

Hidden Histories *of* Exploration

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Hidden Histories of Exploration

Researching the RGS-IBG Collections

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Front cover:
'A Malay native from Batavia at Coepang',
by Thomas Baines, 1856 (cat. no. 40)

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items. These are referred to in the text by number (cat. no.)



Introduction: hidden histories

When we think about the history of exploration, we often imagine it as the work of exceptional individuals in extraordinary circumstances. Men and women venturing forth on some incredible journey, surviving against all the odds - or perhaps being swallowed up, as Joseph Conrad once put it, by the mystery their hearts were set on unveiling....

If exploration has so often been portrayed as an individual drama, in which the explorer himself (or more rarely herself) is the central character, it is principally because of the demands of the marketplace: stories of heroic exploration, tinged with romance or tragedy, command as much public attention today as they ever have done, though the glamour of empire that once surrounded them has faded. Explorers themselves have long responded to that demand, as is clear from the history of their involvement with publishers and the media in general, ever since the days of Captain Cook. Far from being simply about lone travellers wandering through unknown lands, exploration has always been a fundamentally collective experience involving many different people in many different kinds of relationship. We need to make room in our histories for the local partners, guides, porters, fixers, interpreters, traders and officials who made journeys of exploration possible; and also the sponsors, patrons, publishers and editors who enabled accounts of these journeys to circulate more widely.

Thinking about exploration as an act of work, often monotonous and rarely glamorous, inevitably prompts us to think of it as a shared experience. Many of the most famous examples of explorers said to have been 'lone travellers' - say, David Livingstone in Africa - were anything but 'alone' on their travels. They evidently depended on local support of various kinds - for food, shelter, protection, information, communication, guidance and solace - as well as on monetary and other resources sent from further afield. Yet received wisdom tends to relegate such essential features of the history of exploration - the things that actually made adventurous travel possible - to the margins, with the main focus of attention on expedition leaders. In this book, and the accompanying exhibition, we have set out to highlight the role of local people and intermediaries, such as interpreters and guides, in making journeys of exploration possible. In the past, narratives of exploration and the accompanying visual record too often suggested a picture in which local people simply do not appear, as though explorers were invested with magical powers enabling them to float across desert, swamp, forest, mountain and polar ice without the slightest need for support or guidance. Of course, the realities were different: supplies, information and protection were essential to successful exploration in many different parts of the world, just as they are to travel and tourism today. Sometimes hidden, sometimes visible, the role of locals and other intermediaries in the history of exploration deserves to be much better known.

'Coolies on the North Col' (detail)
J. B. L. Noel, 1922 (cat. no. 19)

The RGS-IBG and its Collections

There are many ways of trying to unearth these hidden histories, from oral histories within formerly explored regions to archival research in major institutional repositories. In this book, we have taken the latter approach, focusing our efforts on the geographical collections of a major scientific institution: the Royal Geographical Society (with IBG). Today the Society is one of the world's best known organisations devoted to the advancement of geographical knowledge. Its unique and extensive collections contain over two million individual items – including books, manuscripts, maps, photographs, art-works, artefacts and film – reflecting the deep roots of British geographical interests around the globe. The history of these collections is itself a topic worthy of further research, since the idea of acquiring, storing and circulating geographical information was one of the main rationales for the foundation of the Society in 1830.¹ During the nineteenth century, many people – including navigators, explorers, officials, traders, missionaries and military officers – collected a variety of information in the course of their travels, ranging from details of geographical position – latitude and longitude – to more substantive accounts of the physical and human geography of whole regions. The RGS library received an increasing supply of publications and maps produced in many different countries, and the Society had privileged access to the collections of British government departments. The Society's publications disseminated the latest reports of mapping and exploration around the world, and regular meetings gave Fellows the opportunity to discuss their significance.

By its fiftieth anniversary in 1880, the RGS had become one of Britain's largest scholarly societies. During the next fifty years, as the membership widened, the Society's exclusive social composition began to change. In 1913, the RGS formally approved the admission of women, and in the same year moved from Savile Row to Kensington Gore, the locations themselves speaking eloquently of the changing institutional mood. From the late nineteenth century onwards, the Society had embraced a wider role in promoting geographical education. During the twentieth century its activities extended to other forms of public engagement, from the *Geographical Magazine* (established in association with the Society in 1935) to film, exhibitions and children's lectures. The Society also gained a significant voice in British higher education, significantly enhanced by its merger in 1995 with the Institute of British Geographers. One of the largest projects undertaken by the newly merged Society was a major redevelopment of its Collections, under the title 'Unlocking the Archives', largely funded by a major grant from the Heritage Lottery Foundation. This has provided modern facilities for the storage and preservation of materials and improved public engagement with the Collections, through both the Foyle Reading Room and the online catalogue. This important development has provided the basis for the innovative 'Crossing Continents, Connecting Communities' programme of exhibitions and workshops, making the Society's collections accessible to a range of new audiences.² In 2005, the RGS-IBG Collections were awarded Designated Status by the Museums, Libraries and Archives Council (MLA), in recognition of their national and international significance and key role

in extending 'understanding of cultural exchange and encounters around the world'.

Bald statistics convey something of the sheer extent of these Collections today: over a million maps, three thousand atlases, half a million photographs, 150,000 bound volumes, thousands of scholarly periodicals, substantial collections of artefacts and artworks, and a huge variety of manuscript material relating both to the Society's own history and to the activities of individuals and other organisations. Today, such material is put to a wide variety of uses, including commercial exploitation, education and outreach, popular publishing and scholarly research. In this book and the accompanying exhibition, our focus is on the potential of research in these Collections to illuminate 'hidden histories' of exploration. In geographical terms, we range far and wide, including material relating to every continent. This wide scope is itself an important aspect of the case we are making about the Collections. Their content is of course shaped by the Society's role in promoting British geographical endeavour since 1830. However, it is important to emphasise that the Collections are not confined to British materials, nor to the period since the Society's foundation: this is, in fact, a much more internationally diverse and historically extended collection than is commonly realised. Moreover, materials gathered for one purpose – let us say, maps relating to an international boundary dispute, manuscript accounts of a newly-explored region or photographs taken on a scientific expedition – may today have a quite different significance. The importance of this point cannot be overstated. It is a common experience shared in

many parts of the world that Collections developed on the basis of a particular agenda may in due course acquire uses and meanings quite different from those originally envisaged. Changing times, and changing priorities, may invest historical materials, perhaps long forgotten, with a new contemporary significance. Now that the full range of the RGS-IBG Collections has been made available in newly accessible forms, we can explore them afresh.



Track of the long boat, North Australian expedition (detail)
Thomas Baines, 1856 (cat. no. 44)



The RGS map room,
1 Savile Row
Bedford Lemere, 1912 (cat. no. 1)

The work of exploration

To read accounts of the exploits of great explorers can be an exhilarating experience. But much depends on one's point of view. Most of the non-Europeans who accompanied, guided, supported or led expeditions did not actually write about them and indeed these people are often more or less invisible, as individuals, in the accounts written by Europeans. Alexander von Humboldt's *Personal Narrative* of his travels in the Americas with Aimé Bonpland is symptomatic: it devotes a few spare words to his guides, such as Carlos del Pino, a Guayqueria Indian who the travellers met on first arriving in Venezuela in June 1799. Humboldt, like most explorers, was heavily dependent on 'local' guides and interpreters throughout the five years of his travels. In his published writings, however, they almost disappear from view. Yet the role of intermediaries like Carlos del Pino was crucial, not only in supporting European exploration, but also in helping to shape the knowledge that came of it. Rather than being the work of Europeans alone, exploration was a joint project of work, undertaken for different reasons and with different results for the parties concerned, but a joint project nonetheless. In this sense, we can think of the resulting contributions to geographical knowledge as co-productions.

European dependence

European dependence on local labour – the work of porters, soldiers, translators, companions, cooks, paddlers, pilots, guides, hunters, collectors – extended

also to a reliance on local expertise. Explorers who followed Humboldt to South America, such as Henry Walter Bates, depended on locals for their knowledge as well as physical labour. Bates, later appointed Assistant Secretary at the RGS, spent 11 years in Amazonia collecting butterflies and beetles: during this period he sent specimens of 14,700 species back to England, over half of them new to science. He described one of his most expert field assistants, Vicenti, as 'dreadfully independent and shrewd': 'he is better acquainted with the names and properties of plants and trees than any man in Para, and is a glorious fellow to get wasps' nests, and to dig out the holes of monstrous spiders'.³ Such assistance was essential in identifying potential dangers - poisonous species, unpredictable rivers, uncharted territories - which could literally mean the difference between life and death. From the point of view of the assistants themselves, explorers like Bates were a resource to be exploited. In the context of Amazonian exploration and natural history, as anthropologist Hugh Raffles points out, Europeans needed them far more than they needed Europeans. Local workers were often in a strong bargaining position, able to demand payment in advance for a journey and then, having received the money, perhaps to abscond or insist on further payment. Access to entire regions would depend on the willingness of crew members and other assistants to enter areas occupied by relatively powerful Amerindian groups: hence the frequent complaints of Europeans about obstruction or refusals to continue. In their account of a journey across South America, published by John Murray in 1836, William Smyth and Frederick Lowe dwelt on this difficulty of

'Some of the Zanzibar and other natives of Mr H. M. Stanley's party' (detail)
Catherine Frere, 1877 (cat. no. 4)



5 Amaythay 6 Hassina 7 Badayabte 8 Abdoumoussa 9 Hamawuzee 10 Binkilamagana 11 Mamamiss

repeated 'desertion' by Indians: 'without them it was impossible to get on'.⁴ Nearly a century later, during the 1920s, Colonel Fawcett and those who went after him in the interior of Matto Grosso found themselves in much the same position: George Dyott, for example, relied heavily on a Bakairi Indian guide named Bernadino.

The importance of local knowledge is clear from archival materials relating to exploring expeditions in many different parts of the world. This knowledge was not always provided by 'locals' themselves



'First day down the Kuluseu, carrying the baggage'
G. Dyott, 1928 (cat. no. 2)

but by various kinds of intermediary or in-between figures, usually in return for payment. Guides and interpreters were often themselves outsiders to the inhabitants of areas through which expeditions moved: they played the vital role of mediator between the explorers and the locals. In their descriptions of such go-betweens, explorers moved all too quickly from praise to disdain, unwilling perhaps to expose the sheer extent of their own dependence. For example, Dyott clearly relied heavily on Bernadino's knowledge of the forests and tributaries of the Xingu and his ability to communicate with Amerindians, but he did not regard him as a 'real Indian' since he spoke Portuguese and wore European-style clothes.⁵ Others were more ready to acknowledge the ability of interpreters to cross and sometimes to manipulate cultural divides by withholding or disguising information in translation. Few explorers however had the kinds of linguistic knowledge that would bring such evidence to light, and even communication in another European language could be a challenge. For example, missionary-explorer David Livingstone is said to have resorted to garbled Latin in his unsuccessful attempts to communicate with the residents of Rio de Janeiro.

Some of the more detailed descriptions of non-European contributions are to be found in the case of African exploration.⁶ In his travels across Southern Africa, David Livingstone was reliant upon African guides and servants. Describing his journey from east to west coast in his best-selling *Missionary Travels* (1857), he expressed a preference for travelling off the beaten track: but this was not so much for the benefit of geographical knowledge as to by-



'An island passage of the River Amazon'
L. Haghe after William Smyth, 1835 (cat. no. 3)

pass the need to pay money to local village chiefs.⁷ Other celebrated African explorers, including John Hanning Speke, James Grant, and above all Henry Morton Stanley, travelled in larger, military-style expeditions, frequently along well-trodden trade routes. Many published detailed accounts of the leading members of their expedition parties, highlighting their contributions in ways which combine the moralizing language of Christian paternalism with a quasi-military code of ethics. Hence the acknowledgement of the role of 'faithful servants' alongside accounts of the contributions of those who showed particular bravery in the cause of exploration. The recruitment of porters and soldiers was a vital moment in the organisation of any major expedition, and explorers in East Africa often began this work in Zanzibar. Stanley used Zanzibar as a recruiting ground for all his expeditions, including those beginning or ending on the West coast of Africa. In highlighting the role of leading African

members of his expeditions, Stanley effectively treats them as (subordinate) 'officers' and included their portraits in his books. He also extended this form of recognition to their wives, reminding us that expedition parties contained significant numbers of women, as well as children.⁸ While the Zanzibari women are identified in Stanley's book only by their husbands' names, their own names were recorded in a sketch done by Catherine Frere, daughter of the British High Commissioner Sir Henry Bartle Frere, which survives in the RGS-IBG Collections (cat. no. 4). This sketch was made when the expedition party visited government house at Capetown in November 1877, having crossed Africa from east to west during a journey of one thousand days.

Local knowledge

While the information provided by locals and intermediaries could be vital, its status and reliability was often questioned, especially in the context

of the physical sciences. Controversy over the evidential status of ‘native testimony’ was particularly acute in the case of the search for the sources of the Nile during the 1850s and 1860s, though it is important to recognise that local knowledge had long been a significant source of information for explorers in many different parts of the world. The development of a more formal set of protocols for handling interview evidence is usually associated with the twentieth-century history of anthropological fieldwork, though earlier models may be seen – for example in *Notes and Queries* (published by the Royal Anthropological Institute) and the Royal Geographical Society’s own *Hints to Travellers*. In the context of travel and exploration during the nineteenth century, the formal procedures of scientific judgement provided only one framework in which oral evidence might be evaluated: alongside these were more vernacular notions of veracity and reliability, religiously-inspired judgments about the authenticity of testimony and the routine procedures for cross-checking empirical observations developed in many professions, most notably within naval survey.

