would not face, but it would indeed take a special kind of person to answer the call to this mission. The book made clear what sort of person she was looking for. It was put together in a hurry to capitalize on Annie Taylor’s popularity. Audiences in England and Scotland eagerly read this account, but her friends remained disappointed because they felt she had not really told her story.

Pioneering In Tibet begins with the account that Taylor first published in the Christian Family Newspaper. It is written in the third person which makes this account seem very impersonal. She began by giving some background on her life, especially her
spiritual life, which led up to her journey to Lhasa. She said of herself "The heroism of faith finds fresh illustration in the remarkable journey accomplished by this young sister into the jealously secluded regions of Tibet" (Taylor 9). She introduced, but briefly, her traveling companions, Noga and his Tibetan wife from Lhasa, and Pontso, her Tibetan servant. Pontso "had never seen a foreigner before, and the kindness shown him won his heart; so that from that time on he has been her constant companion and devoted servant." (Taylor 12). The reader does not learn much else about these people. After a one sentence description of the roads and countryside Taylor excused her lack of narrative description by saying "the account of the long and arduous journey is simply a narrative of sore hardships amid snow and ice, perils from lawless robbers, and yet graver perils from her faithless and false guide" (Taylor 13). It is these very details that readers would find most interesting.

She mentioned some of the hardships: the brigands, the snow, eating raw goat meat, being forced to sleep in the open, watching companions die. These are told as isolated incidents with no narrative connecting the events and no explanation as to why they happened. She mentioned being saved from the brigands because she was female. "It is against Tibetan custom to fire at a woman" (Taylor 14). She tells of her repeated attacks of palpitations due to the altitude. Then she said that Noga tried to kill her: "meanwhile Noga began, now that he was fairly in the heart of the mountains, to show his hand, and not only tried to strike and abuse Miss Taylor, but attempted again and again to murder her" (Taylor 14). But she gives no further information, only that it is he who finally denounced her to the authorities and caused her to be deported from the country.
Her supplies disappeared but she didn’t explain the treachery that led to this. She described the Golochs, a tribe governed by a woman, so fierce they are uncontrollable by either China or Tibet. Actually the reader learns elsewhere that the small band of Golochs Taylor encountered were indeed ruled by a woman but only because the woman’s husband chief had died. This woman took pity on Taylor and supplied her with an armed escort but for how long and to travel where is not clear. Taylor concludes this article with a plea for missionaries to open Tibet. The reader gets a picture of the hardships of Tibet, but no clear idea of Taylor’s trip.

The second chapter, "An Englishwoman In Tibet", was written in the first person. Here she explained how she cured and Christianized Pontso after he escaped from a cruel master in Lhasa and traveled to the border where Taylor was doing missionary work. Also the reader learns why Noga, her chief guide on the trip, wants to return to Lhasa. He is Chinese but his wife is from Lhasa. In Tibet a marriage contract can either be permanent or it can be temporary, binding for only a given number of years. Noga was married to his wife Erminine for a period of three years and the time was up. He had to return her to her mother in Lhasa. Since he could not afford to make the trip, he allowed himself to be engaged by Taylor as a guide. "Noga agreed to conduct me the whole way; and we finally concluded a bargain by which he was to make all necessary preparations, receiving money from me for the expenses" (Taylor 20). The reader expects details on how Noga later broke this contract, but the details are never forthcoming. These kinds of omissions make Taylor’s book incomplete.
Taylor described the costumes and hats of the Mongol bands that attacked her. These she compared to those of the Golochs. She compared their living arrangements, tents, foods and eating habits. Neither group comes off very well in this comparison although Taylor tends to be kinder to the Golochs who are ruled by a woman and provide her with an escort (Taylor 23).

Noga helps himself to Taylor's tents and supplies and finally denounces her to the authorities (Taylor 28). She is captured but she covers her trial in two brief paragraphs and spends most of her words describing the military chief and his clothing and manners. She claimed, "Therefore, the lama [chief] wanted to stone myself and my servants and throw our bodies in the river" (Pioneering In Tibet 33). Rather, they hold a trial and "the ultimatum of the trial was that if I liked, I could go on to Lhasa. Should I do so however, they, the chiefs, having given me this permission, would lose their lives, and my servants would be seized" (32). She argued this and finally was told to leave the country. Her narrative is filled with the awful hardships faced on this return trip. Now greater snow fall, more severe cold, the loss of her supplies, death of her horses, death of a strong man who is accompanying her, and Chinese bureaucracy slow her travels. "The cold was so intense that one of the horses was found frozen in the morning" (34). Finally, with difficulty she arrives back in China on April 12, 1893.

This account is a little more interesting than the first, but dwells so much on the hardships, the treachery, and the unfortunate circumstances that there is little feel for the country. She has drawn the characters of her traveling companions a little more completely. The reader knows who they are and why they accompany her, but Taylor
herself seems more like a reporter than a participant. She remained aloof from the story, ignoring the details of her own behavior that influence those with whom she came in contact. She really is not an active force in this account.

The third chapter, the paper she read to the Royal Scottish Geographical Society, is the least interesting. She began by apologizing for "my lack of scientific knowledge and want of instruments" to make the scientific observations of her trip (Taylor 37). She told them that she would limit herself to the facts of her journey. This she did, and her story lost much in the telling. She described the three main roads into Tibet and how the Tea Road operated. She introduced Pontso and Noga. She continued with a comparison of the physical and dress differences between the different tribes she met. But her main goal in this paper seemed to be showing the Society how the Chinese were responsible for Tibet being closed to western trade. She claimed China wanted to maintain exclusive rights to Tibetan markets. The lamas, about whom she had little good to say, agreed to this for political reasons which she never explained. She claimed that Tibetans were open to meeting foreigners and would be open to further visits from the west, if it weren't for Chinese interference in their internal affairs.

In this chapter she dismisses her trial before the authorities as "much palavering with Lhasa chiefs" (Taylor 48). Her return trip is covered in a single paragraph. Her only recommendation to the Society is that anyone intending to travel in Tibet should learn the language so they will not "be misled and deceived by Eastern interpreters" (Taylor 50). This, and her charges against the Chinese were really her main points. Her own travel story is secondary.
The rest of Taylor’s published account contained letters relating to the success of her missionary work among the Tibetans and telling of the work yet to be done. She explained her "God will provide" philosophy and talked about God’s help during her journey to Lhasa (Taylor 52). Her strong faith comes across to the reader, but the modern reader is apt to find her a dull, if dedicated, woman.

Carey and others were right in feeling that this book gave too meager an account of Taylor’s incredible trip to within three days of Lhasa, farther than any western woman before her had gotten. It was a sensational account but one that was also disappointing. *Pioneering In Tibet* provides the reader with several accounts which need to be integrated in order for Taylor’s whole story to be understood. But more than that, this book doesn’t explain the motivations of the characters or provide a narrative that gives any clear picture of the trip. Most important Taylor seemed to be consciously leaving herself out of the story. She distanced herself from the events and tried to present herself as the disinterested reporter, even going so far as to write in the third person. By doing this, she lost the drama of the story. Also her choice of flowery language tends to overshadow what she was actually trying to say.

The real story she had to tell is about her human entanglements, first with her traveling companions and servant; later with Tibetans who help and hinder her; and finally with the authorities who demand she leave the country. Taylor’s story is really about character, how people face physical hardship, how they relate to each other, and how a journey like the one she undertook forces people to show their true colors. This story is not contained in her book. Annie Taylor had the raw material for an exciting travel
Taylor had an adventure through lands unknown in Europe. She had an eye for detail. In her diary, descriptions of the physical features, clothing, and life styles of the Tibetans are abundant. She described their houses, their manner of living, the food they ate and shared with her, and the cultural difference between the tribes. But she only alluded to some of these things in her book. She didn’t elaborate. This failure caused her book to lose much of its sense of reality. When western readers are confronted with a culture so foreign to anything in their experience, it is the detail which helps them to relate to what the traveler has experienced. Without detail it becomes only a sensational story hardly to be credited. She should have included the details so that the reader could better understand and relate to the everyday happenings. This would give the story a stronger sense of reality. Taylor did not do this in her published account.

Annie Taylor met her own goals in publishing *Pioneering In Tibet*. Her intention was to raise awareness of the missionary cause in Tibet and to make enough money to return there and carry on her work. This she achieved. As Dorothy Middleton tells us, "she put her name to a book which gave a dramatic and by no means accurate account of her adventures, for which her admirers were still apologizing some years afterward" (Middleton 124). But she did have the raw material for a travel account in the form of her diary. It was left to a gentleman, Mr. William Carey, to produce a travel account of Annie’s trip. Encouraged by Annie Taylor’s friends who did not feel her book did the trip justice, Mr. Carey worked to correct this when *Adventures In Tibet* was published in 1901.
Carey did not want simply to present Annie Taylor's diary, because he knew audiences would not fully understand it unless they first learned something about Tibet. He began his book with twelve chapters explaining the location, culture, landscape, religion and customs of Tibet. His research was extensive. He quotes such Tibetan explorers as Abbe Huc, Mr. Rockhill, Mr. George Littledale, Lieut-Col. Bower, Peter Rijnhart, and Henry Savage. These men had traveled in Tibet and were considered experts on the Tibetan situation. Carey also used the Encyclopedia Britannica and magazine articles of the day. All this material forms the context for Taylor's diary.

Carey then told the story of how he met Taylor and how he came to have possession of her diary. He was a missionary in northern India. In July of 1899, after she had returned to Tibet, he visited her at her mission. He asked if she kept a journal or other notes as she traveled. She produced a dirty, tattered and worn notebook, showed it to him and said, "the writing is so illegible that I doubt anybody could read it" (Carey 166). Carey held it but never opened it. After his return to India he considered writing a missionary monograph of Tibet. Since he had continued to correspond with Taylor, he wrote to ask if he might use that diary. She consented. He "soon saw it would be a slow and serious task deciphering those already half-obliterated hieroglyphics" (Carey 167). He accomplished this by using a magnifying glass on each of the one hundred and sixty-two pages. He transcribed the diary word for word. Then he set about editing it. He claimed he found "there were odds and ends that could be pruned away at once and redundant expressions which it was a comparatively simple matter to eliminate" (Carey 168). After that, he corrected slips of grammar and crude forms of expression. Finally he said, "no
sentence has been touched that could be left, and practically the story as it is now published is the story as it was penciled down" (Carey 169).

The diary lacked the overpolished style of Taylor's published book. What Carey has given the reader are the few sentences that Taylor was able to put down each night before she slept, regardless of the weather, living conditions, or her own physical discomfort. She simply recorded in a few sentences the most important occurrences and often the sights of the day. The immediacy of this kind of reporting, plus the fact that she herself on any given day does not know the significance or outcome of some of these events, or which of these events will have further consequences, makes for interesting reading. The reader travels along with Taylor as both the scenery and her story unfolds. Because of the many details, it is easy to relate to the story. It is not just a strange or sensational journey, but has elements the reader is familiar with which helps to understand the action.

The most startling thing about the diary is the way the characters come alive. From the first entry on September 2, 1892, when Taylor recounts how Pontso is unable to sleep because of the excitement of the upcoming journey the reader is confronted with a character who is a real person. Taylor wrote, "Pontso appeared at 12 o'clock, and then, when told it was too early, came about every hour to know the time" (Carey 173). By September 18, when Pontso must stop Nago from striking Taylor, the reader comes to see his faithful character (Carey 191). Also the conflict between Pontso and Nago begins to develop. The fear Taylor suffered on October 10 when Pontso becomes ill from altitude sickness is evident. Can she face this journey without him? Fortunately he recovers and
she doesn't have to, but the reader can see how Annie has come to depend on this servant. It is Pontso who discovered Noga's plot of denouncing the Englishwoman to the authorities on November 18. "In the afternoon Pontso called me aside and said that Noga is telling people that I am English, and that tomorrow when the chief comes, they will tell him, and then Noga and Penting and Pontso will all suffer; that he will beat or perhaps kill them for bringing me here" (Carey 224). Pontso is so fearful of being denounced as the Tibetan who led a foreign lady to Lhasa that he deserts Taylor for a time, but before the day is out the two are reunited. Their relationship is strong enough to overcome Pontso's fear. This relationship of loyalty is not one-sided. When the authorities finally capture them and call the Tibetan to answer questions, Annie steps in and says, "it was not the custom for a cook to give evidence in place of his master" (Carey 256). She makes it clear that she, and not her servant, is to be held responsible for the trip. Pontso continues to fear the authorities but Taylor reassures him. She is willing to stand up not only for herself but for him as well. On January 16 Taylor faces the chief from Lhasa and calls into question the whole system of Tibetan justice.

Is this Tibetan justice? Nago has done a great wrong to me; you say you cannot punish him. To harm me personally you fear, but you say, 'your servant who has been faithful to you I will harm, and so harm you.' You want to send me on the road with horses that cannot go, and without a tent, knowing that in a few days we shall have to stop in a place where there is no chief, a place swarming with brigands; and thus seek to get rid of me, not by killing me yourself, but getting me killed by others. I can only say that if you do not help me return I must remain where I am until the amban [Chinese official] is informed. (Carey 160).

Finally it was Taylor's loyalty to Pontso that determined she must turn back. The Tibetans were unwilling to punish an Englishwoman but felt they did have the
authority to deal with her Tibetan and Chinese servants. She could do as she chose. But if she continued on, the authorities would arrest Pontso and the other servants, take them to Lhasa, and punish them probably with a death sentence. If she agreed to leave the country she could take these people back to China with her. She did not wish to shed blood so she agreed to leave after certain other of her conditions were met.

On the return trip Taylor gently poked fun at Pontso in her diary. She recorded that after a grey wolf crossed their path, "Pontso, who was walking, evidently thought discretion the better part of valor, for he at once mounted his pony" (Carey 263). She sympathized with him when he had to leave an exhausted pony on a particularly difficult mountain pass. Taylor recorded that "tears came to his eyes" (Carey 271). His sensitivity to animals was greatly valued by Taylor throughout the trip and she often mentions Pontso and his ability with the horses. This is important enough to her to find place in her diary. On March 24 it is Pontso whom Taylor trusts in resupplying her expedition and dealing with the local mandarin (Carey 283). Earlier in the trip Taylor would have taken care of this herself, but her dependence on, and trust in, Pontso have grown to the point where she feels comfortable leaving these things in his hands. The developing relationship between these two, mistress and servant, show the reader something of the character of each individual. The hardships they face together change them and change their relationship. This becomes clear in the diary as it never does in Taylor's book.

Nago is another main character in the diary. Although he is denounced in Taylor's published account, it is from the diary's details that the reader comes to
understand this man through his actions. Up until September 10, Nago's relationship with Taylor seems to be mutually beneficial, but then Taylor begins to be suspicious of Nago. He is able to secure a black tent, cooking pot, and food from a group of brigands, and she thinks about this and writes in her diary that since he is so well known to this group, "I think he must be a robber, too" (Carey 188). On September 11, Noga admits to having stolen articles which Annie meant to use for gifts along the way. Without shame Nago tells her that he left these at his home.

