



TE KURA KETE ARONUI

Graduate and Postgraduate E-journal – Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences

Volume Two

Rhetoric, Representation, And Reality: British Travellers' Accounts Of The Western Himalayas During The Late Nineteenth And Early Twentieth Centuries.

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Abstract

This paper works within a key problematic of contemporary debates about discourse, representation and culture: the question of whether linguistically encoded assumptions reflect reality or create it. The paper explores this issue in relation to British travellers' accounts of the Western Himalayan environment and its inhabitants during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. As the age of exploration and the push of empire extended over the far reaches of the Indian subcontinent, the mighty peaks of the Himalayas and the peoples who dwelt amongst them became a source of endless fascination and exploration for British travellers. The accounts written by these travellers, which represented the Himalayas and its inhabitants as 'superior' to the people and environment of the Indian plains, were thought to be describing reality. Recent scholarship, however, has questioned Western representations of the East, arguing that they bear no resemblance to reality. In this paper I will critically examine British travellers' use of climatic and picturesque discourses in their representations of environmental and cultural encounter in the Western Himalayas. In exploring the complex and often contradictory discourses of classification and characterisation, this paper reveals how these discourses both mediated the travellers' perceptions of the reality which they encountered and were in turn transformed by it.

As the British Empire extended over the Indian subcontinent during the nineteenth century, the Himalayan region became a favoured destination for a variety of British travellers, from merchants, naturalists and tourists to missionaries, scholars, and statesmen. Many travellers kept journals or diaries, some of which were intended from the outset for publication, while others were published years later by friends or family. Those intended for publication were anticipated to direct the travellers who would follow in their footsteps and fill in the gaps in knowledge on the region and its inhabitants. Marion Doughty who travelled to Kashmir in 1903 wrote in her account *Afoot Through the Kashmir Valleys*, "I shall feel that I have not lived in vain, but assisted somewhat in showing the "open door" of one of the most perfect holiday grounds of the world, offering nourishment to almost every imaginable hobby" (Doughty, 1902, x).

Despite the fact that such narratives provide important information about colonial perceptions of, and reactions to, the region and its inhabitants, there is surprisingly little critical historical scholarship that makes use of this large and varied genre. This paper fills this gap by exploring the discourses of representation of Himalayan inhabitants in travel accounts from the second half of the nineteenth century and early twentieth century. It does so within the specific theoretical framework of a key problematic of contemporary debates about discourse, representation and culture: the question of whether linguistically encoded assumptions reflect reality or create it.

The idea that language creates reality is part of a complex of philosophical developments during the twentieth century stemming from linguistic philosophy as well as literary theory. This focus on language is, in its more theoretical form, referred to as the 'linguistic turn', a term taking its name from the title of a collection of essays published on philosophical method in 1967, *The Linguistic Turn* edited by Richard Rorty. While the stress on the centrality of language has had a broad impact in the social sciences, for historians and sociologists in particular it has marked a shift in attention

away from quantifiable material explanations as the determinants of society and culture towards questions of language, identity, symbols and social constructions. As such, in its more practical application, the linguistic turn has also been named interchangeably the 'cultural turn'.

Prior to these developments, language was assumed to be a useful medium for the expression of ideas and emotions or the description of an external world (See Figure 1). Indeed, some scholars may even have held the view that postmodernists attribute to them: that language is a transparent medium of expression and representation.