In this context, the image of Inuit ‘hydrographers’ which appeared in John Ross’ *Narrative of a second voyage in search of a North-West passage* (1835), is intriguing (cat. no. 6). The two Inuit are named as ‘Ikmalick and Apelagliu’, members of a group of Netsilik who approached Ross’ ship *Victory* in January 1830 when it was frozen in Prince Regent Inlet, in the Canadian Arctic. Their testimony concerning the geography of what was later named as Committee Bay can hardly have been welcome for it suggested that there was no navigable passage westward,

a fact later confirmed by James Clark Ross in the course of a sledging journey. The illustration, prepared by lithographer John Brandard after a sketch by Ross himself, shows them drawing a map in the ship’s cabin with volumes (presumably of sailing directions and charts) behind them. They are pictured together with the ship’s officers in an act of sharing their observations which would have been a routine feature of shipboard life: the chart they drew, at Ross’s request, is also reproduced in his *Narrative*. Ross had reason to be grateful to the Inuit: although he complains about pilfering from his ship, amongst other help provided over four Arctic winters, they supplied dogs for the sledges. In a previous expedition to Baffin Bay, he had made sustained contact with several groups of Inuit along the northwest coast of Greenland, with the help of John Sacheuse, a South Greenland Inuk who had visited England with a whaler, and whom Ross employed as an interpreter.⁹



'Ikmalick and Apelagliu'
J. Brandard, after a drawing by John Ross,
1835 (cat. no. 6)

As the fate of the Franklin expedition would later confirm, Arctic navigation was difficult and dangerous. Europeans could find themselves dependent here, as elsewhere, on local people for both supplies and information. In the Arctic, however, the long periods during which ships wintered in frozen ice meant that the encounter with local populations was especially prolonged. The RGS-IBG Collections include the manuscript journal of a gunner’s mate, and a Hakluyt Society edition of the journal of the Commander of HMS *Plover*, sent to the North Alaskan coast to join the search for Franklin. The forty-two man crew of the *Plover* spent two years in 1852-4 anchored three miles from the Iñupiak settlement of Nuvuk (Point Barrow) and these accounts document – from one side, of course – a developing relationship between the visitors, unfamiliar with the rigours of climate, terrain and isolation in the Arctic, and the locals, who had long experience of exploiting resources in order to survive. The Iñupiak provided food, furs and dogs in exchange for other goods. We know from the surviving records that some of them entered into more intimate liaisons with the sailors. They also provided useful knowledge about the seasonal movements of sea ice, and local indications of wind and weathers. Such documents of encounter and exchange, read against the grain, can reveal much about the dependence of Europeans even when their authors insist on quite the opposite.¹⁰

Local knowledge and skill was appropriated by Europeans, especially where it could easily be fitted into existing forms of knowledge, such as a topographic map or a land survey. In principle, the

resulting work could be considered as hybrid knowledge or at least as co-produced.¹¹ The nineteenth-century British mapping of India, for example, not only depended heavily on local labour for its execution but it also drew directly on pre-colonial Indian mapping traditions, as reflected in the incorporation of the *khusrah* system within the land revenue surveys of the British.¹² In other contexts too, local knowledge could be valued positively as a source of evidence about language, material culture and history. The compilation of glossaries, dictionaries and vocabularies was both an outcome of fieldwork and a tool for future explorers. Unsurprisingly, given their interest in providing religious education in local languages, missionaries were particularly involved in this aspect of ethnological research. In 1854, for example, the missionary Sigismund Koelle published a remarkable comparative vocabulary in over one hundred African languages based on interviews with former slaves living in Freetown, Sierra Leone. ‘Living natives were the only source from which the information was derived’, wrote Koelle in his preface, ‘no book or vocabulary of any sort was consulted’. Complete with a map drawn by Augustus Petermann, Koelle’s linguistic and geographical evidence remains a vital source for African historians researching the diverse origins and experiences of enslaved peoples (cat. no. 8).

In *Missionary Travels*, the explorer David Livingstone went out of his way to emphasise the value of ‘native information’. Describing a journey across the Kalahari Desert, for example, he highlighted indigenous skills in locating and preserving water sources which would not be known to outsiders. He constantly

asked questions of local inhabitants about the geography of river systems and in some places persuaded his informants to sketch rough maps on the ground. He was usually careful to treat such information as only potential evidence, in need of corroboration by Europeans, as in his account of the Western reaches of the Zambesi drainage basin: 'All, being derived from native testimony, is offered to the reader with diffidence, as needing verification by actual explorers'. Elsewhere, however, he was less circumspect. Describing his travels through the Barotse valley, Livingstone relies on conversations with a small group of local elders to make large generalisations about the region's tectonic history: 'Their quick perception of events recognisable by the senses, and retentiveness of memory, render it probable that no perceptible movement of the earth has taken place between 7 Deg. and 27 Deg. S. in the centre of the continent during the last two centuries at least'.¹⁴ Throughout his writings, Livingstone insisted on the worth of such evidence. The map accompanying *Missionary Travels*, drawn up by John Arrowsmith, one of England's leading cartographers, thus contains a note stating that the positions of rivers and lakes marked in dotted lines were based on 'Oral Geographical information which Dr. Livingstone collected from intelligent Natives with whom he conversed during his Travels across Africa'.

The reliance of travellers on oral testimony became controversial in the wake of John Hanning Speke's claims to have identified the source of the Nile, following his expeditions to East Africa with Burton (1856-9) and Grant (1860-3). Burton, in particular, was incredulous, regarding Speke's reliance on inter-



Route from Zanzibar to Sudan, 1860-3
 Drawn by J. A. Grant, with explanatory note
 by J. H. Speke, 1863 (cat. no. 12)

preters and intermediaries (including Speke's servant Bombay) as fatal to his argument: 'Bombay, after misunderstanding his master's ill-expressed Hindostani, probably mistranslated the words into Kisawahili to some travelled African, who in turn passed on the question in a wilder dialect to the barbarian or barbarians under examination. During such a journey to and fro words must be liable to severe accidents'.¹⁵ Speke's triumphal announcement in 1863 that he had 'settled' the question on his expedi-



'Head Janissary of the British Consulate, Zanzibar with two emancipated slave boys; the smaller of the two is from "Uniamesi" or the Country of the Moon',
 J. A. Grant, 1860 (cat. no. 11)

tion with James Grant attracted criticism from Burton and others, and his speculative maps were ridiculed. But in the wider public eye, Speke was hailed as a hero: furthermore, he held fast to his reliance on oral testimony concerning places he had not actually seen to supplement the evidence of his own eyes.

In a notable portrait by Henry Wyndham Phillips, exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1864 and now in a private collection, Speke is shown with James Grant and an African youth, weighing up the evidence for the sources of the Nile. (cat. no. 10) The scene dramatises the explorers' efforts to treat local information as simply another kind of evidence, alongside that of botanical specimens, topographical maps and sketches made on the spot. While he is depicted as

a source rather than the subject of the painting, hovering almost like a servant at the master's table, the African's languid presence contrasts markedly with the awkward immobility of the British explorers.¹⁶ In the exhibition catalogue, he was named as 'Timbo, a native from the Upper Nile' and until recently that was all that could be said about him. However, on the basis of research for the present exhibition, he can now be identified with some confidence as George Francis Tembo, a former slave brought to England by Colonel Rigby, the British consul in Zanzibar between 1858 and 1861. Tembo's origins are obscure - in some accounts he is said to have originally come from what is present-day Tanzania - though like tens of thousands of other Africans he eventually ended up in Zanzibar, where Rigby effectively adopted

him and gave him the names George Francis in addition to Tembo (which means 'elephant' in Swahili). It is possible that he is one of the two 'emancipated slave boys' photographed with the chief guard of the British consulate by James Grant on his stay in Zanzibar in 1860 (a very early example of the use of photography in sub-saharan Africa). This stereoscopic print was sent by Speke to the RGS in a set which includes scenes of Zanzibar and a portrait of Colonel Rigby. (cat. no. 11) While direct evidence is lacking concerning the identity of the boys in this print, we know that Tembo came to London with Rigby and was in 1863 presented with another boy – perhaps the other boy in the photograph – at crowded public meetings to celebrate the return of Speke and Grant. In a depiction of one of these meetings published in *the Illustrated London News*, both boys are clearly visible, wearing their tassled hats alongside Speke, Grant and the RGS President Sir Roderick Murchison, (cat. no. 9) their presence presumably intended to confirm the possibility that black Africans could provide useful evidence for geographical research. Large portraits of the boys also appeared in the same issue of the newspaper, given as much prominence as those of Grant and Speke themselves, over the caption 'Discovery of the source of the Nile: negro boys of central Africa'. Tembo is also recorded in another source as having visited the Royal Academy exhibition with Colonel Rigby in 1864. What he thought of the painting by Wyndham Phillips history does not record.¹⁷

Uneasy partnerships

Given explorers' need for local information and support, it was in their interests to develop effective working partnerships with knowledgeable intermediaries who could act as brokers between expedition parties and local inhabitants. From the point of view of those who played such a role, expeditions could offer both income and status, and the possibility of wider opportunities for employment. A recurring feature of employment practices on expeditions in many different parts of the world was the clear preference amongst Europeans for individuals with prior experience, whom they could trust. Many of these intermediaries, for their part, acquired far more knowledge of exploration than most European explorers could ever hope to attain. In this category we can place Africans such as Bombay and Uledi, who worked for Speke, Livingstone and Stanley, managing large contingents of men and women, and piloting their river craft; Indians like Nain Singh, who worked for the Schlagintweit brothers in Ladakh in the 1850s, and later (as 'the Pundit') for the British in Tibet; Amerindian guides like Pedro Caripoco who travelled in Amazonia with Jean Chaffanjon in 1886 and Alexander Hamilton Rice in 1919-20; and the Tibetan interpreter Karma Paul (or Palden) of Darjeeling, who worked for every British expedition to Everest between 1922 and 1938. In Europe, exploration was increasingly thought of during the nineteenth century as a kind of a career: the same might also be said of the non-Europeans on whom their expeditions depended.

Guides and interpreters often forged close working relationships with the leaders of expeditions. Such

partnerships usually depended on a degree of mutual respect, though they were not always easy or intimate. The unequal resources available to each party could cause tension. Thus interpreters could find themselves caught between conflicting demands of locals and explorers. Not all explorers were ready to acknowledge their dependence on local support. Nonetheless, it is not difficult to find evidence of effective working partnerships in the practice of fieldwork and exploration, especially once one goes beyond published expedition narratives. The direct evidence is often slight, as in the case of the relationship between the naturalist Alfred Russel Wallace and his field assistant Ali, a sixteen-year old youth who became Wallace's 'head man' during his collecting expeditions in the Malay Archipelago (including present-day Indonesia). As Jane Camerini has shown, Wallace's fieldwork practice depended on his interactions with other individuals in a variety of local and extra-local networks, including most importantly with people he employed in collecting, preparing and arranging specimens. Remarkably, Wallace included a photograph of Ali in his autobiography, describing him as his the best assistant he ever had: according to Camerini, 'Ali served not only as Wallace's eyes, ears and hands in his collecting, and not only as a faithful domestic servant: he was also a teacher in the native language and ways, and in a very real sense, a friend and companion. Wallace's dependence on him was extraordinary'.¹⁸ (cat. nos. 13-14)

The relationship between Wallace and Ali may have been companionable but it was not in any sense equal. While Wallace acknowledged Ali's role in his



'My faithful Malay boy - Ali, 1855-1862
photograph in A. R. Wallace, *My Life*, 1905 (cat. no. 13)

narrative and memoirs, his name slipped out view in more 'philosophical' discussions. In other contexts, however, the balance of power and respect could be more evenly balanced, and the role of non-Europeans less easy to hide. In her fieldwork on Rapa Nui (Easter Island) in 1914-15, for example, Quaker ethnologist Katherine Routledge relied heavily on Juan Tepano, a respected figure on the island who had previously served in the Chilean military (cat. no. 15). While he is not mentioned by name in the paper which she read to the RGS in 1917 (a fate, incidentally, which he shares with Katherine as her paper was published under the name of her husband, Scoresby),¹⁹ it is clear that Tepano was her most important informant. With his mother Victoria

Veriamu (cat. no. 16, probably the oldest woman living on the island at the time), he provided valuable information about cultural traditions on the island. Routledge placed great value on the methods of what would now be called oral history, as a way of making sense of ethnographic materials gathered by previous travellers. Although she may not have considered Tepano a social or intellectual equal, he was credited by her with primary responsibility for the success of the expedition.²⁰

During the second half of the twentieth century, the language of partnership came to dominate accounts of scientific exploration and fieldwork in

the non-Western world. In the case of mountaineering, for example, the neo-colonial treatment of Sherpas as 'coolies' that characterized the early Everest expeditions in the 1920s and 1930s was increasingly challenged – by some climbers as well as the Sherpas themselves – so that by the 1950s they were increasingly regarded as partners as much as porters.²¹ Tenzing Norgay's famous account of the final moments of the 1953 ascent, in which he gently disputes Hillary's version, marks the change of tone: 'All the way up and down we helped, and were helped by, each other – and that was the way it should be. But we were not leader and led. We were partners'.²²



'Tenzing Norgay on the summit of Mount Everest'
Edmund Hillary, 1953 (cat. no. 23)



Katherine Routledge with field assistant
Unknown photographer, Rapa Nui (cat. no. 17)