September 17 finds Nago able to recover some of what earlier had been stolen by brigands. Taylor records that a few of her things were returned but ALL of Nago's were recovered (Carey 191). On the 18th, when Taylor confronts him about this, he attempts to strike her. "He got into a rage; and, coming over to where I was lying down, attempted to strike me" (Carey 191). The next day he tries to steal her tent. Taylor comes to an understanding with Nago, but Pontso steps in and refuses to go on without a written agreement.

On September 26 this agreement is signed and witnessed by a Tibetan chief and a llama. Things settle down and they continue on their journey. But on October 15 Nago again causes trouble. This time he begins to fight with his wife, not Taylor. Taylor records finding Nago attacking his wife, "dragging her by the hair and kicking at her" (Carey 204). But shortly after this Leucotz, a servant traveling with this party, dies. Taylor sees another side of Nago. Both Nago and Leucotz are Mohammedan so Nago takes over the rites and sees that this man is correctly buried (Carey 209). This produces a calm in the journey which lasts until October 26.
Then Nago decides to sell Taylor's horse. When she refuses to allow this, "He got into a temper, and began to call out that I was an Englishwoman to let people hear" (Carey 211). Nago then says that if and when they are caught he will claim Pontso is leading the foreign lady to Lhasa. For exposing this he will be rewarded. For four days the severe weather interrupts the feuding but on October 30, when Nago continues his threats and claims he will no longer go on, Annie takes the initiative and threatens to visit a local Chinese official in order to secure an escort back to China. "He fell into a dreadful rage, and said I wanted to see his head chopped off. I told him that I did not want him to lose his life, but that I did not want to lose my own life either, and that I could not stay where I was, nor could I go on or return alone; the only course left me was to get an escort from the mandarin in charge of the soldiers" (Carey 215).

Nago claims if she exposes him as her escort he will have his head chopped off. Taylor and Nago fight all night but reach an uneasy truce and go on the next day. Taylor has finally had the courage to confront Nago and the results seem to be in her favor. She records that "Nago came to tell me he means to go on; that the cause of his frequent anger is only his littleness of heart, while mine is too big" (Carey 217). But Nago's repentance lasts only until November 17 when he not only refuses to go but actually threatens to kill Taylor. She agrees that Nago must go, but the negotiations of what Nago is entitled to go on for several days. A Tibetan chief meets them during this time. "The chief said that, as I was a woman, Nago must not leave me" (Carey 266). Whether there is an actual attempt on Taylor's life by Nago, or whether she is referring to his earlier threat is not clear but finally, on the grounds that she is not safe, Taylor decides on
November 26 that they can no longer travel together.

On November 28 Nago leaves, but Taylor’s servants warn her that he is following her and will cause more trouble. Taylor records that Nago is telling lies to the natives to try to convince them to kill her. He says she is traveling with precious stones and riches under her robes and a person would only have to kill her to become rich. He also claims she is a witch who can see into the ground and is in this land to steal its treasures. Finally on January 3 Nago succeeds in stopping Taylor’s trip and he doesn’t rely on murder. He denounces her to the authorities. She and her remaining band are captured.

Taylor may be caught but she is not ready to surrender. She confronts the authorities and argues for justice for eleven days. Nago is brought into the proceedings on January 14 and lies to the chiefs about stealing from Taylor and threatening her life. The chiefs’ first solution is to send Taylor and Nago back to China together. Taylor says "they might carry my corpse, but they will not take me against my will" (Carey 261). Finally a friendly chief begins to understand her plight. He returns the horse that Nago has stolen along with other things he has taken from her. This is the last mention of Nago in her diary. The reader doesn’t find out what happens to him, perhaps because Taylor, herself, never found out.

But the many incidents between Taylor and Nago develop both characters. Beginning when she chooses him to guide her, the reader sees her dependence on him. He is dependent on her as well. But as they journey together, Taylor comes to see him for what he is. He doesn’t change. She is the one who changes. She puts up with him,
then she tries to control his actions. He claims to repent but it doesn’t last. Finally she concludes that it will take more than threats to make Nago behave. She orders him to leave. When the authorities confront her they deny any knowledge of Nago, but Taylor figures out that it is he who has led to her capture. She demands that the authorities bring Nago to account, and she is able to retrieve some of things he has stolen from her.

Taylor’s character is developed by her dealings both with Pontso and Nago but she really comes alive in her account of dealing with the authorities. The first chief she deals with wants to send her back. She says no! "To return simply meant to die on the road" (Carey 250). Then she becomes friendly with this man. She invites him to visit her tent, to look through her things, something he really seems to enjoy. She is his prisoner but he sends her the choice pieces of mutton and cheese. He stops guarding her although he does keep a guard on her servants.

When a second magistrate arrives to question her and speaks rudely, she "told him that I must have courtesy, at which he seemed rather surprised" (Carey 252). No doubt he was. Here was a woman prisoner in a foreign land and she was dictating the rules of behavior. He then objected to her being English and eating Tibetan food. She replied that she was "a human being, not a wild beast and that Tibetans coming to our country ate our food"(Carey 252). This chief denied knowing Nago and Taylor told him "that chiefs in our country do not tell lies" (Carey 252). Her firm stands on these matters gained the respect of her captors which she records was her goal. She believed that her life and the lives of her servants depended on her ability to take a firm stand. She
certainly exhibits that ability.

January 8 the chiefs decide to move her camp. She had several chiefs and thirty soldiers as an escort. Her humor comes through when she records, "I truly felt proud of my country when it took so many to keep one woman from running away!" ((Carey 253). She refused to be frightened and kept her sense of humor in a very dangerous situation.

Since they couldn't intimidate her, the chiefs next tried insults. They called her before them and provided no place for her to sit. She sent Pontso to get her mat before she would speak with them. By January 13 the chiefs had softened their stand on what to do with her. They promised her justice and saw to it that Nago returned at least some of her belongings. They decided not to send her on her return trip without supplies, but instead would resupply her as best they could. They would also send an armed escort at least part of the way to assure her safety. She had threatened to go on to the Chinese amban in Lhasa if the chiefs would not do something to help her. But she had gained their respect and they did what they could. She had threatened that "if I died on the road justice would come, and if I lived to return justice would come, because I would tell the chief of our country all that had happened" (Carey 262). After that threat everyone was more civil.

Annie Taylor also records her prayers and her belief that God will protect her. Perhaps this is where she drew her courage. But the journey had changed her too. She had developed the ability to demand justice, to face her foes, and to demand that they meet her conditions. This is a different sort of woman than the one who allowed Nago
to steal from her when the journey began. Also she comes across to the reader as a real flesh and blood woman. Her character is developed by her actions.

Erminie, Nago's wife, was the only other woman making this trip. She sees Taylor not as another woman, but rather as the head of the expedition. Most of Taylor's references to Erminie in the diary speak of pleas for help. Erminie needs Taylor to protect her from her husband and her husband's rages. Taylor records only one exchange between the two women that does not involve Nago. Erminie has observed that wealthy Tibetans have many body lice. When they lose their riches the lice depart (Carey 75). She wants Taylor to explain why this happens, but Taylor doesn't know. She is looking to Taylor for information, but later seeks her for protection. Taylor provided refuge and protection until she dismissed Nago. He and his wife leave together and Taylor makes no further mention of her. Even though Erminie is Tibetan and Taylor English, the reader expects more interaction between the two women on this journey. What seems to keep them apart is their roles, servant and leader. They do not have equal status and hence have little in common.

Taylor's diary is telling in another way. The entries for the first part of her trip are long and colorful. She reports on the wildflowers, the scenery, the mountains, but especially on the dress and habits of the tribesmen she meets. After her capture she describes her confrontations with the authorities in great detail, including conversations. Then her entries change. Once she begins her return trip, she records only a sentence or two for each day. Because of more snowfall and constantly falling temperatures the journey becomes more arduous. She does mention the food, how and when they are able
to purchase some, and how they cook it. Also the deteriorating condition of the horses is a concern. From April 5 to 8 her health is a subject because she catches cold and can hardly go on.

From January 18 when she starts her return trip until April 14 when she finally reaches Ta-chien-lu and the French missionaries who befriend her, the diary is little more than an account of distance covered and hardships overcome. She seems to have lost enthusiasm for the trip once her goal has been denied her. She no longer finds the joy in travel and exotic sights that she started out enjoying. Also she does have a certain amount of peace within her group. No longer do accounts of treachery enter in. The people she now travels with are loyal. She mentioned some of the loyalty, but a day-by-day report of their activities is not necessary.

Her being a woman traveler colors this account. Here is a woman who puts her trust in the wrong guide. Her unwillingness to deal with Noga when he first shows his treacherous nature is partly due to her sex. A man might have been more willing to confront a dishonest servant than she was. Also a male probably could have intimidated Nago in a way no female could. She really is at Nago's mercy throughout much of the first half of her journey. She traveled in Tibetan dress but retained her English habits of cleanliness as best she could. This meant that her face was clean and white, something that would instantly give her away as a foreigner. Until December 14, she carried her English clothes with her. Finally she decided that the danger of keeping them was just not worth it. But her intent had been to appear respectably dressed at her journey's end when she reached India. She cared enough about her appearance after the trip to risk these
clothes being discovered. It is doubtful if a male traveler would have risked capture to keep up appearances. Of course Victorian society was more critical of female attire than of what men wore.

Taylor allowed Nago to buy her food, confront the brigands to get her goods back, and to deal for horses at the beginning of the trip. Later she had Pontso do these tasks for her. Only in the most dire circumstances, during their capture, did she deal with these matters herself. It was not a woman's role. Her diary also reveals her personal weaknesses. She admits to not being able to handle many situations. A male diarist would be less likely to consider his weaknesses, much less to record them.

On the other hand, the first group of brigands that robbed her might have killed her. It was only because Buddhists refused to fire at a woman that she was able to get away. Also Nago was forced, against his will, to continue as her guide by a friendly llama who refused to allow him to desert her because she was a woman. After her capture, being a woman helped Taylor's position. The magistrates were at a loss dealing with so fearless a female. She was a type of woman they had never before encountered. This worked to her advantage gaining her justice of sorts. Since she was female, at least one chief took pity on her and provided her with delicacies from his table. She played upon her weaknesses when demanding the supplies she needed to make the trip back, and this paid off.

Many of the things she recorded in her diary have a feminine slant. She took time to describe the food and the methods of cooking. Her eye for detail in the costumes of the people she met presents a full picture of what these people wore. Her account
spent more time on interpersonal relationships she observed than on the landscape except as it imposed itself on the people making the journey. She wanted to open a forbidden country to missionaries for Christianity. Men often claimed this as their goal too but seemed to have a more specific plan for Christianizing the people. How setting foot in Lhasa was going to open up the country for missionaries is unclear, but this was Taylor’s entire plan. Could it be that this was simply an excuse for her to make an exciting journey into an unknown land? Women were not allowed to be explorers, but they could carry the Gospel to heathens. With this for an excuse, her trip was justified. This doesn’t call into question her missionary zeal, which was very real. Long years, before and after her trip toward Lhasa, Taylor lived and worked on the borders of Tibet. But the journey to Lhasa does seem more like an adventure for Annie rather than an honest step forward for God.

That Taylor had all the necessary material to produce an exciting and interesting travel account was proved by Carey. He saw the real value of her diary alone, but he was not content to publish it without setting Annie’s story into context. His is a successful travel account because he provides a literary context for the diary material. Then, because he probably saw that Taylor’s material would provide immediacy, the first person excitement of the traveler, he gave the reader Taylor’s own words. Had she focused on writing a narrative, using her diary as a source, how much better a book she could have created than the one she allowed to be published in her own name. But it was Carey who was most successful in writing a travel account.

The form Carey chose was not new. The diary or journal was an accepted method of presenting travel to the reading public. His choice to set this diary in context
made it more meaningful than a diary alone, but he hadn't progressed much beyond the already accepted form. His is not a revolutionary new kind of travel literature.

There is a third account of Annie Taylor's life that should be mentioned. Isabel Robson in her book *Two Lady Missionaries In Tibet* included material on Annie Taylor's journey and fitted her travels into the context of her life. This book has no copyright date, but Peter Hopkirk claimed in his bibliography that it was published in 1911. It must have been published after Carey's book because it includes diary quotations as Carey transcribed them. Also the entire journey in Robson's book seems to be a condensation of the diary. Robson never reveals her sources of information or credits Carey or anyone else. She does seem to have complete information on Taylor's life, but where this came from she never says.

Robson claimed that as a young girl Taylor went to hear a famous missionary speak. After his stories about adventures in the African mission field he made a plea for male missionaries to answer God's call. "Miss Taylor went home wishing 'for the only time in her life' that she had been born a boy, yet not entirely convinced that there was not some work to be done in the mission field by one of her own sex" (Robson 15). How Annie decided on Tibet as her goal is never made clear, but Robson reports, "The evangelisation of the 'Great Closed Land' was a dream she had cherished for years, and the mission to which she consecrated her life" (Robson 18). Taylor had seen how the China Inland Mission had gradually gained access to the interior of that country and she believed the same could be done in Tibet. Perhaps her journey, as Robson states, was
really based on Taylor's beliefs that this is what God wanted her to do. Or maybe she convinced herself of this in order to justify a trip that society refused to condone for a woman unless the spreading of the Gospel was her aim.

Robson's account of Annie's life was a biography, not a travel account. She provides the facts about Annie's life and travels, but in no sense did she try to recreate the trip for the reader's benefit.

While these three women, Workman, Gordon-Cumming and Taylor, were Victorian women travelers in the Orient, and while all of them produced books about their experience, none of these women can be considered successful travel writers. Each had a narrow focus and the books they produced were limited in scope. Workman's books were completely scientific. Gordon-Cumming stressed the westerner in China, and attempted to prove western superiority at the cost of misunderstanding what she saw. Her style is almost unreadable today. The gossip she reported is of no interest to modern readers. Taylor was in a hurry to raise money. She wanted to return to Tibet just as soon as she could. She was not interested in writing her story. Using material she had written for other sources, and letters she had received from Tibet, she quickly put together a tract to raise money. Robson settled for biography of Taylor and never did tell the reader how she obtained her information. It was left to William Carey to provide the most successful travel account of Taylor's trip.

These women broke ground as early female travelers, but they did not create anything of literary value. Their accounts are interesting for their historical value. Other
Victorian lady travelers would not only travel, but would produce narratives of their trips that helped move this genre forward.
THE NARRATIVES

Three women, Jane Duncan, Susie Carson Rijnhart, and Alexandra David-Neel, produced narratives of their journeys to Tibet. These women traveled between 1894 and 1924, and returned to write their reactions to this strange land for the English speaking public. Duncan was Scottish. Rijnhart came from Canada. David-Neel was French but chose to write her account of this particular trip in English. Because of their different backgrounds, these women experienced their travels differently. Duncan did not speak the language which put her at a disadvantage. David-Neel was not only fluent in Tibetan, but also was familiar with the customs before she set out. She could best interpret what she was seeing. But all three chose the narrative form for their travel accounts, which read like nonfiction adventure novels. These women also shared a sense of humor which gives zest to their writings and makes them a delight to read. David-Neel's book is currently available, but the other two are almost lost to the modern reader. All three books provide insights to a culture from which the unfamiliar westerner can still glean an understanding of Tibet.