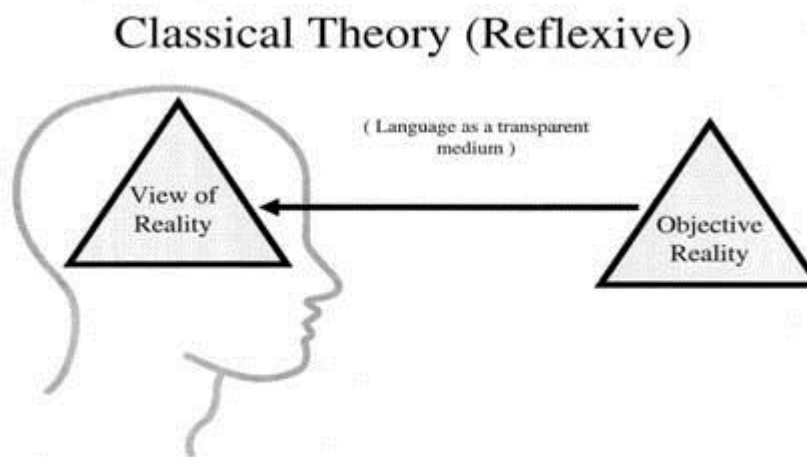


Figure 1

Where the linguistic turn has been taken, as in poststructuralism and postmodernism, the assumption is that language is not essentially transparent (Knowlton, 1998, 12-13). Indeed, language is seen as a barrier between us and reality, so that what we experience as 'fact' has actually been constructed by language. Richard Rorty, for example, argues that "There is no way to think about either the world or our purposes except through language" and that "There is no way of getting behind our descriptive language to the object as it is in itself" (Rorty, 1982, 154; Rorty 2000, 23). This position has been adopted by postmodern historians and theorists like Michel Foucault, Keith Jenkins, Beverley Southgate, David Harlan, Patrick Joyce and Alun Munslow. According to Munslow, "language is unable to make any kind of natural, original or genuine sense of the world - past or present" (Munslow, 1997, 178), while Southgate argues that language does not reflect what is "out there", but is instead "a free-standing autonomous entity that is imposed upon our otherwise random experience". Indeed, he says, in the postmodern view "Language is then conceived...as actually determining the world as it is experienced by us" (Southgate, 1996, 72-73). Furthermore, being conventional, rather than natural, language is a product of its own space and time, formed by a social and political context that expresses and reinforces the dominant ideas and accepted values of its day (See Figure 2).

Linguistic Turn (Constructionist)

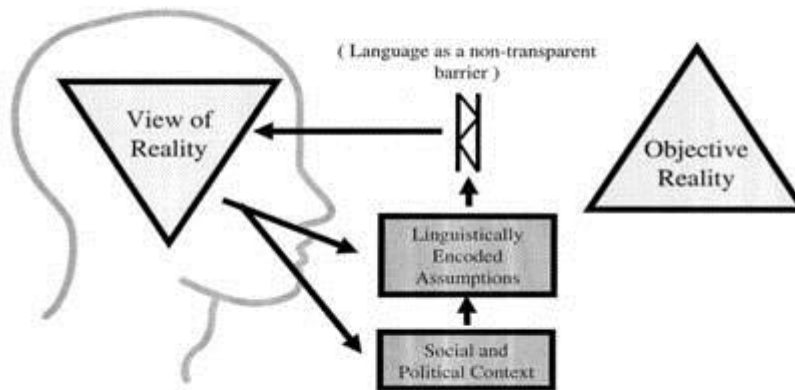


Figure 2

The implications of the "constructionist" model in Figure 2, as compared with those of the "reflexive" model in Figure 1, are twofold. First, if there is assumed to be no accessible reality external to the language that purports to describe it, then not only can history be said to be nothing more than a linguistic study, but there is also no extra-linguistic or external referent by which the validity of histories can be assessed. Second, if we have no access to "the real world" beyond language, then there is no possibility of any "facts" coming in from "outside" to disrupt, contradict, or even test our linguistically determined perceptions of truth and reality.

This is a counter-intuitive position that makes little sense of our encounters with the world, and even the postmodernists who have asserted it most forcefully back away from it when it suits them. Rorty, Munslow and Jenkins, for example, all allow that we can establish simple individual facts about both the past and the present, although this concession contradicts their sweeping claims that we have no access to extra-linguistic reality and leads to the complete unravelling of their position (Connolly, 2005). Nevertheless, even an inconsistently held position can be influential, and this one undoubtedly is. Postmodern assumptions that language constructs, but does not reflect, reality inform many historical works that analyse Western discourses on the Orient. The authors of these works may believe that these discourses were constructed at least partly on the basis of inputs from extra-linguistic reality; they may also believe that the discourses refer to aspects of that reality. However, if they believe these things, they are careful not to say so. Rather, they systematically treat the discourses as if they were nothing more than social constructions - social constructions that reflected Western prejudices and preconceptions, or that served the needs of the imperial project (see for example Said, 1978, Inden, 1990, Pratt, 1992 and Dirks, 2001) These social constructions, it is implied, did not refer to reality but were imposed on it.