J.M.L. GAVIN



Everest album
 A page from a 1936 Everest album includes many Sherpas who took part in the expedition, wearing their newly-issued identity discs. Interpreter Karma Paul is in the third row, fourth from the right, next to expedition leader Hugh Rutledge. A young Tenzing Norgay is in the fourth row, first on the left. J. M. L. Gavin, 1936 (cat. no. 20)



The art of encounter

Since the publication of Bernard Smith's path-breaking book, *European Vision and the South Pacific* (1960), many historians have ventured into the rich visual archive of European travel and exploration to study drawings by naval surveyors, sketches by expedition artists, scientific illustrations, engravings, watercolours and oil paintings. Smith's influential work significantly widened the scope of what could be considered appropriate subject matter for art history, encompassing a variety of forms of visual culture, including works designed to convey empirical information as accurately as possible. This body of work is clearly relevant to interpretations of visual materials in the RGS-IBG Collections. In the era when the Society was founded, drawings and paintings were deemed potentially important resources in the scientific study of landscapes and peoples. This was also reflected in the significance attached to graphic skills in the contemporary practice of survey and natural history. The art of sketching was fundamental to map-making and an essential part of the training of naval surveyors.²³ The ability to draw precisely was also a key requirement for naturalists seeking to render the forms and features of plants and animals *in situ*. At a less directly empirical level, philosophical geographers like Humboldt stressed the value of synthetic landscape images in conveying a sense of place and the connectedness of human and natural phenomena. The landscape view was not an

adornment but an integral part of geographical knowledge: it held a special place in *Cosmos*, the summation of Humboldt's philosophy of geography. Such preoccupations help to explain the prominence of landscape scenes in the work of German scientific explorers inspired by Humboldt, including for example Spix and Martius in Brazil and the Schlagintweit brothers in India.²⁴

In *Hidden Histories of Exploration*, our focus is on the role of local peoples and intermediaries in the making of geographical knowledge, rather than on the artists themselves. While it is true that the majority of art historians remain concerned with the history of Western ways of seeing rather than the point of view of indigenous peoples, discussion of the representation of non-Europeans and cultural difference generally has stimulated a variety of alternative approaches to the subject. In this context, Bronwen Douglas has argued that it is possible to see the visual image of the other not simply as a reflection of a mindset – cultural baggage dragged all the way from Europe, as it were – than as a palimpsest which may register, even by their absence, the traces of indigenous actions, relationships and settings. Even the most obdurately colonial of imagery may bear what Douglas calls 'the oblique stamp of indigenous actions, desires and agency'.²⁵ To put it simply, much depends on the way they are read.

The RGS-IBG Collections contain a wide variety of 'artistic' representations of exploration and encounter, from the finished oil paintings of expedition artists to fragmentary sketches contained within manuscript

'The Wife of Captain Drysdale'
Thomas Baines, 1856 (cat. no. 41)

letters and journals. Amidst this profusion of visual imagery, the great atlases of the first half of the nineteenth century stand out. The product of large-scale and well-funded government-sponsored expeditions, they represent the high point of the Enlightenment project to document and order the world. The impulse towards inventory is reflected in the arrangement as well the content of the imagery, under the dominant influence of the natural history model.²⁶ Various forms of material culture – architecture, forms of transport, dress, jewellery, body paint, hair style – are depicted through a series of plates, specimen piled upon specimen. The attention to detail in the Atlases compiled under the authority of the French navigators Dumont D’Urville, Freycinet and Duperrey, in the first three decades of the nineteenth century, is worth noting. Alongside material culture, the atlases contain a variety of landscape and encounter scenes, carefully staged to meet European tastes and assumptions. On occasion, as in the representation of two Maori chiefs in Duperrey’s *Voyage autour du monde* (1826), selected indigenous peoples are individualised by their naming: in this case, a pairing of ‘two New Zealand chiefs’, one is named as Tuai, chief of the Kahuwera, shown wearing European dress (cat. no. 30). The image plays directly into contemporary discussions of the possibility of ‘civilising’ indigenous peoples in the ways of Europeans. But it also reflects Tuai’s own agency in the sense that he played a significant role as an intermediary between the French officers and local Maori, being able to converse with the French in English. Such intermediary roles, however, were rarely made visible in the formal visual record of government-sponsored expeditions.



Two New Zealand chiefs
Ambroise Tardieu, after drawings by L. F. Lejeune and A. Chazal, 1826 (cat. no. 30)

In addition to lavishly produced expedition reports, the visual archives of the RGS-IBG include more personal sketches and illustrated journals kept by naval and army officers, commercial whalers and independent travellers. While these records depict the experience of travel from particular points of view, notably in the context of colonial and military activities, they can illuminate aspects of cultural encounter and exchange. William Smyth’s picturesque ‘view of the village at Pitcairn Island’, which he visited as a midshipman in the *Blossom* in 1825, depicts a bucolic scene in which naval officers and inhabitants, descendants of the *Bounty* mutineers and their Tahitian wives, mingle promiscuously (cat. no. 31). The watercolour was presented to the RGS in 1867 by the son of John Barrow, Under-Secretary at the Admiralty and one of the founders of the Society in 1830. Smyth’s considerable skill as an artist was also reflected in his drawings for the official record of the voyage, as well as his surveying work.²⁷

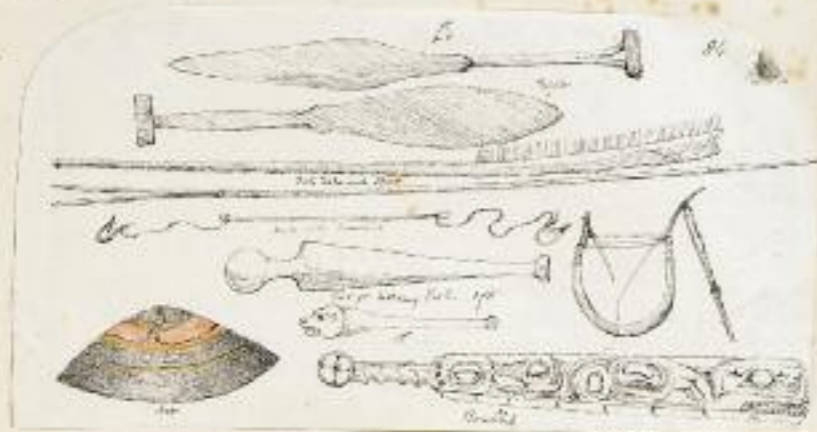
But it is what his painting tells us about the re-imagining of Pitcairn following the chaos and violence of the community’s beginnings that is of significance here. After the end of the French wars in 1815, several British ships stopped at Pitcairn, lured by its unlikely story: this was the moment, as Greg Denning puts it, when the Royal Navy began its love affair with Pitcairn.²⁸ No longer the refuge of traitors, it was now represented as a sort of natural experiment: the officers of the *Blossom* enumerated the population carefully, making careful note of the physical features of the various generations. The experience of Pitcairn, if they were to be believed, seemed to suggest that the most unpromising of stock could be redeemed, under the benign influence of Christianity. The vision was sealed in John Barrow’s influential popular account of the mutiny on the *Bounty*, published in 1831, which contained an idyllic account of the Pitcairn community as a ‘little Eden’. Smyth was one of its illustrators.²⁹



‘A view of the village at Pitcairn Island’ (detail)
William Smyth, 1825 (cat. no. 31)

The enduring influence of Enlightenment models of natural history, in which cultural artefacts were specimens to be classified and mapped, is visible in a remarkable series of six illustrated personal journals made by a naval surgeon, John Linton Palmer, between 1850 and c.1868 (cat. nos. 32-4; see also the larger gallery of images at rgs.org/hiddenhistories). Linton Palmer’s naval career on board a number of different ships involved extensive travel, notably around the Pacific, and his journals include sketches made in Pitcairn Island, Rapa Nui (Easter Island), Chile, Panama, China, the North-West Coast of America and the Bering Strait. Like many naval surgeons, Linton Palmer developed an interest in natural history and ethnography. He presented a paper to the RGS in January 1870 on his visit with HMS *Topaze* to Rapa Nui, which had resulted in the removal of a large statue, known as Hoa Hakananai’a, presented to the British Museum.³⁰ As a British naval officer, Linton Palmer was far from a disinterested observer: in this respect his view of a village in Panama ‘from the coal- ing station’, framed as it is by the verandah, is symptomatic. Yet his sketches of North-West Coast Indian and Inuit peoples, and their artefacts, reveals a highly developed interest in the detail of material cultures in the process of rapid change. The pages from Linton Palmer’s albums bear comparison to the published plates from the expeditionary reports of a previous generation, such as those of Freycinet or Duperrey (cat. nos. 28-9): indeed, these may have been his models. They also reflect interactions and exchange with local communities. While we cannot know exactly what transpired within these moments, we do know they took place, and that like every exchange there were at least two sides to the bargain.

Portraits and artefacts from Vancouver Island (detail) and Inuit artefacts from the Bering Strait
John Linton Palmer, 1851-2 (cat. nos. 32-3)



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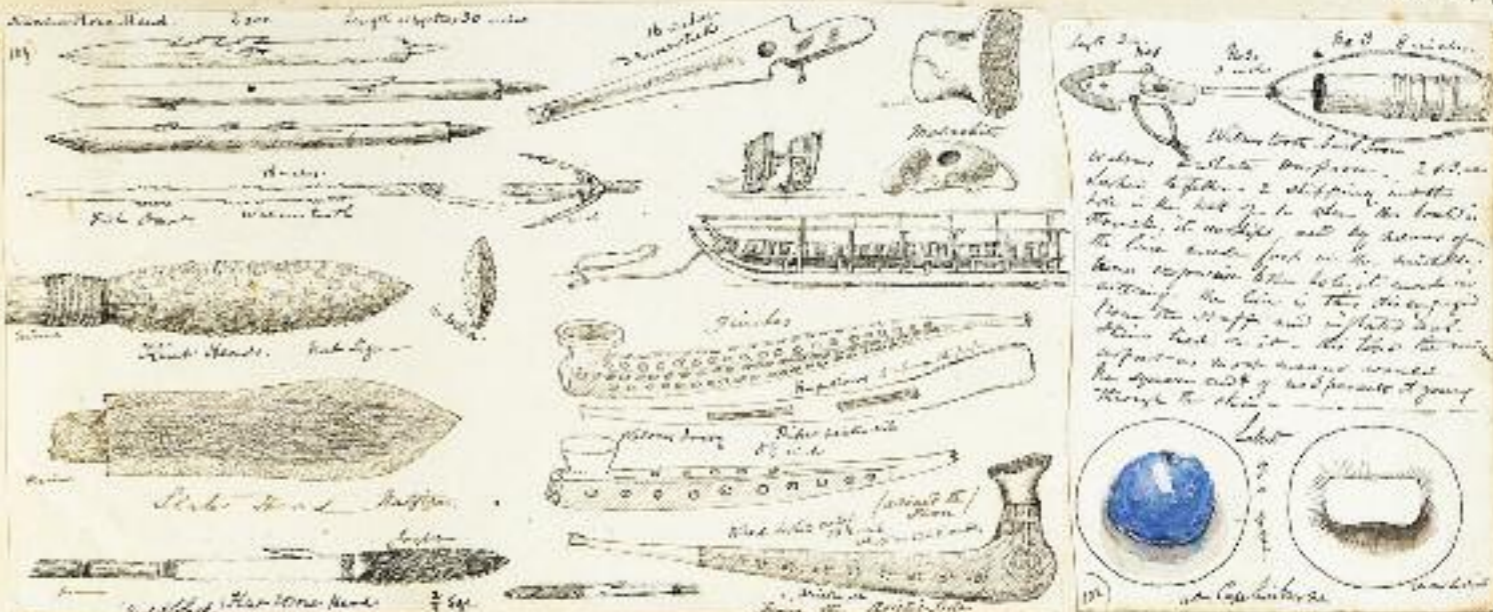