With the Dalai Lama's acceptance of the 1989 Nobel Peace Prize, Tibet has been brought to the attention of the west. Jane Duncan's introduction to her book applies today. She began by saying, "So much attention has been attracted recently to Tibet in its military and political aspects that it is hoped that an account of what may be called the domestic details of the western portion of the country, as set forth in the following pages, will be of interest to the general reader" (Duncan Preface). This was Jane Duncan's
reason for publishing her travel account in 1906. She went on to add, "The charm and ease of travelling in Western Tibet, of which I have tried to give an impression, may encourage those who have leisure and opportunity to set out and experience it for themselves" (Duncan Preface). After reading Duncan's book, the reader may not agree with her descriptions of charm and ease of travel, but she does present an accurate account of her own trip.

Jane Duncan (1884-1909)

Little is known about Jane Duncan's life. The only available information is contained in her book, *Summer Ride Through Western Tibet*. This book begins with a short memoir. She was born in Glasgow on April 3, 1884, the daughter of a well-known iron master. She was educated in Glasgow and Paris, but the names of the schools she attended are not known. She became interested in the prospects of higher education for women and served as Honorary Secretary of the Correspondence Classes of Queen Mary College which later became part of the University of Glasgow.

Her work caused her health to fail. Since travel was often prescribed for poor health, she was able to begin her wandering, but not until she was over fifty years old. The story of her summer ride in Tibet is the only one she published. It provided the necessary money for further travel. She visited India, Nepal, and East Africa. During her African trip she overtaxed her frail health, and although she decided to cut short her trip, she never made it back to England. She became unconscious aboard the steamer, was taken ashore in Naples, and died in a hospital there on May 12, 1909.

Her *Summer Ride Through Western Tibet* took place during the summer of
1905 when Duncan was fifty-five years old. The trip she described in this book began in Srinagar, the capital of Kashmir, where she was living on a houseboat. How she came to be living there is not explained, but since the summer climate there was thought to be unhealthy, she elected to travel a bit in lesser Tibet to be in the high country during the heat.

She did not actually visit Tibet proper. The country she described was Ladakh or lesser Tibet, controlled by the British, which unlike eastern or Chinese Tibet, was open to foreign travel. In fact many Englishmen who were stationed in India came to this area to hunt, and it wasn't only the men who came. Duncan said, "Lady shooters are the cause of much strong language among sportsmen in this part of the world, and in the plains indignant remarks are made about globe-trotting women shooting animals that men, living all their lives in India, had never so much as seen" (Duncan 118). Duncan often met and traveled with hunters, other tourists, or other westerners who were also trying to escape the summer heat in India. In many towns, she was the guest of the British Commissioner stationed there, or she found lodging with Moravian missionaries who carried on much of the mission work in this area.

Because the country was open for tourists, her travel arrangements were not very complicated. Her trip was more like an African safari in the British style than a real primitive camping adventure. She was not willing to live in Tibetan style, or to eat Tibetan food, or to entirely rely on the natives.

As she planned her trip, she had trouble finding suitable guides and servants until a Mr. Cockburn of the Tourist Agency in Srinagar recommended Aziz Khan, who
spoke only a little English but "made excellent bread, cakes that Buszard would have been proud of, scones, butter and jam, mended my saddle and wanted to mend my stockings, did the washing, and kept all the other servants and coolies in good order" (Duncan 14). He made all the preparations for the trip and hired three other servants to accompany them. Duncan found out later that Aziz Khan had once been a servant to Colonel Younghusband, who at the time of Duncan’s trip was leading the British Tibetan Expedition which would succeed in opening Tibet to British interests (Duncan 112). She needed male help, both British and native, to get her expedition outfitted.

She hired a pony from the Government Transport stables, and took with her a tent, even though there were rest houses or inns in nearly every town she visited. She much preferred the tent because the rest houses were often very dirty and always without windows so were very dark. She also felt she needed a table, a low chair for relaxing, and a high chair for the table. She found models of these which folded flat. The servants had two tents, one for sleeping and one to use as a kitchen. They carried their own food, but planned to supplement it with available meat, eggs, and milk when they could find these items to purchase. She also took some medicines including in this category whiskey and brandy, and a canvas water bag which was kept full of boiled water for drinking.

She wrote, "One of the joys of the expedition was getting away from dress with its worries as distinguished from mere clothes" (Duncan 20). She took three woolen coats and skirts, one thick and two thin, some flannel blouses, warm and cool woolen underclothing, a long coat, a golf cape and a large fur cloak. But her supplies did not end there. "My books were the Bible, Shakespeare, four volumes of the World’s Classics."
(Duncan 21). She must have also taken copies of Duke's *Kashmir Handbook* and Neve's *Tourist Guide to Kashmir* because she mentions consulting both before determining what her next destination would be (Duncan 92). The fact that these guides existed makes clear how common travel in this part of Tibet had become. Her mail was delivered to various cities along the way so she also had the latest *Times*, *Spectator*, and *Punch* as she traveled (Duncan 207). She regretted not taking any botany or geology books because she felt these would have added immensely to her trip. Because she hoped her book would lead others to make this same trip she is very careful to describe what she actually took with her and how these things were arranged and packed.

Duncan often met other western travelers. She arranged to meet an Australian gentleman three days out who was to see to it that she was well attended by her servants and perfectly safe. Although they didn't travel together during the day, they did camp together at night all the way to Leh. She also met a lone lady hunter, and several English army officers. These people she entertained in fine style. "I had a table-cloth and could provide the party with paper doilies" (Duncan 27). Duncan joined Miss Kendall, a lecturer in Wellesley College, Massachusetts, and they were both guests of the British Commissioner at Himis where they stopped to view the Devil Dances and other Tibetan ceremonies which they had both heard so much about.

Some of the travelers that Duncan met were not willing to travel in as primitive a manner as she did. One fellow tried to convince her that the country really should be seen "through a window of a Pullman car but that the idea of undergoing any hardship for it was preposterous" (Duncan 124). Duncan did not agree. She found her
mode of travel much more interesting and even expressed the idea that an attack made on her camp by natives only added to the excitement of the journey (Duncan 174). She retained her sense of humor throughout. One of the best examples happened as she came to a nasty stretch of road on the side of a mountain. She was eating a scone at the time and holding a sunshade over her head as she rode along on a pony. The road turned particularly dangerous and she didn't quite know what to do. She says, "as going hungry into the next world or remaining with sunstroke in this world would not have improved matters, I finished the scone and clung to the sunshade, thinking that if the beast did go over with me it would be merely a moment of panic, a sudden shock, and that would be all" (Duncan 127). Fortunately her pony brought her through unharmed.

Jane Duncan did not speak the language of Tibet. She explained that Tibetan is difficult to learn because "There are three forms of Tibetan, the classical, used in the sacred books; the honorific, used in addressing equals or superiors; and the colloquial" (Duncan 117). She was lucky that her guide Aziz Khan was fluent in Tibetan and willing to translate for her, but she said, "Aziz Khan's English is limited, and he often misunderstands my questions, so that it requires an immense amount of hammering to get at the meaning of things, and even then I am never quite sure that the information is correct" (Duncan 232). He was familiar with the customs of Tibet however, and helped her to understand much of what she saw. Later she confirmed what he had told her by speaking with Mr. Francke, a Moravian missionary she met along the way. Duncan stayed at his mission for several days and had him explain some of the customs of Tibet which she had observed. Since Mr. Francke was fluent in both written and spoken Tibetan, and
since he had lived among the Tibetans long enough to acquire an understanding of their culture, he was most helpful.

Jane Duncan was very open minded for someone in 1906. She attended a wedding, funerals, visited monasteries, homes, religious festivals, and public ceremonies of all kinds.

After seeing this and other gompas the thought forced itself on the attention that, though all Christian sects would repudiate with horror the suggestion that their own forms of worship resemble in any way that of idolaters, yet it is the fact that the rituals of Hindus and Buddhists, of the Orthodox Greek Church, of Roman Catholics and a section of Anglicans, have alike developed in a greater or less degree in the direction of vestments, images, pictures, banners, flowers, lights, incense, hand-bells, offerings, and of a taste for darkness in churches and temples. (Duncan 47-48).

Hostesses that entertained Duncan after her return were not so open-minded. Duncan had brought home two "chortens" or images made by the Tibetans using the ground up bones of people who had died. Duncan had received these as gifts while she was attending a Tibetan funeral ceremony. She took them along to English houseparties as curiosities. She records, "one or two of my hostesses confided to me afterward that they were very much relieved when I took myself and my chortens away, as they did not like having dead men's bones in their houses. In vain I assured them that though the bones had lived under the same roof with me for months, I had never seen any ghosts; it was hinted that they need not be brought again" (Duncan 147). Tibet and its culture were not for everyone.

Duncan left the beaten track and claimed to have traveled for part of her journey through "a region which no white woman had ever been in till this summer, and
it may be many years before another passes through it" (Duncan 157). She attracted crowds of women who gathered around to look at her things and inspect her dress. Since she didn't speak the language, and since she couldn't use her interpreter because he was male, she could only communicate with these women using sign language. In spite of this handicap Duncan enjoyed these encounters.

In the strictest sense Jane Duncan did not visit Tibet. She did, however, travel through an area where Tibetan culture was prominent. She learned about Tibet without having to dodge authorities and hide from officials in a land that was open to travelers. Her travel account helped Britain understand the people of Tibet. It would be many years before anyone would be able to travel in Chinese Tibet and study the culture there, so her information filled this void. The narrative style she chose for her account provided a very readable book.

Susie Carson Rijnhart (1860?-1907)

Susie Carson Rijnhart traveled before Jane Duncan made her trip, and she was not handicapped by lack of language or by unwillingness to brave an unopened region. Susie was a missionary who set out for Lhasa. Her trip was not a peaceful summer journey through lands under the control of a friendly government, but rather a dangerous and as it turned out, tragic, adventure. Her narrative account, With The Tibetans in Tent and Temple, is the story of her personal tragedy.

Susie Carson was born in Strathray, Ontario, Canada. She attended the Women's Medical School in Toronto and graduated with honors in 1888, in the second class of women to be graduated from that school. She returned home to Strathray and
began practicing medicine. A missionary, Petrus Rijnhart, who had worked in China and Tibet, returned to Canada to stir up interest in missionary work. Susie decided to consecrate her life to bringing the Gospel to Tibet. She married Mr. Rijnhart and left for China in 1894. After a brief stay in Shanghai the couple moved to a border region of Tibet, called Outer Tibet. Here they studied both the language and customs of the Tibetans and learned to live in the Tibetan style. It was here that her first son was born. They stayed in Tibet from 1895 to 1899. After moving several times to be near the road to Lhasa, they finally set out to visit that forbidden city. Their life on the border, and the journey to Lhasa make up the body of Susie's travel account.

After Petrus Rijnhart's untimely death recounted in Susie's book, she returned to Canada. There she regained her health, lectured, and wrote. The money from the sale of her book allowed her to return to Tibet. Eventually she married Mr. Moyes of the China Inland Mission. He had been the first westerner to meet her after her journey some years before. The Moyes continued to live in China and engage in their missionary work. They moved to Shanghai. There in 1907 Susie became ill, and she was forced to return to Canada. She died shortly after her return, leaving a three-week-old son.

Professor Charles T. Paul, the principal of the Missionary Training School in Indianapolis, Indiana, wrote the introduction to Dr. Rijnhart's book, published in 1901. He explained that the author's purpose was twofold: "to arouse interest in Christendom in evangelization of Tibet, and to create a sure possibility of her own return to that land" (Rijnhart, Introduction). Dr. Susie Rijnhart, like Annie Taylor, was a missionary whose goal was the opening of Tibet. She wanted to use this book to raise the necessary funds
for her return. She does not mention ever keeping a diary of the four years her books
covers, but she mentions using "such portions of Petrus's diary as I was able to preserve,
and also his accurate geographical notes (Rijnhart, Preface). Probably because what little
remained of Mr. Rijnhart's diary after Susie's escape from Tibet was so fragmentary, it was
never published. Instead Dr. Susie Carson Rijnhart's first person narrative is the only
surviving record of their journey. Included in this narrative are certain portions of Petrus's
diary which Susie was able to preserve. She used photographs taken by Rev. Mr. Upcraft,
a missionary at Ya Cheo, China (Rijnhart, Preface).

Before reading Dr. Rijnhart's travel account, one should be aware that the
Rijnharts were unlike most western missionaries of their day. "Both Susie and Petrus were
very likable people, far more tolerant than the average nineteenth century missionary, and
it wasn't their policy to desecrate shrines or break idols. They felt that all religions
deserved respect, even the most misguided, and they were prepared to recognize Buddhism
as a religion and even admire some of its ceremonies" (Haker 101). This tolerance for the
customs and religion of the natives allowed the Rijnharts to participate in the everyday
lives of the people. Susie felt it necessary to recognize "and rejoice in the great underlying
truths of all religions" (Rijnhart 111). All people were striving toward God. She
explained, "... and it is not, in my opinion, the part of the Christian missionary to assume
an air of ridicule and contempt for the religious ideas and practices of people less
enlightened than his own" (Rijnhart 111). When her native servant came to believe in
Jesus but saw no need to renounce Buddhism, Dr. Rijnhart was willing to accept this for
the time being and to continue her work so that he might eventually come around to her
point of view. She advised other missionaries to do the same.

She said, "Let it be clearly understood that the purpose of our journey was purely missionary; it was not a mere adventure or expedition prompted by curiosity or desire for discovery..." (Rijnhart 195). She, Petrus, and a Mr. Ferguson who shortly found that he had important business in Shanghai, left America in the fall of 1894 to go to the northwest Chino-Tibetan frontier, to Kumbum which Susie described as "The most famous lamasery after Lhasa" (Rijnhart 9). There they set up housekeeping in the trading town for the lamasery, Lusar. Her husband had been there before and noted that this Tibetan border was not guarded as closely as the southern Tibetan border. The Rijnharts' were unsupported by any missionary society, but relied on their own money and money from friends who were willing to support their work. It took them six months to get from America to Lusar.

