"THE SAND SILTS UP YOUR COLOUR-BOX":
THE ART OF NINETEENTH-CENTURY WOMEN TRAVELERS
AND THE IMAGINING OF THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE

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DECLARATION OF ORIGINALITY

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ABSTRACT

"The sand silts up your colour-box": The Art of Nineteenth-Century Women Travelers and the Imagining of the Ottoman Empire

Throughout the nineteenth century, hundreds of women travelers from Western Europe and North America sketched in Ottoman lands. For many, sketching was not only a tool for active observation, but a means of interaction. Drawing on the artworks and written accounts of these "traveler-sketchers", this thesis discusses the cultural phenomenon of women's travel art of the Ottoman Empire, situating it in the context of nineteenth-century orientalism, art, travel and society. Beginning with an overview of the origins and sociology of women's travel sketching, it evaluates the impact of sketching on perception. It examines the role of gender and professionalism in women's travel art of Ottoman lands, and the contiguities between women traveler-sketchers, and nineteenth-century female professional scientific illustrators. Finally, it evaluates women's travel art as the record of lived experience. The act of sketching often caused artists to become the observed objects of their intended subjects. "Picturesque" Ottoman locals frequently stepped out of the frame and spoke back: critiquing images, suggesting subjects, running away, posing, laughing, becoming angry, demanding payment, offering ink, or even taking up the pen to annotate their own portraits. This thesis surveys and evaluates a variety of these documented responses, and considers how drawing often served as a social bridge across linguistic and cultural barriers. Evaluating the experiential, gendered dimension of travel art enables this thesis to examine both Orientalist art and orientalism in a new light.

ÖZET

“Boya kutunuz kumla doluyor”: On dokuzuncu yüzyılda kadın gezgin ressamlar ve Osmanlı’nın tasavvur edilmesi

On dokuzuncu yüzyılda batı Avrupa’dan ve kuzey Amerika’dan gelen kadın gezgin Osmanlı İmparatorluğu’nda eskiz çizdiler. Onların çoğu için, eskiz çizme sadece dikkatli gözlemler yapmanın bir yolu değil, bir etkileşim vasıtasıydı. Bu tez, kadın gezgin ressamlarının kendi sanat eserlerini ve yazılarını, on dokuzuncu yüzyılda oryantalizm, sanat, seyahat, ve toplum bağlamına yerleştirerek Osmanlı topraklarında’da batılı kadınlar tarafından yaratılan seyahat sanatı fenomenini tartışıyor. Kadın gezginlerin eskizlerinin kaynaklarına ve sosyolojisine baktıktan sonra, eskiz yapmalarının algılarını nasıl etkilediğine bakıyor. Osmanlı dünyasında kadınlar tarafından üretilen seyahat sanatı için toplumsal cinsiyet ve profesyonelliğin rolunu inceleyip, kadın gezgin ressamlarla on dokuzuncu yüzyılda kadın profesyoneller olarak çalışan bilimsel illüstratorlar arasındaki paralleliklere bakıyor. Sonuçda kadınlar tarafından üretilen seyahat sanatını yaşanan tecrübenin ve etkileşimlerin ürünü olması açısından yorumluyor. Eskiz yapma eylemi söz konusu ressamların sık sık tasvir ettikleri modeller arafından gözlemlenen özneler olmalarına sebep oldu. “Pitoresk” Osmanlılar sık sık resim çerçevelerinden dışarı çıkıp, konuştular: eskizleri eleştirdiler, konu önerdiler, koşarak kaçtılar, poz verdiler, güldüler, kızdılar, ödeme talep ettiler, ressama mürekkep vermeyi teklif ettiler, hatta, ellerine kalem alıp kendi portreleri üzerinde yazı bile yazdılar. Bu tez, bu belgelenen tepkileri inceleyip, eskiz yapmanın kültür ve dil farklarına ragmen insanları birleştirici bir köprü olmasını tartışıyor. Seyahat sanatının deneyimsel, toplumsal cinsiyetçi boyutunu incelemesi bu tezin hem oryantalist sanata hem de oryantalizme yeni bir ışıkta bakmasına olanak veriyor.

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INTRODUCTION

One sweltering March dawn in 1886, as her husband and children lay sleeping in their paddle steamer on the Nile, Elizabeth Butler disembarked alone at the temples of Abu Simbel. The wife of a Brigadier-General, Butler had already won acclaim as a painter of patriotic scenes of British military triumph. But this morning, she had set her sights on a very different subject—one she had fixed upon years before she ever set foot in Egypt. "I… had only a huge canvas and oil-paints available," Butler recalled in her 1909 illustrated travel memoir, *From Sketch-Book and Diary*,

> "With these I climbed the hill and waited for the first ray in the wild wind of dawn. The event was all I hoped for as regards the effect of those "scarlet shafts" on the four great figures (how many sunrises had they already awakened to?) "A great cameo," Miss Amelia Edwards calls that façade at sunrise in her fascinating book, and that phrase had made me long for years for this moment. But alas! my canvas acted as a sail before the wind and nearly carried me into the river, the sand powdered the wet paint more viciously than ever...Still, I had got my "Abu Simbel at Sunrise," and I insert a water-colour taken in comfort from the hard-earned but scarcely presentable original."[1] (fig. 1)

Butler was one of many hundreds of nineteenth-century western European and American women who traveled to the Ottoman Empire for tourism, academic research, paid work, or as trailing spouses of diplomats, soldiers, merchants, and missionaries. *A Thousand Miles Up the Nile* (1877), the very travelogue which had whetted Butler's desire to paint Abu Simbel, was the work of another female traveler: the writer, amateur painter, archaeologist and "godmother of Egyptology"[2] Amelia Edwards. Only a relatively small number of female professional artists[3] like Butler traveled to Ottoman lands to sketch or paint. But hundreds of 'lady travelers',

[1] Elizabeth Butler, *From Sketch-Book and Diary* (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1909), 76.
[2] Lynn Parramore, *Reading the Sphinx: Ancient Egypt in Nineteenth-Century Literary Culture* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), 145.
[3] Depending on the standards set for "professional" status, at least two dozen can be identified.

including Edwards, doubled as amateur sketchers. Many had received girlhood training in drawing and watercolor painting, common and respectable pastimes for a bourgeois nineteenth-century woman. In anticipation of the archaeological marvels, picturesque landscapes, and exotic scenes which they expected to encounter in the "Orient", hundreds of women travelers brought their paint-boxes and sketchbooks with them to the Ottoman Empire. For many, sketching and watercolor painting would help shape their itineraries, their daily life abroad, their perceptions of the lands and cultures through which they traveled, and even their personal relationships with both Ottoman individuals and fellow travelers. The diverse body of "travel art" they produced—including private sketches, souvenir watercolors, book illustrations, precise archaeological renderings, and Orientalist paintings for exhibition and sale—has the potential to reveal a great deal about these women, the cultures they came from, and the changing Ottoman Empire in which they became both observers and participants.

Fig. 1. Elizabeth Butler, *Abu Simbel at Sunrise*, c. 1886. Reproduction of a watercolor.
Reproduced from Elizabeth Butler, *From Sketch-Book and Diary* (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1909), 76.

Though the works of female professional Orientalist painters like Henriette Browne, Elisabeth Jerichau-Baumann, and Margaret Murray Cookesley were once almost obliterated from narratives of both Orientalism and the history of art, their paintings now feature in major museum exhibitions, and command increasingly substantial prices at auction. Such works have long been the subject of popular curiosity and publication – what the feminist literary scholar Sara Mills denigrated as "the books…written about women travelers [which] tend to come in the form of coffee table books, with lavish illustrations of these eccentric creatures."[4] But over the past two decades, the valuable artifacts of women's travel art have begun to attract significant scholarly attention as well.

Despite the burgeoning interest in Orientalist artworks by women, there has been no systematic study of nineteenth-century women's travel art of the Ottoman Empire. In endeavoring to fill this gap, this thesis will situate the cultural phenomenon of women's travel art of the Ottoman Empire in the context of nineteenth-century art, travel and society. Relying on first-hand accounts, it will argue that for many women travelers, sketching was not only a way to document, illustrate, and validate their experiences, or pleasantly pass the time. Rather, the act of sketching became both a tool for active observation and analysis, and—crucially—a *means* of interaction, impacting both the sketcher and the object of the sketch. Elizabeth A. Fraser points out that, "Travellers, even in colonial contexts, were involved in processes of negotiation whose outcomes were not pre-ordained and in which the identity of all involved was at stake and subject to pressure."[5] The act of sketching was undeniably one of those negotiations; not only in terms of the

[4]Mills, Sara, *Discourses of Difference: An Analysis of Women's Travel Writing and Colonialism* (London and New York: Routledge, 1991), 4.
[5] Elisabeth A. Fraser, "Books, Prints and Travel: Reading in the Gaps of the Orientalist Archive," *Art History* 31:3 (2008), 342.

abstract negotiation between an artist and her perceived reality, but the literal negotiation between the artist and the individuals, cities, and landscapes she hoped to capture on paper.

1.1 Defining the "Ottomans"

Although I have used the term "Ottoman" throughout to refer to people living in territories at least nominally under Ottoman control, in many cases, these people – particularly those living in rural environments – may have identified themselves primarily with a local, rather than specifically "Ottoman" identity. My choice to group these geographically and culturally diverse people as "Ottoman" is pragmatically motivated and technically factual, but it is also potentially problematic, especially with regard to the inhabitants of Egypt (essentially under khedival rule throughout the nineteenth century) and modern-day Greece, much of which declared formal independence from Ottoman control in the early 1820s. Given the centrality of identity, both real and perceived, to any discussion of Orientalist art (or, indeed, travel art more generally), the choice of labels demands both caution and flexibility. It is particularly important to avoid misleading binary classifications of Ottoman vs. European, or "the essentialistic categories of 'Orient' and 'Occident', representing the ineradicable distinction between East and West,"[6] where the realities were more complex.

In their written accounts, nineteenth-century women travelers to the many territories which belonged to the political constellation of the Ottoman Empire rarely referred to the local people as "Ottoman", or even used the term, except with reference to institutions, rather than individuals; it appears in passages on history,

[6] Sadik Jalal al-ʿAzm, "Orientalism and Orientalism in Reverse," *Khamsin* 8 (1981): 5-26, republished in A.L. Macfie, *Orientalism: A Reader* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2000), 219.

politics, and society. Of the 107 Ottoman-era travel accounts of Middle Eastern travel cited in this thesis, not one used the word "Ottoman" in its title. Instead, some authors wrote vaguely of visiting "the East"; others proudly specified exactly which Ottoman cities or territories they had visited: Constantinople, Smyrna, Cairo, the Bosphorus, "Turkey", "Egypt", the "Holy Land", "Syria", "Palestine", "Greece", "Asia Minor", etc. (This terminology was not consistent from author to author, and does not always correspond to modern usage; some travelers spoke of visiting both Turkey and Asia Minor as separate places.) Even in an era in which Orientalist generalizations about "the East" were common, for a traveler who had merely gone up the Nile to say she had been on a trip to "the Ottoman Empire" would have sounded as odd as if she had claimed to have visited "the British Empire" on the basis of a journey to Ontario. Travelers generally designated the people they met by ethnicity rather than nationality, as Arabs, Turks, Greeks, Albanians, Bedouin, etc., often alternating these labels with the more casual terms "natives" or "Orientals." In direct quotes and in most references to specific accounts, I have preserved whatever terminology was chosen by the author.

1.2 The emergence and growth of women's Orientalist travel art

Although Western European travelers' accounts of the Ottoman Empire proliferated throughout the 1800s, only two book-length travelogues by women were published in English between the end of the Middle Ages and the beginning of the nineteenth century. First and most influential were Lady Mary Wortley Montagu's engaging and highly descriptive *Turkish Embassy Letters.* Written in 1716-18 en route to and during her husband's ambassadorship in Constantinople, the letters circulated privately for several decades amongst Lady Mary's aristocratic circle, but were

widely published only in 1763, after her death.[7] From that point forward, the *Turkish Embassy Letters* served as an inspiration, reference work, and point of both comparison and contention for the hundreds of Orientalist travelers, writers and artists who sought "the very view/Which charm'd the charming Mary Montagu."[8] For women travelers in particular, Lady Mary's letters came to be perceived as a model, a source, and a standard text against which a traveler could measure her own experience and expertise.

Lady Mary's written descriptions of Ottoman life were so vivid that the French painter Jean-Auguste-Dominique Ingres (1780-1867) copied out passages from the *Turkish Embassy Letters* verbatim on the back of preparatory sketches for his fantastical Orientalist painting, *Le Bain Turc* (1862).[9] Lady Mary herself was clearly aware of how her gender-privileged access to Ottoman society, and particularly Ottoman women, might benefit an artist. In her description of the women's *hamam* in Adrianople (modern Edirne), Lady Mary famously wrote,

> "To tell you the truth, I had wickedness enough to wish secretly that Mr Gervase [Charles Jervas, who had painted Montagu's own portrait the previous year] could have been there invisible. I fancy it would have very much improved his art, to see so many fine women naked in different postures, some in conversation, some working, other drinking coffee or sherbet…"[10]

But in the absence of Mr. Jervas, Lady Mary herself did not attempt to paint this, or any other scene of Ottoman life, except in words. Her published correspondence contains no reference to drawing or sketching during her travels. Given Lady Mary's subsequent influence on Orientalist art, it is noteworthy that the early editions of the

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[7] Mary Jo Kietzman, "Montagu's Turkish Embassy Letters and Cultural Dislocation," *Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900* 38:3 (Summer, 1998), 537.
[8] Lord George Gordon Byron, "Don Juan," *The Works of Lord Byron: With His Letters and Journals, and His Life*, vol. 16, edited by Thomas Moore (London: John Murray, 1833), 60.
[9] Ruth Bernard Yeazell, *Harems of the Mind: Passages of Western Art and Literature* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), 37.
[10] Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, *The Turkish Embassy Letters*, edited by Teresa Heffernan and Daniel O'Quinn (Ontario: Broadview Press, 2013), 102.

Turkish Embassy Letters did not include any illustrations whatsoever. She chose to remain, as Mary Roberts terms her, "a privileged intermediary between the painter and his subject."[11]

Lady Mary's unillustrated *Turkish Embassy Letters* were a product of early eighteenth-century travel writing traditions and publishing technology. But the latter half of the eighteenth century saw the rise of a "thriving publishing industry for travel accounts, in which images played an increasingly important role."[12] The earliest known examples of western European women's travel art of the Ottoman Empire appeared in the context of this new industry.

Elizabeth, Lady Craven, "England's other great eighteenth-century woman traveller to Turkey,"[13] published her epistolary travelogue, *A Journey Through the Crimea to Constantinople*, in 1789, over seventy years after Montagu arrived at the Sublime Porte. Having traversed much of the same Ottoman ground, Craven (later the Margravine of Anspach) attempted to discredit Lady Mary as both a writer and observer, and install herself as the sole female British authority on the Ottoman Empire. [14] Though Craven failed to oust Lady Mary, she did become the first woman to publish an illustrated travel book in English concerning a journey through Ottoman lands.[15] Craven had had some childhood instruction in decorative

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[11] Mary Roberts, *Intimate Outsiders: The Harem in Ottoman and Orientalist Art and Travel Literature* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2007), 51.
[12]Fraser, "Books, Prints, and Travel," 343.
[13]Katherine S.H. Turner "From Classical to Imperial: Changing Visions of Turkey in the Eighteenth Century," in *Travel Writing and Empire: Postcolonial Theory in Transit*, edited by Steve Clark (London: Zed Books, 1999), 113.
[14] Turner, "From Classical to Imperial," 114.
[15] So far as I have been able to ascertain, the earliest definitively identifiable travel paintings of the Ottoman Empire by a woman of Western European heritage are the scenes of the Bosphorus painted in 1794 by Clara Barthold Mayer, possibly the daughter of the Swiss dragoman at the British Embassy in Constantinople, and wife of the Orientalist painter Luigi Mayer. Several of her Constantinople watercolors are now in the V&A. Whether Barthold ("Impressions from Afar: 18th-Century Istanbul in the Paintings of Clara and Luigi Mayer 23 March-15 September 2011," Istanbul Research Institute, http://en.iae.org.tr/Exhibition/Impressions-from-Afar/173).

painting[16] and brought a cultivated aesthetic sensibility to her travelogue: seeking out renowned paintings throughout Western Europe, comparing Venice to its disadvantage with paintings she had seen of it,[17] evaluating the suitability of unfamiliar Greek landscapes for the artist's pencil,[18] and even bringing professional artists with her to document picturesque ruins on the islands off the coast of Asia Minor. Though Craven does not specifically mention sketching in the Ottoman Empire, she did undertake landscape sketches earlier in her journey, near Lyons. Like Lady Mary, Craven conceptualized the possibilities of travel art in terms of its aesthetic, rather than documentary potential. She wrote,

> "I took several sketches from different points, one from a little island, which was formerly called Insula Barbara. You recollect a large round tower which crowns the prison of Pierre-encise. The proportions of it struck my ideas of symmetry very much…"[19]

The first edition of Craven's travelogue featured six anonymous illustrations of sights and sites described in the text. Though her narrative devotes well over a hundred pages to her travels in Western Europe, Russia, and the Crimea, the illustrations reveal a clear concentration of scopic interest on areas on Eastern Mediterranean areas controlled by or heavily associated with the Ottomans– unsurprisingly so, since "The Turkish aspect of Craven's account seems to have been its main source of marketable interest."[20] Five of her book's six illustrations depict subjects or locales in what is now Turkey and the nearby Cycladic islands, which, until the disruptions of the 1768-74 Russo-Turkish War a decade earlier, had spent several centuries under various degrees of Ottoman control. Craven's illustrations

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[16] Elizabeth, Lady Craven, *Memoirs of the Margravine of Anspach, Written by Herself,* vol. 1 (London: Henry Colburn, 1826), 27.
[17] Elizabeth, Lady Craven, *A Journey Through the Crimea to Constantinople in a Series of Letters from the Right Honourable Elizabeth Lady Craven, to His Serene Highness the Margrave of Brandenbourg, Anspach, and Bareith.* (London: G. G.J. and J. Robinson, 1789), 93.
[18] Craven, *Journey*, 246.
[19] Craven, *Journey*, 21.
[20] Turner, "From Classical to Imperial," 114.

included: an Ottoman ship at sea, the Grotto of Antiparos (with generic turbaned figures arranged beneath its stalactites), and two landscapes of two Cycladic islands as seen from the sea: the bare hills of Siphanto (modern Sifnos) and the Convent of Panacrado (Panagia Panachrantos) on Andros. Craven's *Journey* also featured an illustration of an unnamed Ottoman cemetery in Pera or Constantinople, which may be based on one of her own drawings, although the text does not make this explicit (fig. 2).[21]

Fig. 2. Anonymous, possibly Elizabeth, Lady Craven. *View of an Ottoman cemetery*, c. 1789. Engraving.
Reproduced from Elizabeth, Lady Craven, *A Journey Through the Crimea to Constantinople in a Series of Letters from the Right Honourable Elizabeth Lady Craven, to His Serene Highness the Margrave of Brandenbourg, Anspach, and Bareith* (London: G.G.J. and J. Robinson, 1789), 219.

[21] In the letter accompanying the illustration, Craven wrote, "The burial places for the dead are very numerous, and in a manner surround Constantinople and Pera, forming very shady romantic walks, as the trees and grave-stones are huddled together in a confused manner; both presenting great variety to those who ramble among them --Each grave-stone is crowned with a turban, the form of which shews the employment or quality of the corpse when living --I shall send you a drawing that will give you some idea of them" (Craven, *Journey*, 218-219).

Billie Melman identifies Craven's "preference for 'Nature', or picturesque landscapes" as part of a "change in aesthetic sensibilities from the Augustan to the Romantic," tied to the emergence of the ideals of propriety and morality which would dominate nineteenth-century society in England and the United States.[22] It likely also reflects an increasing consciousness of what kind of scenes would be considered appropriate subjects for a woman to depict, a preoccupation which would powerfully impact the next century of women's travel art. Craven, desperate to repair her reputation after the scandal sparked by her acrimonious separation from her first husband, had every reason to shape her travel narrative and its illustrations into the most respectable form possible.