In this article, I will put this form of discourse analysis to the test by asking whether it makes sense of British accounts of travel to the Himalayas during the second half of the nineteenth century and the early twentieth century. Because of the constraints of space, I will confine my analysis to just two discourses: the climatic discourse and the picturesque discourse. I will argue that it is clear that travellers not only had a variety of discursive paradigms available to them, but that they were able to use them reflectively and critically, choosing whatever discourse matched their actual experiences in the Himalayas. I will also argue that the accounts show that the travellers sometimes modified or qualified the discourses to make them consistent with their experience, and that they sometimes rejected the existing discourses completely. At the same time, pre-existing discourses undoubtedly influenced the travellers' descriptions. In other words, the discourses both mediated the travellers' perceptions of the reality that they encountered and were in turn transformed and applied in ways determined by experience of that reality.

Every travel account to the western Himalayas makes reference to its climate, and the assumptions about the Himalayan climate that the travellers brought with them were that it was cool, invigorating and refreshing in contrast to the heat and humidity of the north Indian plains. According to Arnold, the place of India in British climatic discourse was in the category of 'the tropics', which was a "way of defining something environmentally and culturally distinct from Europe" (Arnold, 1998, 1-2). As increasing numbers of Europeans gained first-hand experience of living (and dying) in tropical regions during the nineteenth century, the 'tropics' came to be regarded as a hostile and deleterious environment, and prolonged exposure to a hot and moist climate was blamed for the poor health of individuals and a progressive degeneration of the race (Bankoff, 2001, 413). These discourses were not only based on nineteenth century European experiences in the tropics, but also on classical European theories of climate and race which defined racial difference by the 'temperate' and 'torrid' climatic zones (Kenny, 1995, 695). Harrison argues that by the 1830s, it was anticipated that people who sailed for India would return if at all, mere shadows of their former selves. The British Parliament's "Select Committee on Colonisation and Settlement (of India)" of 1857 proclaimed that the European constitution could not survive the third generation in the climate of India. An Englishman placed in Bengal would live with a tolerable degree of health but he "would soon cease to be the same individual" and his descendents would degenerate (Kenny, 1995, 700). Anxieties over degeneration hastened the search for relatively salubrious areas within India - hence the importance attached to what became known as 'medical topography' (Harrison, 1999, 19). The Himalayas played a central role in this medical topography, being the location of the vast majority of India's salubrious sites. By the 1880s, it was well established that the climate and exposure to the diseases of the plains threatened the health of Anglo-Indians. "It is only [through] escape from the influence of the plains" wrote the Surgeon General of the Bombay Presidency in 1881, "that the majority of Europeans can retain both mental and physical health and vigour" (Moore, 1881, 3-4). Thus, by the late nineteenth century, there existed a pervasive, normative and extremely homogeneous set of discursive assumptions about the Himalayan climate. These discourses were an attempt to make sense of actual patterns of disease and mortality, and were both pervasive and homogeneous precisely because they had elements of truth. Europeans were far more likely to die in tropical areas, and the difference between the Himalayan climate and the climate of the 'tropical' plains of India was not merely a construction of the discursive imagination. People choose words to match their experiences - experiences generated by objectively measurable differences in temperature.

Accounts of travel to the Himalayas often include these discourses. Knight, for example, wrote that "The fresh hill breeze was deliciously cool and invigorating" (Knight, 1897, 3). In the same vein, Emily Eden wrote on arrival at the hill station of Simla:

It really is worth all the trouble. The climate! No wonder I could not live down below! We never were allowed a scrap of air to breathe - now I have come back to the air again I remember all about it. It is a cool sort of stuff, refreshing, sweet, and apparently pleasant to the lungs...I see this to be the best part of India (Eden, 1866, 125).

However, it is transparent in this passage that Eden was not merely reciting a discourse. Her delight in the sensory transition as she reached Simla is palpable. James Milne, who remarked, "Kashmir is a white man's land in climate" (Milne, 1866, 113), also contrasted the climate of the hills with that of the plains by saying "there is as much difference between the temperature of Kashmir and India as there is between London and Sicily" (Milne, 1866, 80). Clearly, he adopted the discourse because it made sense of his experience.