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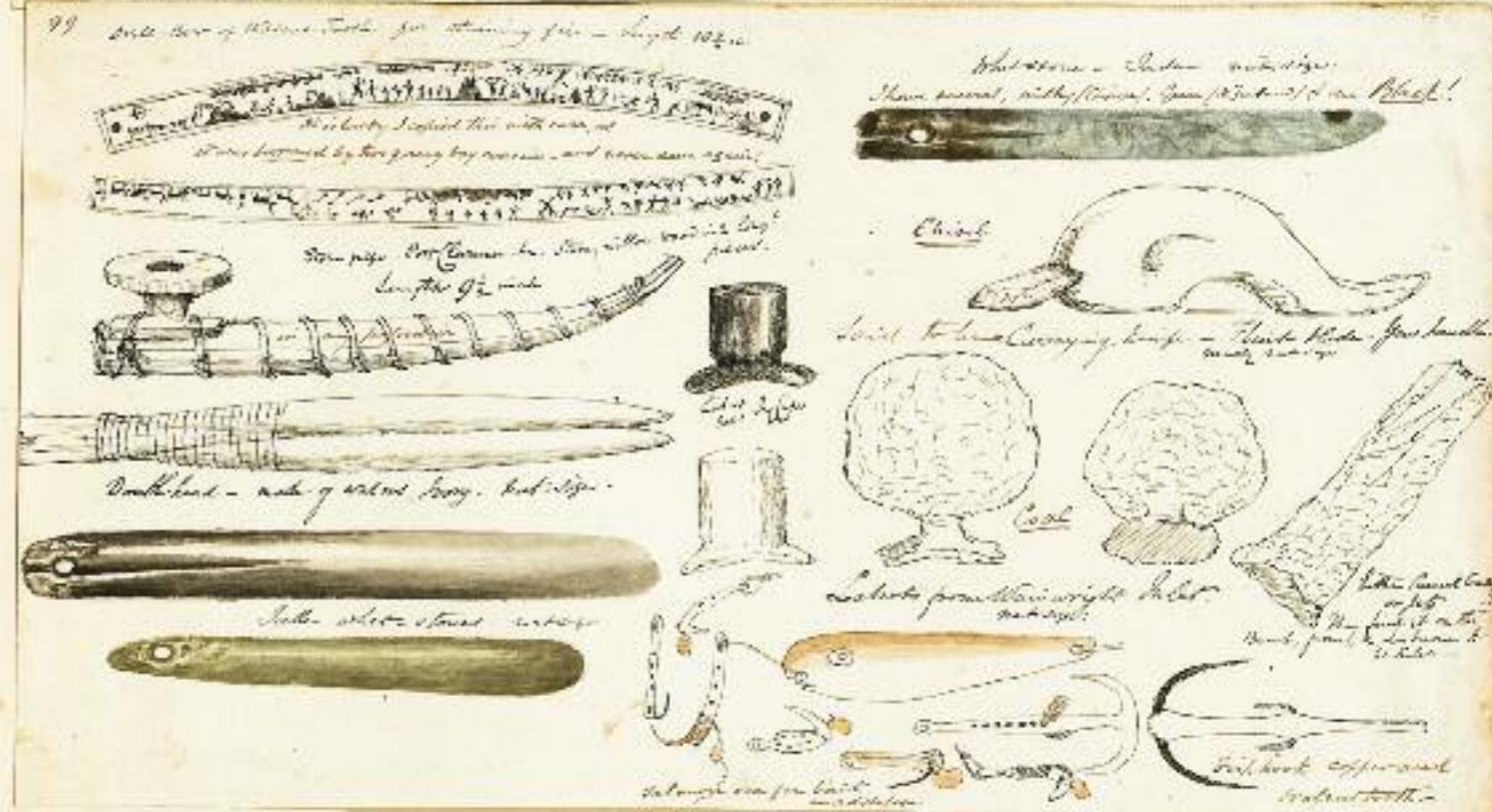
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This is done by crumpling it is a very simple game each showing his hand. It is done in a circle. It is described in something very interesting by Longfellow in his "Hesperus".



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Rockford, N.C. Givon, taking of his first issue after his return from...

In other circumstances, art works can highlight evidence of exchange which may reflect deeper partnerships between Europeans and locals. The RGS-IBG Collections include a series of striking watercolours attributed to Joseph Brown, a British trader, who lived in Colombia between 1826 and 1841 (including cat. nos. 35-6). The sketches depict scenes in and around Bogotá, as well as a series of portraits of urban and rural 'types'. Together, they have been described as making up the earliest significant collection of paintings of everyday life in Colombia.³¹ While some of the paintings appear to have been presented by Brown to members of his family, others were clearly intended for publication, probably in a book of picturesque scenes of the kind that were increasingly popular in Europe during this period. What makes this set especially interesting is the signatures on several of the works, indicating the name of the artist who drew, coloured or engraved the watercolours, a convention followed in published illustrated works, indicating that they



'The interior of a store in the principal street of Bogotá with mule drivers purchasing'
Joseph Brown, after J. M. Groot, c.1840 (cat. no. 36)

were effectively co-produced. In what seems to have been a project intended for publication, Brown had collaborated with a number of local artists, including the Castillo brothers (who coloured some of his drawings) and José Manuel Groot (some of whose work Brown seems to have copied). Such direct evidence of collaboration is relatively rare in unpublished sketches without accompanying archival evidence. Yet it makes sense that artists travelling or living overseas would depend on locally available resources including the work of other artists.

Across the Eastern Archipelago: Thomas Baines & the North Australian Expedition

The RGS-IBG holds the world's largest single collection of works by the artist Thomas Baines (1820-1875), including forty-two oil paintings and hundreds of watercolour and pencil sketches, as well as lithographs, manuscripts, books and artefacts.³² Baines was briefly employed as the artist and storekeeper on David Livingstone's Zambesi expedition in 1858 but was dismissed after only a year, on the basis of a somewhat flimsy allegation that he had pilfered a piece of canvas in order to make portraits of Portuguese officials at Tete. The unfairness of the charge riled Baines for the remainder of his life. Although he continued to be supported by staff at the RGS, including H. W. Bates, the episode of the stolen canvas neatly captures the precarious position of an artist trying to fulfil his obligations to an expedition while pursuing his own interests. Today Baines is remembered mostly for his work in Southern Africa, including oils and sketches of plants, animals, landscapes and peoples made



'Fort Utrecht, and part of the village of Banjoewhangie, Java coast in the Straits of Bali'
Thomas Baines, 1856 (cat. no. 43)

during almost twenty years spent on the continent. In this context, he is often credited with achieving an unusual degree of sympathy in his portraits, rendering his subjects as individuals rather than types.³³

A significant part of the Baines collections at the RGS-IBG, including half of the oils and a total of 339 watercolour and pencil sketches, derives from his work (also as artist and storekeeper) to the RGS-sponsored North Australian Expedition, led by surveyor and geologist Augustus Gregory in 1855-7. The Aboriginal portraits made during this period certainly lack the subtlety of their African counterparts. As suggested by the pair of oil paintings in which they are represented as either 'friendly' or 'treacherous' (cat. nos. 38 & 39), indigenous peoples were often reduced to being either instruments or obstacles to the expedition, a binary distinction that left little room for individualized treatment of the sort Baines achieved elsewhere. This reflected the

expedition's primary purpose, which was to find suitable land for further colonial settlement, and its mode of operation. Nonetheless, Baines' sketches and charts do provide evidence of occasional encounters with Aboriginal groups, as recorded on a notable chart of his navigation of a section of the North Australian coast (cat. no. 44).³⁴ Furthermore, in amongst his sketch-books is a portrait of an Aboriginal crew-member, named as Goongoolbert or Pannikin, at King George's Sound, Western Australia (cat. no. 45).

The body of Baines' work on this expedition also includes a significant number of sketches done in the Malay Straits (in what is now Indonesia and Timor), and these offer more nuanced images of encounter, and evidence of very different kinds of exchange relationships. In June 1856, he was instructed to sail the expedition schooner, the *Tom Tough*, from the expedition encampment in Northern Australia to



Portrait of Sech Ismaiel Bin Mohamed Almaiene, signed by himself, with an inscription in Arabi
Thomas Baines, 1856 (cat. no. 53)

Coepang (Kupang) in Dutch Timor, in order to obtain new supplies. Ever since Captain Bligh had sailed there with the remnants of the *Bounty* crew in June 1789, Coepang had gained a reputation of being a refuge for British vessels. The harbour was also a well-established port of call for sailors from many other parts of Europe, Asia and the Gulf.³⁵ Having arrived at Coepang, the poor condition of his schooner forced Baines to sail on to Sourabaya in Java in order to hire a new vessel (the *Messenger*), before returning to the Australian coast. Sourabaya was a busy and cosmopolitan port, with Dutch, English, Bengali, Chinese and Arab as well as Javanese residents, reflecting the long history of trade with other parts of Asia as well as with Europe.³⁶ The Malay praus along the Java coast which Baines painted (for example cat. nos. 42-3, 46) had previously attracted the attention of other Euro-

pean visitors, including artists accompanying the expeditions of Dumont D'Urville and Freycinet. Baines visited Coepang again, in December 1856, on his return journey from Northern Australia to Sydney. During his two visits to Coepang, Baines made a series of striking sketches. These included two watercolours of Ismaiel Bin Mohamed Almaiene, an Arab captain born in Mosul who had travelled widely in central Asia (including cat. no. 53). Almeine entertained Baines on board his Dutch-built vessel, giving him charts for his passage to Sourabaya and presenting him with an ink-well and penholder in return for sketches. He also inscribed Arabic verses from the tenth-century poet al-Mutanabbi in Baines' portfolio, and signed a copy of his own portrait. Baines' sketch books also include several other watercolour portraits of Malay inhabitants, several



'Lake Ngami from the East, Tuesday 8 April 1862'
Thomas Baines, 1862 (cat. no. 54)

also signed by their subjects, and his expedition journal entries for December 1856 also describe the making of these portraits in some detail. Some of his sketches were made or worked up in oils, including 'Malay native from Batavia' and 'Mrs Drysdale' (cat. nos. 40-1). From the detailed description Baines gives, we can identify the 'Malay native' as Mohammed Jen Jamain, described as a former *djakse* or police magistrate in Coepang, who was also the subject of a signed watercolour sketch (cat. no. 48).³⁷ Having made the watercolour, Baines asked him to return for an oil sketch, this time wearing his 'native costume', and he seems to have done his best to oblige by wearing a more colourful sarong, trousers and headscarf (though Baines still complained about his European shoes, under which he tucked his trousers). Mrs Drysdale, the young wife of a well-

known trader, was described as 'a lady of mixed European and Chinese parentage', reflecting the long history of Portuguese, Dutch and Chinese settlement in Timor. Her grandfather, a Eurasian born on the island, had been employed by the Dutch as governor, and given her position in the community she was able to meet many European visitors including Alfred Russel Wallace.³⁸ As a set, Baines' Malay portraits convey a sense of exchange, of co-presence and indeed mutual respect, that is lacking in the Aboriginal portraits. They highlight Baines' reliance on local authority and society, and some of the different kinds of relationships that could bring European explorers, locals and intermediaries together.



Coepang Dec 23
1856

Part 2 page 222

1/2 mile

Coepang Dec 23 1856

'Coepang, Friday Dec 23 1856'
Thomas Baines, 1856 (cat. no. 47)



Exploration on camera

There are approximately half a million photographs in the RGS-IBG Collections, not a number that is easy to comprehend, especially given the diversity in the form and content of these materials: glass plates, stereoscopic images, platinum prints, colour prints, hand-tinted prints, annotated prints, prints stored neatly in museum standard boxes or loose in large envelopes, photographic albums, aerial photographs, panoramic views, book illustrations, lantern slides, satellite imagery, digital prints....Even this list is hardly exhaustive, but the point is clear: 'half a million photographs' encompasses a lot of different kinds of material. The great boon of digitisation offers the prospect of reducing this diversity to something more manageable, but the material forms of these archives tell us much about the various functions and meanings of expedition photography and the way it has changed over time.

The invention of the modern photographic process in 1839 and subsequent technical innovations were greeted with enthusiasm by geographers. However, it took fifty years, with the introduction of photographic film replacing cumbersome plates and more portable cameras, for exploration and photography to become truly inseparable. Amongst the earliest uses of the camera on an exploring expedition was that by James Grant in Zanzibar in 1860 (including two stereoscopic images in this exhibition), though he exchanged the camera for the sketchbook for the

Silvino Santos working in his makeshift 'laboratory' at Boa Esperança (detail)
Alexander Hamilton Rice, 1924-5 (cat. no. 68)



'Kaieteur Falls'
Everard im Thurn/C. F. Norton, 1878 (cat. no. 63)

remainder of his journey with Speke. At this time photography remained a technically demanding pursuit and while explorers increasingly took cameras with them, they did not always produce effective results. Many travel books published before the 1890s included engravings based on original photographs, rather than the photographs themselves. This was the heyday of studio portraiture, and especially the *carte-de-visite*, millions of which were circulating in the 1860s and 1870s: indeed, the fame of explorers such as Stanley and Livingstone owed much to the new technology. In 1886, the RGS appointed John Thomson, a well-established commercial photographer with considerable experience of travel and exploration in the Far East, as its Instructor in Photography. The Society's new accommodation at Lowther Lodge in 1913 included a 'photographic room', and its new lecture theatre acquired in 1930 was fitted with a projection room. By this time, the Society's photographic collections housed over 100,000 prints and lantern slides.³⁹



'Kaieteur Falls: the path to the Kaieteur, carrying the batteau past the Amutu cataract'
Everard im Thurn/C. F. Norton, 1878 (cat. no. 65)

Archival photographs can provide information concerning local guides, interpreters and porters employed on exhibitions, though without accompanying documentation they may obscure as much as they reveal, and the sometimes fraught relationship between indigenous peoples and the camera was rarely on view. Furthermore, the captions can reveal more about the explorers than the explored, and these clearly deserve study in their own right. The process of selection evident when one compares archival sets of photographs donated to the Society with images published alongside expedition reports in the RGS *Journal* can also be illuminating. Often, as in several of the spectacular photographs of the Kaieteur Falls taken in 1878 and usually attributed to Everard im Thurn, matters of authorship are complicated. im Thurn was on this occasion accompanied by Charles Norton, a commercial photographer from Georgetown, as well as a missionary and fourteen Amerindians, and the evidence suggests that some of the photographs were his (especially as Im Thurn appears in one of them: cat. no. 64).