The only illustration of a non-Eastern Mediterranean subject in Craven's book, a plate labelled, "View of the Source of the River Karasou in the Crimea, April 1786," also had strong Ottoman associations; even the river's name (*kara su*, or "black water") was Turkish. As Craven recounted in her travelogue, the Crimean Khanate, ruled for centuries as an Ottoman vassal state, had come under Russian control only three years earlier; the "last Khan," as she called him, was still living. The illustration of the river Karasou is the only one in Craven's book inscribed with a date – the month of her visit to the source of the river, on which occasion she was not accompanied by another artist. The illustrations in Craven's book all relate to her direct experience, rather than offering generic representations of better-known monuments. This may suggest their origin in her personal sketches, none of which are known to have survived.

By the turn of the nineteenth century, the Napoleonic occupation of Egypt (1798-1801) and the subsequent publication of the two dozen volumes of the

[22] Billie Melman, *Women's Orients: English Women and the Middle East, 1718-1918: Sexuality, Religion, and Work* (Ann Arbor : University of Michigan Press, 1992), 87.

profoundly influential *Description de l'Egypt* (1809-22), "attracted Western travelers to the Near and Middle East, many of whom captured their impressions in paint or print."[23] As Reina Lewis points out, "the rich could now visit, with relative ease, parts of the world that hitherto been the goal of only the hardiest explorers. For rich women, travel to the East or Africa became less foreboding…the newly colonized and 'civilized' areas of North Africa and the East…were now appearing in the press as favoured destinations for holiday tours."[24] By the 1830s, women's travelogues of the Ottoman Empire were no longer a rarity. In the *Bibliotheca Cisorientalia,* a 1970s bibliography of English-language publications on the Middle East, Melman counted "245 printed works by 187 women" writing between 1821 and 1914, increasing through the nineteenth century as trains and steamships made long-distance travel more accessible.[25] As early as 1847, *The Calcutta Review* observed,

> "Egypt and Syria have, of late years, found able advocates and describers in those accomplished ladies, whose delight during a "Yacht Voyage" in the Mediterranean, awakened their ambition to the performance of Diarys and Journals in the Holy Land. This may be called a new field of travel for the ladies. Italy and Germany have been nearly written dry: So have, perhaps, Egypt and Syria."[26]

The promotional material included in the front papers of Lady Anne Blunt's *A Pilgrimage to Nejd* (1881) gives a clear picture of just how flooded the market in Oriental travelogues was by the end of the nineteenth century: "Lady Anne's work is quite *sui generis*, no faint praise in these days of many books,"[27] approved the *Field.* "It is pleasant, among the numbers of wearisome books of travel which are showered

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[23]Jennifer Meagher, "Orientalism in Nineteenth-Century Art," In Heilbrunn Timeline of Art History. New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2000–. http://www.metmuseum.org/toah/hd/euor/hd_euor.htm (October 2004).

[24] Reina Lewis, *Gendering Orientalism: Race, Femininity and Representation* (London and New York: Routledge, 1996), 116.

[25]Melman, *Women's Orients,* 7.

[26]"Miscellaneous Notices," *The Calcutta Reveiw* (July-December 1847), xi-xii.

[27] Lady Anne Blunt, *A Pilgrimage to Nejd: The Cradle of the Arab Race. A Visit to the Court of the Arab Emir, and "Our Persian Campaign"* (London: John Murray, 1881), ii.

upon the public at the present day, to meet with one which is written in a lively and interesting style, and which describes a comparatively unvisited and highly remarkable people," agreed the *Guardian*.[28]

In addition to the 245 Middle Eastern travelogues by nineteenth-century women authors listed in the *Bibliotheca Cisorientalia*, Melman tallies "over a hundred uncatalogued book-length publications,"[29] totaling a remarkable 345 known, book-length, English-language accounts of the Middle East published by women between the early nineteenth century and the first World War. Though British women were by far the most numerous and prolific travel writers and artists, nineteenth-century female travelers to the Ottoman Empire hailed from across western Europe and the United States. Barbara Hodgson counts an impressive "240 British female travelers to the East from 1717 until 1930, compared with 58 from France, 28 from German-speaking countries, and 23 from elsewhere on the Continent, including Italy, Denmark, and Holland…nearly 100 American women, a third of whom published accounts," plus, "relatively few accounts of Canadian, Australian, and New Zealand women"[30] -- and that tally excludes those who traveled during wartime. The significant geographic diversity amongst their publishers testifies to the enormous and widespread popularity of women's travel-writing. These works were distributed not only by major publishers of travel books like John Murray or Richard Bentley, both in London, but a variety of non-specialist houses in Edinburgh, Paris, Copenhagen, Milan, New York, Boston, and Philadelphia, with a scattering of books from small publishers outside of major urban and intellectual

[28] Blunt, *A Pilgrimage to Nejd*, ii.
[29]Melman, *Women's Orients*, 7.
[30]Barbara Hodgson, *Dreaming of East: Western Women and the Exotic Allure of the Orient* (Vancouver, Toronto and Berkeley: Greystone Books, Douglas & McIntyre Publishing Group, 2005), 5.

centers of the time, from Chambersburg, Pennsylvania and Nashville, Tennessee to the Isle of Wight. Though women's travel-writing could be a financially profitable enterprise for publishers (particularly lavishly illustrated works, or those by well-known figures), it was not uncommon for amateur writers and/or aristocratic ladies to have their travelogues printed for private circulation amongst their friends, which had the advantage of side-stepping the potential social liability for a respectable woman of publicly attempting to earn money.

In addition to book-length travelogues, women travelers also frequently published both written accounts and illustrations of their Middle Eastern experiences in periodicals. (The June 1877 *Scribner's* featured several pages of Mme Fagnani's painstakingly observed 1876 account of "A State Ball in Constantinople,"[31] while an anonymous "Lady resident at Constantinople" contributed an etching of "Harem Life, The Family at Dinner" to the July15, 1876 *Graphic.*[32]) Melman and Hodgson's counts naturally omit these shorter works, as well as unpublished manuscripts, and books which have either not survived or remain obscure and unidentified. Though unavoidably incomplete, Melman and Hogdson's tallies constitute at least a baseline figure. How many of these hundreds of female travelers sketched or painted what they saw? And how many more amateur female travel artists remain unknown, because they neither published accounts nor exhibited their artworks?

Sara Mills observes that, "Watercolour painting was considered a feminine pursuit for middle-class women, and a suitable pastime for women travel writers."[33] For bourgeois and aristocratic lady travelers, sketching was so normalized that it was, for many, an integral part of the experience of Oriental travel. Dozens of

[31]Hodgson, *Dreaming of East,* 142-4.
[32] Hodgson, *Dreaming of East*, 110.
[33]Mills, Sara, *Discourses of Difference,* 187.

women travelers to the Ottoman Empire explicitly mention sketching in the field, or perusing the sketches of fellow travelers. Many women's published travel accounts featured illustrations, frequently by the author herself, or advertised as being based on sketches she had made on the spot. Such illustrations could be a major selling point, even when executed by an amateur artist: the *Tablet*'s review of Lady Anne Blunt's *A Pilgrimage to Nejd* (1881) enthused that, "Lady Anne's sketches are admirable, and add much to the pleasantness of the narrative."[34]

For a well-known professional painter like Elizabeth Butler, sketches might even take precedence over their accompanying text. In her *Letters from the Holy Land* (recounting a journey of the 1890s, and published in 1903), Butler modestly disavowed any ambition as a lady of letters: "These letters…can lay no claim to literary worth; their only possible value lies in their being descriptive of impressions received on the spot of that Land which stands alone in its character upon the map of the world." Such disclaimers are commonplace in the travel narratives of Victorian women, in which close observation was far more socially acceptable than analysis or authoritative claims. As Barbara Hodgson has highlighted, even the best-educated women travelers frequently sought "to deflect the criticism…focused on another group, the bluestockings, women whose intellectual and literary aspirations earned them disdain from male contemporaries."[35] But self-deprecating as Elizabeth Butler might be about her letters, she boldly asserted the quality of her sketches, continuing,

> "But the reader will more easily excuse the shortcomings of my pen than, I hope, he will ever do those of my pencil! I will make no apologies for the sketches, save to remind the reader that most of them had to be done in haste. They are necessarily considerably reduced in size in the reproduction, so as to suit them to the book form."[36]

[34] Blunt, *A Pilgrimage to Nejd*, ii.
[35] Hodgson, Barbara, *Dreaming of East*, 87.
[36] Butler, Elizabeth, *Letters from the Holy* Land (London: A & C Black, 1906), vii.

Butler's letters received generally positive reviews – "charmingly natural and spontaneous travel impressions" was the verdict of *Outlook* – but her illustrations were singled out for praise. Her reputation preceded her: It was Butler who Ruskin "said…had forced him to admit he had been wrong in believing that 'no woman could paint.'"[37] *Outlook* applauded the "glow, spaciousness and atmosphere of these Eastern scenes", while *St. James's Gazette* hailed Butler as a "distinguished artist" and enthused, "…the sketches are by Lady Butler, and when we have said that we have said all. Combined [with the letters], they make a book that is at once a delight to the eye and a pleasure to handle. The coloured illustrations, marvelously well reproduced, provide in panoramic display faithful representations of the Holy Land as it is seen to-day."[38] The book is a rare example of a work published by a female travel author whose audience, if they had heard of her before, would have been familiar with her reputation as an *artist*. Clearly, Butler's intended audience recognized in her sketches a noteworthy documentary and aesthetic value – and her publishers recognized a significant selling point.

1.3 Women travel writers, sketchers, and readers

Women writers and readers played an important role in the nineteenth-century rise of the illustrated travel narrative, the only format in which the travel art of all but the most celebrated female traveler-sketchers ever publicly appeared. So popular were the accounts of female travelers to the Middle East that several popular female travel writers of the day felt compelled to defend themselves against accusations that their books were inciting other women to abandon their domestic duties and take to the

[37] "Butler, Elizabeth." *The Oxford Dictionary of Art and Artists*, edited by Ian Chilvers. (Oxford University Press, 2009) Oxford Reference Online.
[38] Butler, *From Sketch-book and Diary*, front matter.

road. In 1863, Mabel Sharman Crawford prefaced her travelogue, *Through Algeria,* with a "Plea for Lady Tourists":

> "[U]ndesirous as I am to see my sex infected with a disrelish for home life, and a craving for adventure, I yet feel no fear that these pages will tend to foster such a feeling…The published records of the Alpine Club do not result in a general masculine rush to find some hitherto unascended snowy peak to climb. … The lady tourist will ever be, to her sex at large, but as a meteoric flash amidst the hosts of fixed stars that stud the sky." [39]

Sharman may well have been sincere in her conviction that "the lady tourist" posed no threat to the integrity of the English hearth and home. But, fresh from Algeria, she surely must have recognized that her fellow female travelers to the Middle East and North Africa constituted more of a blinding meteor shower than a few lone flashes in the sky. Deborah Cherry points out that in Algiers alone, a sizeable "group of nineteenth-century British women… holidayed and over-wintered…traveled extensively, wrote tourist literature, and sent their painting and watercolors to London galleries."[40] In Egypt, Constantinople, and the "Holy Land", the same phenomenon was taking place, the numbers of women travelers rising as colonial mentalities and infrastructure strengthened their hold.[41]

Amelia Edwards' vivid, deliberately humorous account of painting those same temples of Abu Simbel which Elizabeth Butler would later attempt offers a crucial insight into the context in which women's travel art of the Ottoman Empire was made. Edwards wrote,

> "When the wind blows from the north (which at this time of the year is almost always) the heat is perhaps less distressing, but the sand is maddening. It fills your hair, your eyes, your water-bottles; silts up your colour-box; dries into your skies; and reduces your Chinese white to a gritty paste the colour of

[39]Mabel Sharman Crawford, *Through Algeria* (London: Richard Bentley, 1863), xiv-xv.
[40] Deborah Cherry, "Earth Into World, Land Into Landscape: The "Worlding" of Algeria in Nineteenth-Century British Feminism," in *Orientalism's Interlocutors: Painting, Architecture, Photography*, edited by Jill Beaulieu and Mary Roberts (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2002), 104.
[41] "For rich women, travel to the East or Africa became less foreboding as social networking extended beyond Europe…" (Lewis, *Gendering Orientalism*, 116).

> salad-dressing. As for the flies, they have a morbid appetite for water-colours…"[42]

Edwards' familiar tone indicates that, while she clearly considered her experience amusing or noteworthy enough for inclusion, she deemed it neither extraordinary nor unique. To write "the sand silts up *your* colour-box; dries into *your* skies…" [emphasis mine] is to imply that this experience was not singular. Edwards clearly expected that it could and would be shared by the many other travelers, both male and female, who came to sketch at Abu Simbel—an assumption which Elizabeth Butler would eagerly confirm nearly a decade later. The illustrated cover Edwards made to adorn her private sketches from Egypt indicates, at the very least, her sentimental attachment to these "Small Egyptian Scraps" (fig. 3), which consisted primarily of studies of ancient Egyptian artifacts and artworks (fig. 4).

Fig. 3. Amelia Edwards, *Tih: A Priest and Noble of Memphis, IVth Dynasty*, 1873-4. Pen and pencil, cover of *Small Egyptian Scraps, 1876*, a sketchbook from her 1873-4 trip to Egypt. Reproduced from The Griffith Institute, Oxford University, http://www.griffith.ox.ac.uk/edwards-special/

[42]Amelia Ann Blanford Edwards, *A Thousand Miles Up the Nile* (London: G. Routledge and Sons, 1891), 454.

Fig. 4. Amelia Edwards, "*Thutmoses III, Karnak, On the wall of a side chamber near the Sanctuary, Karnak,"* 1873-4. Watercolor and pencil. From *Small Egyptian Scraps, 1876.*
Reproduced from The Griffith Institute, Oxford University, http://www.griffith.ox.ac.uk/edwards-special/

1.4 The nature of the sketch

Sketches in pencil, pen, and/or watercolor were undoubtedly the single most common non-mechanical form of travel art produced by Western European and North American visitors to the Ottoman Empire. They were also the most accessible form of travel art, regularly created not only by professional artists and hobby painters, but travelers who would not have considered themselves even amateur artists, but simply wanted to visually record an impression or detail in a letter or diary entry.[43] Though sketches have not, over the intervening years, proved the most visible or monetarily valuable form of Orientalist travel art,[44] the act of sketching "on

[43] Chapter 2 will consider women traveler-sketchers' most commonly expressed motivations for sketching. In combination with many other factors, it seems likely that the dramatic increase of illustrated books, newspapers and periodicals that accompanied the diffusion of lithographic technology may well have helped to reinforce a predilection (conscious or not) amongst the literate classes for illustrated text as a prestigious and authoritative way to convey daily lived experience and/or exotica, as well as to more formally record important facts.
[44] Formal, salon-style oil paintings have that somewhat dubious distinction.

the spot" impacted the lived experience of hundreds[45] of travelers to an extent unparalleled by the production of any other form of travel art, with the possible exception of photography, which proliferated later and required more expense and forethought (not to mention specialized equipment) than the simple pen and paper that enabled a traveler to sketch. For all their diversity, sketchers in nineteenth-century Ottoman lands generally chose from the same pool of possible subjects. Judging from the material I have examined, sketches made by women travelers in nineteenth-century Ottoman lands were most frequently land- and city-scapes and/or depictions of antiquities, with numerous costume/figural/ethnographic 'type' studies, abundant street or village scenes, with botanical/nature studies and individual portraits appearing with less frequency.

Because the act of sketching, and actual sketches produced, are fundamental to understanding the phenomenon of women's travel art of Ottoman lands, I would like to briefly consider the nature of the sketch, the process of its making, and its complex relationship to documentary value, as distinct from other non-mechanical artistic media. I argue that both sketches made *in situ* and first-hand accounts of making them have certain unique characteristics (distinct from any aesthetic or literary attributes they may also have), which render them particularly interesting and rewarding sources and objects for historians of travel, cross-cultural exchange/contact, and Orientalism(s). Mimetic art cannot, by its nature, be completely, transparently truthful or documentary. But this does not necessarily mean that all documents or images, even those which belong to a widely recognized

[45] Because of the ephemeral and amateur character of so much travel sketching, the number of participants is very difficult to securely estimate. I have therefore erred on the side of being conservative, limiting my figures to documented cases. Given the approximate number of bourgeois Western travelers to nineteenth-century Ottoman lands, it would be reasonable to suppose the actual figures may have been in the low thousands.

category (e.g. "Orientalist art", or even "Orientalist travel sketches made by British women in the late nineteenth century") should be assumed to be equally opaque, biased, or devoid of documentary value. Like any document or image, a travel sketch is the collective product of multiple layers of engagement and intervention, shaped by its maker, context, subject, materials, medium, etc. Amateurs were not necessarily any less self-conscious than professional artists; traveler-sketchers in the streets of Cairo or Constantinople were not necessarily any more truthful than traveler-painters who worked in studios rented in those cities, or even those who painted from memory, notes, and preparatory drawings back at home in London or Copenhagen or New York.[46] But travel sketches made on the spot, often from direct observation, and quite quickly, were almost always filtered through fewer (and, to a certain extent, *different*) layers of intervention than paintings prepared and reworked at leisure, or prints derived from original works in other media. The travel sketcher, whether operating as a guest in someone's home, a customer in a place of business, or an observer-participant in public or wild spaces, had less control over her viewing experience and the space surrounding her than her studio painter counterpart. This reduced control meaningfully impacted the lived experience of observation, unsettled the dynamics of spectatorship, and offered greater scope for intervention by the human subjects and witnesses of travel sketches. Chapter 4, which deals with sketches and sketching as lived experience, explores and illustrates this in greater depth.

The temptation to identify informal travel sketches as inherently "more immediate" or "more direct" reflections of lived experience than formal paintings or prints is a powerful and a perilous one. The documentary or representational value

[46] Indeed, lack of access to a full range of art supplies meant sketchers often had to compromise on such basic accuracies as color, whether or not they would otherwise have chosen to do so.

of a sketch can vary widely from one sketch to another, even amongst works by the same artist in the same sketchbook, and in the case of nineteenth-century Orientalist travel art, is often very challenging to externally verify. Nevertheless, it is important to recognize that the intentions of traveler-sketchers themselves were almost always documentary. This documentary will, as I will discuss further in Chapter 2 and Chapter 3, profoundly contributed to sketchers' choice of style and subject matter, and to the critical reception of publicly displayed or published travel art.

Let us subtly change our perspective, and treat each travel artwork made in the field as the product of an *event* of sketching. Travel sketching is an event with multiple actors (the sketcher, people observing the sketcher, people being sketched, the intended audience, etc.), and many possible outcomes and results (the sketch itself, subsequent works, an account of sketching or being sketched, the influence of the participants upon one another, etc.).[47] Treating the sketch as an event enables us to discuss its impacts on participants and its performative aspects, without necessarily staking a claim to the status of the sketch as a truthful document of the external realities of the moment.[48]

1.5 Source presentation and evaluation

This research draws on two main bodies of primary source material. First, images of original artworks (oil paintings, watercolors, sketches, illustrated diaries) by women travel artists, accessed via exhibition publications and the digital archives of museums, universities, nineteenth-century popular magazines, and auction houses. Second, a group of over a hundred travel books published in western European

[47] The creation of any oil painting, etching, etc. is, of course, also an event. I am merely arguing that, especially for historians of travel and travel art, as for historians of photography, treating the sketch/photograph as an event opens up particularly productive lines of inquiry.

[48] Certain kinds of deliberately documentary travel sketches made in the field can and have been used, in conjunction with other sources, as tools for history-writing, and even archeological reconstruction.

languages about the Middle East prior to the dissolution of the Ottoman Empire. These range from religious travelogues to amateur ornithological treatises, from guidebooks to solemn works of proto-ethnology, to hunting reminiscences, diaries of diplomatic life, and frothy epistolary accounts of luxury tourism. The vast majority are personal memoirs, many of them illustrated, often by the author. Of these, the most significant for this thesis are the ninety-two books by foreign female travelers about various aspects of Middle Eastern life, landscape, and travel. The oldest work I have examined is Lady Mary Wortley Montagu's 1716-18 correspondence; the most recent, the 1918 reminiscences of Lady Fanny Sandison Blunt, who was born to the British representative of the East India Company in Constantinople, and later travelled widely through Ottoman lands as the wife of a British diplomat. 62 of the authors were British, eight were American, eight held an assortment of western European nationalities (Polish-Danish, German-Swedish, Italian, German, Austrian, and French), and one, Margaret Thomas, was Australian. I have mined these works for their illustrations, and scrutinized their texts for references to sketching and painting, interaction with other traveler-sketchers, and use of language that indicates a perception of Ottoman people, places, artifacts and/or culture as 'picturesque' potential subjects for western artists. Throughout this thesis, I have endeavored to counterbalance the inherent biases of these works by openly acknowledging them, and by situating the authors' claims both in the context of other contemporary written and visual testimony, and modern scholarship.