Thirteen boxes accompanied them containing "clothing, culinary utensils, medicines, dental and surgical instruments, fire arms, ammunition, photographic materials and books including copies of the Scriptures in Tibetan, a sewing machine and a bicycle" (Rijnhart 29). No mention is made of musical instruments. Susie said they contained everything they would need to live and work as well as to travel. Their journey across China was first by steamer, then houseboat, and finally by cart. The last stage was the least pleasant. "I received so many changes of position and came so frequently and emphatically into collision with various portions of the cart as to have remembered that springs are not a luxury of cart travel in China" (Rijnhart 17). Finally they arrived at Lusar, a good place to begin their work.
Lusar was a town of about one thousand including Mohammedans, Chinese, Tibetans and Mongols. It served as the trading center for Kumbum lamasery. The border Tibetans spoke Chinese but since the Rijnharts intended to travel, their first goal was to learn the Tibetan language. Because lamas did not want foreigners to learn their sacred language, finding a tutor was difficult. Finally Ishinima, a lama himself, agreed to teach them provided the Rijnharts would keep the lessons a secret. "Though Ishinima could read the Tibetan character well, we found to our disappointment that he could not explain it at all, so our lessons took a more practical turn, we giving him Chinese words and phrases which he translated for us into Tibetan" (Rijnhart 36). Using this method, both the Rijnharts became fluent in the native language. Susie felt that a knowledge of the language was the most important thing a westerner traveling in Tibet needed. It helped her become familiar with the natives, and it probably saved her life when she was forced to travel by herself.

The Rijnhart's first journey inside Tibet was a trip to Blue Lake, considered sacred in Tibetan buddhism. They went ill prepared. For a guide, they chose one of their Tibetan servants who had never been to Blue Lake. Their mules broke their tethers and escaped. While they were hunting for the mules, a group of Tibetan nomads caught up with them. These Tibetans "kept assuring us in the name of Buddha that they were good men. At the same time the predatory instinct began to manifest itself; the newcomers insisted on having first one thing and then another of our belongings" (Rijnhart 46). Only when Mr. Rijnhart threatened to shoot them did they stop. But this incident was enough to cause them to turn back without ever reaching the lake. They were not yet ready to
While they were living in Lusar, a Mohammedan rebellion broke out. Under the protection of Tsanga Fuyeh, a living buddha who befriended the Rijnharts, they were taken into Kumbum lamasery for their own safety. This gave them a unique opportunity to study Tibetan customs. Since women were generally allowed into the lamasery only once a year, this was an especially rewarding opportunity for Susie. While residents of Kumbum lamasery, the Rijnharts practiced medicine. Not only did they treat the battle injuries that came into the lamasery, but they went out on the battlefield itself to treat the wounded. This endeared them to the Tibetans. "So intimate did the friendship between the Kanpo (head of the lamasery) become that the former freely discuss in our presence not only his personal affairs, but also all matters pertaining to the lamasery" (Rijnhart 128). It certainly was unusual for two foreign devils to have this kind of rapport with the Tibetans.

After the rebellion the Rijnharts decided to leave Lusar. Susie explained. "Had we not under the providence of God overcome all the preliminary difficulties of establishing a foothold. [After all, at Kumbum] we had so thoroughly won the confidence of the people that we felt perfectly at home in our work" (Rijnhart 137). It was time to move on so the Rijnharts did just that, to Tankar which was about twenty four miles northwest of Kumbum.

Tankar was on the great caravan route to Lhasa. Rijnharts felt the people of Tankar were not so completely under the influence of the lamas as they had been in Lusar. This, they felt, might lead them to more visible results in their missionary work.
They rented a house near the western gate for thirteen dollars a year and settled in.

While they lived in Tankar they were visited by two famous travelers, Capt. M.S. Wellby and Sven Hedin. Capt. Wellby said, "The Rijnharts, when by themselves lived in Chinese fashion and were on the most friendly terms with all the Chinese and Tibetan officials" (Rijnhart 153). Susie reported that Sven Hedin was shocked to find her alone when he arrived in Tankar after his scientific exploration of Central Asia. Her husband had traveled to Pekin on business, leaving Susie at home. In his book, Through Asia, Hedin said, "Her husband's courage in venturing to leave her behind alone among the rabble of Tankar truly astonished me" (Hedin 1157). He went on to say, "But there was not so much danger perhaps, after all; for through her medical knowledge and skill Mrs. Reinhard [sic] had won several friends among the native population" (Hedin 1157). He found Susie to be a "personification of hospitality and amiability" and was glad to find someone he could talk with (Hedin 1157). He realized that she was really in no danger living alone in Tankar.

This was not completely true. While Mr. Rijnhart was gone, their home was robbed. When Tsanga Fuyeh heard about this, he advised Susie to return to Lusar where she would be among friends. But her new Tibetan friends in Tankar offered to replace the amount of money that had been stolen. They encouraged her to remain in her new home, which she did.

One of the new servants Susie hired in Tankar gave her another rare insight into Chinese customs. This was her new Chinese maid, a woman with bound feet. Since this woman's feet gave her a great deal of trouble and since Susie was a doctor, the
woman let her unbind her feet and treat her. Susie learned first hand what the crippling effects of footbinding were. She also learned how it was done and what the results looked like.

Another event in Tankar that allowed Susie to learn more about native customs was the birth of her son Charles Carson Rijnhart on June 30, 1897. She said nothing about her pregnancy except that her servant was puzzled by all the preparations she had been making. "She told me that among the nomads, the mother's only bed is one made of the powdered excreta of sheep, and that when the weather is warm the little one is pasted with butter and put out to bask in the sun" (Rijnhart 165). Giving birth in Tibet gave Susie an inside look at child bearing and child care customs among the natives, something male travelers would learn little about. The women in Tankar came to feel a certain responsibility toward this new mother. They invited her and her infant son, Charlie, into their homes, "thus enabling me to get acquainted with them in the most intimate way" (Rijnhart 155). She had really established herself by this time.

But Tankar was not to be the Rijnhart's final destination. "During our residence of three years at Kumbum and Tankar, Lhasa had become a subject of almost daily conversation" (Rijnhart 192). Meanwhile they had successfully made a journey into the nomad country of Blue Lake as doctors going to treat a friend's father. They could speak the language. They were familiar with the Tibetans and their customs. Now they felt it was time to begin their journey to Lhasa.

Unlike missionaries before them they did not intend to storm the sacred city. What they wanted to do instead was travel into the interior of Tibet, approach the city of
Lhasa and "settle down for a year's work in the far interior, gain the confidence of the people as we had done on the border and then eventually--in God's time--enter the capital" (Rijnhart 194). Other travelers had tried to sneak into Tibet. Mr. Rijnhart applied to the Amban (Chinese official) at Sining for a passport. The Amban refused. He would not issue them a passport. He would give them a letter of permission to travel, but without his official seal. Without the seal it would have been worthless and might actually have caused Rijnharts further trouble, since the letter would be in Chinese and those they would meet along the way would not be able to read Chinese and would probably assume treachery on Rijnharts' part. The Amban also refused to provide an escort.

But Susie found it hopeful that although the Amban refused all these things, he did assure the Rijnharts that he would not actively try to stop their journey. Rijnharts were optimistic about the trip. They felt prepared. After their adventures during the Mohammedan rebellion, their close contact with the Tibetan people, their residence with the living buddha at Kumbum lamasery, their successful journey among the nomads, and their acquaintance with both Chinese and Tibetan officials, they believed it was time to try to move into the Tibetan interior. Susie wrote, "How strange it was [for the Tibetans] to see a foreigner so different from any peling [foreigner] they had ever seen before; we knew their customs, spoke their language, wore their clothes, and had read their sacred literature" (Rijnhart 268). They felt ready. Dr. Rijnhart had also talked with many travelers, even women, who had made the journey to Lhasa, and she no longer feared the physical barriers of the Tibetan countryside. If other women could do it, so could she.
They decided on a small caravan. Rijnharts hired two servants especially for the trip. These were Ja’si and Ga-chuen-tsi. Ja-si was older, a tall dark Tibetan who walked with a swagger and appeared fearless. Ga-chuen-tsi was a relative of a Mongol friend, twenty-two, happy, and very much in awe of Ja’si. Rahim, a servant that had been with the Rijnharts, was also to go along. He was originally from Ladakh and wished to return there. He was to travel with the Rijnharts as far as Lhasa and then go on by himself. This meant that the Rijnharts needed five riding animals for the adults. Mr. Rijnhart would carry little Charlie with him. They also took twelve pack animals. Because other travelers had difficulty buying food along the way, the Rijnharts took enough for two years. They left Tankar at the same time as a Tibetan caravan which was returning to Lhasa from Peking. The Rijnharts knew some of the people traveling in the caravan.

The caravan left well before dawn each day. The Rijnharts left later, but since they were traveling more lightly, they were able to catch up and spend each night camped beside it. Susie and Charlie were often invited into the caravan tents to drink tea and rest while Petrus and the servants set up their tents.

The Rijnharts stayed with the caravan until they reached Ts’a'idarn. The average march the first days was twelve miles "but after that the rugged terrain slowed them to ten miles a day" (Rijnhart 211). When they reached Ts’a'idarn the Rijnharts took the opportunity to resupply themselves. They also studied the possibilities for missionary work in this outpost. Finally they left Ts’aidarn following two days behind a caravan of eastern Mongols who were traveling to Lhasa to trade. This caravan was not friendly enough for the Rijnharts to actually travel with it, but Petrus felt that by following two
days behind, there was less chance of them becoming lost or taking a wrong road.

When the landscape became too difficult for easy travel their two hired servants disappeared. "One morning when we arose we found that they had decamped in the night taking with them their own belongings, a pot, and food enough for the return journey" (Rijnhart 238). Petrus and Rahim left Susie and the baby to search for the other two but found no traces. They returned, rearranged the loads so these could be managed by just two men, and went on. Susie noticed that Charlie had swelling in one of his neck glands, but since he was teething she thought no more about it.

Traveling through that kind of wilderness with a year-old baby was no easy matter. Susie said, "always a consideration was having enough wood to cook baby's food" (Rijnhart 237). It was up to her to see to Charlie's needs while Petrus tried to see to hers. Petrus carried Charlie on his horse, but once they arrived at camp Charlie became Susie's responsibility. Not that she minded. She found the baby a delight, and a real asset in helping her to meet the Tibetans on common ground, motherhood.

The next section of Dr. Rijnhart's book is the most poignant because she had to write about the death of her only son. His last day began "bright, cheery and full of promise" (Rijnhart 246). Charlie's teething pains had subsided and he ate a hearty breakfast. Dr. Rijnhart and her husband rode along, planning the baby's future and vowing that he would not suffer deprivations just because he was the child of missionaries. Charlie enjoyed the ride. "How the tones of his baby voice rang out as we rode onward! I can still hear him shouting lustily at the horses in imitation of his father and Rahim" (Rijnhart 247).
When they came to a spot suitable for a night's camping Petrus handed little Charlie down to Rahim. "Though baby's voice had been heard just a few moments previous, Mr. Rijnhart said he had fallen asleep" (Rijnhart 247). Susie spread a blanket for herself and the baby. "His appearance attracted my attention. I went to move him and found that he was unconscious" (Rijnhart 248). She called for her husband to find a hypodermic in their things. "In the meantime I loosened baby's garments, chafed his wrists, performed artificial respiration, though feeling almost sure nothing would avail" (Rijnhart 248). She said, "could it be possible that even this--the child of our love should be snatched from us in that dreary mountain country--by the cold chill hand of death?" (Rijnhart 248). It was here that Susie Rijnhart almost lost heart. Until then, she had described the Tibetan countryside in glowing terms. Now she failed to see the beauty of the stark landscape. She could only think of death. "We tried to think of it euphemistically, we lifted our hearts in prayer, we tried to be submissive, but it was all so real--the one fact stared us in the face; it was written on the rocks; it reverberated through the mountain silence: Little Charlie was dead" (Rijnhart 249).

Petrus had the difficult task of reminding Susie about traditional Tibetan customs. The Tibetans did not bury the dead; they threw the body on the hillside to be devoured by birds and animals. To avoid having this happen to Charlie's body should any Tibetans catch up with them, Petrus said they needed to act quickly. It was necessary "that our precious little boy should have a Christian sepulcher on that very day" (Rijnhart 249). They emptied their drug box to use as a coffin. Petrus and Rahim dug a grave while Susie prepared the body. "Then there was the agony of the last look. Our only child, who had
brought such joy to our home, and who had done so much by his bright ways to make friends for us among the natives--to leave his body in such a cold, bleak place seemed more than we could endure" (Rijnhart 250). They buried Charlie, taking care to hide his grave under heavy rocks so that animals or Tibetans looking for treasure would not dig it up.

Susie finished the funeral section on this note. "Less than a month afterward we realized that the ALL LOVING had dealt very kindly with us in taking our little darling when we were comfortable, when we had plenty of food for him, a tent to sleep in and horses to ride on; for later we found ourselves with barely enough common food to exist on for a few days, while we traveled on foot, Mr. Rijnhart carrying on his back a heavy load" (Rijnhart 251). But this was hindsight. Their grief on August 23rd as they were leaving Charlie's grave was very real. Here in her book Susie included a passage from Petrus's diary. She felt that Petrus would have wanted to pay tribute to his son, so although his voice was silenced, his writing would serve as this tribute. He wrote, "Today we started with broken hearts, leaving the body of our precious one behind in regions of eternal snow, where the mother of the Yangtse Kiang flows tranquilly past" (Rijnhart 252). He then went on to try to pinpoint the exact location of the grave from geographical landmarks in the area. In this way perhaps he felt that one day they could at least return to the site of their only son's grave. The parents as well as Rahim grieved at the loss of the child, but they had to go on. There was no other choice.

About four days later a group believed by Susie to be "a small party of attaches of the government at Nagch'uk'a who were watching to keep any foreigners from entering
their domains" stopped the Rijnharts (Rijnhart 256). They demanded that the Rijnharts remain where they were until runners could be sent to Nagch'uk'a with permission for them to travel. They posted guards to be sure these orders were carried out. In the night the Rijnharts escaped. Later that same day the guards caught up with them. The Rijnharts did not know what the Tibetan reaction to their escape would be but they needn't have worried. "So thoroughly do the Tibetans enjoy outwitting their neighbors that though they were the sufferers, they displayed their native characteristic in approval" (Rijnhart 258). Three soldiers were assigned to take the Rijnharts and Rahim to Nagch'uk'a so that Mr. Rijnhart could deal directly with the head chief of the village. This village was within the Lhasa district so the Rijnharts were very close to the city of Lhasa.

In Nagch'uk'a Petrus dealt directly with a representative of the Dalai Lama. He kept this Tibetan in good humor by spinning a prayer wheel in the correct direction, "thereby showing his knowledge of their ceremonial" (Rijnhart 263). The official claimed that he would be beheaded if he allowed the Rijnharts to continue. "At this Mr. Rijnhart laughed and said he was conversant with their customs, and that in their sacred books, a man is forbidden to destroy life, even that of a louse, and remarked how much in unison with that teaching it would be for their Dalai Lama to have him beheaded, thereby destroying a life of such high degree!" (Rijnhart 268). Petrus explained to the chief, who was surprised to find that Rijnhart knew so much about the Tibetan religion, that they did not intend to enter the city of Lhasa. Petrus said that he understood from the people of Tankar that so long as he didn't try to enter the sacred city he could travel to within one day's journey of Lhasa. The official did not agree. He wanted them to return to China
or at least to the border. Rijnharts refused. A debate ensued. Rahim, who was Tibetan, wanted to go on to Ladakh which was his original home. The Rijnharts wanted to remain where they were or proceed closer to Lhasa, and the official wanted them all to return to China. It was the official who finally had the last word. Rijnharts and Rahim agreed to return to Ta-chien-lu if the Tibetans would provide an escort. Three guides were assigned them and the return journey began.