However, while the majority of travellers' descriptions of the climate follow the standard discursive assumptions, exceptions exist. In 1873 Henry Bellew, a British administrator wrote after a trip to the hill country:

I felt the heat much more exhausting than anything I have experienced at the same time of year in open plains of India - in the Punjab at least. There the heat is high enough, but the air is light and moving, and there is ample breathing room. Here, on the contrary, the sun's rays shine through a stratum of dense vapour, which floats about the mountain tops, and loads the limited atmosphere

in the deep shut-in hollows between them with a heavy, stagnant, steamy air which bears one down by the very weight of its oppression (Bellew, 1875, 40).

This view displays a clear contrast to the normative British discourse, which according to the conventions that theory that underpins the conventions of postmodern discourse analysis, Bellew should not have been able to transcend. It is very likely that Bellew's 'negative' experience had something to do with the time of year of his travel through the region. However, this only serves to reinforce the conclusion that Bellew's preconceptions did not mediate the 'reality' he encountered, but rather that the 'reality' altered his preconceptions to the extent that he felt it worthwhile documenting the jolt to his preconceptions in the published journal of his time in India.

The second discourse to be discussed is the picturesque. Emerging in the mid-eighteenth century, the picturesque was an aesthetic classification bridging the gap between Edmund Burke's two concepts of beauty and sublimity as laid out in his book *On the Sublime and the Beautiful* (1756). With respect to landscapes, the picturesque possessed intricacy, irregularity and roughness. This was distinct from the accepted model of beauty as small, soft, sweet, delicate and pleasing, and also from the vast, overpowering nature of the sublime, which had a strong, angular, even terrifying aspect. In other words, the picturesque struck a compromise between the gentle beauty of English tillage and pasturage, and the sublime terror of Scottish or Welsh mountain landscapes (Ross, 1986, xiii). Francis Younghusband epitomised this concept perfectly when he wrote that "Kashmir possesses a combination of quiet loveliness and mountain grandeur" and that "If one could imagine the smiling, peaceful Thames valley with a girdle of snowy mountains, he would have the nearest approach to a true idea of Kashmir as it is possible to give" (Younghusband, 1909, 3). C. P. Skrine, who 'discovered' "Happy Valley" in his exploration of Northern Kashmir and Chinese Turkestan described it as a "secluded paradise of forest and river, of towering crag and pale-green hanging glacier...like a little Switzerland" (Skrine, 1926, 148). Originally applied to landscape painting, particularly trees, rocks and water, the picturesque discourse came into widespread conversational use by the end of the eighteenth century, also being applied to people (Ross, 1986, 1). According to Nigel Leask in *The Curiosity and Aesthetics of Travel Writing* (2002), the filtering abilities of the picturesque stabilised bourgeois European subjectivity in the discourse of travel. Scholars such as Cohn have suggested that as a linguistic framework, the picturesque allowed the viewer to filter out those elements which did not fit with the notion of the picturesque, in essence "erasing" the un-picturesque elements of the landscape (Leask, 2002, 178-9).



Figure 3 : Classic Picturesque: 'The Himalayas from Nakanda', from W. Scott, *Views in the Himalayas*, 1852.

All of India was seen as virgin terrain awaiting a "picturesque" invocation. As the Daniells' landscapes became synonymous with the early colonial vision of the wilds and ruins of India, the "picturesque" naturalized its own presence as an innate ingredient of the terrain. From a filter it grew into a frame, inscribing itself into the body of the physical space and its structures. [Travellers] setting out on tours in 1830, stepped into these already inscribed and pictured spaces (Guha-Thakurta, 2003., 114-115).

This position is indicative of the postmodern argument that our pre-existing discourses create reality. If one follows the logic of this argument, then British travellers should have seen the Himalayan landscape as 'picturesque', and there should be no room for experiences to alter discursive assumptions. This will be tested.