Of the 79 female authors mentioned above, nearly thirty devoted their books, in whole or in part, to travel writing about Egypt. Amongst these Egyptian travelogues are some of the most significant sources available on the attitudes and lived experience of women traveler-sketchers in the nineteenth-century Middle East.

By being so firmly planted on the beaten path, Egypt became accessible to even minimally adventurous female traveler-sketchers, whose accounts provide valuable insights into the phenomenon of women's travel art of the nineteenth-century Ottoman Empire, and wider Middle East. As I mentioned in Section 1.1 the designation nineteenth-century Egypt as "Ottoman" is particularly problematic, and it is therefore important to be aware that "Egypt" occupied a distinct and separate place in the historical and political understanding of both its inhabitants and the outside world. Even after Ottoman forces reclaimed Egypt from the Napoleonic occupation (1798-1801), Egypt's political and cultural path diverged from the rest of the Ottoman Empire to which it nominally continued to belong, under the leadership of Muhammad Ali Pasha. Muhammad Ali Pasha, the Ottoman "governor", later khedive, and de facto ruler of Egypt arrived there "in 1801 as part of the Ottoman-Albanian Corps of the Ottoman Army, sent to reclaim Egypt for the Ottoman Sultan from the French…. By the time of his death in 1848, he had established a dynasty that ruled Egypt up to the revolution of 1952."[49] Under the rule of Muhammad Ali Pasha and his successors, "Ottoman" Egypt operated in cultural and political competition, and sometimes conflict, with the core Ottoman Empire, as administered from Constantinople. The divergence between Egypt and the (rest of the) Ottoman Empire stretched as far as their self-representation to foreign audiences. Ahmet Ersoy provides an illuminating illustration of this very conscious split in his discussion of the Ottoman contribution to the 1873 World Exposition in Vienna. He observes how, even with hardly two kurush to rub together, the Ottoman commission scrambled to avoid the shame of putting on a less dazzling show than Egypt:

> "The Ottoman state would have turned this propitious event into a crowning show of force had it not been facing one of its most debilitating financial cri-

[49] Peter Colvin, "Muhammad Ali Pasha, the Great Exhibition of 1851, and the School of Oriental and African Studies Library," *Libraries & Culture* 33:3 (Summer, 1998), 249.

> ses. The inevitable budgetary drawback required a drastic reduction in the number and scale of pavilions that had initially been proposed for the Ottoman section in the exposition grounds. This was, however, a sacrifice that ran the risk of lending Egypt (nominally a part of the Ottoman Empire but represented autonomously in the expositions) the upper hand in dominating the oriental quarters in the exposition park with larger, more imposing pavilions. The Ottoman commission to the exposition tried to avert the impending "prestige crisis"…"[50]

The group of primary texts I have examined for this thesis concentrates on works which specifically mention or include travel sketches, and is by no means exhaustive. I have perforce drawn principally on digital archives to access geographically scattered source material. This approach carries an inbuilt liability. Any artwork or text available digitally must, at some point, have fulfilled two conditions: it must have been in the possession of an individual or organization with digital scanning capabilities, typically an institution or business; and someone must have considered it important enough to digitize. Yet the overwhelming majority of women's travel art existed in the private letters, journals, and sketchbooks of little-known, publicly unexceptional amateur women artists, living in an age in which feminine notoriety was frowned upon. Even if the heirs of these works have deemed them important enough to preserve (and many sketches and diaries have surely perished in the Goodwill heap with the rest of Great-Aunt Enid's bric-a-brac), rarely are such personal family archives either publicized or made digitally accessible, nor is it usually possible to ascertain their physical whereabouts. The source material upon which this thesis draws therefore disproportionately favors the artworks of more wealthy, prominent, and/or aristocratic women, whose works were more likely to be preserved than those of their more obscure contemporaries.

[50] Ahmet Ersoy, "A Sartorial Tribute to Late Tanzimat Ottomanism: The Elbise-i ʿOs̱māniyye," *Muqarnas* 20 (2003), 188-189.

When the travel art of bourgeois amateur women artists like Esme Scott Stevenson and Florence Wyndham does survive, particularly in a publicly accessible format, it is generally in the form of book illustrations, which constitute 27 of the 38 images reproduced in this thesis. The illustrated travel book was a nineteenth-century phenomenon born of technological advances in image reproduction, particularly the invention of lithography in 1798. As Colta Ives points out,

> "Where eighteenth-century publications had been illustrated usually with copperplate etchings and engravings, in the nineteenth century, a broad array of new techniques was introduced that included wood engraving, lithography, and a range of photomechanical means of reproduction that steadily took over the field as the century advanced. The invention of lithography around 1800 made it possible to produce an extraordinarily large edition of prints from a single drawing executed on a block of limestone."[51]

Lithograph illustrations of women's travelogues were frequently advertised as being "from" original sketches or watercolors by the author, and, as we shall see in Chapter 3, derived substantial value from their perceived 'authenticity' as documents of his or her own lived experience. But, inevitably, the practicalities of creating lithographs meant that there was another hand mediating between the original artwork and the finished book illustration. No one perched under a parasol on the banks of the Sweet Waters of Asia making lithographs; by their nature, lithographs require more stages of intervention between experience and final product than a sketch made on the spot. Although this does not mean that lithographed illustrations are necessarily altered in a significant way from the original sketches, the shift from one medium to another adds an additional degree of uncertainty and intervention, which complicates the documentary potential of this kind of travel art. On a very basic level, a reproduced watercolor might

[51] Colta Ives, "The Print in the Nineteenth Century," *Heilbrunn Timeline of Art History*, Metropolitan Museum of Art, accessed May 15, 2015, www.metmuseum.org/toah/hd/prnt2/hd_prnt2.htm.

become monochromatic or muted, a particularly significant change in the case of Orientalist paintings, in which rich colors are so closely bound up with the representation of the exotic. Another potential concern is the subtle distortion of images by popular lithographers, who might reproduce the works of many different travel artists 'standardizing' their disparate styles and compositions, whether unwittingly or for aesthetic motivations. Yet similarities which may appear to suggest such a trend are potentially misleading; after all, best-selling illustrated travel books by the likes of David Roberts and Antoine Ignace Melling undoubtedly informed individual sketchers' notions of what travel art should be. Another concern is the accuracy with which a lithographer, who might never have left London, could reliably reproduce small details of unfamiliar material cultures. (In Chapter 4, we shall see a case in which a lithographer unfamiliar with Arabic script reduced an important inscription on the sketch to gibberish in the course of transcribing it.) Lithography also has a tendency to formalize what, in sketches, appears much looser and more casual, the stronger, flatter, often darker lines increasing the rigidity, formality, and – potentially – the perceived authority or emotional/psychological distance of an image. A portrait which in sketch form may appear more like a drawing of an individual may more greatly resemble a posed costume-album figure once lithographed; fluid impressions of landscapes are crisply inked and centered, a process which (perhaps sometimes deliberately) increased their resemblance to photographs.[52] Still, as Jennifer Speake observes,

[52] Though a detailed discussion of the interplay of nineteenth-century drawing, painting and photography of the Middle East is beyond the purview of this thesis, we should certainly be aware of potential transference between these media, in terms of subject matter, poses, and composition (notably snapshot-like images like those of Margaret Thomas, in which locals turn to stare at the artist), but also in terms of the influence of photographic vision and control, as modes of perception and depiction overlapped and transformed each other.

lithography came to be closely associated with illustrated travelogues by both professionals and amateurs:

> "By the 1820s lithography was becoming the preeminent medium for topographical travel books, although stippled engraving, mezzotint, and hand-colored aquatints were all used, often in combination....Many professional artists like Edward Lear (1812-1888) valued lithography for its direct, autographic quality, while amateur artists could have their watercolor sketches touched up by the new breed of reproductive lithographers. ... By the early twentieth century photography was the supreme medium for scientific and documentary purposes, while lithography, woodcuts, and etching were used primarily in the illustration of artists' travelogues.[53]

Despite the potential shortcomings of engravings and lithographs as documents of reality, I argue that those which were derived from travelers' original sketches and lived experiences nonetheless hold at least partial documentary value. In their aggregate thousands, these book illustrations constitute a significant historical record of the nineteenth-century people, places, and artifacts which they depict, and of their makers' evolving perceptions.

Since the wider impact of travel artwork was dependent upon its circulation, it is important to keep in mind the original audience and circulation of the various types of women's travel art of the Ottoman Empire, a theme to which I will periodically return throughout this thesis. Many sketches were private works of contemplation and memorialization, and may never have been intentionally shared with anyone. But, as we will see in Chapter 2, even amateur artists frequently shared their sketches, watercolors, and illustrated letters with family members, friends, and acquaintances, diffusing their perceptions (and the popularizing the notion of travel sketching itself) through their social networks. As discussed in Chapter 3, professional women artists and particularly skilled or confident amateurs frequently

[53] Jennifer Speake, "Illustration," in *Literature of Travel and Exploration: An Encyclopedia,* Vol. 2 G-P (London: Fitzroy Dearborn, 2003), 589.

displayed their travel artworks (and more finished pieces based on travel sketches) at public exhibitions in London, Paris, and later, Constantinople. Though it is difficult to generalize with precision, we may reasonably assume that the audience for such displays consisted primarily of middle-class and privileged observers, both male and female, and that it was in this context that original works of women's travel art found their largest original audience. Mechanical reproduction exponentially increased the circulation of women's travel art. Women's illustrated travelogues were relatively inexpensive, plentiful, and easy to access across Great Britain, and in the cities of the eastern United States; so too were women's travel artworks reproduced in popular magazines. Thanks to the ubiquity of published travelogues of the Ottoman Empire by amateur female author-illustrators, an ordinary women traveler's perceptions and representations of the Middle East were not restricted to her own drawing room, but could find – and quietly influence -- an audience of thousands.

1.6 Critical contexts for women's travel art of the Ottoman Empire

History writing about "Western" art and travel literature of the Ottoman Empire remains as ideologically fraught as it is enduringly compelling. Before embarking on an analysis of women's travel art of the Ottoman Empire, it is essential to situate it not only in the larger constellation of Orientalist travel art and literature, but in the context of the highly contested reception of those works in recent in art criticism and historiography.

In 2003, the historian M.E. Yapp observed that, "Some 50 or more years ago the use of European travellers as a source began to be looked upon with some disfavour and academic writers began to insist upon the greater importance of indigenous sources written in the languages of the region."[54] The use of

[54] M.E. Yapp, "Some European Travellers in the Middle East," *Middle Eastern Studies*, 39:2 (April 2003), 213.

"indigenous" sources and sources by travelers are not, of course, mutually exclusive; they can be, should be, and increasingly are, used productively alongside each other for the diverse perspectives and details they provide. Particularly in the decades that followed Edward Said's game-changing 1978 book, *Orientalism*, the academic treatment of Orientalist art and literature has undergone several significant phases of expansion, scrutiny, and maturation. In discussing these developments, it is important to refrain from either vilifying or lionizing Said and his followers. Scholarly responses to Said have been rich and complex, and his work – like any major theoretical innovation in the field – has inspired a wide variety of approaches, not all equally sophisticated or constructive.

For at least a decade, the influence of Said's work in certain academic circles encouraged what is now widely acknowledged as an unnecessarily polemicized treatment of Orientalist production, including artworks. In their understandable eagerness to apply Said's insights to diverse areas of Orientalist production (including travel literature and Orientalist art), some scholars initially resorted to an excessively simplified and antagonistic conception of a unified, imperialist West consuming and condescending to -- if not outright attacking -- a (nobly) victimized East. It became relatively commonplace for adherents to this approach to treat Orientalist travel art and literature as if it were 'tainted', the product of irredeemably bigoted, ignorant fantasies; rather than critically, as a motley assortment of biased, but potentially valuable documents and artifacts, drawn from many different authorial and artistic perspectives. A resource, in other words, deserving to be incorporated alongside Ottoman sources in our synthesis of historical and artistic data.

Though partially protected by their sheer obscurity, the works of female travelers to the Ottoman Empire were by no means exempt from such heavy-handed critiques. Writing in 1986, Rana Kabbani was swift to dismiss the travel account of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu. "Kabbani is particularly harsh with travelers to oriental destinations," reflected Arthur J. Weitzman, in a 2002 article. "Kabbani says condescendingly of Lady Mary, 'she wrote with endearing naivete.' Lady Mary is lumped with all those who were beguiled by the stories of the Arabian Nights and who had confused the real East with the East of Scherehazade's seemingly endless cycle of stories."[55] Despite Weitzman's implication, even those Orientalist writers and artists who drew breathless, exaggerated, or flatly inaccurate comparisons between the nineteenth-century Middle East and the fantastical Orientalist literature did not necessarily thereby disqualify themselves as perceptive observers. In a recent article, Uzi Baram has demonstrated the potential of "Orientalist paintings as artifacts of Ottoman Palestine…[as] complex interventions in the assumptions about the Holy Land that can be appropriated for archaeological understandings of Palestine's past."[56] Women's travel art of the wider Ottoman Empire holds a similar potential. It is true that nineteenth-century gender expectations and aesthetic and literary conventions predisposed female travel writers and sketchers in particular to adopt a register that may at first appear sentimental or fantastical. But it is incumbent upon us not to let twenty-first-century prejudices about how a traveler "should" see or react blind us to the documentary intentions and historical interest of these images and narratives, however biased. This is too large and valuable a body of testimony to be dismissed or neglected.

[55] Weitzman, Arthur J., "Voyeurism and Aesthetics in the Turkish Bath: Lady Mary's School of Female Beauty," *Comparative Literature Studies*, 39: 4 (2002), 348.
[56] Uzi Baram, "Images of the Holy Land: The David Roberts Paintings as Artifacts of 1830s Palestine," *Historical Archaeology*, 41:1 (2007), 106.

Weitzman's critique of Kabbani and his efforts to rehabilitate Lady Mary as a source reflect a broader change in the discourse on Orientalist travel art and writing. Within a decade of Said's explosion onto the critical landscape, scholars of Orientalism were beginning to recognize that the tools he provided must be applied with nuance and from a variety of perspectives – Orientalist theory as magnifying glass and binoculars, rather than anti-Western or anti-establishment hammer. Already in 1991, literary scholar Lisa Lowe, in her book, *Critical Terrains: French and British Orientalisms*, "treats orientalism as a tradition of representation that is crossed, intersected, and engaged by other representations," asserting that "orientalism is not a single developmental tradition but is profoundly heterogeneous."[57] Notably, one of the first authors to which Lowe applied this treatment was Lady Mary Wortley Montagu. Throughout the 1990s, feminist and post-colonialist critiques endeavored to digest the wide-reaching implications of Said's Orientalism for modern history-writing and art criticism. One key aspect of these discussions was how to approach the works of female Orientalist writers and artists – a question complicated by the fact that most such works were trivialized at the time of their initial creation, and consequently underrepresented or absent in museum collections and scholarly publications.[58] ASTENE, the Association for the

[57]Lisa Lowe, *Critical Terrains: French and British Orientalisms* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1991), ix.

[58] Even when such analyses did appear, they frequently marginalized women travelers' contributions. The recent work of the historian M.E. Yapp is unfortunately illustrative of the pervasiveness of this line of thinking. Yapp declared that, "The Middle East, it must be said, is an unlikely place for a woman," dismissively remarked that Montagu, "saw the Near East mainly as a source of fun for her friends," and concluded, with reasoning apparently lifted wholesale from his nineteenth-century predecessors, "To me it remains a puzzle why these women chose such inhospitable places. No doubt, a feminist would argue, that is the consequence of a stereotyped view of women and their role. But none of the women mentioned was born as late as the twentieth century…One would have thought that the great advantage that a woman traveller had over her male counterpart was her ability to enter areas from which men were excluded and thereby was privileged to observe the lives of women and the family. But so many women travellers spurned this opportunity and chose instead the society from which they were partly excluded and in which they would always be second-class citizens, namely the society of men." (224-5)

Study of Travel in Egypt and the Near East, was founded 1997, and continues to publish regular bulletins and anthologies on the phenomena and lived experience of pre-modern Middle Eastern travel, including essay collections on women travelers, travelers' souvenirs (including sketches), and even a volume focusing specifically on the visual impact of travel on travelers who were also "artists, architects, and archaeologists," though the travellers discussed are predominantly male.[59]

As early as 1994, Sara Mills analyzed not only the text of Englishwoman Nina Mazuchelli's *The Indian Alps and How We Crossed Them* (1876), but its numerous, frequently humorous illustrations, reproduced from Mazuchelli's own travel sketches. Art historians soon began to apply the same kind of nuanced conceptions of polyvocalic Orientalism(s) that Lowe, Mills, and others were popularizing in the study of Orientalist literature. In her seminal 1996 book, *Gendering Orientalism*, Reina Lewis made a case for the importance of studying women's amateur travel art of the Middle East:

> "[W]e may learn just as much about contemporary attitudes from the tourist's unselfconscious selection of significant sights as from the more overtly mediated subject choice of the professional artist…the inclusion of Orientalist subjects in amateur art is not a neutral event --although rich women may have sketched regularly whatever the location, they always made choices about which subjects were suitable based on prevailing aesthetic and social value systems." [60]

Citing Billie Melman's analysis of nineteenth-century women's Orientalist travelogues, Lewis also argued that sketching impacted travelers' perceptions, adding that in Melman's "sample of evangelical women missionaries it is clear that painting and sketching served a crucial function in their spiritual appreciation of the Biblical

[59] Sarah Searight, ed., *Women Travellers in the Near East* (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2005); Diane Fortenberry, ed., *Souvenirs and New Ideas: Travel and Collecting in Egypt and the Near East* (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2013); Diane Fortenberry, ed., *Who Travels Sees More: Artists, Architects and Archaeologists Discover Egypt and the Near East* (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2007).
[60] Lewis, *Gendering Orientalism*, 116.

landscape."[61] Many viewed the nineteenth-century "Holy Land" as the physical corroboration of Christian doctrine– or as one enthusiastic female traveler put it, "the wonderful verification of God's word…in stone or monument – on hill or dale – in customs that have survived the passing ages."[62] The collector Rodney Searight recognized early the worth of amateur travel art of the Middle East. His daughter would later recollect,

> "Many of his artists were amateurs and, together with the professionals, more interested in the archeology, the architecture, the landscape of the regions through which they traveled than merely in its exoticism. They also covered a far wider region than the Near East of the orientalist, areas where only the more adventurous dared to tread."[63]

Now, in the early years of the twenty-first century, art historians increasingly reckon with our growing "awareness of the diversity of experience and plurality of discourses, the polyphonic quality of the discussion on the Orient."[64] Corresponding with the increasing academic interest in the kaleidoscopic Orientalism(s) that took shape during the intensification of 'Western' interest, involvement, and travel in the Ottoman Empire throughout the nineteenth century, the perspectives of female Orientalist painters have enjoyed a recent surge in scholarly attention. Mary Roberts, Reina Lewis, and Billie Melman have developed frameworks for integrating women's Orientalist paintings and writings back into broader conversations about Orientalism, colonialism, gender studies, and the history of art. They treat female artists' Orientalist productions not as curiosities, aberrations, or expressions of anachronistic feminism, but as part of the constellation of co-existing (sometimes conflicting) Orientalisms and colonialisms, reflecting the viewpoints of many

[61] Lewis, *Gendering Orientalism*, 116.
[62] Augusta Cook *By Way of the East* (London: Robert Banks & Son, 1908), quoted in Melman, *Women's Orients*, 171.
[63]Sarah Searight, "Vision of the Middle East," *Saudi Aramco World* (May/June 1994, 32-39).
[64] Melman, *Women's Orients*, 18.