Rahim only traveled with them for several days. Together with the Rijnharts he formed a plan to escape so he could go home to Ladakh. Rijnharts provided him with firearms and silver, then helped him elude the guards. Susie and her husband traveled alone with three guards. In spite of their escort, this party was attacked. Susie said "accompanying both the shooting and the hurling of rocks, there were yells, piercing and hideous which only Tibetan robbers know how to utter" (Rijnhart 294). Following this fracas and while Petrus had gone looking for the horses that were lost during the fight, the guards told Susie that they were "going to the monastery for many men to come with us to find the robbers" (Rijnhart 296). She advised them to wait and talk with Petrus but she could not stop them. When Petrus returned the escort that had been provided for them was long gone. Nothing further was ever seen of these guards. The Rijnharts were completely alone. They had only one horse. "When we both realized the magnitude of the misfortune that had befallen us, and each endeavored to make light of it, the result was a predominance of brightness rather than gloom" (Rijnhart 299). Again they had no choice but to go on.

On September 25th these two lone travelers finally came within sight of a large
caravan, the first people they had seen since the attack that had cost them their escort. Unfortunately the caravan was on the other side of a river which Rijnharts knew from their attempts was difficult to ford. Susie urged her husband to cross over alone and talk with them. He said, "No, I could not leave you here alone--travelers may come along and find you, and you are a woman" (Rijnhart 308). The next day she convinced him that this would be their only hope. He tried fording the river on the horse but found that would be impossible. His only recourse was to try to swim across. He left his large revolver with Susie and started into the river. He "suddenly turned around and walked back again to the bank where he first entered the water. "Shouting something up to me which I did not hear on account of the rushing river, he walked up-stream in the opposite direction to the tents he had set out for. Then he followed a little path around the rocks that had obstructed our way the day before, until out of sight, and I never saw him again!" (Rijnhart 311).

The first day Susie expected his return at any moment. She had little fear because "we had always been treated with the greatest kindness and hospitality whenever we met the people at their homes, although it is understood by all that the natives are robbers when away from home" (Rijnhart 313). At first she thought Mr. Rijnhart might only have been robbed. She waited for three days, each day growing more worried. Finally on the third day by shouting across the river, Susie was able to make contact with people from the caravan that Petrus had started out to reach. They refused to cross the river to try to help her. She knew she couldn't cross without help. The following day some of the Tibetan women in the caravan took pity on her and sent a lama with six yaks
to bring her across. "He tied my horse to one of the yaks, put my things on another and my saddle on a third" (Rijnhart 321). Although Susie had never experienced a yak ride before, she did make it across the river. The women fed her and gave her shelter. The men advised her to travel to Jyekundo, a good size town that could be reached in about fifteen days by yak. However, no one would go with her. Finally just to get her away from their tents "perhaps because they thought I might bring harm to them", three men agreed to accompany her for five days (Rijnhart 324). After five days this escort promised to help her find guides to take her farther.

The first escort proved satisfactory. The second escort who had agreed to lead her for five more days traveled as slowly as possible. They wanted her money for the full five days but didn't want to get any farther from their homes than necessary. She demanded to see their chief and was told "because I was a woman I could not enter into the august presence of his master" (Rijnhart 330). She had to settle for using one of the guides as a go-between. She was very firm. "I would not leave the place where I now was without an escort, and that I would stay indefinitely depending upon him for my food and for the safety of my horse: if I died the government would in time trace me to that spot, and the ponbo [chief] would get into trouble" (Rijnhart 331).

He provided an escort but this time Susie was led by men who made rude suggestions which shocked her. They also threatened her possessions and even her life. She tried to be on her guard every moment which seemed to make the guards angry because "probably they were angry that a woman was so unexpectedly on her guard" (Rijnhart 336). Only her husband's revolver kept her from sexual attack. Only her
telescope kept the escort moving. The telescope had drawn the chief's attention. He wanted it. Susie said that once she was safely delivered to Jyekundo she would give the telescope to one of her escorts and he could return it to the chief. Thus the telescope became her passport. As long as she could remain alive and keep the guards from stealing it, she had something to guarantee her travels. The guards finally decided that traveling with a foreigner was just too dangerous. They demanded that Susie destroy anything which would identify her as foreigner. Her husband's Bible and most of his diary had to go.

Finally this party met a Chinaman on the road. He was fooled into thinking Susie was Chinese. "My hat and fur collar concealed the most of my face, which was far from white, and my garments were by no means unlike those worn by a merchant of the Celestial Empire, especially my big straw hat, which the guides had implored me to wear in order to cover my face and hair" (Rijnhart 340). The Chinese merchant accompanied her to a Tibetan fair. Susie did not want to go to the fair, but the Chinaman explained that she would be able to meet with the Chinese officials there. The official she met was not fooled by her Chinese disguise. However he was touched by her story. The fact that she had lost her first born son was enough to convince him to help her. He offered his help in getting her as far as Jyekundo.

In Jyekundo, Susie met a Mongol from Sining. Because Susie was able to speak the Sining dialect of Chinese, this man took an interest in her. She found out that he was originally from Lusar and she told him the story of the Mohammedan rebellion there. From him she received a ula. The ula was a paper guaranteeing a relay of animals
provided by government order to travelers. Along with the animals the person holding the ula was entitled to an escort to the next relay point. Dr. Rijnhart had some difficulty getting the natives along the way to honor the ula, but it was a great help to her. She was finally making progress toward Ta-chien-lu.

Two months after losing Petrus, and after further travel including a second attack by drunken Tibetan robbers, Susie arrived at Miss Annie Taylor’s Tibetan Mission in Ta-chien-lu. Mr. Moyes, the man who in later years would become Susie’s second husband, was one of the missionaries who finally made her welcome, fed her, and helped her recover from her trip.

She stayed in Ta-chien-lu to start the official inquiries into the death of her husband but nothing of his fate was ever learned. Ishinima, their Tibetan language teacher from Lusar, felt that a native might learn more about Petrus’s fate than an official inquiry, but his search for information ended in failure also. It was assumed that Petrus, once he stepped into the river, was able to see a group of Tibetans on the same side of the river as he was on. He decided to try to contact this group. Thinking these Tibetans might help them, and realizing that by contacting them he would not have to cross the river, Petrus returned to his starting point, then walked around some rocks out of Susie’s view. Probably the group he saw were Tibetan robbers who killed him and threw his body into the river. This is only speculation, since no one admitted having any knowledge of this foreigner. With this mystery unsolved, Susie’s book ended. But she used her experiences to teach the English speaking public about the many other mysteries of Tibet.

Dr. Susie Rijnhart felt she was an expert on Tibet so her books contain
information on customs, beliefs, social conditions, and geography of that country. She realized that what she had to say differed from other reports that had reached the English speaking world. She explains, "My close contact with the people during four years has enabled me to speak with confidence on these points, even when I have found myself differing from great travelers who, because of their brief sojourn and rapid progress, necessarily received some false impressions" (Rijnhart Preface). The great travelers she takes to task in the course of her book include M. M. Huc, M. Grenard, Sven Hedin, Gabet, W.W. Rockhill, Capt. Wellby, all gentlemen who had published material on Tibet after traveling there. She also corrected the maps of the Royal Geographical Society. Mention of these men, of their published works, and of the maps indicate that Dr. Rijnhart was familiar with the current material available on Tibet.

Some of the examples of her corrections are interesting. She quoted M. M. Huc's description of Kumbum, a famous lamasery, then noted that he didn't mention the trading town associated with it. She speculated that perhaps the town was so new that it didn't exist when Huc visited there (Rijnhart 29). Dr. Hedin claimed to have bought goods that were part of the Dalai Lama's tribute to Pekin, but Susie said it was more likely that Dr. Hedin purchased goods from the many merchants who traveled with the tribute but who were free to trade along the way (Rijnhart 161). Capt. Wellby mislocated the Gompa Soba lamasery, but since Rijnhart's notes coincide with Rockhill's, she was sure she was correct (Rijnhart 209). She used Rockhill's figures for counting the population of the priesthood (Rijnhart 209). M. Grenard reported hostile tribes in an area Rijnharts felt secure (Rijnhart 316). But where Rockhill found hospitality with a Mongol chief, the
Rijnharts found only insults (Rijnhart 226). The Royal Geographical Society did not show the Pon Chu River on its map so Dr. Rijnhart felt secure enough in her knowledge to add it (Rijnhart 284).

Her humor shone through when she described the correction concerning the famous tree at the Kumbum Lamasery. Myth had it that each of the leaves had the image of Tsong K'aba, the founder of the lamasery on it. When Susie and her husband failed to the see the images on the leaves they were told this was because "we were not true followers of the Buddha" (Rijnhart 113). Only true believers could see the images. She went on to say "this explanation is rather damaging to the reputations of M. M. Huc and Gabet, who declare they saw on the leaves of the tree, not images of Tsong K'aba, but well-formed Tibetan characters" (Rijnhart 113). Rijnharts saw neither. Dr. Rijnhart wondered and added, "nor is it any less clear why the leaves which in Huc's day bore Tibetan characters, should have passed on from literature to art, producing now only images of the saint" (Rijnhart 113).

Her humor, good nature, and sense of the absurd manifest themselves throughout the book, beginning with her description of her first attempt to wear native dress. "I discovered I had appeared in public with one of the undergarments outside and dressed in a manner which shocked Chinese ideas of propriety" (Rijnhart 13). She did learn to wear native dress. By the time she completed her journey she looked so much like a Tibetan that the missionaries received her in stunned silence. Dr. Rijnhart said, "They had been so dumbfounded to hear the voice of an Englishwoman come from such a Tibetanized person that at first they could not speak at all" (Rijnhart 388).
Tsanga Fuyeh, a seventy-three-year-old lama, visited the Rijnharts to learn about western medicine. He was not convinced and returned to his practice of throwing dice to determine what page in a sacred text described the correct cure. Later Dr. Rijnhart was able to use western medicine to cure one of his relatives. After that Tsanga Fuyeh threw the dice, studied the correct page in the sacred text, and sent the patient to the Rijnharts. She said of this, "We never suspected that our names were recorded in the sacred books of Buddhism" (Rijnhart 164).

In 1892, on a previous trip, her husband had been called to visit a living buddha who claimed to have a "sick music box". With the help of a little oil her husband was able to "cure it". Three years later when Rijnhart and her husband returned to the same area, this same living buddha had a sick treasurer. He concluded that anyone who could cure a music box could probably cure a person as well and sent for the Rijnharts (Rijnhart 60). Dr. Rijnhart did not disappoint him.

Dr. Rijnhart said about her attempts to teach Christian hymns to the Tibetans, "The discords at first were shocking, but by the help of Mr. Rijnhart's concertina and my violin, the tunes were carried through" (Rijnhart 88). This was the only mention she made of the fact that these two missionaries carried musical instruments into the Tibetan wilderness. Although they were missionaries, they also must have been a lively couple. Another item they brought to Tibet was a bicycle. No one in Tankar, Tibet, had ever seen one before. The Tibetans named it the "one man cart" (Rijnhart 168). Their curiosity was such that "to satisfy them Mr. Rijnhart gave exhibitions" (Rijnhart 168). The Rijnharts discovered this was a good way to assemble a crowd for their Christian teachings. "The
great difficulty was to keep the men and boys from following too closely, as if any accident should happen, the rider was in danger of being trampled upon by the multitude behind" (Rijnhart 168). Her sewing machine or "iron tailor" also created much speculation. Tibetan women came to her to ask "if it were true that when I finished sewing I carried him to the kitchen, put him on the table and he made food for us" (Rijnhart 168). The Tibetans had no knowledge of machines.

Tibetans also had very different views on how to deal with newborn infants. They were horrified to discover that Dr. Rijnhart intended to bathe her newborn son. Instead they recommended that she "paste him in butter and put him out in the sun" (Rijnhart 167). She was amused and pointed out "no one has learned that in other countries things are different" (Rijnhart 167). Although she never did butter her son, she did learn that this was acceptable practice for Tibetans. She could accept this.

The Rijnharts attended the Butter God Festival at the Kumbum Lamasery. This festival took place yearly on the fifteenth day of the first moon. For the ceremony the lamas and the craftsmen at this great lamasery used yak butter to create works of art. Sculptures and bas reliefs with religious themes were constructed including giant butter sculptures of the buddha. Shew wrote, "The Tibetans with their monstrous butter buddha occupy a unique place in the world's idolatry" (Rijnhart 119). She was also amused when the lamas claimed that Petrus will be reincarnated as a buddha because of all his good works in this life" (Rijnhart 121).

The Tibetans were confused by the Rijnharts. When Petrus was a guest at an important banquet (Susie was not invited because she was female) the host, a lama, had
Petrus's tea cup filled with wine. Petrus was very offended. He believed in total abstinence. But the host explained, "he had simply supposed Mr. Rijnhart to be like the ordinary Tibetan lama, who refuses to drink only until the first drop has passed his lips as a result of persuasion, and is then ready to do his share" (Rijnhart 147). Dr. Rijnhart reported that "the ethereal, abstentious, vegetarian Buddhist lama is a pure figment" (Rijnhart 148). She found a great discrepancy between what they professed and what they actually did.

Dr. Rijnhart admitted to being frightened during her journey to Lhasa. Her description of her fear is vivid. She said "a little garment that was being knitted for baby grew very rapidly under my fingers that day" (Rijnhart 239). Here was a woman alone on a mountainside with her year-old son waiting for her husband who was trying to catch their runaway horses, but she continued to knit to pass the time and remembered this incident and chose to record it. It gives a clear picture of what kind of woman she was.

Was her trip worth the price? Countless people asked her this after her return to Canada. She said it was. She wrote, "had the missionaries waited till all countries were ready and willing to receive them so that they could go forth without danger and sacrifice, England might still have been the home of barbarians, Livingstone's footsteps never would have consecrated the African wilderness, there would be no Carey in India, the South Sea Islanders would still be sunk in their cannibalism, and thousands of Christians found in pagan and heathen lands would still be in the darkness and shadow of death. Tibet, like other lands, must have light" (Rijnhart 394). She saw her trip as part of the larger scheme of things and worth the personal sacrifice. In fact, after recovering her health, writing her
book, doing an extensive speaking tour, and raising the necessary funds, Dr. Susie Carson Rijnhart returned to Tibet to continue her work.

Dr. Rijnhart wrote her book to raise the funds for her return to Tibet, but she did more than that. She told the story of her life. She gave advice to others who wished to visit Tibet or any other primitive land. With The Tibetans In Tent And Temple reads like a nonfiction novel. In Victorian terms this book can certainly be described as "Pleasurable Instruction".