Other photographs attributed to im Thurn show the expedition party encamped on the banks of the Potaro River, and the overland portage of small boats in order to bypass the many cataracts near the Falls (cat. no. 65). According to im Thurn's description of an earlier expedition in the same year, 'These portages [paths] exist at the side of nearly all the larger falls on this river [the Essequibo], and are frequently used; but on the less-frequented rivers of Guiana it is often necessary for each traveller to make such a portage for himself. This is no easy work. The trees have to be felled and the ground cleared; and skids have to be laid at very short distances from each other along the whole path. When this has been done, the travellers harness themselves by a rope attached to the bows of the boat, like a team of horses, and the boat is very quickly drawn over'.⁴¹

From the 1920s, documentary film played an increasing role in exploration. The most remarkable examples of early film footage in the RGS-IBG Collections are those of the 1922 Everest expedition (discussed below) and the 1924-5 Hamilton Rice expedition to the Amazon. As contemporary reports in the RGS *Journal* indicate, the technical aspects of film-making in extreme climatic conditions was a common concern: equally, members of both expeditions were well aware of the popular appeal of the medium, especially as far as images of indigenous peoples were concerned.⁴² The Hamilton Rice expedition, which used aerial photography for the first time in the Amazon, was very well equipped, and employed two photographers, including Silvino Santos, a Brazilian film-maker. The profusion of

picture-taking on this expedition had two significant consequences: firstly, we have considerable evidence of the way in which photographic images in the field were actually produced. The depiction of Santos processing film in his Amazonian 'laboratory', established in the roots of a huge tree (cat. no. 68), is only one example of an image where the technologies of photography and film-making are themselves on view. Some of these images seek to juxtapose Amerindian simplicity with advanced technology in a stereotypical colonial cliché, though other evidence suggests indifference as much as curiosity marked indigenous attitudes towards these objects. The second consequence is that we can consider more directly differences in the way American photographers and their 'local' counterparts made and edited the visual record. As Luciana Martins has shown, the same footage could be edited very differently: Silvino Santos' version of Amazonian exploration is more engaged and more theatrical than Hamilton Rice's. In particular, the cinematic language of Santos' film footage portrays exchanges with indigenous peoples more intimately, historicising the encounter in a way denied by Hamilton Rice's distanced gaze.⁴³



'Captain Noel and kinematograph camera with large telephoto lens established on the Chang La [North Col] at 23,000 feet'
Unknown photographer, 1922 (cat. no. 71)

Filming on Mount Everest

Climbing Mount Everest (1922) was the first of many documentary films of expeditions to Everest, but unusual as it was produced directly on behalf of the Mount Everest Committee, a joint venture of the RGS and the Alpine Club. It was made by the indefatigable Captain John Noel, whose crowning achievement was to film using a specially adapted camera at 23,000 feet. The iconic photograph of him filming on the Chang La, or North Col, was probably taken by a Sherpa: it also includes a partially-obscured porter balancing the film camera while the photograph was taken (cat. no. 71).⁴⁴ From a very early stage in the planning, Noel was convinced that the film's success depended on inclusion of scenes of local culture and religious life. As well as depicting the high-altitude

climb, the film he planned and edited while still in Tibet contains scenes showing the appointment of sixty Sherpas in Darjeeling (eight of them deputed to carry the film cameras), the journey through Kalimpong to Sikkim and into Tibet, and an extended sequence of masked ritual dances at a monastery identified as Rongbuk (Rongphu), at the foot of Everest. There is also a highly significant scene depicting an audience of the expedition leader General Charles Bruce with the Head Lama of Rongbuk, Zatul Rimpoche, supposed to represent the blessing of the expedition as it approached the Mountain, an act which was politically important given British interests in maintaining access into Tibet. This footage was actually taken after the conclusion of



Everest expedition members, 1922 (detail)
J. B. L. Noel, 1922 (cat. no. 73)

the climbing expedition, which ended disastrously when seven porters (six Sherpas and one Bhotia) lost their lives in an avalanche while on a third attempted ascent with George Mallory and Howard Somervell.⁴⁵ We know this because the film includes a brief glimpse of a small Tara, a bronze Tibetan deity, wrapped in the white scarf presented by Zatul Rimpoche to Gen. Charles Bruce, which both parties later recalled as being presented on the expedition's return from the mountain.⁴⁶ The difference is telling, as the return visit, in the wake of the tragedy on Everest, would have had great significance for both sides: moreover, the gift presented to Bruce may have more faithfully reflected events on the mountain than he realised. The deity, now in the RGS-IBG Collections (cat. no. 72), is readily identifiable as a white Tara, representing all-seeing compassion, with eyes on her feet, hands and forehead, as well as her face, rather than the Green Tara (representing readiness to act) which Bruce later claimed it to be.

The story of *Climbing Mount Everest*, the first documentary film made inside Tibet with the permission of the Dalai Lama, is remarkable in many ways. As far as the theme of Hidden Histories is concerned, it draws our attention to the role of interpreters such as Karma Paul (Palden), who was to work for successive expeditions on Everest until 1938 (cat. nos. 79-80).

Originally born in Tibet, he was raised as an orphan in Darjeeling, and spoke Tibetan, Nepali, Bengali, and various Himalayan dialects. His role as a broker between the British and Tibetan authorities was essential to the smooth passage of the expedition. General Bruce, in a backhanded compliment, described him as 'the most important subordinate member of the expedition', noting that 'He served us very well from one end of the expedition to the other'.⁴⁷ As well as including footage of the Sherpas, possibly including some of those who were killed (whom Noel apparently filmed half an hour before the accident), the film also draws attention to the way in which other aspects of indigenous culture were packaged up and transported to London as essential elements in the performance of the expedition story. While its first public showing in Central Hall was apparently spoiled by the London fog, subsequent performances in the Philharmonic Hall, accompanied by folk music from Tibet arranged for orchestra and piano by Howard Somervell, were much more successful. The same formula – film, lecture and music – was repeated for the more commercially successful *Epic of Everest* film which Noel made of the 1924 expedition, this time accompanied by dancing lamas. The resulting controversy led to the closure of access to Everest for a decade.⁴⁸



Recognition and Responsibility

As should now be apparent, the contributions of local inhabitants and intermediaries to the work of exploration has never been completely invisible even during the nineteenth century. While the historical research reported here is in part an act of recovery, explicitly working against the grain of much of the literature on exploration, the experiences and relationships we have highlighted have not exactly been 'hidden' from history. On the contrary, the contributions of non-Europeans were accorded various degrees of recognition, from passing mentions of individuals or accounts of more systematic elements of support (especially portage and navigation) to more explicit acknowledgement of the role of 'local' expertise (especially individuals employed as guides or as protectors). In addition, descriptions of colourful characters or distinctive personalities were a routine feature of more popular accounts of exploration, though often they functioned as diversions from the main purpose of the narrative. In some cases, however, institutional recognition – in the form of awards and prizes – was accorded to non-Europeans for their geographical work. This recognition was given on certain terms and in certain contexts: the general view, it must be said, was that these were followers and not leaders. Indeed, the idea of the 'faithful follower' was powerfully exploited by the creators of the Livingstone myth, a formula which acknowledged the contributions of Africans to geographical exploration while defusing its potentially unsettling consequences (cat. no. 81).⁴⁹ There was another side to this,

of course: the 'unfaithfuls' – the unruly members of expeditions, the 'treacherous' and 'deceitful' local officials, the escapers, deserters, backsliders and rebels – who appear in many guises in the annals of exploration. Seeing matters through their eyes requires a radically different perspective, one in which the ethics and politics of exploration are to the fore.

Medals and awards provide one form of institutional recognition associated particularly with scientific and scholarly societies. From its foundation in 1830, the RGS made annual awards to individuals deemed to have made exceptional contributions to geographical science, following the model established by the Royal Society and other bodies. Alongside the formally presented 'royal' medals, the Society from time to time voted other awards, such as the gold watches presented in 1873 to Thomas Baines, and in 1880 to Bishop Samuel Ajayi Crowther, the first African Bishop in the Anglican Church, for his explorations in Nigeria. Crowther himself had lent support to other explorers in West Africa, including the African-Americans Martin Delany and Robert Campbell who were invited to lecture to the RGS in 1860 on their journey up the Niger. The invitation was itself a form of recognition: the Quaker Thomas Hodgkin, RGS Secretary at this time, was instrumental in associating the Society with their expedition. Further down the pecking order of medals and awards were a series of presentations made to African members of British expeditions, including the 'followers' of Speke and Livingstone. It was routine to pay members at the conclusion of expeditions, and in the wake of publicity surrounding the search for the Nile sources and Dr Livingstone

Kishen Singh, 'A-K'
Unknown photographer (cat. no. 88)



Abdullah Susi, James Chuma and Horace Waller, with Agnes and Tom Livingstone, at Newstead Abbey
R. Allen & Sons (Nottingham), 1874 (cat. no. 81)

himself, the RGS was persuaded to make additional presentations to selected groups. Exceptionally, these extended to individual awards, as in the case of Sidi Mubarak Bombay, a Yao born in East Africa, who received an RGS silver medal and a pension for his work as protector and guide for British explorers, including Speke and Stanley. While significant, this form of recognition reflected the assumption that the African recipients of awards were essentially employees. Those Africans actually leading expeditions, such as Delany and Campbell, were received politely but not accorded any such status.

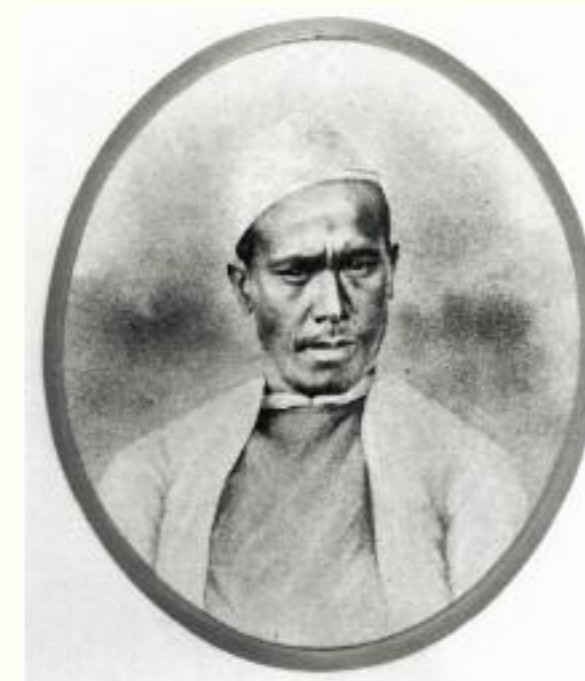
The *ad hoc* awards were always subsidiary to the coveted 'royal' medals of the RGS, supposed to be awarded on the basis of an original accomplishment achieved by an individual as opposed to a participant in work led by others. In 1877, however, the Society

presented a gold medal, to 'the Pundit', Nain Singh, originally from the Kumaon Himalaya, for his contributions to the mapping of central Asia and Tibet, regions which were virtually inaccessible to British travellers during this period. This award was made on the recommendation of the eminent historical geographer Sir Henry Yule, who had himself received the RGS Gold medal for his edition of the travels of Marco Polo. Yule insisted that Nain Singh, whom he described as 'no mere topographical automaton', deserved recognition in his own right: 'His observations have added a larger amount of important knowledge to the map of Asia than those of any other living man'. (Nain's cousin, Kishen Singh, also worked for the British, his reports being published under the code name 'A-K'. In an astonishing 2,800-mile journey, he mapped the route North of Lhasa into Xinjiang). The story of the 'Pundits', and their

secret missions on behalf of the Survey of India – undertaken with the aid of prayer wheels (in which maps were secreted) and rosaries (whose beads were used to count paces) – was soon incorporated within the mythology of the 'great game' in late-nineteenth century British India. As this suggests, their exploits were recognised in a manner which emphasised their role as instruments of British policy, if not simply as 'topographical automatons'.⁵⁰

The ambivalence of the British over recognition of the geographical work of non-European explorers such as Nain Singh is particularly clear in a scathing contemporary review of the Schlagintweits' account of their scientific expedition to India and High Asia published in 1861. This well-funded expedition, supported by Alexander von Humboldt and spon-

sored jointly by the East India Company and the King of Prussia, had undertaken a variety of scientific work, especially in the fields of magnetism, geomorphology and meteorology, between 1854 and 1858. Apart from a large number of servants and porters, the Schlagintweits employed twenty-two Asian interpreters, collectors and scientific observers, and named them all individually in a detailed description of their 'scientific establishment' in the first chapter of their published Report (cat. no. 93). Nain Singh himself was employed as an interpreter in Ladakh, while his cousin Mani accompanied the Schlagintweits into Turkestan: in the course of his work, Nain Singh became familiar with the use of surveying and other instruments, and this experience was vital in his later employment as a 'Pundit'. The local knowledge and especially the linguistic and cultural expertise of members of the Schlagintweit 'establishment' was an essential resource, without which the explorers could not possibly have conducted their expeditions or acquired such a rich set of collections. Emile Schlagintweit, who did not travel to India, later published a series of works based on Tibetan Buddhism, based on the materials brought back by his brothers. However, the fulsome account of their contributions over several pages attracted ridicule from one acerbic review for the *Athenaeum* who thought such acknowledgement below the dignity of a proper scientific explorer.⁵¹ While the Schlagintweits found their work increasingly criticised in Britain for other reasons, especially after the loss of their patron Humboldt (who died in 1859), it is significant that critics



Nain Singh, 'The Pundit'
Unknown photographer (cat. no. 87)

felt free to condemn this aspect of their work quite so freely, and somewhat ironic in view of Nain Singh's later celebrity. The general reluctance of the British to accord 'locals' the same status as themselves continued into the twentieth century, notably in the context of mountaineering expeditions to the Himalayas.

The ethics of exploration

Questions of status and recognition may be connected to wider ethical debates over the methods and impact of exploration. Ever since the days of Captain Cook, European explorers and their sponsors have often affirmed their commitment to the welfare of indigenous peoples, while at the same time extending European influence in ways that were incommensurate with that aim. The superiority of European culture in the widest sense, and the legitimacy of European claims to sovereignty over lands not previously claimed by other European powers, was rarely doubted by explorers during the nineteenth century. However this still left much room for debate over the ethics of exploration, including the conduct of explorers and the rights of local inhabitants. How should explorers and navigators communicate with local people? What obligations did they have as far as the welfare of indigenous peoples were concerned? Should explorers seek permission for travelling through remote territories or extracting local resources, and what actions could they take should permission be denied? What exactly were the rights of indigenous peoples?