different parts of society in nineteenth-century Europe and America. The contributions of Roberts, Lewis, and Melman have strikingly transformed the discourse to which the present discussion of women's travel art seeks to contribute. *Orientalism's Interlocutors* (2002), a volume co-edited by Roberts and Jill Beaulieu, exemplifies how this discourse has been reframed. It incorporates analysis of Orientalist artworks created by Ottoman individuals, as well as by both male and female Europeans, including British women's travel art from colonial Algeria.[65] One reviewer neatly sums up this new approach: "it treats visual representation of the Orient not as a one-sided relationship but as a dialogue. More than that, it also deepens, or 'triangulates,' our understanding of the complexities of cross-cultural encounters."[66]

Unsurprisingly, women's published travel narratives have emerged as the single most significant written primary source for understanding women's travel art of the Middle East. Framing his 2003 article about "Some European Travellers in the Middle East" (amongst whom he numbers himself), M.E. Yapp rather archly reflected,

> "If European travellers are returning to popularity to what is this circumstance due? Is it the result of a new appreciation of what their writings bring to the study of the region, or because their works lend themselves to the currently popular interdisciplinary studies, or because of disillusionment with indigenous sources, or simply because it is easier to write about European travellers than to learn Arabic or Ottoman Turkish and plough through difficult and often unrewarding material?"[67]

In an investigation of women's travel art, such travelers' narratives are certainly much more than a trendy garnish, or a crutch for the linguistically lazy. As Roberts

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[65] Jill Beaulieu and Mary Roberts, ed.s, *Orientalism's Interlocutors: Painting, Architecture, Photography* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2002).
[66] Valkenier, Elizabeth Kridl, "Review of Beaulieu, Jill; Roberts, Mary, eds., *Orientalism's Interlocutors: Painting, Architecture, Photography*. (H-Gender-MidEast, H-Net Reviews. December, 2005).
[67] Yapp, "Some European Travellers," 213.

pointed out in her book, *Intimate Outsiders*, "Examining these travelogues enables me to intervene in debates about gendered spectatorship. Written texts may seem a surprising place to investigate questions of spectatorship, but it is here that we find the most sustained articulation of these perceptual processes."[68] Understanding travelers' perceptions (and prejudices) opens up the potential to use the artworks they created as historical sources. In a 2009 paper examining Amelia Edwards' use of picturesque language to "frame" nineteenth-century Egypt, Julia Kuehn took Roberts' notion a step further, stripping her (visual) analysis of any of the art which Edwards created and included in her book. Though Kuehn acknowledges that Edwards' book included 80 images, she dismisses them in a footnote, positing that "these actual sketches are only a sub-text to the verbal pictures – Edwards's is not an annotated picture book, but an illustrated textbook…hence the focus of this essay is on the text alone."[69] Given the effort, time, and money involved in producing and reproducing eighty original illustrations, it is a regrettable omission not to incorporate them into an analysis of Edwards' observations and her contribution to nineteenth-century perceptions of Egypt. Kuehn's 2010 article about Elisabeth Jerichau-Baumann's travelogue, *Egypt 1870*, and the images associated with it, admirably rectifies this, incorporating analysis of both Jerichau-Baumann's paintings and contemporary critical responses to them. Following this integrated approach, alongside that of Roberts, this thesis will examine both the images produced by women travelers and the written testimony of the artists who made them, illuminated when possible by contemporary critical responses.

[68] Mary Roberts, *Intimate Outsiders*, 43.
[69] Julia Kuehn, "Amelia Edwards's Picturesque Views of Cairo: Touring the Land, Framing the Foreign," *Nineteenth Century Century Studies*, 5.3 (Winter 2009), 14.

1.7 Orientalist artworks outside academia

Though a critical treatment of the role of women's Orientalist artworks in the modern marketplace is beyond the purview of this thesis, their commercial value is sufficiently entangled with popularly perceived artistic value (and hence, curatorial representation), that it would be an oversight not to briefly mention of the late twentieth-century transformation of the role of Orientalist artworks by the commercial art world, which has simultaneously increased the prestige-by-association of women's travel artworks, and continued to marginalize them.

In the mid-twentieth century, when Rodney Searight was amassing his vast collection of Orientalist art (including 2,000 watercolors, now at the Victoria and Albert Museum), virtually no one else in London wanted to buy or sell it.[70] Searight would later recollect that, "such drawings and watercolors as did appear were disgracefully cheap."[71] Orientalist oil paintings are disgracefully cheap no longer, nor are they difficult to find. In the final decades of the twentieth century and into the twenty-first, Orientalist paintings – including those by women travelers – have attracted more critical scrutiny, popular interest, and attention in the marketplace than at any other point since their creation. Christie's now maintains a department of Orientalist Art, having held their "first sale dedicated to Orientalist Art in 1998."[72] Sotheby's has been selling Orientalist artworks for decades, and began hosting its own dedicated annual Orientalist Sale in 2012.[73] Over the past 30 years, there have

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[70]Sarah Searight, "The Searight Collection," in *The Poetics and Politics of Place: Ottoman Istanbul and British Orientalism* , edited by Zeynep Inankur, Reina Lewis, and Mary Roberts (Istanbul and Seattle: Pera Museum and the University of Washington Press, 2011), 77.

[71] Rodney Searight, "Recollections of a Collector" in *The Orient Observed: Images of the Middle East from the Searight Collection*, compiled by Briony Llewellyn (London: Victoria and Albert Museum, 1989), 11. Quoted in Searight, "The Searight Collection, 77.

[72]"Orientalist Paintings," Sotheby's, accessed May 4, 2015, http://www.sothebys.com/en/departments/orientalist-paintings.html.

[73] Sotheby's April 21, 2015 sale of Orientalist paintings brought in over £5.7 million in sales, and offers a valuable snapshot of how Orientalist artworks are currently being positioned in the global art market. Sotheby's reported,

emerged smaller vendors which deal almost entirely in Orientalist paintings, notably Darnely Fine Art and Mathaf Gallery, both in London. As has been frequently observed, the market that has emerged for Orientalist art is global, with buyers, both individual and institutional, concentrated mainly in the cities in which Orientalist art was originally sold (London, Paris, New York) and in the Middle East, particularly the Gulf states (notably, Qatar's state-run, as-yet unopened Orientalist Museum, whose collection numbers over 700[74]) with a smaller but growing market in Turkey.[75] The increased popularity and promotion of Orientalist art is fraught with its own challenges and liabilities. An attempt to resolve the tensions (often, outright contradictions) between the contemporary commercial and critical treatments of Orientalist artworks would – and should – be the work of an entire thesis in itself. For the present research, suffice it to observe that, for its own benefit, the market continues to attempt to reinforce the existence of a limited "canon" of noteworthy/saleable Orientalist artists, and that in so doing, it perpetuates the neglect of artists (notably women) and genres (sketches, watercolors, book illustrations) that have traditionally been underrepresented within that canon. Much as in the art

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"Turkish views were…particularly well represented in this year's sale, resulting in strong interest from that country... buyers in the Turkey, MENA and Asia region accounted for 68% of the total hammer turnover of the auction." This analysis reveals a belief on Sotheby's part that Orientalist paintings can most profitably be sold to buyers who come from the specific region depicted. Their implication is that the appeal of Orientalist art for a Middle Eastern market lies in its regional specificity, tied to modern geopolitical configurations: views of Ottoman Constantinople will draw Turkish buyers; comparable paintings of, say, Ottoman-controlled Jerusalem, presumably would not have the same appeal. ("Auction Results: The Orientalist Sale: 21 April 2015 | 2:30 PM BST | London," Sotheby's, accessed May 4, 2015, http://www.sothebys.com/en/auctions/2014/orientalist-sale-l15100.html.)

[74] "About the Orientalist Museum," accessed April 2014, http://omexhibits.com/.

[75] As in the nineteenth century, the monetary worth of Orientalist paintings still devolves largely on their perceived 'truth value.' A 2008 review of *The Lure of the East* exhibition in *Saudi Aramco World* magazine noted that Sotheby's vice-president Ali Can Ertug, "stresses historical accuracy in the Orientalist art market, which now affects price. For example, some Orientalists painted worshipers wearing shoes in mosques—something that is universally forbidden and that indicates the artist was painting from fantasy. 'Those artists who are truthful get better prices at sales," says Ertug.'" (Juliet Highet, "Behind Orientalism's Veil" *Saudi Aramco World*, March/April 2009). Perhaps the most troubling ramification of this is that it motivates auction houses to market Orientalist artworks as neutral historical documents. The potentially problematic assumptions that underpin the targeted marketing of Orientalist paintings to Middle Eastern buyers can threaten to obscure or deliberately misrepresent real complexities in favor of a more palatable sales blurb.

market of their own day, women Orientalist artists are a visible but commercially marginalized presence.[76]

The resurgence of nineteenth-century Orientalist art as a monetarily valuable commodity has grown in concert with increased critical scrutiny and curatorial attention, each development at least partially entangled with the other. *The Lure of the East*, the seminal 2008 exhibition of British Orientalist painting, was hung – with small but significant adjustments to its content and advertising – in London, New Haven, Istanbul, and Sharjah.[77] Its exhibition catalogue and subsequent accompanying volume (*The Poetics and Politics of Place*, published in 2011) contain some of the most sophisticated analysis of women's Orientalist travel art currently available, and this thesis will draw substantially on the critical apparatus developed there. There is an illuminating bifurcation to be observed between the superb, up-to-date scholarship that both underpinned and accompanied the exhibition, and the more old-fashioned, though pragmatic ways in which *The Lure of the East* harnessed Orientalist imagery for marketing purposes (the title of the exhibition; the inclusion

[76] In a modern market in which auction houses endeavor to establish a stable of 'brand name' Orientalists, for whose work record prices can be set, and a group of collectors cultivated, women Orientalist painters enter the arena with an inbuilt commercial disadvantage, whose origin, as we shall see in Chapter 3, lies partly in their status in the nineteenth-century critical and social contexts in which they worked. Although a select group of women Orientalist artists achieved professional success, none were granted the iconic status of their most successful male counterparts. There are, to paraphrase Linda Nochlin, no great women Orientalist artists – at least, not yet in the eyes of the major auction houses and their Orientalist art-buying clientele. Mathaf Gallery, which for thirty years has dealt exclusively in Orientalist artworks, maintains a public "Artist Index" on their website of the well over a hundred artists whose work they have sold. It includes only one female nineteenth-century painter, Margaret Murray Cookesley. Sotheby's most recent Orientalist sale included only one painting by a woman. It did not sell. ("Artist Index," Mathaf Gallery, accessed May 6, 2015, http://www.mathafgallery.com/Mathaf-Gallery-specialists-orientalist-paintings-Artist-List-DesktopDefault.aspx?tabid=44.) I am not arguing that the work of artists who happen to have been female should be treated as *more* valuable than that by artists who happen to have been male, any more than that an amateur's rough pencil sketch *should* be sold for the same amount as a professional's oil painting. Nevertheless, the almost complete exclusion of each of the former categories is pervasive, longstanding, and far from neutral. Although this thesis is not the appropriate place to launch an analysis or challenge of the status quo of the Orientalist art market, it must at least be acknowledged in passing.

[77] Christine Riding,"Staging *The Lure of the East*: Exhibition Making and Orientalism," *The Poetics and Politics of Place: Ottoman Istanbul and British Orientalism* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2011), 33.

of an odalisque for the poster in London, with a less provocative image for Sharjah).[78] More recently, the works of female nineteenth-century Orientalist artists featured in the 2013 exhibition *The 1,001 Faces of Orientalism* at the Sakıp Sabancı Museum in Istanbul. Steadily, but very slowly, women's travel art is beginning to be integrated into public understandings of Orientalist art-making, and nineteenth-century travel in Ottoman lands.

A propos of my earlier discussion of the development of the current critical apparatus for handling Orientalist artworks/artists, it is worth observing that it is now standard for exhibitions on Orientalist themes in the U.K., Istanbul, and North America to integrate at least a basic critique of Orientalism into their accompanying texts and exhibition strategies. Indeed, two recent major exhibitions have made Orientalist inaccuracies themselves a major focus. The New Orleans Museum of Arts (NOMA) bills its current exhibit, *Orientalism: Taking and Making* (on display until December 31, 2016), as a "collection installation addressing shades of oppression, racism, and superficial cultural understanding layered in 19th-century Orientalist paintings, photographs, and decorative arts."[79] The Montreal Museum of Fine Arts was more cautious, but hinted at Orientalist paintings' tantalizing yet problematic status as representations of the real in its exhibition title, *Marvels and Mirages of Orientalism: From Spain to Morocco, Benjamin-Constant in His Time (on display through May 31, 2015).* Yet, although scholarly writing on Orientalist artworks increasingly incorporates the work of Orientalists outside the traditional canon (women, non-Western artists), even museums which are careful to signpost their

[78] Riding, 33.
[79] "Orientalism: Taking and Making," NOMA, accessed May 7, 2015, http://noma.org/exhibitions/popup/86/0.

commitment to dismantling Orientalist hegemonies rarely include work by women Orientalist artists in anything but a tokenistic capacity, if it is there at all.

1.8 Spotlighting women's Orientalist travel art: questions of canonicity

Discussion of the peripheral treatment of women's Orientalist travel art inevitably raises questions about canonicity. The "Orientalist canon" is commonly mentioned in scholarly works on both literary and artistic Orientalism, often in the context of critiquing its limitations. Mark Miller Graham offers a serviceable definition of canonicity: "the state or attitude of dependence on a belief that ultimately there is a consensual body of work...that is both more deserving and rewarding of attention."[80] In the case of the "Orientalist canon", we may understand it to mean those Orientalist works which are regularly written about, displayed, and/or assessed as monetarily valuable. In an unstartling reflection of broader trends in art world practice, book illustrations, watercolors, and sketches – the most numerous forms of Orientalist travel art, and traditionally the genres most often chosen by women and by amateur artists of both genders—are hugely underrepresented in this Orientalist canon.

Debating canonicity or non-canonicity is not a primary concern of this thesis. Nonetheless, by the simple fact of asserting the cultural, historic (and, under certain circumstances, documentary) value of works and artists broadly outside this Orientalist "canon", I am implicitly critiquing at the very least its lack of comprehensiveness, and possibly its validity as well. There are two possible resolutions commonly proposed to answer this kind of critique. Should we attempt to fix or correct the existing Orientalist canon by expanding it to incorporate these neglected works (what one might call the addition solution)? Or should we question

[80] Mark Miller Graham, "The Future of Art History and the Undoing of the Survey," Art Journal 54:3 (Autumn 1995), 30.

– and potentially reject – the concept of the Orientalist canon as it currently exists (the reconception solution)?

It would be absurd to suggest that women's Orientalist travel art should be tacked on to a canon left otherwise as it is – that sales, exhibitions, and anthologies of Orientalist art should simply add to their catalogues a couple (or even a dozen) Elisabeth Jerichau-Baumanns or Maria Harriett Mathiases, and call it a day. At the same time, to disavow any kind of Orientalist "canon", and the institutions (museums, auction houses) which depend upon its structuring and categorization of the enormous quantity of material now available, would be not only impractical and profoundly unlikely, but counterproductive. Orientalist art has only recently recaptured critical and popular attention, and it has done so largely by means of these mechanisms, which are certainly flawed and exclusive, but also effective, and – in the case of museums – generally well-intentioned, and not willfully inaccurate. So how should we position this study, with respect to the persistent "canon"?

Despite so many critical advances, the body of Orientalist art that currently receives the lion's share of attention from scholars, curators, and the public routinely excludes works by women, and works that are not oil paintings. These exclusions unnecessarily limit and threaten to distort our understanding of the nineteenth-century Middle East, of the people who traveled there from Western Europe and North America, of the art they made, and the collaborative, negotiated process of its making. I have proposed treating each sketch or account of sketching as an event. This not only reflects the historical reality of its making (real people sketching in a real, usually populated place, with the intention to document), but encourages discussion of the sketch—and, more importantly for this thesis, those who participated in it—in their own context, rather than entering it in a beauty-pageant-

style competition for a place in a post-hoc "Orientalist canon." For similar reasons, and with similar results, I propose to engage with women's travel art of the Ottoman Empire holistically, as a social/cultural phenomenon, rather than attempting to pick out neglected female travel artists whose work "deserves" to be hung in exhibitions, sold at Sotheby's.[81] Though it is certainly not my primary intention, this approach does present what I believe to be a viable alternative way to engage with Orientalist artworks more generally. This research, like all research, is an artifact of the historical moment in which it was written. It consciously, but tangentially, participates in some of the major debates of that moment: unsettling traditional ways of understanding the role of amateurs in art-making (in this case, the visual imagining of other cultures and places), questioning how to address the role of women artists, interrogating the concepts of "the (Orientalist) canon", and "Orientalism", and questioning the utility and validity of the traditional hierarchy of genres (here, the valorization of oil paintings over sketches, book illustrations, and watercolors).Ultimately, the Orientalist "canon", with all its faults of omission and commission, and all its potential pragmatic value as a way of presenting Orientalist artworks to a larger public, is largely irrelevant to the body of this research. It is primarily a construct for publicly presenting, rather than understanding.

Do the preceding decades of critical, curatorial, and commercial neglect have any direct bearing on the present study, except in terms of the formation of the present critical apparatus? Certainly, the general exclusion of female artists from

[81] As an individual observer, I am of the opinion that there are numerous works by female Orientalist painters, both professional and amateur, whose aesthetic qualities and individual historic interest make them appropriate candidates for inclusion in sales and exhibitions of Orientalist art as they currently exist, and/or in future reconceptions of what should constitute the core popular understanding of what Orientalist art *is*. But identifying such works or individuals is incidental to the goals of this thesis. Certainly, the works of some of the artists discussed here could constructively be curated in an exhibition devoted to spotlighting "female Orientalist travel artists" – but again, preparation for such an undertaking is not the purpose of this thesis.

mainstream conceptions not only of Orientalist art, but of how nineteenth-century travelers and locals engaged with and understood each other in Ottoman lands, has left a patch of relatively fresh ground for scholarly inquiry, in an area (nineteenth-century Orientalism) which has been quite thoroughly picked over. The simple fact that generations have treated them as trivial leaves these works appealingly open to new critical and interpretative possibilities. But – and this is a crucial distinction – this does not mean that travel sketching by a male artists should not also be treated as an event (it should), or that this approach should only be applied to the media, regions, and times addressed in this thesis.

My decision to limit the present discussion to female artists and their works was taken both to limit and make manageable an enormous volume of material, and as a way to consider a phenomenon that was perceived by its own participants and original observers to be profoundly impacted by gender—and thereby help counteract/disrupt some of the critical, curatorial, and popular prejudices which have persisted from the nineteenth century. It is my hope that this thesis will be one of a growing number of tools available to aid future engagement with female travelers in Ottoman lands, and the artworks they created.

Over the past two decades, digitization has made accessible hundreds of illustrated published works by little-known or forgotten female travelers to the Ottoman Empire. Historically, the very format of the illustrated travel book has been resistant to scholarship and display. As Elizabeth A. Fraser points out, "Illustrated books have perhaps been overlooked because they are cumbersome and inaccessible as visual objects."[82] But nineteenth-century women travelers' sketches, watercolors and book illustrations have begun to emerge from a hundred years of obscurity. Of

[82] Fraser, "Books, Prints and Travel, 343.

the numerous sketches and watercolors that once languished in museum or university archives, deemed too trivial to display, at least their digital replicas are now widely accessible.

In this sense, there has never been a better time to bring nineteenth-century women's travel art of the Ottoman Empire back into the light. As Reina Lewis reflected in a 2011 essay,

> "Were I now to be starting on my project on Henriette Browne[83], I would also have the benefit of a vastly expanded "canon" in which to situate her. It is not just that so much more is known about the professional (and amateur) contribution of Western women artists, but that the expansion of the field challenges us to think more broadly about the impact of Orientalism on popular, material, and consumer cultures…. we are more likely now to talk about multiple Orientalisms and their different, overlapping, and contradictory audiences, purposes, and pleasures."[84]

1.9 Thesis aims and overview

Chapter 2 of this thesis examines what distinguishes women's travel sketches from other related, contemporaneous phenomena, and therefore, what unique insights can be gleaned from a systematic study of this kind of art. Beginning with an overview of the sociology of the nineteenth-century women sketchers who traveled to Ottoman lands, it examines the impact of sketching on their perceptions. It explores the relationship between travel sketching, privilege, and propriety, and describes the communities of traveling sketchers which emerged in the nineteenth-century 'tourist hotspots' of the Middle East and the eastern Mediterranean. Finally, it asks what principal motivations and intentions spurred women travelers to sketch in Ottoman lands.