Susie Rijnhart's trip ended in failure. Not until 1924 did a western woman finally set foot in Lhasa. Alexandra David-Neel was the first white woman to successfully cross Tibet and enter that forbidden city. By that time politics had changed, and the British rather than the Chinese or Tibetans forbade travel in Tibet. Nevertheless, this land was still closed to western travelers. David-Neel was the most qualified of all the women who attempted the trip. She was already an expert on things Tibetan and had made a careful study of the religion of that country. Even though she was able to disguise herself as a Tibetan, she still had difficulty making the trip.

Alexandra David-Neel (1868-1969)

David-Neel's full name was Louise Eugenie Alexandrine Marie David and she was born in Paris on October 24, 1868. Her family moved to Belgium in 1873. She studied music at the Royal Conservatory of Brussels and won minor prizes at that school for her soprano voice. This led her into a mildly successful career as an opera singer. In 1888 she traveled to London. She had already developed an interest in Asia. Because the French did not send missionaries to the east unless they were nuns, David-Neel realized
her chances of learning more about the Orient were better if she spoke English. In London she stayed with the Supreme Gnosis Society. She met Madame Helena P. Blavasky, founder of the Theosophical Society, who claimed to be in touch telepathically with the spiritual masters of Tibet. The occult and spiritualists became part of David-Neel's life. But by 1889 she'd had enough of this and returned to Brussels to study music and voice.

In 1891 she traveled to India as a typical Victorian tourist complete with white dress and huge hat with a white veil. She was even pulled around in a rickshaw. In 1895 she toured with the Opera-Comique in Indo China, then returned to France. In 1904 at the age of 36 she married Philip Neel. They had been living together before this time, but Philip also kept other women. Whether he continued to do so after their marriage is not clear. Certainly, with Alexandra gone so much of the time on her wanderings around Asia, it is quite possible. He was, however, generous with Alexandra and financed her many trips. His reward was a stream of letters from his wife of whom he saw little. Upon her return, she chose not to live with him. They were never divorced. Although they lived separately, they continued to be friendly until his death.

By 1907 she claimed to be suffering from Neurasthenia which is a nervous debility or exhaustion brought on by overwork or prolonged mental strain and characterized by vague physical complaints without apparent cause. Travel was regarded as the only cure. But not until three years later did David-Neel return to Asia. She lived in Sikkim and traveled along the border of Tibet. She had two interviews with the Dalai Lama which was remarkable because he refused to see Tibetan women, much less a
foreigner. He had left Tibet because of the political climate so David-Neel saw him while he was in exile. From 1914 to 1916 she lived as a hermit in the Himalayas. She also adopted a Tibetan son, Yongden, who acted as her servant and traveling companion. In 1917 she toured Korea and Japan but these countries never had the allure for her that Tibet had.

Finally in October of 1923, she set out on her journey to Lhasa, the forbidden city. She and Yongden traveled for four months, on foot, across the Himalayas to reach her goal. They disguised David-Neel as a poor mother traveling with her lama son. She remained in the background during all their contacts with the Tibetans so her identity would not be discovered. She inked her hair black, rubbed soot into her skin, traveled with only a set of chopsticks, a knife, a spoon which nearly gave her away as being foreign, and a gun concealed in her dress. The two travelers begged for food and often went without. On New Year's Day 1924 she arrived in Lhasa and remained for two months. Then she returned to France.

Many of David-Neel's books were translations and explanations of Tibetan Buddhism, but her book, My Journey to Lhasa, is a travel account and a real adventure story. She gained fame as the first European woman to enter the forbidden capital of Tibet. Back in France she continued to study and write until 1937 when she traveled to China to live there during the Sino-Japanese war. Finally she returned to France for good in 1945. Her studies continued until her death.

Her honors include the gold medal of the Geographical Society of Paris, the French Legion of Honor, the Insigne of the Chinese Order of the Brilliant Star and the
silver medal of the Royal Belgian Geographical Society. In 1964 she was promoted to Premier Commandeur of the Legion of Honor. These honors were not for the travel account that she wrote. She became an acknowledged expert on the culture and religion of Tibet, and won these honors as a result of her entire life's work in this area.

David-Neel actually wrote two books about traveling in Tibet. *My Journey to Lhasa* was published in 1927 shortly after her return from her trip. In 1936 she published a book called *Tibetan Journey* about an earlier trip she made in Tibet. The trip probably took place sometime between 1914 and 1916 while she was living in eastern Tibet but before her Lhasa trip. The book chronicles a trip less spectacular than her journey to Lhasa. Also, since it wasn't written until long after her return, it lacks the immediacy of her earlier work. However, it does provide some interesting insights into the problems she encountered on her first attempt to see Tibet.

Her travels in *Tibetan Journey* were cut short when the Chinese sent soldiers to accompany her and to make sure she stayed within the area held by the Chinese. The soldiers kept assuring her that this was for her own good because they would not be able to protect her if she ventured outside their jurisdiction, but David-Neel had not asked to be protected.

During this trip she had traveled as "a lamaist nun of rank, accompanied by a steward [Yongden] and a few men servants" (Tibetan Journey I). She wrote "in order not to attract too much attention and also to save money, I decided to travel as modestly as possible" (9). But even this small band attracted the attention of the authorities. David-Neel felt that it was not the Tibetans who refused western visitors:
The Tibetans have for a long time wished to keep foreigners away, but those who have been found among them have simply been conducted to the frontier, surrounded by all the comfort that country has to offer. Nowadays, having acquired more worldly knowledge, the Tibetans would consent, without enthusiasm, but also without aversion, to receive foreign travellers who have a definite and legitimate purpose, in view, especially that of trade; but they are no longer at liberty to do so. (Tibetan Journey 248)

She asked the natives why they never built bridges in Tibet. They told her, "their absence makes travelling more difficult for the officials of the Lhasa government and for other notables. It does not please them to be obliged to cross rivers hanging on our ropes; they take other routes in order to avoid having to do so, and in this way we escape their visits and the consequences that follow in their train." (230). This lack of bridges also discouraged even hardy travelers from trying to cross this land.

David-Neel talked about her feelings toward travel in this book. She said, "Many people are under the impression that to the traveller who leaves the beaten track each hour brings some joyous or dramatic adventure. The truth is less romantic. Most days pass uneventfully. Monotonously? Indeed no. For one who knows how to look and feel, every moment of this free wandering life is an enchantment. Also, in such journeys, the periods of blessed repose never last long. Something always 'happens' to interrupt them" (86-87). And so it is with her account. She included maps to show the reader her route. Her observations are interesting, and she certainly had adventures. She described the terrain and the people she came into contact with. But this book was overshadowed by her journey to Lhasa, and indeed is not even mentioned in the 1987 biography written by the Fosters. Tibetan Journey is out of print and very difficult for a modern reader to
My Journey to Lhasa, although also out of print for many years, was once again made readily available in 1986 by the Virago Beacon Travelers Series. This series has reprinted travel accounts by famous women travelers. These provide unique insights into the countries visited. The trip in Tibetan Journey prepared Alexandra for her more famous dash to Lhasa. In 1923, at the age of fifty-five, this woman decided to walk across Tibetan mountains, high passes and high plains, in winter, by herself, to visit the forbidden city.

She chose to travel to Lhasa because the journey was forbidden. She admitted, "Strange as the fact may appear, I must confess that unlike most travellers who have attempted to reach Lhasa, and have failed to reach their goal, I never entertained a strong desire to visit the sacred lamaist city" (My Journey To Lhasa Introduction xix). She had already met the Dalai Lama while he was in exile in India. The literature, philosophy, and religious texts of Tibet were more accessible to her in other cities which were not forbidden. It seemed that she undertook the journey to Lhasa as a great adventure, one where she pitted her strengths against the physical challenges of the landscape and the official challenges set up to block the way of any foreigner trying to travel in Tibet.

Official interference finally made up her mind. She had been in Central Asia since 1911. At first she was living in an area under British control. During that time the officials had caused her many problems. Her home was looted by Tibetans, Tibetans that she did not blame because they had been unjustly fined by the British for not reporting her presence in the area. The British did not trouble to find out if these Tibetans knew
that she was there, which they didn't. They were fined anyway. The Tibetans took their revenge on David-Neel. "These uncivilized proceedings made me wish to retaliate, but in a witty way..." (xxii). Several years later when she was ill with a severe attack of enteric, she tried to reach Bhatang for medical help and was turned back because she didn't have the correct travel documents.

Another time Alexandra set out to do botanical research in a river valley near the border. She was not detected, but Yongden who was following her was stopped and the scientific instruments he was bringing to her were discovered. He was turned back and she was found and sent out of the country. This was the last straw. "Before the frontier post to which I had been escorted, I took an oath that in spite of all obstacles I would reach Lhasa and show what the will of woman could achieve!" (xxv). The point she wished to make was "that if 'heaven is the Lord's,' the earth is the inheritance of man, and that consequently any honest traveller has the right to walk as he chooses, all over that globe which is his" (xxv). She was not only avenging her personal defeats, but saw herself as a pioneer, breaking down the barriers of Central Asia.

Since her quarrels with officialdom were often with the British, it is interesting to note that this Frenchwoman wrote the accounts of her travels in English. Perhaps My Journey to Lhasa was her witty way of achieving the revenge she sought. She certainly enjoyed pointing out how she was able to outwit the officials along her route. Although these officials were often Tibetan, they acted under English orders. She traveled to Lhasa undetected, remained there for two months, then traveled to Gyantze near the Tibetan-Indian border.
Her journey did more than settle a score with officialdom. Miller says, "With great daring and imagination Alexandra had made herself an expert on an area where she was unlikely to be challenged. Hers was the most authoritative account of Tibetan Buddhism; from her intimate association with Tibetan life she could explain many so-called mysteries" (Miller 178). Her trip validated her scholarly pursuits. Without this trip and its subsequent publicity, her study and writings would have been given little credence. Even as late as 1927 women were not considered scholars. Because of this trip and her account of it, the public was willing to grant that she was an authority.

David-Neel had a uniquely modern point of view on the subject of Tibet. She did not travel or write with the intention of showing her western superiority. She did not make value judgments. "She was in fact the prototype of a modern field anthropologist widely read on all aspects of Tibetan society, a master of the language and several dialects. She could think, see, feel and act as a Tibetan and consequently achieved the subtle psychological involvement that underlies communication. But she retained the ability to be detached, to step out of the society she investigated" (Miller 187).

Her ability to understand and imitate Tibetan culture, and her fluency in the language, made her trip to Lhasa successful. Her detachment allowed her to record her journey with humor and lightheartedness in a very entertaining book. She had a great adventure. My Journey to Lhasa is a wonderful adventure story. What sets it apart from other great adventure stories is that its hero is a woman. She undertook this journey for the adventure alone, needing no other excuse. She did not apologize for seeking adventure as women travelers before her had done, nor try to justify her journey on
religious or scientific grounds. The joy of pitting herself against the physical dangers and the official sanctions was justification enough.

David-Neel’s journey to Lhasa really was a natural outcome of her life’s work. She began studying Eastern thought and religions as a part-time student at the Sorbonne and had become a pupil of Professor Edouard Faucaux at the College of France (Foster 46). She also studied Sanskrit and Tibetan literature. The first woman to interview the Dalai Lama, David-Neel was well qualified to do so. Not until June of 1912 did Alexandra actually see the land she had been studying. Leaving from Sikkim she climbed over the Sepo pass and viewed "the immensity of the trans-Himalayan tableland of Tibet" (My Journey To Lhasa xix). She made several forays over the border to explore it visiting lamaseries at Gangtok in Sikkim, at Shigatse as the guest of the Penchen lama, and at Kumbum on the Chinese Tibetan border. In Gangtok she went into seclusion in a cave for the winter of 1914-15. She felt this was where her real education began. At each lamasery she was allowed to study. While in retreat at the lamasery of Chorten Nyima, she learned from the head lama how to speak Tibetan with a Lhasan accent (Miller 155). During this period she asked help in finding a personal servant who could help her with her studies and travel with her. A fifteen-year-old lama from Sikkim who had expressed an interest in travel was appointed. This was Yongden, the lama who would later become David-Neel’s adopted son. He had been studying at the lamasery since he was eight and there was much he could teach David-Neel. She kept her promise of travel and after the trip to Lhasa which the two of them made alone, she took Yongden back to France where he remained with her until his death.
Her short journeys near the Indian-Tibetan border taught her about the customs of the Tibetan people. She also learned about the methods used by the British to keep westerners out of Tibet. Because she angered the British officials once too often, she was finally deported from the Indian-Tibetan border. That meant that if she was going to continue to visit Tibet she would have to cross China and enter from the Chinese-Tibetan border. Civil wars in China made this journey extremely dangerous but somehow Alexandra and Yongden finally were able to reach the border. She had a definite destination in mind. While she stayed at the Jakyendo monastery at the conclusion of her trip in *Tibetan Journey*, she had met the British explorer General George Pereira. He had shared with her all the information he had acquired, his notes and maps of Tibet. Using these Alexandra planned her trip. She chose a road to Lhasa that "is followed every autumn by many travellers. By taking it I foresaw that I should run the danger of frequent meetings. Not that this inconvenience was without its favorable aspect, since our tracks could be more easily lost amongst those of pilgrims from various Thibetan regions, each of whom spoke in different dialect, and whose womenfolk had a variety of different dress and coiffures" (My Journey To Lhasa 5). She left from a mission house close to the border with copies of Pereira’s maps in her boot.

David-Neel did not want the Chinese officials to suspect that she intended to travel in Tibet. She had learned from her earlier trip that they would stop her just as readily as the British had. She left the mission house dressed in Chinese attire, with Yongden and with two hired servants. Her cover was a plan "to go into the country of the Loutze tribes to collect plants" (4). Several days out from the mission she camped and
sent one of the hired men out to collect firewood. While he was gone she told the other man that since she was going to stay in this place, his services would no longer be needed. One hired servant would be enough. She paid him and he left for home. When the first man returned with wood she told him the same story but sent him off with letters and a parcel containing her Chinese clothes addressed to a missionary in another town. He would have to deliver these before returning home. Therefore it would be some time before the two men would see each other again. By that time David-Neel planned that she and Yongden would be well on their way.

David-Neel had decided that she and Yongden would travel as arjopas, or mendicant pilgrims, who wander around Tibet by the thousands from one religious shrine to the next. Yongden, who was an authentic Red Cap lama, needed no disguise. David-Neel would travel as "his aged mother, who had undertaken a long pilgrimage for devotional reasons" (17). She felt she presented a touching and sympathetic figure. By dying her hair with a Chinese ink stick and braiding yak hair into her own she created a Tibetan hairdo. Then she "powdered [her] face with a mixture of cocoa and charcoal to obtain a dark complexion" (18). Her clothes were now Tibetan and she added a white lay dress to mark herself as a pilgrim.