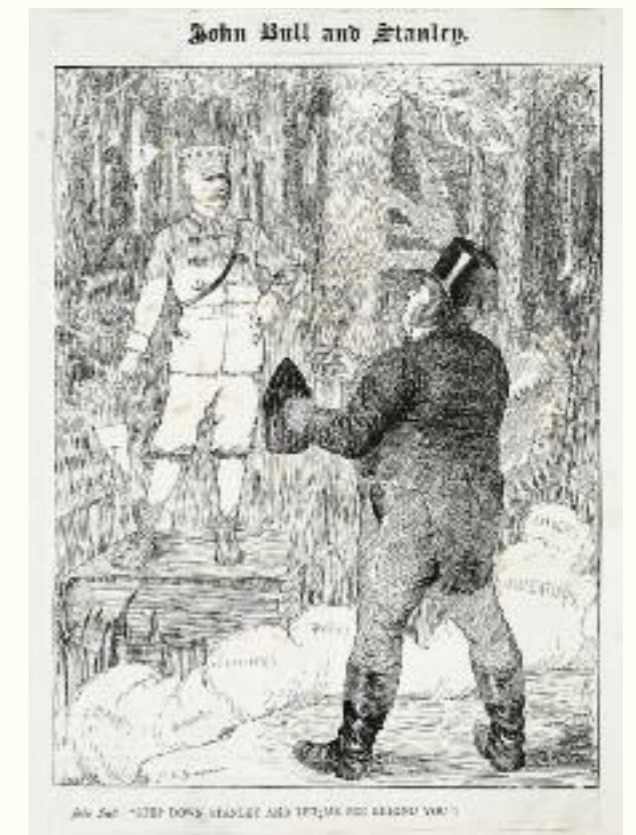
The answers to these questions varied considerably. That they were posed at all during the eighteenth

and nineteenth centuries may come as a surprise to modern readers, especially those who assume that notions of the ethical responsibility of travellers or the rights of indigenous peoples are inventions of the late twentieth century. Such concerns were present from the foundation of the RGS: the first edition of the Society's *Hints for Travellers* (1854), for example, reprinted the contents of a circular originally published in 1836, including the following advice: 'The greatest forbearance and discretion are strongly recommended in all intercourse with the natives - never to allow an imaginary insult to provoke retaliation which may lead to bloodshed. It must be borne in mind that their's is the right of soil - we are the aggressors'. This notable injunction was made at a time when the responsibilities of the British and the rights of indigenous peoples were the subject of considerable public debate, reflected in the foundation of the Quaker-led Aborigines Protection Society in 1837. The journal of the Society - the *Aborigines' Friend* - provided a forum for discussion of the local impact of Western technology, trade and exploration on peoples within and increasingly beyond the limits of British imperial rule, and many of its supporters - such as Thomas Hodgkin - were also active within RGS circles. By the twentieth century, the activities of the APS (and those of its sister organization, the Anti-Slavery Society, with which it merged in 1909) had extended to more formal considerations of racial discrimination, legal rights and the effects of various forms of indentured labour around the world. These Societies became embroiled from time to time in debates over exploration, most notably in the controversies over two of Henry Morton Stanley's African expeditions:

in 1876-8 (concerning his trans-African expedition sponsored by the *New York Herald* and the *Daily Telegraph*) and again in 1890-1 (concerning the Emin Pasha Relief Expedition).⁵²

Reports of violence on Stanley's trans-African expedition, especially the use of armed force against the people of Bumbire Island on Lake Victoria, provoked heated debates about the ethics of exploration in 1876-8. Colonel Henry Yule resigned from the RGS Council, and probably forfeited the chance of becoming the Society's President, in protest at its public stance approving Stanley's achievements while ignoring his methods. Another critic was Henry Hyndman, later to found the Social Democratic Federation, Britain's first socialist political party. As this suggests, critics of what was called 'exploration by warfare' were not confined to Quaker-dominated lobby groups: there was widespread concern that Stanley's methods would endanger future explorers in East and central Africa, and also that it heralded a new, and more aggressive, mode of intervention in Africa. Other explorers, such as Joseph Thomson, prided themselves on rarely having to employ violence, relying more on diplomacy than gunpowder to negotiate their way. The arguments over Stanley's work in the Congo, which came to a head following his return from his final expedition to Africa in 1890, developed into a still wider debate over imperialism itself. Critics in the Anti-Slavery community complained that Stanley had relied on the forced labour provided by the authorities of the Congo Free State, and had repeatedly resorted to violence; Stanley's defenders, prominent amongst whom was his friend the pharmaceuticals entrepreneur Henry Wellcome,

argued that he had only used such methods when strictly necessary (cat. no. 96). From today's perspective, perhaps what matters most about this debate is that it happened at all: the materials in the RGS-IBG Collections indicate that there was no consensus on the ethics of exploration even at the height of the age of empire.



Step down Stanley
John Bull, 1890 (cat. no. 97)



Conclusion: visible histories

It is difficult to imagine a history of exploration altogether without heroes. Yet qualities such as determination or valour are not the sole property of those who lead expeditions: they are also required of those who guide, protect, interpret or follow. One of the purposes of this exhibition is to highlight the role played by individuals like Sidi Mubarak Bombay, Nain Singh, Juan Tepano, Victoria Veriamu, Pedro Caripoco and Karma Paul in the history of geographical exploration. All of these have left their mark within the Collections of the RGS-IBG. Others, like some of the subjects of Thomas Baines' sketches, leave little more than a trace. But traces can be followed, and in the process their histories too may become a little more visible.

Making visible the role played by local people and intermediaries greatly enriches our understanding of the history of travel and exploration. It becomes a genuinely human story, less about the exceptional qualities of eccentric individuals, more about working relationships and intersecting lives, capable of being understood from a variety of perspectives. But such research also prompts questions about the forms in which, and the circumstances under which, their contributions have become or might be made visible. The large and diverse Collections of a body like the RGS-IBG contain many different kinds of materials, from expedition maps to documentary film: in each case, the form of the materials themselves shapes the information they contain. It is important, therefore,

to understand the codes and conventions through which maps, film and the other kinds of evidence discussed here were produced and consumed, both historically and in the present. These are anything but 'transparent' records of individual agency and experience: we need to understand their language before we can begin the task of interpretation.

More generally still, it is also necessary to consider the ways in which the shape of the RGS-IBG Collections as a whole may shape or constrain the search for new ways of thinking about the history of exploration, or indeed, investigations into many other potential subjects. Like all archives, this collection is structured in certain ways, reflecting in part the priorities of those who established it and re-established it over the many decades since the foundation of the Society in 1830. With the digitisation and consolidation of the catalogues, the on-line availability of much significant material including the contents of RGS-IBG publications, and a vigorous policy of widening access to these materials, new ways of researching the Collections have now become available to researchers across the world. We hope that this book and the accompanying exhibition will play a small part in opening up the Collections to new forms of exploration.

'Moehamad Jen Jamain. His own signature'
Thomas Baines, 1856 (cat. no. 48)

Footnotes

1. The modern history of the RGS-IBG Collections has yet to be written. Useful materials can be accessed via the website at www.rgs.org/hiddenhistories. On the first hundred years, see also H. R. Mill, *The Record of the Royal Geographical Society, 1830-1930* (London, 1930); F. Driver, 'The RGS and the empire of science' in *Geography Militant* (Oxford, 2001); M. Jones, 'Measuring the world: exploration, empire and the reform of the RGS, c. 1874-93', in M. Daunton, *The Organisation of Knowledge in Victorian Britain* (Oxford, 2005).

2. The four Crossing Continents exhibitions were: 'Bombay Africans, 1850-1910', 'From Kabul to Kandahar, 1833-1933', 'Seeing China: Community Reflections' and 'The Punjab: Moving Journeys'. These were viewed by over 60,000 visitors.

3. H. Raffles, *In Amazonia: A Natural History* (New Jersey, 2002), 138.

4. W. Smyth and F. Lowe, *Narrative of a Journey from Lima to Para* (London, 1836), 100. For parallels see D. Graham Burnett, 'It is impossible to make a step without the Indians': nineteenth-century geographical exploration and the Amerindians of British Guiana', *Ethnohistory* 49 (2002), esp. 27-33.

5. G. M. Dyott, 'The search for Colonel Fawcett', *Geographical Journal* 74 (1929), 522.

6. D. Simpson, *Dark Companions: The African Contribution to the European Exploration of East Africa* (London, 1975).

7. D. Livingstone, *Missionary Travels* (London, 1857), 460-1.

8. H. M. Stanley, *Through the Dark Continent* (London, 1878), vol. ii, 371.

9. J. Ross and J. M. Savelle, 'Round Lord Mayor Bay with James Clark Ross: the original diary of 1830', *Arctic*, 43 (1990), 66-79; 'Sir John Ross', *Dictionary of Canadian Biography Online*.

10. See N. Fogel-Chance, 'Fixing history: a contemporary examination of an Arctic journal from the 1850s', *Ethnohistory*, 49 (2002) 789-819.

11. C. Lefebvre, I. Surun, 'Exploration et transferts de pouvoir: deux cartes produites par des Africains au début du XIXe siècle', *Mappemonde* 92 (2008), available online at mappemonde.mgm.fr; A. Wisnicki, 'Charting the frontier: indigenous geography, Arab-Nyamwezi caravans and the East African Expedition of 1856-9', *Victorian Studies* 51 (2008) 103-37. On the idea of co-production, see K. Raj, *Relocating Modern Science: Circulation and the Construction of Scientific Knowledge in South Asia and Europe* (Delhi, 2006).

12. R. Smyth and H. L. Thuillier, *A Manual of Surveying for India*, 2nd ed. (London, 1855), part IV.

13. P. D. Curtin and J. Vansina, 'Sources of the nineteenth-century Atlantic slave trade', *Journal of African History* 5 (1964) 185-208; P. Hair, 'The enslavement of Koelle's informants', *Journal of African History* 6 (1965) 193-203; D. Northrup, 'Becoming African: identity formation among liberated slaves in nineteenth-century Sierra

Leone', *Slavery and Abolition* 27 (2006) 1-21.

14. Livingstone, *Missionary Travels*, 458, 497.

15. R. Burton, *The Lake Regions of Central Africa* (London, 1860), vol. ii, 208.

16. H. Honour, *The Image of the Black in Western Art, vol iv* (Cambridge, Mass., 1989), 278-9.

17. *Illustrated London News*, 4 July 1863, pp. 21, 23; C. E. B. [Lilian] Russell, *General Rigby, Zanzibar and the Slave Trade* (London, 1935), 282-5.

18. J. Camerini, 'Wallace in the field' in H. Kuklick and R. Kohler (eds), *Science in the Field* (Chicago, 1996), 44-65.

19. Mrs Scoresby [Katherine] Routledge, 'Easter Island', *Geographical Journal* 64 (1917), 321-49. On the position of British women within the RGS at this time, see A. Maddrell, *Complex Locations: Women's Geographical Work in the UK, 1850-1970* (Oxford, 2009).

20. J. A. van Tilburg, *Among Stone Giants: The Life of Katherine Routledge and Her Remarkable Expedition to Easter Island* (New York, 2003), 182-4.

21. P. Hansen, 'Partners: guides and Sherpas in the Alps and Himalayas, 1850s-1950s' in J. Elsner and J. P. Rubié (eds) *Voyages and Visions: Towards a Cultural History of Travel* (London, 1999).

22. Tenzing Norgay, *Man of Everest: The Autobiography of Tenzing told to James Ramsey Ullman* (London, 1955), 265-6. See also P. Hansen, 'Confetti of empire: the conquest of Everest in Nepal, India, Britain and New Zealand' *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 42 (2000), 307-332.

23. B. Smith, *European Vision and the South Pacific* (second edn., New Haven, 1985); F. Driver & L. Martins, 'John Septimus Roe and the art of navigation, c.1815-1830', in T. Barringer, G. Quilley and G. Fordham (eds) *Art and the British Empire* (Manchester, 2007).

24. F. Driver and L. Martins (eds), *Tropical Visions in an Age of Empire* (Chicago, 2005); G. Finkelstein, 'Conquerors of the Künlün? The Schlagintweit mission to High Asia, 1854-57', *History of Science* 38 (2000), 179-218.

25. B. Douglas, 'Art as ethno-historical text: science, representation and indigenous presence in eighteenth and nineteenth century oceanic voyage literature' in N. Thomas and D. Losche (eds) *Double Vision: Art Histories and Colonial Histories in the Pacific* (Cambridge, 1999), 65-99.

26. See N. Thomas, 'Objects of knowledge: Oceanic artefacts in European engravings', in N. Thomas, *In Oceania: Visions, Artifacts, Histories* (Durham, NC, 1997), 93-132.

27. F. W. Beechey, *Narrative of a Voyage to the Pacific and Behring's Strait* (London, 1831). At least 9 of the 21 engraved illustrations are based on Smyth's sketches.

28. G. Dening, *Mr Bligh's Bad Language: Passion, Power and Theatre on the Bounty* (Cambridge, 1992), 309-38.

29. J. Barrow, *The Eventful History of the Mutiny and Piratical Seizure of H M S Bounty* (London, 1831).

30. J. L. Palmer, 'A visit to Easter Island, or Rapa-Nui', *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society* 14 (1869 - 1870) 108-120. See also J. A. van Tilburg, 'Remote possibilities: Hoa Hakananai'a and HMS Topaze on Rapa Nui', *British Museum Research Publication* 158 (2006).