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[83] Henriette Browne was the pseudonym of the French Orientalist painter Sophie de Bouteiller (1829-1901), about whom Lewis wrote extensively in her groundbreaking book, *Gendering Orientalism* (1996).

[84] Reina Lewis, "Cultural Exchange and the Politics of Pleasure," in *The Poetics and Politics of Place: Ottoman Istanbul and British Orientalism* , edited by Zeynep Inankur, Reina Lewis, and Mary Roberts (Istanbul and Seattle: Pera Museum and the University of Washington Press, 2011), 49.

Chapter 3 examines the role of gender in women's travel art of the Ottoman Empire, discussing what meaningful differences existed between male and female travel artists in terms of the production, intentions, distribution, and reception of their works. It asks what subjects were considered suitable for a female artist, and how these expectations shaped production. It also examines how a small group of professional female artists painted eroticized (and deliberately inaccurate) odalisques under the guise of 'ethnographic' painting. Next, Chapter 3 analyzes the utility of the distinction between "professional" and "amateur" artists for our understanding of women's travel art. Finally, drawing on recent scholarship in the history of science, Chapter 3 examines the contiguities between women sketchers in the Ottoman Empire, and their contemporaries, the professional female scientific illustrators of the nineteenth century, whose art helped document the discovery and classification of species across the world. Of particular interest will be the parallels between female scientific illustrators and the women travelers like Amelia Edwards, who created scrupulously accurate archaeological, architectural and/or anthropological illustrations of the Ottoman Empire.

Chapter 4 discusses women's travel art as the record of lived experience, drawing on nineteenth-century women's published travel accounts of the Ottoman Empire. Drawing or painting did not take place in a vacuum, and women artists were far from invisible. The act of sketching *en plein air* in Constantinople or along the Nile often caused artists to become the observed objects of their intended subjects. "Picturesque" Ottoman locals frequently stepped out of the frame and spoke back: critiquing images, suggesting subjects, running away, posing, laughing, becoming angry, demanding payment, offering ink, or even taking up the pen to annotate their own portraits. Chapter 4 surveys a variety of these documented responses, and

analyzes them from the perspectives of both artists and 'models'. It will also consider how drawing, like admiration of each other's clothes, often served as a social bridge, enabling meaningful exchange across linguistic and cultural barriers. How did these artistic interactions – often with men, or with women of diverse social positions (people with whom non-sketching female travelers would not likely engage) affect the artists' perceptions of Ottoman life and society? Sketchers often report walking further, or staying longer than non-sketchers, in order to accommodate the demands of their art. How did this affect their understanding of what they encountered, and their perceptions of the Ottoman Empire?

CHAPTER 2

WOMEN TRAVELER-SKETCHERS AND THEIR SOCIETY

2.1 Sketching: an indispensable pastime

Most European and American women sketchers in the Ottoman Empire were neither adventurous explorers nor professional artists, but part of a widespread and socially acceptable cultural phenomenon, born of the intersection of increasingly easy and rapid global transportation, Victorian fascination with the Orient (with all of that fascination's imperialist and religious overtones), and – crucially – the ubiquity of drawing and painting lessons amongst bourgeois women. The first section of this chapter examines the nineteenth-century social context in which female traveler-sketchers emerged and flourished.

Hobby sketching had emerged in the late eighteenth century as one of the "accomplishments" that qualified a bourgeois girl for the marriage market. In 1800, a volume on *The Progress of Female Virtue and the Progress of Female Dissipation* illustrated the former with an image of a young woman sketching a landscape (drawn, appropriately enough, by the Anglo-Italian painter Maria Cosway).[85] By the nineteenth century, Deborah Cherry observes, "Hundreds of [nineteenth-century] women worked for their living as painters and hundreds more painted or drew as a recreational activity."[86] In 1841, the British census tallied 278 professional female artists; by 1871, the official figure was 1,069. [87] In 1850, an anonymous British author of "advice to young ladies" published a defense of the maidenly pursuit of art:

> "I cannot agree with some of our more severe essayists, in condemning time which is spent in accomplishing young ladies in music and drawing. The

[85]Ann Bermingham, "The Aesthetics of Ignorance: The Accomplished Woman in the Culture of Connoisseurship," *Oxford Art Journal*, 16:2 (1993), 10.
[86]Deborah Cherry, *Painting Women: Victorian Women Artists* (London and New York: Routledge, 1993), 1.
[87] Pamela Geraldine Nunn, "The Mid-Victorian Woman Artist: 1850-1879" (PhD thesis, University College London, 1982), 6.

> former is so charming in company, and the latter is so beguiling as a *passe-temps* at home (where they are much confined!), that I deem it indispensable."[88]

Two decades later, across the Atlantic, the popular American etiquette writer Florence Hartley echoed these sentiments. Drawing, to Hartley's view, was not an "accomplishment of society" like music and therefore demanded fewer "restrictions" of a ladylike, but solitary sketcher. Moreover, Hartley wrote, sketching brought intellectual and spiritual benefits, and rendered the artist a better and more appreciative observer:

> "Drawing, like music, should be cultivated early. Its advantages are the habits of perseverance and occupation, which it induces; and the additional delight which it gives to the works, both of nature and of art. Like music, it gives independence--independence of society. The true lover of the arts has a superiority over the indifferent, and, if she be not better prepared for society, is much better fitted for retirement."[89]

By the mid-nineteenth century, the social category of the professional, yet respectable female artist was emerging in both England and the United States, though not without controversy. When the new Society of Female Artists in London held its first exhibition in 1857, "149 women showed 358 works, some hiding their true identities for fear of social recrimination."[90] By 1895, women's amateur painting had become so widely accepted that a Parisian commentator opened his essay on *Women Painters of Paris* with the remark,

> "Before many years all women will paint, just as to-day they all play the piano…On account of the prestige obtained by it and its aesthetic nature, painting is almost the only profession tolerated by the world's prejudices,

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[88]Anonymous. *The Etiquette of Politeness.* Circa 1850. (Sussex: Copper Beech Publishing, 1995), 40.
[89]Florence Hartley, *The Ladies' Book of Etiquette, and Manual of Politeness, A Complete Handbook for the Use of the Lady in Polite Society.* (Boston and New York: Lee & Shepard Publishers, 1872), 189-190.
[90]The Society of Women Artists. "History." Accessed December 22, 2014. http://www.society-women-artists.org.uk/history.html

> disdainful, most unjustly, of the woman who depends upon labor for her existence."[91]

The ladylike accomplishment of sketching also rendered a startlingly large number of nineteenth-century female travelers capable of producing travel art. For many of the women who traveled to the Ottoman Empire, creating art became a means to engage with cultures they perceived as both exotic and potentially dangerous. For these travelers, sketching ceased to be a parlor amusement, becoming instead a license to observe. As Barbara Hodgson puts it, "sketching and watercolor painting were as natural to the nineteenth-century traveler as journal writing, and travel was perfect for nurturing artistic skills. The artist, aspiring or proficient, once out of the gaze of her society, had more liberty to paint what she wished."[92] A sketch demanded far less of its creator in terms of skill, training, time, money, and materials than an oil painting or even a photograph. Sketching was therefore the most accessible and widely practiced form of travel art. By 1861, sketching was so widespread amongst women travelers to the Middle East that Emily Anne Beaufort, offering practical tips for women who hoped to follow in her footsteps through the Ottoman Empire, assumed that sketching materials would be an integral part of any woman's travel kit:

> "It is a great convenience to a lady to have a stout travelling-bag hanging from the pummel of her saddle, containing a fan, some ammonia, in case of stings from scorpions or ants, &c. (which is, however, *very* rare), a book for the midday rest, drawing materials, and needles and threads for the accidental rents which are of nearly daily occurrence."[93]

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[91] René Morot, "Women Artists of Paris *(From the Monde Moderne)*," The Parisian, Vol. II, No.1 (New York: M.L. Dexter, February 1895), 48.
[92] Hodgson, *Dreaming of East*, 90.
[93]Emily Anne Beaufort (Viscountess Strangford), *Egyptian Sepulchres and Syrian Shrines Including Some Stay in the Lebanon at Palmyra, and in Western Turkey* (London: Longman, Green, Longman, and Roberts, 1861), 432.

Having sketched out the general social context in which women traveler-artists thrived, let us narrow our focus, and consider how sketching impacted its practitioners' perception of Ottoman lands.

2.2 Sketching and perception

In her "side-saddle" journey across Persia with her diplomat brother, Ella Constance Sykes noted how her improving skills as a sketcher profoundly altered her perception of both the landscape she saw before her, and the landscapes she had imagined from the tales and images of previous travelers:

> *"At first I imagined that the whole country was one dull yellowish-grey, but Colonel Holdich's sketching lessons showed me what an infinite variety of tints and tones there were in reality, although the utter desolation and neutral-toned sterility were not attractive, even to the most enthusiastic traveler. This latter, as a rule, chooses the rare oases for the subjects of his paintings, and when he displays stately palms, running streams, picturesque forts, and domed houses embowered in orange-trees to his friends at home, they naturally think that this is Baluchistan."*[94]

By sketching, Sykes not only learned close observation of the landscape, but critical skepticism of romanticized Orientalist images; sketching shaped her perspective. Over the nineteenth century, sketching emerged as one of several potential mental modes a female leisure traveler might adopt, alongside archaeological connoisseurship, a missionary or millenarian mindset, or a critique of local social conditions. Rough, unpublished amateur travel sketches illuminate the scopic process by which these women artists transformed the unfamiliar territories of the Ottoman Empire "from earth into world, land into landscape,"[95] to borrow Deborah Cherry's memorable phrase. One particularly clear example may be found in the sketches of one young aristocratic traveler to the Ottoman Empire, the writer Emily

[94] Ella Constance Sykes, *Through Persia on a Side-Saddle. Eight Full-page Illustrations and a Map* (London: Johm MacQueen, 1901), 244-5.
[95] Deborah Cherry, "Earth Into World" 103.

Anne Beaufort (1826-1887), future wife of the philologist and diplomat Percy Smyth, Viscount Strangford, twice president of the Royal Asiatic Society. [96] Beaufort's finished paintings, reproduced as illustrations for her book, *Egyptian Sepulchres and Syrian Shrines* (1861), are punctiliously observed and skillfully executed, but so clinically rendered that they are relatively inert and impersonal. Her *Panorama of Tadmor* (ancient Palmyra, in present-day Syria), which was the book's frontispiece, shows a striking degree of attention to accurate archaeological detail, and an easy fluency in the visual language of the picturesque (fig. 5).

Fig. 5. Emily Anne Beaufort, *Panorama of Tadmor*, c. 1860. Chromolithograph of a watercolor.

Reproduced from Emily Anne Beaufort, *Egyptian Sepulchres and Syrian Shrines Including Some Stay in the Lebanon at Palmyra, and in Western Turkey*. (London: Longman, Green, Longman, and Roberts, 1861), Frontispiece.

But the unpublished sketches from her handwritten journal[97] give a much clearer glimpse into how deeply her sketching influenced her perception of and engagement with the landscape. The journal contains three detailed landscape sketches. One depicts "Mersina" (Mersin, on modern Turkey's Mediterranean coast) as viewed from the sea.[98] The other two sketches, which Beaufort labeled simply "No. 1" and

[96] In a delightfully novelistic turn of events, it appears that it was, in fact, Beaufort's travel writing on the Ottoman Empire which first brought the couple together. In its obituary for Beaufort, the London periodical *The Atheneum* noted that "An unfavourable criticism of [her first travel memoir, *Egyptian Sepulchres and Syrian Shrines*]contributed by Lord Strangford to the *Saturday Review* led it is said to the acquaintance between author and critic which ended in their marriage ("Literary Gossip," *The Atheneum*. No. 3101 (April 2, 1887), 451).

[97] Now in the David M. Rubenstein Rare Book & Manuscript Library at Duke University, and available in digitized form as part of their online archive of Women's Travel Diaries <http://library.duke.edu/rubenstein/findingaids/strangfordemilyanne/>.

[98] Uncharacteristically, the usually-intrepid Beaufort did not venture ashore here.

"No. 2", I have identified as views of the harbor of Mytilene, where Beaufort and her sister stayed in the English Consulate (fig.s 6 and 7).[99] Executed in ink and pencil, the sketches are much freer and livelier than Beaufort's more formal published work. Most revealingly, the view of "Mersina" and one of the Mytilene sketches are annotated with Beaufort's notes, in preparation for works (likely watercolor) to be executed later. The notes scribbled on "No. 1" read,

> "rich green to the water's edge—white houses sometimes with red roofs—olives, mulberries & orange groves nearest the sea—grey rocks cropping out from purplish summits—foreground in no 1 stones, grass, etc. ditto in no 2. white and grey stones—white house
> 2 lighthouses white on brown rock"[100]

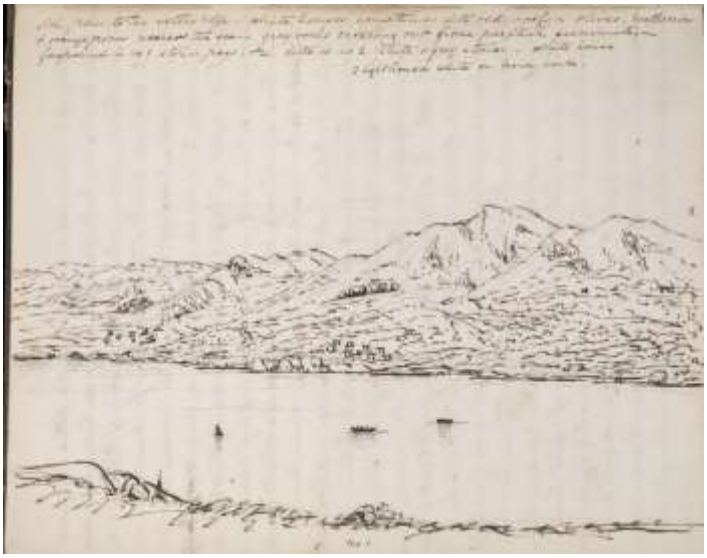

Fig. 6. Emily Anne Beaufort, *no 1*, view of the harbor of Mytilene, c. 1860. Ink and pencil on paper.
Reproduced from The Viscountess Emily Anne Beaufort Smyth Strangford Journal, 1859-1860, David M. Rubenstein Rare Book & Manuscript Library, Duke University.

[99] Not only are the two sketches located in the section of the journal (p.15-16) dealing with Mytilene and environs, but they are a near-perfect match for Beaufort's published description of the island: "The English Consulate commands a good view of this lovely island. The bright-coloured town curves round the little bay from which the mountains slope upwards, clothed in the rich hues of orange-groves, pomegranates, figs, and mulberries; grey rocks cropping out sternly at the tops… An old castle on the left, and two quaint lighthouses on the right add something to the beauty of Nature, while the eye travels on across the calm blue sea, caught here and there by a graceful lateen sail, till it reaches the coast beyond. Truly there can hardly be a more beautiful coast-view than that of these time-honoured mountains of Mysia, blue and hazy with light wreaths of white mist and snow. Rising straight up from the gulf of Adramytium at her feet, stands the noble and graceful peak of Mount Ida, clouds resting lightly on the summit, and shadowing the eternal snow on her crest." (93)

[100] Sketch labeled "No 1," in the Viscountess Emily Anne Beaufort Smyth Strangford Journal, 1859-1860, David M. Rubenstein Rare Book & Manuscript Library, Duke University, 15.

Fig. 7. Emily Anne Beaufort, *no 2*, view of the harbor of Mytilene, c. 1860. Ink and pencil on paper.
Reproduced from The Viscountess Emily Anne Beaufort Smyth Strangford Journal, 1859-1860, David M. Rubenstein Rare Book & Manuscript Library, Duke University.

Beaufort's published illustrations may appear blandly picturesque at first glance, but clearly, amateur though she was, she was committed to reproducing the landscapes she encountered with a high degree of documentary (and, as I shall return to at the end of Chapter 3, botanical) accuracy.

It is important to recognize that the impact of sketching culture on travelers' perceptions of Ottoman lands was not restricted to practicing artists themselves. Even travelers to the Middle East who did not sketch often evinced a sketcher-like awareness of the picturesque, breaking down unfamiliar landscapes into potential sketches and watercolors awaiting an absent (Western) artist. In her recollections of convalescing during *A Winter in Morocco* (published in 1873 and lavishly illustrated,

though not by the author), the Irish writer Amelia Perrier perfectly summarizes this form of sketcher's-eye-view Orientalism, in which picturesqueness excuses perceived deficiencies of oriental civilization and/or morals, while enabling the Western female viewer to retain both feminine propriety and detached, imperial superiority. Perrier wrote,

> "To an artist, and many artists visit Tangier, it must be an enchanting place; but it would disgust a thrifty farmer or an enterprising trader, and make every hair on the head of an inspector of nuisances stand on end. However, as I am not a farmer nor an inspector of nuisances, and though not an artist either, have more inclination and taste that way, I found much more here to delight and interest than to disgust me; at least as far as the outward aspect of things went The picturesqueness of the town, the varied aspects of the people, their strange dress, the brilliant and bracing atmosphere, with the exceeding beauty of the scenery of the surrounding country, more than atoned to me for the dirt of the streets and the laziness and superstition of the population."[101]

Echoing Lady Mary Wortley Montagu's famous wish to summon Mr. Jervas, Lucie Duff Gordon wrote home to England from Egypt, "If you have power over any artist, send him to paint here; no words can describe either the picturesque beauty of Cairo or the splendid forms of the people in Upper Egypt …"[102] On a harem visit in Egypt in 1842, the Hon. Mrs. G.L. Dawson Damer (née Mary Georgina Emma Seymour) expressed a nearly identical sentiment. She hinted that the Turkish and "Egyptian Arab" inhabitants were inferior judges of the beauties in their midst, which she tellingly framed in the iconically Western terms of Classical and Renaissance art and resemblance to an English society beauty.

> "I was very much struck with the beauty of one of the slaves, who brought in coffee and sherbet; she was a Circassian …[with] the classical pose one sees in antique sculpture, and which so few European artists have the good fortune to copy. I never so much wished to draw, and be able thus to convey this beau ideal of female refined beauty….our interpretess told us she had always

[101] Amelia Perrier, *A Winter in Morocco* (London: Henry S. King & Co., 1873), 68-9.
[102] Duff Gordon, *Letters from Egypt*, 86.

> been remarked by whatever European lady visitors this harem had received, but the chiefs had never appreciated the merit of the selection."[103]

Even women who did sketch frequently voiced a desire for others to follow in their footsteps. In Tripoli, Emily Anne Beaufort – unlike Gordon or Dawson Damer, an accomplished amateur artist – noted, "It is a pity that artists do not go to Tripoli, for no place is better worthy of their study for "street bits"…We passed a pleasant day, buying carpets and sketching."[104] Mrs. Lee Bacon, a non-sketcher traveling with her watercolorist husband along the Nile, recalled the passing of a camel caravan: "It is such a picturesque procession that the temptation is to hold them up long enough to make a sketch, for with them and with our crew armed with sticks and staves, the picture would indeed have Oriental flavor."[105] In 1855, an American traveler, Jane Anthony Eames, observing the crew of her dahabiyeh on the banks of the Nile, similarly interpreted the scene in terms of a potential sketch: "I wished much for power to sketch the scene, for it would have made a striking picture."[106] Anna Visconti, a non-sketcher, proposed Constantinople as an instant cure for artists lacking inspiration: "I advise all painters who are at a loss for subjects to go to Constantinople; one stroll along the great street of Pera, or through the bazaars of Stamboul, will supply him with subjects for years, so picturesque and beautiful is the life that moves around him."[107]

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[103] Mrs. G.L. Dawson Damer, *Diary of a Tour in Greece, Turkey, Egypt and the Holy Land.*, Vol. 2., 2nd ed. (London: Henry Colburn, 1842), 177-8. Dawson Damer's Montagu-esque turn of phrase was almost certainly a deliberate evocation. She proudly noted that Montagu had been her husband's great-grandmother, and even sought out (and included a print) of Lady Mary's house in Constantinople.