Because David-Neel realized the danger of robbers as well as the danger of being discovered, she decided to travel with as few things as possible. "We had only one aluminum pot, which was our kettle, teapot, and saucepan all in one. There was also one lama wooden bowl for Yongden, and aluminum bowl for myself, two spoons, and a Chinese travelling case containing one long knife and chopsticks, which could be hung
from the belt. That was all. We did not intend to indulge in refined cooking. Our meals were to be those of the common Thibetan travellers; that is to say, tsampa, mixed with buttered tea, or eaten nearly dry, kneaded with butter. When circumstances would allow we would make soup" (8).

In addition to the cooking utensils she and Yongden took along a tent which they found was often too dangerous to pitch, but which served as a blanket when they slept outdoors. They were afraid that a tent would draw attention to them, something they wished to avoid. Sleeping on the ground with the tent over them like a blanket made them hard to detect.

Under her dress David-Neel carried a quantity of silver which would allow them to buy food occasionally. Both she and Yongden carried pistols under their clothes. They also had some medicines including strychnine "to rouse fresh energy in our tired bodies"(II). If they were to pass as authentic Tibetan pilgrims, this was all they could risk taking with them. Besides, they would have to carry everything themselves since they would be traveling without pack animals or servants.

There were other advantages of traveling this way. David-Neel tells "how unsolicited alms came our way several times. Never in my life have I made so economical a journey. We used to laugh as we tramped along the road, recalling all the stories we had read of travellers who started out with many camels laden with heavy and expensive stores and luggage only to meet with failure more or less near their goal" (115). Two such poor pilgrims as she and Yongden had few worries about brigands or of attracting the attention of officials.
Their first days on the road were fraught with the knowledge that if caught they would surely be turned back. They tried to avoid contact with anyone. Their second problem was water. If they left the commonly traveled path near the river, they could not find any water to drink. Finally, after twenty-four hours without water, Yongden had to risk being seen by other travelers. He ventured to the river. But their luck held. They did not meet anyone for the first full week. They traveled at night and hid as best they could during the day. A blizzard as they crossed the last pass into Tibet was a blessing in disguise. Although it made their travel extremely difficult, it did insure that they could enter Tibet without being seen.

David-Neel's first encounter with Tibetans went well. Yongden claimed that his father had been a kind of dreaded sorcerer. His mother, he added, was a 'sang yum', or the initiated consort of this great sorcerer (30). This impressed the Tibetans who gave David-Neel some dried meat, then escaped her presence as soon as they could.

Actually, contact with the other people along the road was not much of a problem, even though it continued to worry David-Neel. Yongden was a real lama. When those they met asked him to perform religious ceremonies on their behalf, he was able to do so. David-Neel knew enough about the country to be able to engage in conversations. When asked about her home she described an area of Tibet where she had lived called the Desert of Grass. This was a long way from the area where they were traveling so people took her at her word. Besides, "I knew by heart the region I described, for I had lived there long, and my enthusiasm for my so-styled mother country was so genuinely sincere that no one could have guessed my lie" (61).
Also she was willing to adopt the lifestyle of the poor Tibetan. "I was to experience various things which until then I had only observed from afar. I should be sitting on the rough floor of the kitchen, which was dirty with the grease of the soup, the butter of the tea, and the spit of the inmates. Well-meaning women would offer me a scrap of a piece of meat which they had cut on the lap of their dress which had been used, maybe for years, as a handkerchief and a kitchen towel. I should have to eat in the way of the poor, dipping my unwashed fingers in the soup and in the tea, to knead the tsampa, and to do any number of things which disgusted me" (76).

But this lifestyle was worthwhile. "I was to live near the very soul and heart of the masses of that unknown land, near those of its womenfolk whom no outsider had ever approached. To the knowledge I already acquired about the religious people of the country I would add another and quite intimate one, concerning its humblest sons and daughters. For this it was certainly worth while overlooking my disgust..." (76). She believed that "Nearly everyday supplied its contribution pleasant or otherwise, but always full of humour. I have amassed in that region a store of fun sufficient to keep one merry for years" (95). And it was indeed her sense of fun and her ability to see the humor of the situation which made the trip bearable.

She had to keep applying the Chinese ink stick to her hair to keep it the correct color. She had to use the blackened soot from the bottom of cooking pots to keep her face and hands dark. This caused problems when she was forced to use her fingers to eat. The black soot came off in her food causing it to taste as well as to look terrible. She had to eat quickly, often choking down the contents of her bowl before her hostess
returned and discovered this secret (80).

One of her worst trials came at a Tibetan feast. She and Yongden decided that they really would enjoy a bit of meat. Since the family they were staying with was very poor, Alexandra dipped into her silver supply telling the family it was alms she had been given on the road. She sent her host out to purchase a choice piece of meat for the feast. He returned with a Tibetan delicacy that Alexandra described. "The Thibetans, when they kill a beast have a horrible habit of enclosing in the stomach, the kidneys, heart, liver and entrails of the animal. They then sew up this kind of a bag, and its contents go on decaying inside for days, weeks, even longer (107). It was this choice delight that her host returned with. This was more than she could face. She told Yongden to tell the family that she was feeling ill, and probably she was at thought of dining on this. His reaction was, "It always seems your turn to be ill when something unpleasant befalls us" (108). But he did as he was told. David-Neel was excused. Yongden choked down enough so that the family wouldn't become suspicious of these strangers who had spent their money on such a treat. David-Neel wrote that she was amused as well as appalled by this incident.

At another home Yongden accused her of having made "too much progress in the thul shugs [a doctrine of complete indifference to all aspects of life]" (179). They had drunk some soup which David-Neel mentioned later may have been from a crock where garbage was stored for dog food. The idea made Yongden ill. But she said "Men's or dog's, the soup refreshed you" (179). She simply didn't care.

When Yongden and David-Neel had been caught for several days in a terrible
snowstorm and had been without anything to eat she was willing to try anything. Yongden
didn’t think she was “Tibetan enough” to follow his suggestion. He had a bit of bacon he
had been using to waterproof their footwear. His idea was to throw this in the pot of
boiling water which they had made to try to get something warm into their stomachs. Her
reaction was that “half an hour later we were tasting a turbid beverage whose flavor was
a matter open to discussion. But to a certain extent it satisfied the cravings of our empty
stomachs. Christmas merriment continued” (171).

David-Neel’s view of the Tibetan religious practices is an interesting
contradiction. Because Yongden was a Red Cap lama he was thought to be able to
foretell, and to an extent control, the future. Often along their route Yongden was asked
to perform mo, or divination, often as payment for lodging and other favors he and his
“aged mother” had received. He did so. On one occasion he predicted the future for a
party of pilgrims who were traveling with a girl who had severely swollen legs. He
declared that gods wished the party to stay together, that they must stop for three days.
During this stop good food must be provided. Only by doing this would the gods smile on
the rest of the trip. What Yongden knew was that this advice would give the girl three
days rest, some good food, and a chance to build up her strength. The group would not
feel they could leave her behind. The lama had said they could not. He included some
rituals to rid the party of the demons which he claimed had caught up with girl and caused
her problems. David-Neel listened to all this. Then, “I pretended to tie my garters, which
had become loose, so as to remain behind and laugh at leisure, my head hidden in my
large thick sleeves” (51). When she confronted Yongden about such a practical, and not
at all magical, pronouncement Yongden admitted that he wanted to give the girl time to recover. "That is good honest work", he claimed (51).

Another time Yongden was consulted by a pilgrim who wished to know if he should take his donkey around a holy mountain. He did the ritualistic casting of lots and advised the pilgrim to leave the donkey behind. Yongden told David-Neel afterward that "he pictured to himself all the steep climbing that would be hard on the tiny feet of the poor donkey, the high passes, snow covered with deep snow, the frosty nights to be passed in the open, and all the other trouble which would befall the little slave. How much happier it would be to get a month's rest in the pleasant grazing grounds of the Pedo Valley!" (73-74). How much of the prophecy was just common sense David-Neel doesn't say. But it is obvious that she finds humor in the common sense predictions.

But sometimes the telling of mo became a serious business. David-Neel said, "The joke this time had a serious side. It might prove dangerous for the seer if his oracle turned out to be wrong" (174). He had been consulted about a political matter. The men he was talking with were from a tribe he and David-Neel knew to be dangerous. They wished to know if the men that had been sent to stop a messenger to the capital would indeed catch the messenger. Yongden's solution was to make his answer as vague as possible. Then he and David-Neel left immediately to distance themselves from these men.

In spite of her lack of belief in this Tibetan practice of mo, there were other Tibetan rituals which she had faith in and which she claimed to use. The most important of these was thumo reskiang or the art of increasing internal body heat. Lamas in Tibet
train to do this so they can survive in winter, at high altitudes, in terrible weather, with very little clothing and no source of heat. David-Neel trained in this practice. The test was the ability to use one's own body heat to dry sheets of paper dipped in icy water. She claimed to have been able to do this. During her journey to Lhasa she and Yongden were caught in a blizzard, on a high mountain pass. Their flint and steel, used for firebuilding had become damp and wouldn't produce a spark. David-Neel sent Yongden to gather firewood while she practiced thumo reskiang. By the time Yongden returned the flint was dry enough to start the fire. David-Neel described the process. "Yet my mind continued to concentrate on the object of the thumo rite. Soon I saw flames arising around me; they grew higher and higher; they enveloped me, curling their tongues above my head. I felt deliciously comfortable" (133). She had put the flint and steel beneath her dress and when she awoke from this dream it was dry enough to start a fire. She did not require her readers to believe in thumo reskiang, but she reported what she believed had happened.

David-Neel's opinion of western travelers in Tibet was very clear. "If one needs large tents, tables, chairs, tinned Western food, an oven to bake the bread, and a gramophone which some explorers carried in their luggage, then perhaps he will get into trouble with the rustic Thibetans paths, and also, perhaps with the sturdy hillmen who have made them" (233). She found her mode of travelling Tibet safer and more informative. She felt westerners traveling in Tibet caused their own problems because they refused to accept Tibetan ways.

In the past David-Neel had attempted to travel in Tibet, and she had been successful for different periods of time because she had left her western ways behind. She
explained, "Although on those [previous journeys] I did not indulge in Western customs, the servants who followed me, my fine beasts, and my good lamaist attire kept my hosts respectful and distant. I enjoyed all the privileges of quietness and privacy as there is in the East" (75). On this trip to Lhasa she gave up not only her western ways, but also her high class Tibetan ways. She knew what she had to gain by doing so. "Yet, I knew that such penance would not be without reward, and that under cover of my inconspicuous garb of a poor pilgrim I should gather a quantity of observations which would never have come within reach of a foreigner, or even, perhaps of a Tibetan of the upper classes" (75). She found the culture of Tibet fascinating and was willing to suffer personal sacrifices in order to study it first hand. This attitude made her a recognized expert on Tibet.

David-Neel learned that the Tibetans had come to mistakenly believe that Tibet had become the suzerains of Great Britain. Tibetans thought that the British political agents in Lhasa had come to ask the Dalai Lama for his orders concerning the British empire. She said, "This is, of course, funny, but there is to a fun of this kind a side fraught with danger for white residents all over Asia" (267). She was safe from this danger on her trip to Lhasa because of her excellent disguise. She was feeling self-satisfied when she wrote, "I felt really safe as to my disguise, after having passed these huge mountain ranges. No one would ever think that a foreign woman had dared to venture on that road" (177). She had come to understand the Tibetan view of western peoples, and she knew she was no longer included in this view.

Finally, after a great many adventures, David-Neel and Yongden arrived in Lhasa. They had successfully crossed the high passes, sometime just before these were
closed for the winter by raging blizzards. They forded streams or were dragged across on ropes suspended over the water in the Tibetan fashion. They were shown hospitality and occasional cruelty by the common Tibetans. No officials had suspected their travel. Success was theirs. A terrible dust storm covered their actual entry into the city. "The gods threw a veil over the eyes of his adversaries and they did not recognize him" (257). This was an old Tibetan saying that David-Neel had learned long before when she lived in the land of grass, and entering the city during the storm made her think of it. She believed the storm to be a symbol promising her complete security during her stay there, and later events proved this to her satisfaction. She also believed, "Although I had endeavored to reach the Thibetan capital rather because I had been challenged than out of any real desire to visit it, now that I stood on the forbidden ground at the cost of so much hardship and danger, I meant to enjoy myself in all possible ways" (258). She had studied Tibet for many years and knew which sights she wanted to see. She visited the Potala Palace of the Dalai Lama, the Jo Khang, holiest temple in Tibet, the Norbu ling, summer residence of the Dalai Lama, the market surrounding the Jo Khang through which the pilgrims circumambulated the temple, and the lamaseries near Lhasa which were famous for their learning. All these have become tourist attractions and can be visited today. David-Neel's descriptions do them justice in every case.

David-Neel arrived in Lhasa in time for the new year festival which was famous throughout Asia. She watched the Dalai Lama inspect the giant butter sculptures with his retinue of noble personages. Although she had previously met the Dalai Lama, she did not try to contact him. She continued in her disguise and not only was able to enjoy these
public events, but could also take part in the daily life at the little inn where she and
Yongden had found rooms. She delighted in being able to fool everyone about her
identity. When confronted by a curious policeman in the city, she put on a display of poor
bargaining that marked her as a "dokpa" or poor cow woman who knew nothing of city
life. In fact everyone in the market who saw her display "ridiculed the stupid woman who
knew nothing besides her cattle and the grass of the desert" (271). She was later
truncheoned by a policeman for trespassing "in a place where ‘quality’ only were admitted"
(272). Her reaction was "What a wonderful incognito is mine!...Now I am even beaten in
the streets! And after that I felt completely secure" (272).

While describing the sites of the holy city, David-Neel gave a short description
of the religious and political institutions of Tibet. She was familiar with how the
lamaseries were set up because she had lived in several. She knew how the religious
institutions and the government worked together from her years of study. As a beggar
woman seeing the sights of Lhasa she would not have had this information available to
her. But as the scholar she was, this information made her reporting on the scenery and
daily life more meaningful. Her background information made her travel account more
useful as a document about the country she was visiting. The reader not only learns about
the traveler and what she saw, but about the common man and about the institutions that
controlled his life. This makes David-Neel’s account seem very modern.

Yongden and David-Neel were forced to leave Lhasa because of several
incidents at the inn. To remain put them into the danger of being unmasked. A domestic
quarrel and a robbery at the inn where they were staying meant that the police were going
to be called in. David-Neel faced the possibility that she could be called as witness in either or both cases. Rather than risk her disguise, she decided to leave after a two month stay.

Her exit from the forbidden city was more grand than her entrance. "I was now a lower-middle class woman, the owner of two horses and accompanied by a man servant whom Yongden had engaged at Lhasa. Official inquiries about travellers going from the capital to the frontiers are not very strict, so I could afford to make myself a little more comfortable" (298). She toured shrines, bought books, visited lamaseries, and generally enjoyed herself.