As has already been mentioned, travellers described the north Indian plains as hot, filthy, disease-ridden, monotonous, and stretching on endlessly (Milne, 1866, 61-62, 72). In *Where Three Empires Meet* (1897), Knight recounted with distaste his journey through the "seemingly interminable dusty plains of India" (Knight 1897, p.2). In contrast, British travellers described the West Himalayan landscape as "extremely picturesque", "an earthly paradise" (Drew, 1877, 135). Lady Wilson recorded her journey up into the hills as "a merry time of desolation but here we are at last in our picturesque Garden of Eden" (Wilson, 1911, 38). Fifty years earlier Emily Eden also described the western Himalayas as "exquisitely picturesque" (Eden, 1866, 106). The inhabitants of the western Himalayas were also described as 'picturesque' in comparison to Indians of the plains. The men were 'taller' and 'more muscular', and the women 'prettier', with fairer features and complexions. Cumming on attending a fair in the Himalayas noted how the fair complexioned, "picturesqueness" women made a pleasant contrast to the people of the plains (Cumming, 1884, 278). Skrine, in his travels, described the women in the Pamirs as "of a good-looking, square-faced, high cheek-boned type, quite fair, were it not for their quaint garb they might have stepped out of any Scandinavian village" (Skrine, 1926, 36). These types of descriptions clearly place the Himalayas and their inhabitants into the accepted picturesque category. In Figure 4, one can clearly see the picturesque European complexion and facial features.



Figure 4 : Watercolour by R. Clint. Hillwoman, Simla, 1866.

The people of the plains, in contrast, were represented as dark skinned, short in stature, with thick lips and broad noses (Skrine, 1926, 18-19, Milne, 1866, 124) and were rarely, if at all, described as picturesque. These physical characteristics were deemed the result of the 'tropical' environment of the plains.

However, while invocations of the picturesque were common, they were by no means all encompassing, and there are a number of problems with arguing that linguistically encoded

assumptions create rather than reflect reality. Firstly, there can be a variety of competing discourses available to travellers. The picturesque discourse for example, designed to produce pleasure, had an uneasy coexistence with the undeniable violence and terror of the Himalayan mountain landscape. Many Britons, particularly those travelling beyond the vale of Kashmir became fixated on the glaciers that gave "the impression of a flood of deadly coldness invading this earth from outer space," and the "dark desolate valleys with barren peaks and deep abysses that make a natural background for murderers and robbers" (Wilson, 1911, 207-8). Knight observed, "There was something unearthly in the colouring and in the desolation of the scene as well as in the immensity of the distances. It might have been some strange landscape of the ruined moon, so lifeless and strange it seemed" (Knight, 1897, 30). (See for example Figure 5.) Thus, despite the fact that travellers' linguistically encoded assumptions prepared them for the Himalayas being perfectly picturesque - sweet, pretty hills, like Switzerland or an Asiatic Holland - accounts of travel to the Himalayas prove that the picturesque, while being a common 'way of seeing', was not the only way of seeing; the mountains did not have a singular mood. This is noted by Constance Cumming:

When I say these green meadows were suggestive of England, I speak of course of one half of the picture. The other side remained unchanged; there were the same huge terraces of dark granite, the same ridges of crags and ice-cliffs, the same wild barren expanse of desolate grandeur (Cumming, 1884, 412-413).

His passage is significant in that it shows that neither of these discourses was indiscriminately applied. Cumming was able to select and even combine two contrasting discourses to describe her two experiences of the Himalayan landscape. The picturesque did not as Leask argues, homogenise bourgeois subjectivity, nor did it as Cohn suggests, "erase" un-picturesque elements of the landscape. Discursive assumptions were not simply applied, but were altered by the physical context that the British travellers encountered. Indeed, travellers relied on inputs from 'reality' to decide whether to invoke a discourse, to modify it, or to choose between alternative discourses.



Figure 5 : Chogolisa Saddle, Western Himalayas, 1890.

Secondly, in addition to competing discourses allowing room for perceiving and recording 'inputs' from experience, travellers could in some cases transcend the framework itself. Durand for example remarked, "The vale of Kashmir is, outwardly at least, the earthly paradise of the East" (Durand, 1900, 22). With respect to the Himalayan inhabitants, Durand, who spent five years on the west Himalayan frontier, wrote, "making at a distance a lovely picture, little naked boys played and swung on loops of vine, close at hand they were too dirty to be picturesque" (Durand, 1900, 53). Durand's ability to recognise the 'picturesqueness', but see beyond it to comment on the dirtiness of the boys is significant. While one needs to consider the fact that Durand had spent a number of years working in India and thus would have had a different perspective from that of a first time traveller, the point is that the 'reality' of the situation is able to transcend the prevailing discourse on Himalayan inhabitants. Similarly, Frederic Drew who also spent a number of years in

the Himalayas wrote, "The Kashmir villages, though untidy in details, are very picturesque" (Drew 1877, 126). He too was able to appreciate the picturesque qualities of what he was encountering, but he was clearly also able to remove his linguistically encoded filter and qualify his invocation of a standard discourse.