[104] Beaufort, *Egyptian Sepulchres*, 465.

[105] Mrs. Lee Bacon, *Our Houseboat on the Nile* (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin and Co., 1901), 87.

[106] Jane Anthony Eames, *Another Budget; or Things Which I Saw in the East* (Boston: Ticknor and Fields, 1855), 81.

[107] Anna Vivanti, A Journey to Crete, Constantinople, Naples, and Florence. Three Months Abroad (London: Printed for Private Circulation, 1865), 93. Given that Vivanti's account was printed exclusively for the eyes of her acquaintances, it may be assumed that this remark was intended not as sincere advice, but to showcase her own artistic sensibilities as a traveler.

I quote such an extensive array of travelers' observations in an effort to convey the pervasiveness of this impulse to treat the entire living "Orient", from Constantinople to Algeria, and from the metropolis to the desert, as an endless reel of scenes waiting to be sketched. Even this relatively small selection illustrates the ubiquity of these sentiments, and the public acceptability (or even prestige) of voicing them.

Sketching was also an important tool in other forms of Orientalist appropriation. On board a steamer off the coast of Smyrna, non-sketcher Matilda Betham-Edwards, enchanted by the costumes of her diverse fellow passengers, "Armenians, Jews, Turks, Egyptians, Russians, Greeks," lamented, "if we could only sketch a little we should bring home costumes enough for a dozen fancy balls."[108]

The tendency to look at the Middle East through artists' eyes was by no means unique to Anglophone authors. Eleven times in her 1841 memoir of her years as the wife of an Italian diplomat in Egypt, Amalia Nizzoli describes a particularly striking or beautiful sight as a painting (*quadro*), prepared for the traveler's eye. Disembarking for the first time in Alexandria, she exclaims, "All this presents the most singular, extraordinary and picturesque picture that one could ever imagine. And this picture halts [one's] step at every moment, and attracts the attention of the European traveler."[109]

This mindset was not a new one. As early as 1797, James Dallaway's guidebook, *Constantinople Ancient and Modern*, dwelt on the city and environs'

[108] Matilda Barbara Betham-Edwards, *Holiday Letters From Athens, Cairo, and Weimar* (London: Strahan, 1873), 89.
[109] "[T]utto cio' presenta un quadro il piu singolare, straordinario e pittoresco che mai si possa imaginare. E questo quadro arresta ad ogni momento il passo ed attira l'attenzione dell'Europeo viaggiatore." Amalia Nizzoli, *Memorie sull'Egitto e specialmente sui costumi delle donne orientali e gli harem scritte durante il suo soggiorno in quel paese (1819-1828)* (Milano: Tip. e libreria Pirotta, 1841), 13.

potential value to the sketching traveler, noting, "If the artist travels over these classic regions, independently of scenes and ruins that may give dignity to his pictures, he will yet from the character and habits of the modern inhabitants collect sufficient materials for costume, and the minuter parts of the picturesque description."[110] As the nineteenth century progressed and the phenomenon of the traveling sketcher became more widespread, travel literature increasingly began to take into account the specific tastes and requirements of the "sketcher" much as early twenty-first-century guidebooks address themes and concerns of special interest to the foodie or the hiking enthusiast, digesting complex cultural and physical landscapes to a linked collection of restaurants, parks, or, in this case, brushworthy vantage points.

Another work that explicitly addresses the interests of the sketcher is *Sketches from a Nile Steamer for the Use of Travellers in Egypt*. Published in London in 1891, it is part travelogue, part reference work, with an extensive index of historical figures and places. As the title promises, the book is lavishly illustrated with etchings of sketches by Helen Mary Tirard, who co-authored the book with her husband, Professor Nestor Isador Charles Tirard, a prominent London physician. Helen was far the more accomplished Egyptologist of the two: she signed the preface alone, as "Member of the Committee and Local Hon[orary] Sec[retary] for the Egypt Exploration Fund," which Amelia Edwards had co-founded a decade earlier. [111] Helen Mary Tirard lives addressed her preface particularly to "students" of Egyptology and to amateur sketchers, whom she presumed would form a

[110] James Dallaway, *Constantinople Ancient and Modern, with Excursions to the Shores and Islands of the Archipelago and to the Troad* (London: T. Cadell Jr. & W. Davies, 1797), 5.
[111] Helen Mary Tirard and Nestor Tirard. *Sketches from a Nile Steamer for the Use of Travellers in Egypt. With Numerous Illustrations and Plans.* (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., Ltd., 1891), viii.

considerable bulk of her reading public: "It is hoped that many sketchers may realize the fact that sketching is quite possible from the stern of a steamer when in motion, and that much may be done in this way during the four weeks of river-travelling."[112]

Tirard's illustrations offer a sketcher's-eye-view of a nineteenth-century Egypt emptied of modernity (fig. 8). Her choice of style and subject matter bears out Reina Lewis' observation that, "In relation to art, the greater experience of travel outside Western Europe blurred the differences between conventions of the picturesque and Orientalism, leading to an overlap between the two areas of representation."[113] The illustrations of *Sketches from a Nile Steamer* shift from numerous simple, almost cartoonish Orientalist line-drawings (Egyptian men conversing, women in Nubian garb, etc., rarely with any attention to their faces) to picturesque views of the Nile, to scientifically precise architectural plans of ancient Egyptian temples.

Fig. 8. Helen Mary Tirard, reproduction of a sketch of the pigeon towers of Bellianeh on the Nile, c. 1890.
Reproduced from Helen Mary Tirard, *Sketches from a Nile Steamer for the Use of Travellers in Egypt. With Numerous Illustrations and Plans* (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., Ltd., 1891), 26.

[112] Tirard, *Sketches from a Nile Steamer*, vii-viii.
[113] Lewis, *Gendering Orientalism*, 117.

The text parallels the themes of the illustrations, dwelling on the exotic and the picturesque. Much taken with the local bazaar in "Assioot" (modern Asyut, about 200 miles south of Cairo), the Tirards described its charms in terms of artistic potential: "A splendid place for an artist to spend a few days is this market-place, with its innumerable sketches of men and manners, while in one corner the old mosque, with its brown brick minarets, forms a delightful bit of colour."[114]

As we shall see with many female traveler-sketchers in Ottoman-controlled domains, Tirard did not restrict her sketcher's eye to such iconically Orientalist scenes. Her illustrations are typical of women's illustrated travelogues of the Ottoman Empire in their blend of ruins, cityscapes, landscapes, and figures in colorful local costumes. Tirard's description of "the first really glorious Egyptian sunset we have seen" on the Nile near Luxor is psychologically revealing. She conceived of Egypt as a personified landscape, which offered up pictures for her to paint. "The colours change every minute," she rhapsodized, "giving a succession of pictures such as only Egypt can prepare for those who love her."[115] Later, descending down dark staircases deep into a rock-cut ancient Egyptian tomb, the Tirards scrutinized the wall paintings. But instead of concentrating on the paintings' subject matter or historical interest, the Tirards wrote as artists addressing other artists, discussing the ancient painters' technique with the fascination of practitioners:

> "At first the paintings are most beautifully finished, and the drawing delicate and fine; then we came to a room where the bold outlines still await the brush of the colourist, who has never come to finish the work… it is most interesting to notice how often one can distinguish the lines of the first rough sketch in red, after which came the careful outline in black, and then the filling in with colour. Both sketch and outline were done probably by the same artist, the colouring being left for an inferior or less educated hand."[116]

[114] Tirard, *Sketches from a Nile Steamer*, 20.
[115] Tirard, *Sketches from a Nile Steamer*, 33.
[116] Tirard, *Sketches from a Nile Steamer*, 40-41.

Together with the observations of Edwards, Beaufort, et al., the Tirards' book of advice testifies to the existence of an active, if largely transient, community of female traveler-sketchers in the Ottoman Empire – a community in which amateurs and even non-sketchers could readily participate through both observation of sketches/sketchers and adoption of a 'sketcher's eye view' of their surroundings.[117] Many female travelers who chose not to publish their sketches still included mentions of sketching in their published travelogues. Given the selectivity of any travel writing, especially that written under the twin pressures of nineteenth-century propriety and class awareness, these frequent inclusions indicate that the act of sketching the Orient had a certain cachet, and did not carry a stigma of (morally reprehensible) idleness or unladylike behavior.

This chapter has so far examined how travel sketching emerged, and its far-reaching impact on travelers' perceptions and understanding of Ottoman lands and peoples. The following section examines the social ramifications of travel sketching, and how its aristocratic connotations and associations with virtue, productivity, and cultivated feminine propriety helped shield its practitioners from the mockery and accusations of unladylike behavior nineteenth-century female travelers sometimes faced.

2.3 Travel sketching, prestige, and propriety

Not only was travel sketching not perceived as an eccentricity or social liability, it may even have offered its practitioners some protection against the censure sometimes faced by women travelers. As the number of western European and

[117] There are intriguing parallels to be observed between the impacts of this 'sketcher's eye view' and the 'camera's eye view' discussed by historians of photography in terms of how sketching, like photography, actively shapes perceptions, and how the introduction of a camera (much like a sketchbook) transforms a moment into an event.

American women traveling to or living in the Ottoman Empire rose, their exploits met with increasing disapproval at home. The very popularity of their published travelogues provoked widespread criticism of their conduct as a bad example: worse than ridiculous, unwomanly, dangerous to the safety of their frail bodies and future children, and the fabric of society as a whole.

In reaction to the perceived threat to society posed by female travelers, especially those who ventured beyond Western Europe, a stereotype emerged of the hapless, unaccompanied lady tourist. This much-mocked figure was unwed and unmarriageable, lacking both youth and beauty, idle, lonely, headstrong, progressive (likely a suffragist), as pathetic in her pretentious ignorance as in her sentimental enthusiasm, an object of distaste, humor, or pity. Billie Melman has demonstrated the objective inaccuracy of the stereotype of the solo female traveler: only 27.4% of Anglophone women travelers to the Middle East between 1719-1918 were unmarried; most were middle-class wives.[118] But the image stuck. In Anthony Trollope's 1864 short story, *An Unprotected Female at the Pyramids*, Miss Dawkins, the eponymous unprotected female, embodies all these qualities—more to be pitied than censured, yet considered so universally insufferable that the other characters abandon her to her lonely fate. "It suits me to travel alone…" Trollope has Miss Dawkins say, "I do not see why false shame should prevent my seeing the world as thoroughly as though I belonged to the other sex."[119] Despite these bold lines, Miss Dawkins is ultimately a figure of pathos, traveling alone by unhappy necessity, not by choice.

[118] Melman, *Women's Orients*, 34.
[119] Anthony Trollope, "An Unprotected Female at the Pyramids," *Tales of All Countries*, 140-166 (London: Chapman and Hall, 1867), 148.

We find a more nuanced parody of the lady traveler in the lavishly illustrated volume, *Lispings from Low Latitudes; or, Extracts from the Journal of the Hon. Impulsia Gushington* (1863). Impulsia Gushington was the brainchild of Helen Selina Blackwood, Lady Dufferin (1807-1867), a well-respected writer and traveler in her own right, and the mother of the explorer Lord Dufferin, whose *Letters from High Latitudes* the title lampoons. *Impulsia Gushington* is an affectionate, first-person parody, augmented every few pages with the author's skillfully drawn caricatures of aging spinster Impulsia's misadventures down the Nile[120], as her stubbornness, optimism, innocence, and stupidity see her taken in by every blackguard she meets (fig. 9).

Fig. 9. Helena Selina Blackwood, Lady Dufferin *Miss Gushington exercises extra caution and prudence in her choice of a Dragoman*, reproduction of a sketch.

Reproduced from Helena Selina Blackwood, *Lispings from Low Latitudes; or, Extracts from the Journal of the Hon. Impulsia Gushington. by Blackwood*. (London: John Murray, 1863).

[120] The detailed landscapes and Egyptian costumes depicted in the Gushington illustrations strongly suggest the possibility that Lady Dufferin herself sketched during her travels in the Middle East.

It is significant that in neither Trollope's parody nor Dufferin's yet more detailed one does the parodied lady tourist sketch or paint; it is in part for her aimlessness that she is mocked. Lady travelers might be censured; lady sketchers were not, except on occasion for the quality of their art.[121] Ellen Clayton's 1876 book, *English Female Artists*, "the first written work to devote itself to that subject,"[122] gave pride of place to laudatory biographies of several female traveler- sketchers, even stretching the definition of "English" to breaking point in order to include the Danish-Polish artist Elisabeth Jerichau-Bauman, a renowned painter of Oriental scenes and portraits.

A striking demonstration of both the pervasiveness and the social acceptability of women's travel sketching in the Middle East comes from painter Edith Holman Hunt (née Waugh, 1846-1931), who lived twice in Jerusalem with her husband, the artist William Holman Hunt, and also traveled with him up the Nile.[123] Her husband's renown has garnered Edith's own work more curatorial attention than amateur women's travel art of the period typically enjoys: she and the acclaimed Parisian Orientalist painter Sophie de Boutailler (better known by her professional pseudonym, Henriette Browne) were the only two female artists whose work was featured in the landmark 2008 exhibition, *The Lure of the East*."[124] The exhibition catalogue damns Edith with faint praise as a merely "competent artist," but acknowledges her considerable productivity as a sketcher, "often recording sights on

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[121]One female traveler in Egypt, the novelist Randall Hunter Ballantyne, did record her young brother Percy's satirical observations of a female sketcher who traveled with them: "Miss Tyrrwhitt began to sketch the Nile, and those charming boats…It is a pity that Miss Tyrrwhitt does not draw a little better. She is always trying, but she makes terrible daubs after all. I don't think I could ever guess what her pictures represent, if it were not that she writes underneath what the drawings signify. However, as I don't draw very well myself, I must not be too severe on her." Quoted in Randall Hunter Ballantyne, *Our Trip to Egypt* (London: Thomas Nelson & Sons, 1859), 113-114.
[122] Nunn, *The Mid-Victorian Woman Artist*, 6.
[123]Heather Birchall, "Artists' Biographies," in Tromans, Nicholas, Rana Kabbani, et al., *The Lure of the East: British Orientalist Painting* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2008), 210.
[124] Stephen Deuchar and Amy Myers, "Foreword," *in The Lure of the East: British Orientalist Painting*, edited by Nicholas Tromans (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2008), 6.

the journeys [she and her husband] made together. On their trip to Egypt in 1892 Edith produced many sketches of the spectacular scenes they encountered traveling up the Nile."[125] The *Lure of the East* exhibition featured Edith's watercolor, *Interior of William and Edith Holman Hunt's House in the Street of the Prophets, Jerusalem* (fig. 10).[126]

Fig. 10. Edith Holman Hunt, *Interior of William and Edith Holman Hunt's House in the Street of the Prophets, Jerusalem*, c.1876., reproduction of a painting.
Reproduced from Edith Holman Hunt, *Children at Jerusalem: A Sketch of Modern Life in Syria* (London: Ward, Lock, and Co., 1881), Frontispiece.

With a muted, almost drowsy color scheme, this domestic genre scene depicts Holman Hunt's young son stretched out on the room's rich Oriental carpeting paging through a book, as a newly-arrived servant girl removes her sandals in the doorway. It is hardly a revelation to observe that, at least in this painting, Edith has chosen to represent not a glamorized "Oriental" life, but an idealized vision of the expatriate

[125] Birchall, "Artists' Biographies," 210.
[126]Nicholas Tromans, Rana Kabbani, et al., *The Lure of the East: British Orientalist Painting* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2008), Figure 130, 151.

family home, with the golden-haired child as telegraphically Western and safe in his domestic surroundings as he would be in any London drawing-room. He is reading (Eastern travel has not disrupted his education) and wearing British clothes (nor has it disrupted his proper upbringing). In this image, Edith asserts that, at least in the Holman Hunt household, life in Jerusalem is

respectable, genteel, and *normal* – even if the furnishings, local servant girl, and bright, un-English light filtering through the window lend it a certain exotic glamor. A lithograph of this painting was reproduced as the frontispiece for Edith's only book-length publication, the rather moralistic children's novel, *Children At Jerusalem: A Sketch of Modern Life In Syria* (1881), a fictionalized account of her son and daughter's childhood experiences during a residence in Jerusalem. In her novel, Holman Hunt openly chides young travelers who have no curiosity about what they see, singling out for criticism "a tall, fashionable young lady" of eighteen and her riding- obsessed sixteen-year-old sister, who take no interest in the sights that surround them. Holman Hunt observes,

> "One should pity folks who travel without a keen interest in what they see, for at the best of times there are trials of temper and trials of health in a long journey. And this
> is most of all the case in the East, where definite hardships must be endured; and much discomfort is the price to pay for seeing the sights of profoundest interest in in the history of the world."[127]

The message is driven home by the sharp contrast she sets up between this listless pair and the novel's young hero and heroine, who cannot see or learn enough about their new surroundings. Particularly of interest are the actions of "Sylvia", the pseudonym Holman Hunt gives to her daughter. One day, on a family outing in Jerusalem,

[127] Edith Holman Hunt, *Children at Jerusalem: A Sketch of Modern Life in Syria* (London: Ward, Lock, and Co., 1881), 101.

> "Sylvia had brought her sketch-book…her good intentions were boundless. Now, as they came to a standstill, she brought out her note-book as she had often seen her father do, and made preparations for a sketch, but soon they moved on, and she shut up her book in despair, saying, "The tiresome thing won't look a bit like what I meant it for."[128]

2.4 Sketching and privilege

The social acceptability of women's travel sketching was undoubtedly linked to its association with the leisured classes, the aristocracy, and in England, even royalty. Elizabeth Murray, daughter of prominent Court artist Thomas Heaphy and herself an accomplished young painter, "established a reputation as an interesting and gifted, if undisciplined water-colourist," [129] exhibited her work in London, and was one of the "English Female Artists" profiled by Clayton. A proud traveler-sketcher, Murray opened her illustrated 1859 reminiscences, *Sixteen Years of An Artist's Life in Morocco, Spain, and the Canary Islands*, with the declaration: "A vagabond from a baby, I left England at eighteen I was perfectly independent, having neither master nor money. My pencil was both to me, being at the same time my strength, my comfort, and my intense delight."[130] Yet Pamela Nunn, in her 1983 doctoral dissertation, *The Mid-Victorian Woman Artist* (one of the earliest pieces of modern scholarship to formally treat women's Orientalist travel art), points out that the young Murray also set out with a royal commission from Queen Adelaide, and royal letters of introduction, which, according to Clayton, Murray leveraged to great effect:

> "In Turkey she was the guest of Sir Stratford Canning and his wife, afterwards Lord and Lady Stratford de Redcliffe, remaining for some time, in order to paint the beauties of the harem. Also she made sketches in the slave markets, of the foreign embassies. From Turkey she went to Greece, where she was the guest of the late king, and queen, and painted several portraits of them for their respective families."[131]

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[128] Holman Hunt, Edith, *Children at Jerusalem*, 116.
[129]Nunn *The Mid-Victorian Woman Artist*, 267-8.
[130] Elizabeth Murray, *Sixteen Years of An Artist's Life in Morocco, Spain, and the Canary Islands* (London: Hurst and Blackett, 1859), 1-2.
[131]Clayton, *English Female Artists*, quoted in Nunn, *The Mid-Victorian Woman Artist*, 267-8.

That the Queen of England should commision Orientalist travel art from a young female artist clearly indicates the complete normalization of women's travel sketching in the Ottoman Empire by this point.

Several decades later, it was due to the influence of Lady Charlotte Canning, wife of the British Governor-General and herself a prolific watercolorist and travel sketcher of Indian themes[132], that Queen Victoria and her children took up formal sketching lessons.[133] In 1904, Queen Victoria's youngest daughter, Princess Beatrice Mary Victoria Feodore (1857 -1944) "spent several months in Egypt, travelling up the Nile in the Khedive's royal yacht," during which time she put her sketching lessons to use. Her fairly skillful watercolor of an ancient temple pylon in a desert landscape, *Near Karnak*, is now in the Victoria and Albert Museum (fig. 11).