Her first thought had been to return to China. Then no one would have ever known about her trip to Lhasa. "But something made me feel that what I had done must be known. I obeyed this instinct and took the road to Gyantze, the town of southern Tibet which had become a British outpost" (309). David Macdonald served as the British trade agent of Gyantze and he welcomed her, allowed her rest there, and even lent her his daughter’s clothes, but not before Alexandra had her picture taken in her Tibetan disguise. She also secured the following letter from Macdonald which proved useful when her detractors accused her of making up the entire story of her trip. She was able to provide this document:

To all Whom it May Concern:.  
This is to certify that Madame Alexandra  
David-Neel visited Gyantze while she came through  
Lhasa from Eastern Tibet.  
D. Macdonald 21/8/24  
British Trade Agent  
Yatung, Tibet (Miller 178).
As a woman David-Neel probably suspected that she would not be believed. Such a trip was thought impossible for one of her sex. A male adventurer would probably never have given this kind of documentation a thought. Fortunately David-Neel did. She was not only perceptive about Tibetan culture but about western culture as well.

Besides her many insights into daily life in Tibet and the culture of that country, David-Neel was also able to add geographic information to what was already known about Tibet. She was able to verify and correct the maps that General Pereira had shared with her. She said of the maps "these rough sketches showed how incomplete the geographical knowledge of that part of the world still is" (119). She felt the maps had been drawn from reports rather than from actual exploration and so they were inaccurate. Alexandra provided no actual map of her journey. In fact she has been criticized for this omission. To correct this a map was added to the 1986 edition. This map seems to have been drawn from reports as well, so it probably isn't accurate. No credit for the map is given.

David-Neel blamed the British for her lack of more scientific information in her account. The officials would not allow her to carry into the country the instruments she felt she could have profitably used. "My small baggage, containing some instruments and requisites for plain scientific work, which I had once tried to smuggle into the country, led to my detection and I was stopped on my way. Under such circumstances, it only remained for me to start as I did, empty-handed" (190). But she was able to estimate the heights of the passes she crossed by observing the vegetation. She knew what grew at different altitudes and in this way guessed at how high they climbed. She was also able
to discover the source of the Po River. She followed the river to its source and observed it first hand. This side trip resulted in an adventure that nearly got both her and Yongden killed because they lost their way and ran into blizzards that blocked their path. But she was successful and reports her findings in the book (156).

But all the other scientific data was secondary to what David-Neel learned about the culture of the country. She provided the first-hand account of how the average Tibetan lived. She had experienced life as a native and could tell westerners about the strange and wonderful things she actually observed. Her book *My Journey To Lhasa* is as valuable today as when it was first published. The west still knows little about the hidden land of Tibet, and David-Neel's account can provide a picture of life there which has changed very little in the intervening years. David-Neel used this book to validate her years of study. Because of it, she was recognized as a Tibetan expert. As a woman she had to prove herself in this way to get her scholarly work the attention it deserved.

Duncan, Rijnhart and David-Neel engaged in journeys that were unique only to a limited degree. Jane Duncan's journey could have been made by any number of people. In fact, that is what her account recommends. Rijnhart was a dedicated missionary, and she felt others, if they learned the language and customs, could venture into Tibet. David-Neel's travels are the most bizarre because she was able to impersonate a native and so deceive the people she was visiting as well as the authorities. But it was not the journeys as much as their travel accounts of the journeys which set these women
These women did not try to use the accepted style of travel accounts. They did not use the basic skeleton of day-to-day travel and simply add facts and figures. They each had a story to tell. Jane Duncan's story is a simple narrative of the summer. She explains customs and give examples of Tibetan culture, but they are secondary to her story. Rijnhart has written a tragic nonfiction novel. Her story is more dramatic than Duncan's because of the resultant tragedies of her trip. David-Neel's is a nonfiction novel of a successful struggle over incredible odds. These three women used the first person narrative form. They wrote their accounts shortly after arriving back home. This immediacy is apparent and is the quality that makes My Journey to Lhasa a better book than David-Neel's Tibetan Journey.

The scientific and cultural information in the books becomes secondary although it remains important. Much can be learned about the landscape and customs of Tibet from each of these books. But first and foremost the reader is entertained by story telling. These women put their emphasis on "pleasurable" in the definition "pleasurable instruction" and it is this emphasis that makes their works unique.
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CONCLUSIONS

These eight travel writers were pioneers. They were the first female adventurers. "Male adventurers have been mavericks. But they could justify their flights from society by making scientific or mountaineering expeditions or single-handed journeys of courage and endurance. Their bravery, vision and daring validated those qualities in all men" (Miller 200). This was not true of the women travelers. "The female adventurer was outside any feminine tradition. Her exploits were treated as individual aberrations unrelated to the conditions or needs of other women" (Miller 200). Middle and upper-class Victorian women were confined in an extremely narrow domestic world. But these eight women, along with other Victorian women who traveled to other areas of the world, chose to break with this tradition.

Unfortunately in 1990 not enough people are aware of these pioneer women travelers. There is still no solid tradition of female adventurers for the modern woman to consider. While there are certainly more female travelers and even female travel writers today, they are still considered unusual and their exploits are viewed differently than those of their male counterparts. The tradition of female adventurers has never been firmly established because travel accounts by women, after they have enjoyed a certain popularity when first published, have generally been lost. The reading public is generally unaware that such accounts exist. Until very recently there has been no effort to preserve the historical travel accounts by women, thereby building a foundation for the tradition of women travelers. The traits shared by women travelers have not been examined. Their
achievements in producing travel accounts of an unusual and very readable kind have been ignored. Until a tradition of women travel writers has been established, each woman who sets out becomes a pioneer, rather than someone who is adding her contributions to a body of literature.

The historical basis for such a tradition exists. The eight women who visited Asia at the turn of the century provide an interesting cross section of the history of women adventurers and travel writers. These women had many things in common. Obviously, they all traveled to the countries they described, and they used first-hand observations for the basis of their writings. They had traditional upper or middle-class Victorian upbringings. While most women in the 1800's received very little education, these eight were an exception. Each had some kind of formal schooling. They did research on the lands they planned to visit. In the course of this research they found a lack of information available for the general reader about the Orient. That the west had a role to play in Asia was a common assumption at that time. These women felt that they could educate the English speaking public about the people and cultures of Asia and thereby help determine what role was appropriate for the westerner to play.

In addition these women were willing to adopt native dress when they were traveling. In fact many mention the freedom they felt when they gave up traditional Victorian clothing. They found that when they were unencumbered by Victorian fashion they were able to engage in physical activities they had never before considered. They were not young women. Most were in their forties and fifties when they made the trips they wrote about. Often at home they suffered from ill health, but this was never the case
when they were traveling. Each woman claimed to be traveling alone, but except for Susie Rijnhart after the untimely death of her husband, none of these women went unaccompanied. What they really did was lead their own expeditions. They found themselves able to direct their own travels. The decisions about where and when to travel were theirs to make. Generally they traveled with native guides, or with other westerners.

All of them ran into physical and official roadblocks during their travels. Often they depended on male help to overcome these. In spite of the dangers they faced, these women found the landscapes of Asia exotic and beautiful. They were willing to do what was necessary to overcome the problems in order to continue traveling. Most of their accounts contain long passages of description about the country during their trips out. Their return trips are generally much shorter and contain fewer details. Perhaps this was because the women often made the return trips against their wills.

They were able to see and experience many of the domestic details of native life. Men were often not allowed to view everyday life in the households of China and Tibet simply because they were male. Even if men had, it is unlikely they would have chosen to recount these simple details in their travel accounts. Food, clothing, child rearing, cooking, and domestic arrangements were part of the feminine sphere, and the woman traveler paid attention to them both during her travels and in her writings.

Their accounts were all written in English except for Ida Pfeiffer’s. Hers was soon translated into English, then rewritten in English by a British publisher. The women wrote because writing was an acceptable way for a woman to make money. They needed money in order to make further trips. Geographic societies, governments, and other
sources of funding were closed to them. Men could finance their trips in many ways, but writing and lecturing was the only option for women.

Most of the travel accounts by these women have been lost. Only recently have Bishop's and David-Neel's been reissued. Libraries and private collections have often not considered these books by women important enough to preserve. Travel accounts by women are not included in anthologies. But their books were very popular when they were first published. Each woman realized enough profits on the sale of her book to continue her travels.

A variety of reasons for traveling were given by these women. It is interesting to note that each woman felt she had to justify her trip, usually in the introduction to her book. Some went for their health, others to bring the Gospel to a new land. Pfeiffer explained that she had finished her job as wife and mother and felt free to pursue her own interest. David-Neel wished to outwit the British who had given her so much trouble. Male travelers don't often include justifications for their trips in their accounts, but Victorian women felt they must. Whether the reasons that they gave are the real reasons for their trips can not be determined, but often they seem unlikely or secondary to their real objectives. However, the reasons the general population would find acceptable were the reasons they gave.

These women allowed themselves different degrees of interaction with the native culture and population. Their accounts reflect this. From Gordon-Cumming who barely ventured out of the western treaty ports to David-Neel who found herself on the greasy kitchen floors of Tibetan homes to Workman who saw the natives only as servants,
their experiences determined what they told their readers. Because only a few of them spoke the language of the country they visited, they had to rely on westerners for their information. They needed someone familiar with the language and culture to interpret what they were observing. The better their language ability, and the closer their contact with the natives, the more accurate and interesting their accounts become.

The early women travelers saw the Chinese and Tibetans as inferior peoples. They believed in the superiority of the west and western ideas, and enjoyed pointing out the unpleasant, unusual, and exotic, things they observed. Later writers found much to be admired in these cultures. Also they tried to be more objective and their objectivity makes their accounts sound more modern.

Some of the women contributed scientific knowledge about the lands they visited. Workman's account is completely devoted to this information. It follows the male tradition of scientific travel writing and could have been written either by a man or woman. That she was female makes this work unusual. Pfeiffer and Bishop used a form for their writings that was common among male writers of that period, but they added narratives of daily life along with the facts they had collected. Gordon-Cumming contented herself with a gossipy woman's book of the worst kind. But later women writers deviated from standard forms of travel writing. Taylor collected the raw material for an interesting study of character, but she never bothered to write the book. Carey did not try to write it for her but instead he published Taylor's diary just as she wrote it. Other accounts written in the diary form were generally rewritten after the trip to reflect a more polished style. Taylor could have done this, but she was in a hurry to make money and return to Tibet,
so she published the account which disappointed those who knew her.

The travel accounts that were the most unusual, those that deviated from the established tradition, were those written by Duncan, Rijnhart, and David-Neel. These three used the first person narrative style to produce travel accounts that can be considered nonfiction novels. The stories are true. The main characters are well developed. The incidents are well described. These women were real adventurers who loved travel for travel's sake. Although they felt obligated to make excuses for their desire to travel, their love of travel comes through in their accounts. They were qualified to interpret what they saw. They had the education, the knowledge of the culture they were visiting, and in the case of Rijnhart and David-Neel the ability to speak the native language. They traveled with open minds and were willing to accept customs that were different from their own. The books they created were certainly a form of "Pleasurable Instruction."

Unfortunately today's travel writers have not followed in this tradition. Since the reopening of China and Tibet, many modern travel accounts about these countries have appeared. The forms these modern travel accounts have taken are not new. Jenner's book is a series of letters home. Galbraith and Salisbury contented themselves with polishing and publishing their diaries. Theroux and Jenkins use the first person narrative style, but concentrate so much on their personal reactions to the strange things they observe that their adventures don't come through. Only Sorrell Wilby in her 1988 book Journey Across Tibet follows in the best tradition of travel writing. Her book is a narrative of her adventures in modern Tibet and reads like a nonfiction novel. Perhaps
she was aware of the women who went before her. She writes as if she were familiar with this tradition.

The eight women who traveled in China and Tibet at the turn of the century opened up the world of travel for today's woman. Their travel accounts have much to teach modern society. Women can learn about the opportunities offered by travel, and men and women can learn something about the female potential when it is not stifled by society's restrictions. Young women need to know about the women before them who have dared frontiers and been successful. For this reason these travel accounts should not be lost. Less obvious is the development of a new form for travel accounts, one that is still not often being used today. The form of the later travel accounts by women should not be ignored. The nonfiction adventure novel would surely be popular today if only there were modern travel writers familiar with this tradition.

United States publishers are becoming aware of this. The January 19, 1990, issue of Publisher's Weekly magazine, describes this tradition as making a comeback. The article calls this form the literary travel book. Like the accounts described in this paper, these differ from travel guides because the author "brings a new vision to a place, a time, and a people" (32). Publishing houses are currently bringing out new travel series that concentrate on "the literary/adventure travel book [which] informs and entertains the way novels use to" (34). New travel books in this tradition are being written, but there is also a trend to republish travel books from the past, including some of the travel books by women. Perhaps the travel accounts by the Victorian women travelers in China and Tibet will again be available to the reading public.
BIBLIOGRAPHY


Robson, Isabel Suart. Two Lady Missionaries In Tibet. London: S. W. Partridge and Company, Ltd., no date.


APPENDIX B

This is the source material for the biographies of each of the women travellers.

ISABELLA BIRD BISHOP

Compiled from the following sources:


IDA PFEIFFER

Compiled from the following sources:


ANNIE TAYLOR
Compiled from the following sources:


SUSIE CARSON RIJNHART
Compiled from the following sources:


CONSTANCE FREDRIKA GORDON-CUMMING
Compiled from the following sources:


JANE DUNCAN
Compiled from the following source:

ALEXANDRA DAVID-NEEL
Compiled from the following sources:


David-Neel, Alexandra. With Mystics and Magicians In Tibet. London: John Lane The Bodley Head Ltd., 1931.


FANNY BULLOCK WORKMAN
Compiled from the following sources:


## APPENDIX D

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>The Women</th>
<th>Dates Of Trips</th>
<th>Books By These Women</th>
<th>Books About Their Trips</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ida Pfeiffer (1797-1858)</td>
<td>1842-1843</td>
<td>A Woman's Journey Round The World (trans. 1852)</td>
<td>Smith's Book (1873)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Isabella Bird Bishop (1831-1904)</td>
<td>1882-1896</td>
<td>Among The Tibetans (1894)</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Yangtze Valley And Beyond (1899)</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>Chinese Pictures (MCMIV)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Fanny Bullock Workman (1856-1925)</td>
<td>1899-1912</td>
<td>Ice-Bound Heights Of The Mustagh (1908)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>In The Ice World Of The Himalaya (1900)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>The Call Of The Snowy Hispar (1910)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Constance Gordon-Cumming (1837-1924)</td>
<td>1867-1889</td>
<td>Wanderings In China (1900)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Annie Taylor (1855-1909)</td>
<td>1892-1893</td>
<td>Pioneering In Tibet (1895)</td>
<td>Casey's Book (1901)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Robson's Book (no date)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jane Duncan (1848-1909)</td>
<td>1905</td>
<td>A Summer Ride Through Tibet (1906)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Susie Carson Rijnhart (1860?-1907)</td>
<td>1894</td>
<td>With Tibetans In Tent and Temple (1901)</td>
<td>Robson's Book (no date)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1923-1924</td>
<td>My Journey To Lhasa (1927)</td>
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