Figure 6 : Paharis (Hill Women), Simla, 1868.

Sometimes travellers struggled to 'see' the picturesqueness at all. In other words, they could not fit their experience to their expectation. Samuel Bourne wrote in one article, "I may pause for a moment to remark that the character of the Himalayan scenery in general is not picturesque" (Bourne, 1866, 559). In *Lights and Shades of Hill Life* (1895) Gore argued that in the central Himalayas there was "an almost complete lack from an artistic point of view, of the compact and finished Nature's pictures that one sees everywhere in the Alps" (Gore, 1895, 15). Youngusband told of his "feeling of disgust and despair at the sight of those utterly bare brown mountains which lie beyond the first forest-clad zones of the Himalayas, their cold and almost repellent appearance" (Youngusband, 1896, 2). Cumming similarly recalled:

Now that we had reached this much desired spot I fear we were rather disappointed. I believe we had expected to find ourselves close to the snows and to see wonderful pinnacles running up into heaven, whereas what we did see, was a group of somewhat uninteresting hills all clad alike with small deodars...then on the far horizon, distant fully a hundred miles and not higher, apparently, than the level on which you yourself stand, lies a long narrow white line, stretching right across the landscape, and indented like the teeth of a saw. And this is the snowy range! After a while we learned to know and love each line of that picture...but now I am giving you our first impressions. There is no denying the fact that the first *coup d'oeil* was disappointing (Cumming, 1884, 298-299).

Thus, although the picturesque operated as a powerful discursive and perceptual frame, it was a frame of which some travellers were conscious and from which they could extricate themselves. Travellers were clearly able to 'see' that not all was 'picturesque'. People did not automatically apply the picturesque discourse, but were selective about whether to apply it to particular people or places. Their selection was based on observation to determine whether particular people or places matched the criteria for inclusion in the picturesque discourse.

Often the selection took the form of what the travellers chose to include in their accounts, excluding elements that did not fit the framework. But this did not mean that they were unable to see beyond their discursive assumptions. Gore wrote on the problem of 'selectivity' in the appendix to his book *Lights and Shades of Hill Life* (1895):

Let those who go out to bring back a series of photographs of a new country not confine their pictures only to the prettiest subjects, but endeavour to take every landscape that is characteristic, even though it be ugly. For instance all Central Asia is a vast, barren, stony desert, in which here and there where there is irrigation you find green and fertile valleys, cultivation, fruit trees of all sorts. One is tempted to pick out these refreshing bits, to leave alone the twenty miles march over the barren stony waste and so bring back to England a number of pictures which convey the idea that Central Asia is a veritable Garden of Eden (Gore, 1895, 263).

Gore's appendix testifies both to the power of a discourse like the picturesque to dictate selection, and to people's ability to see and report things there were inconsistent with the discourses. With regards to the inhabitants, Durand wrote, "We passed a Kafir village on our way up the Dorah. One boy was very handsome, with an aquiline nose and finely cut mouth, and really beautifully shaped head and face, but the majority were uninteresting looking" (Durand, 1900, 126). Selectivity means that people do not necessarily convey everything they experience - in fact that would be impossible. While the convention of the picturesque meant that those people who did not fit the stereotype were not often described, comments about rosy cheeks and Aryan looks do not mean that this was the only 'reality' apprehended. Another Himalayan traveller who remarked on the almost European complexion of the people, also in one journal entry described "A man coming down the hillside: His colour was so much that of the ground that I did not readily distinguish his form until a pair of lank legs caught my eye overtopping a projecting rock...as he approached [I] found I had been watching a naked mountaineer" (Bellew, 1875, 41-2). Examples such as this illustrate why diaries can be excellent sources of information, particularly those that were not intended for publication. They often show what the traveller 'actually' experienced, untainted by what the traveller feels they ought to re-tell based on pre-existing assumptions about travel to the Himalayan region.