Fig. 11. Princess Beatrice Mary Victoria Feodore, Princess Henry of Battenberg, `*Temple Pylon near Karnak'*, 1903-4. Watercolor.
Reproduced from The Victoria and Albert Museum, London. http://collections.vam.ac.uk/

For British sketchers, the Indian/imperial connection is significant. As early as 1775, the Scottish portrait painter Katherine Read sent home "a picture of 'ye Indian Lady"

[132] Two albums of her skillful Indian topographical sketches are now in the Victoria and Albert Museum.
[133] Donald Macleod, ed., *Good Words for 1883* (London: Ibister and Company, 1883), 630.

from a visit to her brother in Madras; [134] the vast quantities of nineteenth-century British women's travel art of India would easily furnish material for a thesis in and of themselves. For now, in considering the imperial and colonialist associations of women's travel sketching in the Ottoman Empire, worth noting that some of the earliest 'exotic' travel art produced by British women was made in the colonial context of India, and that it was not uncommon for the same British female traveler-sketcher of British extraction to visit or relocate to both the Ottoman Empire and the outposts of her own.[135]

Since drawing lessons were the perquisites of a genteel upbringing, and leisured travel remained very expensive, female traveler-sketchers fell mostly on the more privileged end of the social spectrum. Wealthy tourists and diplomats' wives were certainly more likely to produce sketches than working women like Emmeline Lott, author of the 1865 memoir, *The English Governess in Egypt: Harem life in Egypt and Constantinople.* Although Lott argued convincingly that her relatively lowly position[136] as a governess embedded in three aristocratic harems gave her greater scope to observe "Life in the Harems of Egypt and Constantinople," [137] she was unable to furnish her account with illustrations. Her book has only one: her own stylized portrait in Ottoman garb, against a blank white background. As she

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[134] A. Francis Steuart, "Miss Katherine Read, Court Paintress," *The Scottish Historical Review* 2:5 (Oct., 1904) 45.

[135] For a detailed discussion of women's amateur travel art in Australia, see Caroline Jordan's *Picturesque Pursuits: Colonial Women Artists & the Amateur Tradition* (Melbourne University Press, 2005).

[136] Lott claimed that her prolonged participation in harem life as a governess gave her an advantage over even Lady Mary Wortley Montagu. Lott wrote, "The interior of those Harems were to her Ladyship [Lady Mary Wortley Montagu] a terra incognita, and even although she passed through those gaudy halls like a beautiful meteor, all was couleur de rose, and not the slightest opportunity was permitted her to study the daily life of the Odalisques...It was reserved to a humble individual like myself… and thus an opportunity has been afforded me of, Asmodeus-like, uplifting that impenetrable veil, to accomplish which had hitherto baffled all the exertions of Eastern travelers" (vi-vii).

[137] Emmeline Lott, *The English Governess in Egypt. Harem Life in Egypt and Constantinople. By Emmeline Lott, Formerly Governess to His Highness the Grand Pacha Ibrahim, Son of His Highness Ismael Pacha, Viceroy of Egypt.* 4th ed. (London: Richard Bentley, 1867), vi-vii.

confessed, confronted with the splendors of her surroundings, "In short, not being an artiste, I cannot give pen-and-ink drawings of them."[138]

2.5 A society of sketchers

Given how numerous traveler-sketchers became, it is essential to address the question of how they engaged with each other, with their fellow travelers, and with their host communities in Ottoman lands. In the Western European tourist hotspots of the mid-nineteenth century, traveling leisure sketchers grew so common that they themselves became a typical part of the landscape. In her privately circulated memoir, *Travels in Europe and the East: During the Years 1858-59 and 1863-64*, the amateur American travel writer Harriet Trowbridge Allen observed, in the ruins of Hadrian's Villa outside Rome, "It is a cheerful sight to see these groups, often English or American, seated beneath the trees, some sketching a distant view, or ruin close at hand, others amusing themselves by collecting bits of broken marble and pieces of defaced cornices…"[139] Jane Loftus (née Hope-Vere, b. 1821), Marchioness of Ely, privately printed two volumes of her travel reminiscences of "a Tour in Greece, Turkey, Egypt, the Sinai-Desert, Petra, Palestine, Syria, and Russia," in which European traveler- sketchers, predominantly male, appear as a constant and unremarkable feature of aristocratic traveling society. In Athens, Loftus took dinner with "an English lady, who is alone at Athens, studying painting," and whom Loftus deemed a fount of useful local information.[140] Wandering through Jerusalem, Loftus recalled, "Passing a Jewish burial-ground, where we found a lady sketching."[141] By

[138] Lott, *The English Governess*, 261.
[139] Harriet Trowbridge Allen, *Travels in Europe and the East: During the Years 1858-59 and 1863-64* (New Haven: Tuttle, Morehouse and Taylor, Printers, 1879), 171.
[140] Jane Loftus, Marchioness of Ely, *Mafeesh, or, Nothing New: The Journal of a Tour in Greece, Turkey, Egypt, the Sinai-Desert, Petra, Palestine, Syria, and Russia*, 2 vols. (London: William Clower and Sons, 1870), 10.
[141] Loftus, *Mafeesh*, 253

the 1850s, female travel-sketchers on the Nile were so commonplace that they might even encounter each other 'in the field.' One mid-nineteenth-century British traveler, Ellen Julia Hollond, recalled a day's Nile sketching with her little girl, which concluded with a chance encounter with Emily Beaufort and her sister:

> "Annie had seated herself on some rocks below, and drew also… After a couple of hours Annie and I remounted our donkeys and… just as we arrived at the great depôt of dates…we met some ladies who, we thought, possibly might be the Miss Beauforts, about whom I had yesterday received a letter from Mrs. J. and Lady B. [possibly Lady Bulwer, wife of the British Ambassador in Constantinople with whom the Beauforts had visited there] it was them, so we had to stop a long time to introduce ourselves and talk…"[142]

Women travelers who did not sketch often mention having seen and admired the portfolios or sketchbooks of other travelers. Stopping at the convent on Mount Carmel in the mid-1860s, one female sketcher-traveler was "hospitably entertained by Frère Charles…He showed us his album, to which all visitors, if they wish it, are desired to contribute with either pen or pencil."[143] A female British expatriate sketching in Cyprus in the 1870s was delighted to find other ladies shared her conviction that the place deserved to be sketched. In a section of her memoir entitled, "Justice to my Fairyland at Last," she noted regretfully, "Lady Tankerville made several lovely sketches, but the season was too late to see the country to perfection."[144]

It was common practice for travelers, both male and female, to incorporate other travelers' sketches into their published accounts. These collaborations could take the form of an equal partnership, as with Mary Adelaide Walker and her younger brother, Charles George Curtis, who integrated many of her drawings into

[142]Ellen Julia Hollond, *A Lady's Journal of Her Travels in Egypt and Nubia* (1858-9) (London: Emily Faithfull, 1864), 159.
[143] Elizabeth Rundle Charles, *Wanderings Over Bible Lands and Seas* (New York: R. Carter, 1866), 346.
[144] Mrs. Esme Scott-Stevenson, *Our Home in Cyprus* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1880), 209.

their book, *Broken Bits of Byzantium.* Curtis hastened to establish Walker's credit when a reviewer misattributed her work to him, and emphasized the value of her contributions: "Sir, in thanking you for your notice in yesterday's paper of the little book lately put forth by my sister, Mrs. Walker, and myself, I beg to state that several pieces are from her pen and pencil, and are specially distinguished by the initials MW…It illustrates not text by drawings but drawings by text."[145]

In other cases, a professional artist's travel sketches could lend a non-sketcher's travelogue considerable prestige and value. As Zeynep Inankur points out, *Broken Bits* was not the only book (outside Walker's own independent publications) to which this well-known artist contributed illustrations. The publisher's advertisement for Lady Emilia Bithynia Hornby's 1863 memoir, *Constantinople During The Crimean War*,[146] boasted, "The present Volume…is enriched by some very beautifully coloured lithographs from the tasteful pencil of her friend Mrs. Walker."[147] In 1908, Rev. John Kelman (1864-1929) was fortunate enough to procure for his travelogue, *From Damascus to Palmyra*, a remarkable 67 paintings by the Australian traveler-painter Margaret Thomas, who had herself spent two years traveling in the region. It is telling that although the black-and-white photographs included in the volume were not tinted, Thomas' many paintings were reproduced in rich – and expensive – color—and mentioned in the book's subtitle.[148] It is scarcely surprising to find that professional artists with regional experience, both male and female, were often hired as book illustrators. More striking is the fact that

[145] Inankur, "Mary Adelaide Walker," in *The Poetics and Politics of Place: Ottoman Istanbul and British Orientalism*, edited by Zeynep Inankur, Reina Lewis, and Mary Roberts (Istanbul and Seattle: Pera Museum and the University of Washington Press, 2011), 200.
[146] Inankur, "Mary Adelaide Walker," 205-6.
[147] Lady Emilia Bithynia Hornby, *Constantinople During the Crimean War* (London: Richard Bentley, 1863), vi.
[148] Rev. John Kelman, *From Damascus to Palmyra, Painted by Margaret Thomas* (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1908).

non-sketchers seeking illustrations for their Ottoman travelogues did not rely solely on professional artists like Walker. In June of 1881, Hariot Georgina Blackwood, Marchioness of Dufferin and Ava[149], assumed Lady Mary Wortley Montagu's mantle as lady of letters and wife to the British Ambassador to the Sublime Porte.[150] Though herself no artist, Blackwood repeatedly remarking on the picturesqueness of her new surroundings in "the streets of Stamboul, where every passer-by is a picture"[151] and where, "…one takes in, during one's side-glances, an immense number of picturesque figures. In fact, every native is a picture, and it is very interesting to watch them."[152] Three decades later, when Blackwood finally published her travel memoir, *My Russian and Turkish Journals* to raise money for "War Charities"[153], she incorporated an eclectic mix of illustrations, including a print, photographs, stock stereographs, as well as watercolor paintings, and sketches by two amateur artists: Major-General Sir John Charles Ardagh, and Miss Florence Wyndham,[154] who contributed a watercolor "View from the gardens of the British Embassy, Constantinople," set at sunrise or sunset in striking silhouette, and a line-drawing of the French summer Embassy in Tarabya, on the European coast of the Bosphorus (fig. 12). "By their kindness," wrote Blackwood, "they have greatly

[149] Hariot Georgina Blackwood was the daughter-in-law of the Lady Dufferin who created the parodic lady traveler Impulsia Gushington.
[150] Given the near-ubiquity of references to Lady Mary Wortley Montagu's letters throughout all subsequent Western travel writing of the Ottoman Empire, it is striking that Blackwood, who followed precisely in Montagu's footsteps as British Ambassadress in Constantinople, and whose merry anecdotes – gilded with the many illustrious characters she encountered – bear a marked resemblance to Lady Mary's in both tone and content, never once mentions her famous predecessor.
[151]Hariot Georgina Blackwood, Marchioness of Dufferin and Ava, *My Russian and Turkish Journals* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1916), 153.
[152] Blackwood, *Russian and Turkish Journals*, 168.
[153] Blackwood, *Russian and Turkish Journals*, viii.
[154]Given the privileged access necessary to produce a watercolor taken inside the British Embassy, and the painting's subsequent inclusion in Blackwood's book, it seems likely that Florence Wyndham was a relation of British diplomat Sir Hugh Wyndham and his wife, who are mentioned elsewhere in the text of the *Journals*.

added to any interest this book may have."[155] As with the work of so many amateur sketchers of the Ottoman Empire, particularly women, Florence Wyndham's other work has vanished almost entirely. In June 2014, her only other known work surfaced on the auction website www.ebay.co.uk: a watercolor of an orthodox priest outside Stavropoleos Church in Bucharest, tentatively dated to 1895. It sold for a trifling £9.99.[156] Despite the mitigating effects of the digital age, the vulnerability of women's travel art to this kind of obscurity must not be underestimated.

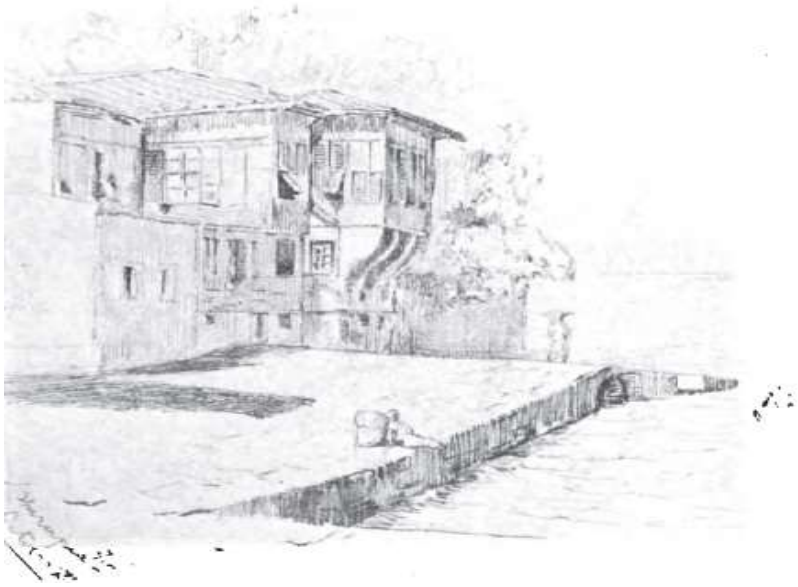

Fig. 12. Florence Wyndham, *The French Embassy, Therapia*, c. 1880-90. Reproduction of a sketch, likely pencil.
Reproduced from Hariot Georgina Blackwood, Marchioness of Dufferin and Ava, *My Russian and Turkish Journals* by (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1916)

Amongst travelers, sketching culture could be contagious. Despite her extensive artistic training, Italian Princess Cristina Trevulzio di Belgiojoso (1808-1871) chose not to publish illustrations to her memoir of five years spent in Turkey between 1850-1855. But she did include a humorous account of how a chance encounter

[155] Blackwood, *Russian and Turkish Journals*, vi.
[156] "Original watercolour painting of Stavropoleos Church, Bucharest painted c.1895." Ebay.co.uk. http://www.ebay.co.uk/itm/Original-watercolour-painting-of-Stavropoleos-Church-Bucharest-painted-c-1895-/271517877148?pt=UK_art_Paintings_GL&nma=true&si=2fnVvXrI4cdeagfbTMcWKvRa8p8%253D&orig_cvip=true&rt=nc&_trksid=p2047675.l2557.

with English sketchers inspired her to paint her own private souvenirs of the lands through which she traveled:

> "I owe one of these English travelers the courage to draw [*retracer*] some scenes which otherwise were beginning to erase themselves from my memories. I had always regretted not knowing how to draw the landscape; but the thought had never occurred to me to imitate that confident being who, asked if he knew how to play the violin, replied naively, I do not know, for I have never tried. Now this young Englishman had said too that he would never have known whether he was a landscape artist [*paysagiste*] unless he had tried; and, having tried, he succeeded. He confided this discovery to me, and engaged me to imitate him: which I immediately did, I would not say with the same success; but it is certain that my most deplorable sketches resemble more the places which I wanted to draw than a sheet of blank paper. From this moment on, I set myself bravely to work and I filled a box of memories [*souvenirs*] which are precious to me and which I owe to Doctor H." [157]

The community of female sketchers in the Ottoman Empire was not restricted to visiting foreigners. Towards the end of the nineteenth century, as Ottoman institutions increasingly chose to adopt more Westernized educational strategies, some Ottoman men and women also adopted or adapted elements of Western sketching culture. Mary Adelaide Walker (1820-1905), co-author of *Broken Bits of Byzantium,* was "a British painter who lived in Istanbul for nearly half a century and held a significant place in the art milieu of the Ottoman capital,"[158] built a profitable and prominent career as an art teacher in Constantinople, where she was also "employed between 1870 and 1872 as the drawing and watercolor teacher at the

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[157]"Je dois à l'un de ces voyageurs anglais le courage de retracer des scenes qui devaient sans cela s'effacer de mes souvenirs. J'avais toujours regretté de ne pas savoir de dessiner le paysage; mais jamais la pensée ne m'était venue d'imiter l'être confidant qui, interrogé s'il savait jouer du violon, répondit naïvement: Je ne sais, car je n'ai jamais essayé. Or ce jeune Anglais s'etait dit ausssi qu'il ne saurait jamais s'il était paysagiste à moiins d'essayer; et, ayant essayé, il réussit. It me fit confidence de sa découverte, et m'engagea à l'imiter: ce que je fis aussitôt, je ne dirai pas avec le meme success; mais il est certain que mes plus déplorables esquisses ressemblent plus aux lieux que je voulais retracer qu'une feuille de papier blanc. A partir de ce moment, je me mis bravement à l'oeuvre et je remplis un carton de souvenirs qui me sont précieux et que je dois au docteur H."
Princess Cristina di Belgiojoso, *Asie Mineure et Syrie: Souvenirs de Voyages* (2nd ed.) (Paris: Michel Lévy Frères, 1861), 337.

[158] Inankur, "Mary Adelaide Walker," 199.

Dârülmuallimât, Women's Teacher Training College."[159] The relationship between women like Walker and the rising generation of female Ottoman artists has not yet been fully examined, though Mary Roberts' recent article makes an exemplary start, which I will revisit at the end of Chapter 4. [160]

Even for those who did not teach, sketching and discussions of art offered a means for aristocratic female travelers to engage with wealthy Ottomans -- or even the Sultan and his household -- on mutually respectful and intelligible terms. In her memoirs, the ambassadress Hariot Georgina Blackwood recalled a dinner party hosted by Sultan Abdülhamid II in her husband's honor at Yıldız Palace in Constantinople on October 17, 1883. Blackwood framed the Sultan of the Ottoman Empire in admiring and explicitly European terms: a polite, cultured gentleman, interested in shooting and earthquake relief, and solicitous towards his foreign guests. She deemed it natural, therefore, when dinner conversation turned to her daughter's sketching:

> "The Sultan asked me if I minded smoking, and then lit a cigarette. He apologised once more for not having seen me before, and then started a long admonition to [my daughter] Nelly. "Your father tells me that you like drawing and do not care for music, but the two arts should go together, and you would look so very well at the piano. I have a first-rate professor, and I shall be happy to send him to you"--and much more on the same subject. D. said that if she was ever idle again, he should ask His Majesty to speak to her. It was very amusing. D. did a little business, and then, with many more polite speeches, the Sultan congratulating D. upon having "*une femme et une fille si distinguées*," we got up and curtseyed and bowed, and were conducted to the door."[161]

[159] Mary Roberts, "*Genealogies of Display: Cross-Cultural Networks at the 1880s Istanbul Exhibitions*," in *The Poetics and Politics of Place: Ottoman Istanbul and British Orientalism*, edited by Zeynep Inankur, Reina Lewis, and Mary Roberts (Istanbul and Seattle: Pera Museum and the University of Washington Press, 2011), 130.
[160] Roberts, "Genealogies of Display," 130.
[161] Blackwood, *Russian and Turkish Journals*, 304-305.

Little wonder that the Sultan considered Nelly Blackwood's sketching praiseworthy and respectable. Many privileged young Ottoman men and women were also taught to sketch, and encouraged to share their work. At another social gathering in Constantinople, Blackwood recalled an enounter with a pair of accomplished young Ottoman princes: "boys of seventeen and eighteen, who speak English well, showed us their drawings, and Prince Halim also exhibited an oil picture he is doing, which he is going to give D."[162] In Blackwood's aristocratic Constantinople, sketches passed between Ottomans and foreigners appear to have become a form of social, if not diplomatic, currency. At yet another dinnner, the Ottoman Prime Minister delighted Blackwood with the gift of a sketch: "at my place there was my name on a card, in the corner of which was a lovely little drawing of our house at Therapia! was that not nice of him?"[163]

Discussions with Ottoman officials about ladies' sketching, like the Sultan and Blackwood's, were not limited to the urban centers of Constantinople and Cairo. Emily Beaufort wrote of a visit by the "Kashef" (local governor) to her dahabiyeh, anchored off the town of Esneh, near Luxor, in the late 1850s:

> "[H]e made himself as agreeable as any one can do through the medium of an interpreter…and gave us a good deal of information more interesting than that in the conversation between the Pasha and 'The Member for Mudcombe,' famous in Eothean annals. He descanted largely upon a map of Egypt… and he criticised my sketches as freely as a drawing-master."[164]

2.6 Why sketch?

This chapter has so far surveyed the origins, dimensions, and implications of the sketching subculture that developed amongst nineteenth-century women travelers in the Ottoman Empire. Why did these women choose to produce travel art? It would

[162] Blackwood, *Russian and Turkish Journals,* 148.
[163] Blackwood, *Russian and Turkish Journals, 275.*
[164] Beaufort, *Egyptian Sepulchres,* 24.

be vastly over-simplistic to presume that the motivations of female traveler-sketchers should be more readily categorized or less complex than those of their male counterparts. Nevertheless, a brief survey of the most common and significant motivating factors at play will help shed light on the choices these travelers made, the art they created, and their lived experience as they made it.