31. M. Deas, E. Sánchez and A. Martínez, *Tipos y costumbres de la Nueva Granada: colección de pinturas y diario de Joseph Brown* (Bogotá, 1989), 19.

32. 'The oil paintings of Thomas Baines in the possession of the Society', *Geographical Journal* 141 (1975) 327-31; J. P. R. Wallis, *Thomas Baines* (London, 1941).

33. M. Stevenson, *Thomas Baines: An Artist in the Service of Science in Southern Africa* (London, 1999); J. Carruthers and M. Arnold, *The Life and Work of Thomas Baines* (Vlaeberg, 1995); T. Barringer, 'Fabricating Africa: Livingstone and the visual image, 1850-1874' in National Portrait Gallery, *David Livingstone and the Victorian Encounter with Africa* (London, 1996).

34. L. Stiebel, "'Cooeing to the natives": Thomas Baines' encounters with the Other on the North Australian Expedition, 1855-1857', *Critical Arts* 22 (2008), 129-47.

35. L. Freycinet, *Voyage autour du monde: histoire du voyage* (Paris, 1827-8), vol. i, 526-721.

36. For a description of Sourabaya twenty years before, see G. W. Earl, *The Eastern Seas, or Voyages and Adventures in the Indian Archipelago* (London, 1837), 46-73.

37. 'Journal on the North Australian Expedition', 22 October 1856 to 11 January 1857, C408, State Library of New South Wales, Sydney.

38. 'Death of Mrs Drsydale', *Northern Territory Times and Gazette*, 15 April 1910.

39. J. Ryan, *Picturing Empire: Photography and the Visualization of the British Empire* (London, 1997), 22-5. Ryan's work remains the most important source for study of the RGS-IBG photographic collections. For work on comparable collections, see O. Loiseaux (ed) *Trésors photographiques de la Société de Géographie* (Paris, 2006); J. C. H. King and H. Lidchi (eds), *Imaging the Arctic* (London, 1998); E. Edwards, *Anthropology and Photography, 1860-1920* (New Haven, 1994).

40. E. im Thurn, 'A journey to the Kaieteur Fall in October-November, 1878', Archives of the Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew.

41. E. im Thurn, 'A Journey in the interior of British Guiana', *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society* 2 (1880), 474.

42. 'The Mount Everest kinematograph film', *Geographical Journal* 61 (1923) 48-51; A. W. Stephens, 'Photography on the Hamilton Rice expedition, 1924-5', *Geographical Journal* 68 (1926) 140-7.

43. L. Martins, 'Illusions of power: vision, technology and the geographical exploration of the Amazon, 1924-1925', *Journal of Latin American Cultural Studies* 16 (1973) 285-307.

44. The picture was included in an exhibition of photographs and paintings from the expedition at the Alpine Club in Spring 1923: it was the only one not attributed to one of the British climbers (RGS-IBG Everest Expedition archives, EE/6/6/3)

45. Their names are included in a memorandum detailing compensation to their families: Thankay Sherpa, Sangay Sherpa, Temba Sherpa, Lhakpa Sherpa, Pasang Namgya Sherpa, Norbu Bhotia and Pema Sherpa. The total compensation given was 1900 Rupees, about £130 (RGS-IBG Everest Expedition archives, EE/18/1/98). On the different ways such disasters have been interpreted, see S. Ortner, *Life and Death on Mt Everest: Sherpas and Himalayan Mountaineering* (Princeton, 1999).

46. C. Bruce, *The Assault on Mount Everest* (London, 1923), 78-9; A. Macdonald, 'The lama and the general', *Kailash: A Journal of Himalayan Studies* 1 (1973) 231-2.

47. Bruce, *The Assault on Mount Everest*, 24.

48. P. Hansen, 'The dancing lamas of Everest: cinema, orientalism and Anglo-Tibetan relations in the 1920s', *American Historical Review* 101 (1996) 712-47. Julie Brown at Royal Holloway is currently undertaking research on the musical performances accompanying the 1922 and 1924 films.

49. See D. Helly, *Livingstone's Legacy: Horace Waller and Victorian Mythmaking* (Athens, Ohio, 1987); National Portrait Gallery, *David Livingstone and the Victorian Encounter with Africa*.

50. See Raj, *Relocating Modern Science*; and D. Waller, *The Pundits: British Exploration of Tibet and Central Asia* (Lexington, 1990).

51. Anon, Review of H., A. and R. de Schlagintweit, *Results of a Scientific Mission to India and High Asia, vol. 1*, in *Athenaeum*, no. 1764, 17 August 1861, 215-6.

52. Driver, 'Exploration by warfare: Henry Morton Stanley and his critics', in *Geography Militant*.

Exhibition catalogue

Items are generally listed according to the sequence of panels in the exhibition, as broadly reflected in the sections of the accompanying essay. The works of Thomas Baines, given a separate section in the exhibition, are here listed alongside related materials on the art of exploration (cat. nos. 37-56). Original captions are given, where available, in quotation marks. All materials are from the RGS-IBG Collections unless otherwise stated. Measurements are given in centimetres, height before width. Each RGS-IBG item is identified by a call reference number for use in the Foyle Reading Room, with a scan number for the RGS-IBG Picture Library in brackets. Exhibition items may also be viewed alongside further images from the Collections at www.rgs.org/hiddenhistories.



1. The RGS map room, 1 Savile Row
Bedford Lemere, 1912
B & W photograph,
15.7 x 20.2 cm
PR/025941 [S0010712]



8. 'Map of the tropical regions of Africa... showing the approximate localities of the languages collected by Revd. S. W. Koelle'
Augustus Petermann
Fold-out printed map, in S. W. Koelle, Polyglotta Africana, London, 1854, 66.8 x 99.1 cm
MEE22/0005 [S0001022]



9. Reception for Speke and Grant organised by the RGS at Burlington House, 22 June 1863
M. Jackson
Engraving, Illustrated London News, 4 July 1863, 19.9 x 23.7 cm
Z.235.6 [S0015046]



10. 'Captain Speke and Captain Grant with Timbo, a young native from the country of the Upper Nile'
Henry Wyndham Phillips, c.1864
Oil on canvas, 127 x 157.5 cm
Private collection; image © National Portrait Gallery, London



2. 'First day down the Kuluseu, carrying the baggage'
G. Dyott, 1928
B & W photograph,
21.6 x 16.5 cm
PR/041976 [S0005881]



3. 'An island passage of the River Amazon'
L. Haghe, after a sketch by William Smyth
Lithograph, in W. Smyth and F. Lowe, Narrative of a journey from Lima to Para, across the Andes and down the Amazon (London, 1836), 10.5 x 17.3 cm
NO7/127C [S0020640]



4. 'Some of the Zanzibar and other natives of Mr H. M. Stanley's party'
Catherine Frere, 1877
Watercolour,
35.4 x 50.6 cm
LMS F17 [S0020691]



11. 'Head Janissary of the British Consulate, Zanzibar with two emancipated slave boys; the smaller of the two is from "Uniamesi" or the Country of the Moon'
J. A. Grant, 1860
Stereoscopic photograph,
7.6 x 16.5 cm
X0073/18805 [S0010495]



12. Route from Zanzibar to Sudan, 1860-3
Drawn by J. A. Grant, with explanatory note by J. H. Speke, dated 26 February 1863
Ink and watercolour on paper, mounted on linen, 38.2 x 30.5 cm
Tanzania S/S.12 [S0013902]



13. 'My faithful Malay boy - Ali, 1855-1862'
B & W photograph, in A. R. Wallace, My life: a record of events and opinions (London, 1905), 22 x 14.4 cm
N07/41N [S0020488]



5. 'Uledi, coxswain. Being an excellent swimmer, he saved many lives'
Lily Frere, 1877
Watercolour,
14.1 x 20.2 cm
LMS F18 [S0020689]



6. 'Ikmalick and Apelagliu'
J. Brandard, after a drawing by John Ross
Lithograph, in J. Ross, Narrative of a second voyage in search of a North-West passage (London, 1835), 8 x 12.7 cm
156J [S0020058]



7. 'Surveying in India'
Maclure, Macdonald & Macgregor after W. S. Sherwill
Lithograph, in R. Smyth & H. L. Thuillier, A Manual of surveying for India (London, 1855), 9.6 x 16.7 cm
N02/24Z3 [S0001216]



14. Alfred Russel Wallace (1823-1913)
Sepia photograph, Maull & Co, 10.2 x 6.3 cm
PR/052365 [S0010146]



15. 'Juan Tepano - Clan Tupahotu'
Katherine Routledge, Rapa Nui (Easter Island), 1915
B & W photograph,
17.8 x 12.7 cm
A19678 [S0020559]



16. 'Viriamo - Clan Ureohei'
Katherine Routledge, Rapa Nui (Easter Island), 1914
B & W photograph,
17.8 x 12.7 cm
A19679 [S0020560]



17. 'Strong foundations of canoe-shaped house', Katherine Routledge with field assistant
Unknown photographer, Rapa Nui (Easter Island)
B & W photograph,
17.8 x 12.7 cm
A19718 (Box KSR1) [S0020561]



18. 'British Museum Easter Island collection'
Katherine Routledge, unknown date
MSS notebook, two pages with photographs,
n. d., 31.7 x 40.8 cm
WSR/4/20/2 [S0001022]



19. 'Coolies on the North Col'
J. B. L. Noel, 1922
B & W photograph,
7.7 x 10.8 cm
MEE22/0005 [S0001022]



26. 'Vue de L'île Pisang: Corocores de L'île Guébé' (View of the Island of Pisang: Corocoros of the Island of Guebe)
Couton, after a drawing by J.-A. Pellion
Coloured engraving, in L. Freycinet, Voyage autour du monde: atlas historique, Paris, 1825,
18.4 x 26.2 cm
387C [S0020657]



27. 'Zoophytes no. 3'
J. Constant, after drawings by R. P. Lesson and J. G. Prêtre
Coloured engraving, in L. I. Duperrey, Voyage autour du monde: histoire naturelle - zoologie, Paris, 1826,
32.5 x 24 cm
NO7/20E [S0020673]



28. Hats, combs and other artefacts from New Guinea
Ambroise Tardieu, after drawings by A. Chazal
Coloured engraving, in L. I. Duperrey, Voyage autour du monde: histoire de la yoyage, Paris, 1826,
33.2 x 24 cm
NO7/20E [S0020673]



20. Everest album
J. M. L. Gavin, 1936
Album of b & w photographs,
37.7 x 50.2 cm
X0167/019409-019479 [S0020782]



21. 'Porters enjoying the late afternoon sunshine at Camp II on the East Rongbuk Glacier'
Hugh Rutledge, 1936
B & W photograph,
8.7 x 6.3 cm
G037/0084 [S0004993]



22. 'Tenzing Norgay and Edmund Hillary drink a celebratory cup of tea at Camp IV in the Western Cwm after their successful ascent of Mount Everest'
George Band, 30 May 1953
B & W photograph,
15.9 x 24.1 cm
PR/026613 [S0001063]



29. Jewellery and other artefacts from Birara, New Guinea
Ambroise Tardieu, after drawings by A. Chazal
Coloured engraving, in L. I. Duperrey, Voyage autour du monde: histoire de la yoyage, Paris, 1826,
50 x 23.5 cm
NO7/20E [S0020668]



30. Two New Zealand chiefs
Ambroise Tardieu, after drawings by L. F. Lejeune and A. Chazal
Coloured engraving in L. I. Duperrey, Voyage autour du monde: histoire de la yoyage, Paris, 1826,
24.2 x 33.1 cm
NO7/20E [S0020671]



31. 'A view of the village at Pitcairn Island', including the observatory of H.M.S. Blossom
William Smyth, 1825
Watercolour,
27.4 x 45.3 cm
X0562/023529 [S0020683]



23. 'Tenzing Norgay on the summit of Mount Everest'
Edmund Hillary, 1953
Colour photograph,
30.5 x 20.3 cm
PR/026820(A) [S0001056]



24. 'Ausgrabung und Zubereitung der Schildkröteneier, am Amazonenstrome' (Catching and cooking turtle on the Amazon)
I. Steingröbel, after a sketch by Martius
Lithograph in J. B. von Spix & K. F. P. von Martius, Atlas zur reise in Brasilien (Munich, 1834),
31.9 x 48.7 cm
14.C.11 [S0020678]



25. 'Entrevue avec les naturels de L'île Ombai' (Interview with the inhabitants of the island of Ombai)
Bovinet, after a drawing by J. Arago
Engraving, in L. Freycinet, Voyage autour du monde: atlas historique, Paris, 1825,
18.4 x 26.2 cm
387C [S0020656]



32. Portraits and artefacts from Vancouver Island
J. Linton Palmer, 1851
pencil, pen and ink with watercolour,
52.5 x 36 cm
F30/4, 016919-016925 [S0020698]



33. Inuit artefacts from the Bering Strait
J. Linton Palmer, 1851-2
pencil, pen and ink with watercolour,
52.5 x 36 cm
F30/4, 016943-7 [S0020706]



34. 'Village of Taboga [Panama], from the verandah of the coaling station'
J. Linton Palmer, 1852
Watercolour, pen and ink,
17.4 x 25.8 cm (whole page 52.5 x 36 cm)
F30/4, 016887-9 [S0020697]



35. 'Country riding costume of the plain of Bogotá'

José Castillo, after a drawing by Joseph Brown, 1834
Watercolour,
24.1 x 38 cm
X0842/63 [S0020549]