With some significant affinities between British travellers' accounts, it might be tempting to conclude that these travel writers conceived of the Western Himalayas with similar 'hermeneutical circles' whereby they regarded the land within a horizon constituted by pre-existing discourses (Keck, 2004, 392). However, while the travellers' discursive assumptions clearly affected how they perceived reality, and in doing so can be said to have influenced their construction of reality, they by no means prevented input from the environment itself. The argument that language is an arbitrary and independent system of representation is flawed. Not only is there evidence of the travellers' experiences being different from what they expected, but the discourses themselves are extremely flexible, allowing room for experience to alter them. There is also no need to conclude that because there is a gap between reality and its narration, the representation is in some fundamental sense inherently invalid. Travellers' representations were ultimately grounded in their individual encounters with the land and its inhabitants. This allowed them to select discourses that matched the 'reality' of their experiences, even if these discourses contradicted normative ones. When examining the specific historical context of British travellers' accounts to the Himalayas during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, it is obvious that the simple binary opposition of the 'discourse reflects reality versus discourse creates reality' is inadequate, and as an alternative, I suggest the 'Interactive Model' outlined below (Figure 7). In this model, language is neither the transparent medium supposed by classical theorists, nor is it the postmodernist's non-transparent barrier. Rather, it is a filter mediated by an individual's linguistically encoded assumptions, through which 'reality' is able to penetrate. As such, language influences but does not construct our view of reality. Furthermore, experiences of reality work as a feedback mechanism to modify or qualify discursive assumptions in a continuous interactive process. Far from being trapped within a 'prisonhouse' of language, we are, through our experiences, able to choose between different discourses, modify them, or even reject them, turning them into useful tools for describing multifaceted realities.

Interactive Model

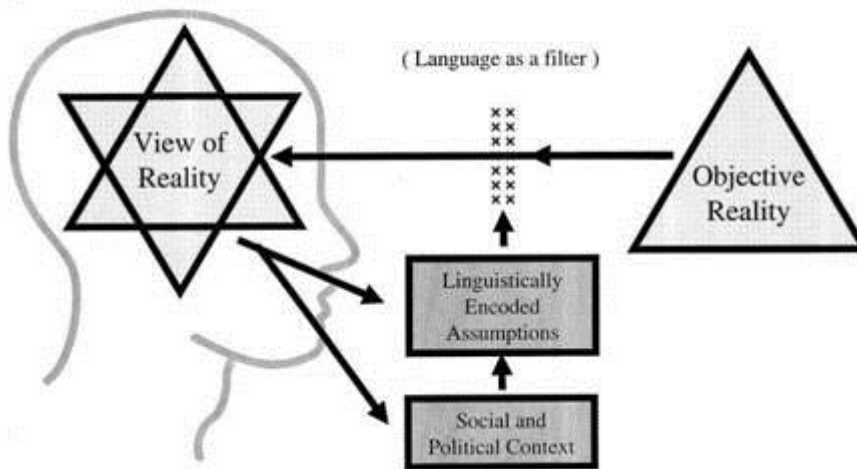


Figure 7

While the linguistic turn cannot be underestimated in bringing to the fore issues of culture, discourse, and representation, it actually becomes a restrictive praxis. The postmodern form of discourse analysis is itself a discourse - a discourse based on the working assumption that linguistic descriptions are imposed on reality. Whether or not they really accept that assumption, postmodern discourse analysts do work within it. It is their badge of identity, so they wear it. As such, postmodern discourse analysis systematically overlooks features of the discourses that it analyses which indicate that the discourses are based on inputs from reality, and that they are applied, modified, or rejected depending on whether they make sense of people's experience. In applying the type of critique advanced in this paper, it is clear that 'the constructionist model' (Figure 2) does not hold up to scrutiny.

Placed into a wider scholarly context, the argument I have put forward has important implications for the way in which issues of representation are understood and studied in the future. Furthermore, it also opens the door to the re-evaluation of existing historical scholarship on key themes such as race, culture and imperialism.

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