36. 'The interior of a store in the principal street of Bogotá with mule drivers purchasing'

Joseph Brown, after a drawing by J. M. Groot, c.1840
Watercolour,
22 x 30.4 cm
X0842/40 [S0020547]



37. 'Shibante, a native of Mazaro, boatman and pilot belonging to Major Sicard'

Thomas Baines, 1859
Oil on canvas,
64.3 x 44.6 cm
N02/22.36 [S0013901]



38. 'The Messenger's long boat and canoe with friendly natives, between the Goulburn Islands'

Thomas Baines, 1856
Oil on canvas,
45.5 x 66.1 cm
N02/22:14 [S0013679]



39. 'Treacherous attack upon the Messenger's long boat by natives pretending to sell turtle, near the South Wessel Islands, Gulf of Carpentaria'

Thomas Baines, 1856
Oil on canvas,
45.5 x 66.1 cm
N02/22:16 [S0013607]



40. 'A Malay native from Batavia at Coepang'

Thomas Baines, 1856
Oil on canvas,
66.2 x 45.8 cm
N02/22:19 [S0014511]



41. 'The Wife of Captain Drysdale'

Thomas Baines, 1856
Oil on canvas,
66.1 x 45.5 cm
N02/22:20 [S0014510]



42. 'Trading proa, Madura Strait and Sourabaya in the distance'

Thomas Baines, 1856
Oil on canvas,
45.2 x 66.2 cm
N02/22:12 [S0014515]



43. 'Fort Utrecht, and part of the village of Banjoewhangie, Java coast in the Straits of Bali'

Thomas Baines, 1856
Oil on canvas,
45.5 x 66 cm
N02/22:10 [S0014517]



44. 'North Australian Expedition. Track of the Brigantine Messenger, T. Devine master, and of her long boat from New Years Island, to the Albert River'

Thomas Baines, 1856
Manuscript map, watercolour and pen on paper, mounted on cloth,
124.5 x 155.6 cm
Australia S.303 [S0020781]



47. 'Coepang, Friday Dec 23 1856'

Thomas Baines, 1856
Pencil and watercolour in sketchbook,
18.9 x 36.2 cm
E85/014641 [S0020728]



50. 'Klomon of Samao'

Thomas Baines, 1856
Watercolour in sketchbook,
27.4 x 19 cm
E85/014645 [S0020732]



45. 'Goongoolbert or Pannikin, one of the pilot boat's crew, King George Sound'

Thomas Baines, 1857
Watercolour in sketchbook,
27.4 x 19 cm
E85/014648 [S0020733]



48. 'Moehamad Jen Jamain. His own signature'

Thomas Baines, 1856
Watercolour in sketchbook,
27.5 x 18.8 cm
E85/014642 [S0020730]



51. 'Rhoda Janatan. The name written by the girl herself'

Thomas Baines, c.1856-7
Watercolour in sketchbook,
27.5 x 19 cm
E85/014650 [S0020734]



46. 'Fishing proa off Passoeram, Madura Strait, Island of Java'

Thomas Baines, 1856
Watercolour in sketchbook,
19.1 x 27.2 cm
E84/014598 [S0020726]



49. 'Bedko from Davou. A man of Davou. Timor Coepang, Dec 20 1856'

Thomas Baines, 1856
Watercolour in sketchbook,
27.5 x 19 cm
E85/014644 [S0020731]



52. 'Loggu, a Savou Islander. Coepang Dec 19 1856'

Thomas Baines, 1856
Watercolour in sketchbook,
27.5 x 19 cm
E85/014643 [S0020729]



53. Portrait of Sech Ismaiel Bin Mohamed Almaiene, signed by himself, with an inscription in Arabic
Thomas Baines, 1856
Watercolour and pen,
24.1 x 35 cm
X0086/018847 [S0013046]



54. 'Lake Ngami from the East, Tuesday 8 April 1862'
Thomas Baines, 1862
Pencil on paper,
27.6 x 37.9 cm
X0229/021973 [S0005981]



55. Paintbox used by Thomas Baines in Australia and Africa
Maker & date unknown
Wood with metal hinge and decoration,
29.5 x 24 x 4.7 cm
Artefact F4 [S0020746]



62. H. G. Ponting lectures on his travels in Japan to members of the British Antarctic Expedition, Cape Evans
Herbert Ponting, 1911
Tinted lantern slide,
5.3 x 7 cm
0834/96 [S0016042]



63. 'Kaieteur Falls'
Everard im Thurn/C. F. Norton, 1878
B & W photograph,
24 x 19.1 cm
PR/042455 [S0000026]



64. 'River Essequibo at Kimparu'
Everard im Thurn/C. F. Norton, 1878
B & W photograph,
18.8 x 24 cm
PR/042466 [S0005227]



56. William B. Lord & Thomas Baines, Shifts and expedients of camp life, travel and exploration (London, 1876)
Open at title page,
24.4 x 16.5 cm
N07/46M [S0020717]



57. Alfred Russel Wallace, The Malay Archipelago (London, 1869)
Open at title page,
18.5 x 12.4 cm
N07/38J [S0020679]



58. 'Map to illustrate a paper on the physical geography of the Malay Archipelago by Alfred Russel Wallace, Esqr. 1863'
Printed map, *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society*, vol 33 (1863),
22.5 x 33.9 cm
FRR/12B [Mr scan 20080423-101428]



65. 'Kaieteur Falls: the path to the Kaieteur, carrying the batteau past the Amutu cataract'
Everard im Thurn/C. F. Norton, 1878
Sepia photograph,
23.1 x 18.2 cm
PR/042436 [S0005196]



66. 'True Caribs'
Everard Im Thurn, 1890
B & W photograph,
17.9 x 11.6 cm
PR/059756 [S0011303]



67. 'Pedro Caripoco'
Alexander Hamilton Rice, c. 1919-20
B & W photograph,
11.6 x 8.8 cm
PR/058980 [S0020798]



59. 'Group of members of the British Association at the Meeting in Dundee, September 1867'
James Valentine, 1867
Sepia photograph signed on reverse by Thomas Baines,
30.4 x 25.1 cm
PR/026868 [S0020563]



60. 'Laos village, interior of Siam'
John Thomson, 1866
B & W photograph, platinum print,
39.3 x 50 cm
X0692/024378 PR/026868 [S0020684]



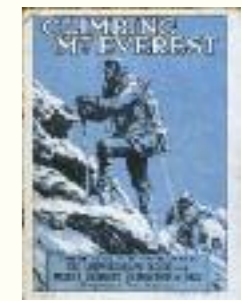
61. Portrait of Henry Morton Stanley
John Thomson, 'photographer to the Queen',
1885 B & W photograph,
16.6 x 11 cm
PR/052152(R) [S0014460]



68. Silvino Santos working in his makeshift 'laboratory' at Boa Esperança
Alexander Hamilton Rice, 1924-5
B & W photograph,
7.8 x 13.2 cm
PR/058678 [S0020797]



69. Climbing Mt Everest
Dir. John Noel, 1922
Original footage held in the British Film Institute



70. Climbing Mt Everest
Film programme, 1922
Printed paper,
25.4 x 18.8 cm
EE/6/5/60 [S0001277]



71. 'Captain Noel and kinematograph camera with large telephoto lens established on the Chang La [North Col] at 23,000 feet'

Unknown photographer, 1922
B & W photograph,
7.6 x 10.2 cm
MEE22/0602 [S0001250]



72. White Tara presented to General Bruce, 1922

Bronze,
8.6 x 6 x 3.7 cm
c2a/389/118-0 [S0013019]



73. Everest expedition members, 1922

J. B. L. Noel, 1922
B & W photograph,
8.4 x 11 cm
MEE22/0607 [S0001176]



80. Preparing for recruitment of porters at Darjeeling (with Karma Paul)

Hugh Rutledge, 1936
B & W photograph,
6.1 x 7.9 cm
X0167/020450 [S0020783]



81. Abdullah Susi, James Chuma and Horace Waller, with Agnes and Tom Livingstone, at Newstead Abbey

R. Allen & Sons (Nottingham), 1874
Sepia photograph,
14.5 x 19.8 cm
PR/026870 [S0010346]



82. Medal presented by the RGS to the 'followers of Dr Livingstone', 1874

J. S. & A. B. Wyon
Silver,
3.7 x 0.3 cm
Artefact E4(3) [S0020778]



74. 'Party near the top of the Chang La'

T. Howard Somervell, 1922
B & W photograph,
7.6 x 10.2
MEE22/0423 [S0014996]



75. 'Two Sherpa photographic porters who carried Kinema camera'

J. B. L. Noel, 1922
B & W photograph,
9.6 x 7.5 cm
MEE22/0349 [S0001294]



76. 'Seracs, East Rongbuk Glacier above Camp II'

George Finch, 1922
B & W photograph,
7.5 x 10.3 cm
MEE22/00663 [S0004978]



83. 'List shewing the names of the followers of the late Dr Livingstone for whom silver medals have been sent for presentation by the Royal Geographical Society, London'

C. B. Euan-Smith, Political Agent & Consul General, Zanzibar, 1875
Signed MS,
46.5 x 36.6 cm
LMS/L21/7i [S0020758]



84. 'Moobarik Bombay'

J. A. Grant, 1860
Stereoscopic photograph,
9.5 x 20.4 cm
X0073/018802 [S0011718]



85. Letter from Free Colored People of North America

J. Myers, R. Delany & A. Dudley
MS dated 31 May 1858,
25 x 19.7 cm
CB4/Delany [S0020740]



77. 'Taking coolies dependants' thumbprints'

J. B. L. Noel, 1922
Glass plate,
8.1 x 10.1 cm
© RGS-IBG/S. Noel
JBN M/15 [S0020182]



78. A receipt book for monthly payments to Sherpas' dependants for work on the 1922 Everest Expedition

MSS voucher book, 1922, 34.3 x 22.1 cm
B & W photograph, 15.7 x 20.2 cm
EE/21/1/11 [S0004931]



79. Karma Paul

unknown photographer, 1935
B & W photograph,
10.8 x 7.5 cm
MEE35/0628 [S0011201]



86. 'M. R. Delany esq. M.D.'

Engraving (enclosed in MS letter dated 8 November 1862),
9.4 x 6.5 cm
CB5/Smyth [S0020741]



87. Nain Singh, 'The Pundit'

Unknown photographer,
Geographical Journal, 62 (1923), p. 437
B & W photograph,
25.3 x 20.1 cm
PR/026789(A) [S0001188]

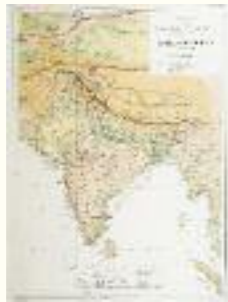


88. Kishen Singh, 'A-K'

Unknown photographer,
Geographical Journal, 62 (1923), p. 436
B & W photogravure,
25.5 x 14.9 cm
PR/026650 [S0010380]



89. Silver prayer wheel
Sarat Chandra Das, unknown date
Ink on paper, unknown date,
24.6 x 14.2 cm
X0080/018824 [S0001207]



90. Routes of the Schlagintweit expedition, 1854-8
H., A., and R. de Schlagintweit, Results of a scientific mission to India and High Asia: atlas of panoramas and views (Leipzig and London, 1861),
69.3 x 50.3 cm
X0253/box 21 [S0020769]



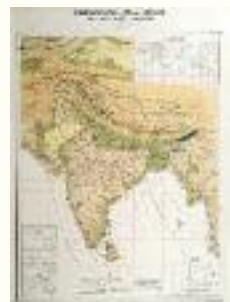
91. 'Facsimile of a Bhútia map of the commercial route from Lhássa to Assám via Távang and Narigún, drawn by Dávang Dórje, edited by Hermann de Schlagintweit'
H., A., and R. de Schlagintweit, Results of a scientific mission to India and high Asia: atlas of panoramas and views (Leipzig and London, 1861), 79.8 x 45.5 cm
X0253/box 21 [S0020774]



98. Stanley and African Exhibition Catalogue (London, 1890),
17.6 x 12.9 cmm
HMS/7/1 [S0020686]



99. 'Paddlers on Lake Kivu'
Alexander Wollaston, 1905-6
B & W photograph,
7.1 x 9.7 cm;
glass plate,
8 x 10.5 cm
PR/070833 [S0010279]



92. Map of declination, or variation between magnetic North and true North
H., A., and R. de Schlagintweit, Results of a scientific mission to India and High Asia: atlas of panoramas and views (London and Leipzig, 1861),
65.5 x 50.4 cm
X0253/box 21 [S0020774]



93. The expedition 'establishment', including observers and interpreters
H. von Schlagintweit, Results of a scientific mission to India and High Asia, vol. 1 (Leipzig and London, 1861),
33 x 25.5 cm
N02/23D [S0020754]



94. Hints to Travellers
Ninth edition, 1906,
17.4 x 12.7 cm
FRR/12C [S0020736/0020739]



95. Stanley's critics
H. Yule and H.M. Hyndman
Mr Henry M. Stanley and the Royal Geographical Society, being the record of a protest (London, 1878),
22.8 x 15.2 cm
X317.10 [S0020715]



96. Notes in Stanley's defence
Henry S. Wellcome, c. 1890
MSS, 25 x 20.3 cm
HMS/10/2 [S0020685]



97. 'Step down Stanley and let me see behind you'
Engraving, from John Bull, 22 November 1890,
26.3 x 17.3 cm
JRT, Press Cuttings, vol 5, folio 22 [S0020681]

Acknowledgements

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