Though sketches were unlikely to be financially remunerative (except as preparation for work in other, more lucrative media), they could supply valuable evidence of the truth of their makers' travels. Sara Mills observes that "women [travel] writers set out to authenticate their texts and guard themselves against accusations of falsehood," frequently born of public incredulity at their stamina, courage, and willingness to participate in behavior outside of the norms for bourgeois nineteenth-century European or American women.[165] Especially in the Middle East, site of so many Western literary and artistic fantasies, travelers faced the challenge of establishing veracity. Fraser points out that, "authority and authenticity…are especially precarious notions in the case of the illustrated travel book."[166]

Travel art was tightly bound up with perceptions of authenticity. Mocking the inaccuracies of non-travelers' Orientalist artwork was a common strategy for establishing one's own authority. Lady Lucie Duff Gordon (1821-1869), an Englishwoman who lived in Egypt for nearly a decade, claimed to find a hilarious contrast between the evidence of her eyes and the fantastical compositions produced by Orientalist painters back home in England. Duff-Gordon's local companions, she declared, were even more amused than she: "Sheykh Yussuf," she recalled in a letter home,

> "Laughed so heartily over a print in an illustrated paper, from a picture of Hilton's, of Rebekah at the well…kneeling before the girl he was sent to fetch

[165] Mills, *Discourses of Difference*, 122.
[166] Fraser, "Books, Prints, and Travel," 343.

> like an old fool without his turban, and Rebekah and the other girls in queer fancy dresses, and the camels with snouts like pigs. 'If the painter could not go to Es-Sham (Syria) to see how the Arab (Bedaween) really look,' said Sheykh Yussuf, 'why did he not paint a well in England with girls like English peasants ? At least it would have looked natural to English people, and the Vakeel would not seem so like a majnoon (a madman) if he had taken off a hat.' I cordially agreed with Yussuf 's art criticism. Fancy pictures of Eastern things are hopelessly absurd, and fancy poems too. I have got hold of a stray copy of Victor Hugo's ' Orientales,' and I think I never laughed more in my life."[167]

For the many travel writers and who heaped scorn upon such "fancy pictures", these criticisms emphasized a pleasing contrast with the author's own, presumably more accurate, depictions of the Middle East. For women travelers who published travelogues, sketching was one strategy to help establish their reliability and authenticity, visual corroboration of their authority, especially regarding everyday life, particularly in the domestic sphere. With careful observation and ordinary parlor sketching skills, many were able to fill their sketchbooks with genre scenes and landscapes, helping to establish their credibility as both travelers and observers. For 19th-century consumers of traveler's art, such first-hand renderings had both artistic cachet and documentary, potentially even academic, value.

Illustrations, ideally engraved from the author's sketches, were a convention of nineteenth-century travel writing. If a volume was illustrated, this selling point was typically advertised on the frontispiece in large, proud letters, or even incorporated into its title. The authenticity of these images was of paramount importance to their value as perceived by both author and potential consumers. This was equally true for works by female and male travelers, and persisted long after the popularization of photography. As late as 1926, T.E. Lawrence devoted a great deal

[167] Lady Lucie Duff Gordon, *Lady Duff Gordon's Letters from Egypt. Revised Edition with Memoir by Her Daughter Janet Ross. New Introduction by George Meredith*. Edited by Janet Ross. (London: R. Brimley Johnson, 1902) 139-40.

of money and energy to providing his *Seven Pillars of Wisdom* with suitable illustrations, though he himself was no artist. He wrote,

> "It seemed to me that every portrait drawing of a stranger-sitter partook somewhat of the judgment of God. If I could get the named people of this book drawn, it would be their appeal to a higher court against my summary descriptions. So I took pains to bring objects and artists together."[168]

Given the late date, it is striking that Lawrence should have chosen drawings, in lieu of photographs, in his attempt to augment his travel narrative with a gallery of impartial images.[169] Born in 1888, T.E. Lawrence retained a distinctly nineteenth-century optimism about the potential for travel drawings to capture on paper *wie es eigentlich gewesen*. In 1845, Leopold von Ranke had predicted,

> "[T]he time approaching when we shall base modern history, no longer on the reports even of contemporary historians, except in-so-far as they were in the possession of personal and immediate knowledge of facts; and still less on work yet more remote from the source; but rather on the narratives of eyewitnesses, and on genuine and original documents."[170]

As we shall see, the authenticity of travelers' artworks as "genuine and original documents," as perceived by both their makers and consumers, is key to understanding both their original function, and their connection to nineteenth-century conceptions of science, art, history and knowledge – and women's capacity to contribute to those fields.

For professional or semi-professional female artists and writers, material gathered and/or produced on the spot offered high potential gains, in terms of both money and reputation. For Elisabeth Jerichau-Baumann, one of the most prolific and

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[168] Lawrence, T.E., *The Seven Pillars of Wisdom* (London: H.J. Hodgson, 1926), xix. Quoted in "Notes on the Illustrations." The T.E. Lawrence Society. http://library.vicu.utoronto.ca/exhibitions/lawrence/lawrence.htm.

[169] Gertrude Bell had chosen to illustrate her Middle Eastern travelogue *Amurath to Amurath* entirely with photographs as early as 1911; Ella Constance Sykes had done the same in *Through Persia on a Side-saddle* as early as 1898.

[170] Leopold von Ranke, *History of the Reformation in Germany* I: x, quoted in Hughes-Warrington, Marnie, ed., *Fifty Key Thinkers on History*, edited by Marnie Hughes-Warrington (New York: Routledge, 2008) 295.

successful professional female Orientalist painters, her well-kept travel sketchbook was the source of very valuable inspiration and detail. Julia Kuehn observes,

> "Commissioned Oriental portraits would remain with the buyer or sitter, but Jerichau- Baumann would always leave with more than remuneration, namely original character sketches or additional portraits of the respective sitters, which she could hone and then exhibit and sell to primarily British, French, or German buyers." [171]

For amateurs sketchers, especially prior to the wide diffusion of photography, perhaps the single most commonly stated motivating factor was the urge to memorialize beloved scenes, about which many travelers waxed unabashedly sentimental. "If I could afford it," lamented Lucie Duff Gordon, "I would have a sketch of a beloved old mosque of mine, falling to decay, and with three palm-trees growing in the middle of it; indeed, I would have a book full, for all is exquisite, and, alas! all is going."[172] This desire to memorialize was a commonly stated theme of both religious sketchers, who sought the holy in the landscape which they believed was virtually unchanged since it had stood as the setting to biblical stories, and for those whose interests were primarily historical or (proto-)archaeological.

Billie Melman has identified two broad "structures or patterns of Eastern career" amongst women who traveled to the Middle East for their own professional motivations: "non-specialist travel, combined with a writing career," and "semi-professional, quasi-scientific careers, connected with the new branches of Bible and oriental studies, themselves devoted to the authentication of the Scriptures as historically accurate texts and the rise of quasi-scientific, voluntary evangelising societies."[173] Both groups sketched prolifically. Some amateur female sketchers deployed their art, in concert with written tracts, to campaign for social reform and/or

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[171] Julia Kuehn, "Elisabeth Jerichau-Baumann, "Egypt 1870"," *Victorian Literature and Culture*, Vol. 38, No. 1 (2010), 259.
[172] Duff Gordon, *Letters from Egypt*, 102.
[173] Melman, *Women's Orients*, 40-41.

religiously-motivated charitable outreach to the 'Holy Land'. In her 1863 memoir, *Ragged Life in Egypt*, Mary Louisa Whately, billed on the title page as a "Member of the Society for Promoting Female Education in the East," deplored the tendency of Western travelers to treat the human suffering they saw as quaint and picturesque. She wrote,

> "But something seems wanting occasionally between the general reports of missionaries in regular stations, and the vague and hasty sketches of rapid travelers, who can only see the surface as they hurry along through various countries, especially if ignorant of the language. We seem to want particulars concerning the lower classes, who usually constitute the majority of every society, so as to be able to bring them in some degree before our minds: such a class come before passing travellers most frequently in a disagreeable manner, either as beggars, or, at all events, as so dirty and ragged as to be quickly dismissed from his thoughts, or at best only put on paper in his sketch-book as a "picturesque creature, though dreadfully dirty.""[174]

Whately was herself an avid sketcher, and included several illustrations in her book: cutesy, huge-eyed, minimally exoticized girls and children in pseudo-Classical drapery predominate (fig.s 13, 14, and 15).

Fig.s 13, 14, and 15. Mary Louisa Whately, *A Sugar-cane Seller*, *City Arabs*, and *Girls offering Water at a Railway Station*, c. 1863. Reproductions of sketches.
Reproduced from Mary Louisa Whately, *From Ragged Life in Jerusalem* (London: Seeley, Jackson, and Halliday, 1863).

[174] M.L.Whately, *Ragged Life in Egypt* (London: Seeley, Jackson, and Halliday, 1863), 3.

Whately lost no opportunity to hammer home her agenda, whether in image or text. She depicted one young woman, Shoh, as innocent and childlike—Whately compares "poor Shoh"'s response to seeing her "home-made pictures" with the wonderment of Man Friday from *Robinson Crusoe*.[175] Having established Shoh's endearingly benighted credentials, Whately describes an attack on the girl, followed by the pointed lament, "Does not such a scene show the crying necessity for female education in the East?"[176] Whately's illustrations further this same agenda. On the page, Whately transforms the "ragged" Egyptians of her title into clean, innocent, demurely smiling, and sympathetic cartoons – worthy and willing recipients for the Western-style education she hoped to provide them (and presumably motivate her readers to finance). In her *Letters from the Holy Land*, Elizabeth Butler adopted a subtler, but fundamentally comparable approach. Both the text and images of *Letters from the Holy Land* reflect Butler's devout Christian faith: fitting the book's devotional tone, Butler's colorful illustrations (mostly landscapes of places mentioned in the Bible) share the same emotionality and grandeur as her better-known war canvasses, an emphasis more on the impression of Eastern color, richness, and brightness, rather than precise, more clinical renderings by Amelia Edwards or Anne Blunt (see fig.s 25, 26, 29, and 34).

For less religiously motivated travelers, literary and/or scholarly aspirations were commonly-stated motivation to sketch. For scholars like Edwards, the sketchbook of her one Egyptian journey served as a visual data set for renewed analysis throughout the remaining decades of her work and writing as an Egyptologist. For amateur sketchers who planned to publish written accounts, even

[175]Whately, *Ragged Life*, 68.
[176] Whatley, *Ragged Life*, 173.

a rough and unpublishable sketch made an effective *aide-memoire* for descriptions that were frequently heavy on scrupulous visual, architectural, and atmospheric detail.

These motivations very frequently overlapped. From many examples of such cross-motivated amateur sketching, I will consider the particularly illustrative case of Frances Power Cobbe (1822-1904), a prolific writer, ardent campaigner for the rights of women and animals, and keen, highly competent amateur sketcher of historical and oriental scenes. During her 11-month "solitary pilgrimage to the East"[177] in 1858, Cobbe covered a good deal of ground; in her autobiography, she recalled the Eastern part of her itinerary: "Alexandria, Cairo, Jaffa, Jerusalem, Bethlehem, Hebron, Dead Sea, Jordan, Beyrout, Lebanon, Baalbec, Cyprus, Rhodes, Smyrna, Athens, Constantinople, Cape Matapan…such was my "swoop"."[178] By the time of her voyage, Cobbe was already an established writer. Her account of her travels, first serialized in *Fraser's Magazine* and later bound in book form, makes half-a-dozen references to the author's sketching. Cobbe did not comment directly on her motivation for sketching, though the sentimental pleasure with which she describes it – and the almost photographic recall she evinces of the places through which she passed –suggest that personal satisfaction, creation of souvenirs, and her future publication plans were two three major motivations, but not her only ones. Cobbe recalled one occasion of sketching near Jerusalem:

> "Every reader must be familiar with the form of these sepulchres—the pyramid surmounting that of Zechariah, and the cone that of Absalom. I sat down opposite them to place some little memorial of them in my sketch-book, but it was not easy to do so. As I looked at them my eyes filled often, for there came up before me, instead of the desolate Valley of Jehosaphat and thelonely tombs and arid bed of Kedron, the beautiful prints in the old folio of

[177] Frances Power Cobbe, The Cities of the Past (London: Trübner & Co., 1864), Preface.
[178] Frances Power Cobbe, *The Life of Frances Power Cobbe As Told by Herself* (London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co., Lim., 1904), 220.

> Calmet's *Dictionary*, pored over on many a happy Sunday of childhood by the side of the parents who, even in that dear home three thousand miles away, I should never find again." [179]

Like many other female traveler-sketchers in Ottoman-controlled domains, Cobbe combined artistic, professional, and personal motivations with religious ones.

Now that we have established the social context and driving forces behind the phenomenon of women's travel sketching in the Ottoman Empire, Chapter 3 will situate it in the context of the wider nineteenth-century social and cultural dynamics with which it intersected.

[179]Cobbe, *The Cities of the Past*, 194-5.

CHAPTER 3

GENDER, PROFESSIONALISM, AND SCIENCE

3.1 The question of gender

It is impossible to thoroughly examine the phenomenon of women's travel art of the Ottoman Empire without evaluating the role gender played in its creation and reception. In their anthology *Orientalism's Interlocutors*, Mary Roberts and Jill Beaulieu engage with the "historically repressed voices" of female Orientalist painters "to unsettle our assumptions and resituate the canon."[180] In concentrating the present study on these female artists and their work, I do not imply that the women who sketched in the nineteenth-century Ottoman Empire formed a cohesive group, whose experience was uniformly similar to that of other female sketchers, and dissimilar to those of their male counterparts. As Nancy Micklewright observed of Victorian women's travel writing in her excellent study of the Middle Eastern photographs of Annie Lady Brassey, "uniform conclusions about such a diverse body of material would be suspect."[181] Rather, following the model of Barbara T. Gates' admirable exploration of Victorian female scientific writers and illustrators, *Kindred Nature: Victorian and Edwardian Women Embrace the Living World*, I aim to present, "a feminist cultural study intended to recuperate and spotlight women's contribution in an effort to revise history."[182] With that aim in mind, let us consider the artistic and social contexts from which the phenomenon of women's Orientalist travel art emerged, and to whose scrutiny and judgment it and its makers were first subjected.

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[180] Roberts and Beaulieu, *Orientalism's Interlocutors,* 2.
[181] Nancy Micklewright, *A Victorian Traveler in the Middle East: the Photography and Travel Writing of Annie, Lady Brassey* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003), 17.
[182] Barbara T. Gates, *Kindred Nature: Victorian and Edwardian Women Embrace the Living World* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1998), 5.

Amongst the professional artists of nineteenth-century Europe and America, men vastly outnumbered the "decidedly conspicuous minority"[183] of women. It is no surprise that the subset of Orientalist painters reflects this gender imbalance. Nevertheless, as Pamela Nunn has observed, many women artists, even those who did not travel, were drawn to Middle Eastern subject matter:

> "The total sum of works within this trend is probably smaller within women artists' number than among that of male artists, because of unequal mobility and unequal access to the sources in question, yet it is noticeable that women did take up the exotic fashion gratuitously, as a guise for anecdotes or images which might, in fact have been couched equally effectively in any national mode. [184]

The enormous range of style, skill, and subject in the art produced by female travelers in the nineteenth-century Ottoman Empire reflects the similarly wide range of their purposes, and wider trends in European Orientalist painting and thought through the decades.

Did meaningful differences exist between the production and intentions of male and female traveler-sketchers in the Ottoman Empire? I argue that a female sketcher's gender could, though it did not always, have a powerful impact on the prospects and reception of her work – and on how those internalized pressures (or at least considerations) influenced her choice of what to paint or draw.[185]

3.2 What (and how) should a lady paint?

We have seen the social tensions that complicated a nineteenth-century woman's act of sketching in the Ottoman Empire, and some of the scathing satire women's travel could provoke. But the societal conditions which shaped the reception of women's travel art went far deeper than a discomfort with the notion of women traveling in a

[183] Nunn, *The Mid-Victorian Woman Artist*, 6.
[184] Nunn, *The Mid-Victorian Woman Artist*, 383.
[185] As we shall see in greater detail in Chapter 4, gender also had a significant impact on the lived experience of many female sketchers, and by extension also their art—not only in terms of the trope of access to the gendered spaces of harems and hamams.

region perceived to be fraught with moral and physical danger. Although, by the mid-nineteenth century, women's hobby sketching was acceptable to all but the most stringent critics, evidence of artistic boldness, creativity, and talent all clashed with some contemporary conceptions of the feminine mind, and of how a respectable woman ought to behave. In terms of subject matter, travel art of the Ottoman Empire posed a potential double threat to the propriety of its female creators. First, it had a propensity to overlap with prestigious (masculine) domains of nineteenth-century painting, notably historical painting. Second, as Reina Lewis has observed, while respectable female travelers might, under certain circumstances, write their first-hand observations of the exotic, the disgusting, or the debauched, "dissociat[ing] themselves from any immoral acts represented by deploying an imperial distance,"[186] female artists – even professionals – were not afforded even such limited license. The very presumption of a female artist's observational skill could, in theory, pose a hazard to her reputation. As Lewis points out,

> "…artists were assumed to have studied what they depicted, in a model if not in situ, and were thus tied more closely to the represented scene. For an artist like [accomplished Orientalist painter Henriette] Browne, who was known for her rigorous study from life, it would have been hard, if not impossible, securely to inscribe such a disassociation from her subject. This obstructed the establishment of a morally essential distance with which a literary author might have had more chance of success."[187]

Sketches of landscapes and ruins, the most common form of women's published travel art of the Ottoman Empire, avoided any such risks, but with grave and long-lasting consequences in terms of their makers' (lack of) enduring critical respect or attention. Galleries and auction houses, then as now, were well aware that odalisques tended to garner a stronger public reaction than beautiful but repetitive

[186] Reina Lewis, "'Only women should go to Turkey': Henriette Browne and the Female Orientalist Gaze," in *Race-ing Art History: Critical Readings in Race and Art History*, edited by Kymberly N. Pinder (New York: Routledge, 2002), 103-104.
[187] Lewis, "Only women," 103-104.

views of the Nile at sunset. Pamela Nunn cuts to the heart of the matter when she observes, "It is just here, in notions of femininity, that first is found the explanation for our delicate, dabbling stereotype [of the woman artist], the figure whom it is impossible to take seriously."[188] So powerful is the legacy of these attitudes in the reception of women's Orientalist paintings that even into the twenty-first century, works by male Orientalists painters continue to be exhibited more often, in greater variety, and to fetch substantially higher prices at auction, than those of their female contemporaries.

Numerous amateur women artists did exhibit Orientalist paintings in western Europe. Orientalist travel art played a significant role at the Society of Female Artists (SFA), ever since its inaugural exhibition in 1857. *The Monthly Review's* report on that first exhibition lavishly praised Mrs. Robertson Blaine's[189] drawings, *Sand-storm in the Desert* and *Bedouin Bivouack in the Desert* (compared favorably to the work of Vernet and Frère), as well as her painting, *Christian Woman of Nazareth*, "in which the colours are laid on with great firmness and brilliancy."[190] The reviewer also approvingly noted Elizabeth Heaphy Murray's "masterly drawings" of a *Teneriffe Market Girl* and *Haggi Muhammed ben Abu*. In the case the travel landscapes of Mrs. Higford Burr (b. 1817, née Anne-Margaretta Scobell),"so well known amongst amateur artists for her pictorial skill," the reviewer showed a marked preference for her view of the *Statues of Memnon* near Luxor over her European scenes. The SFA's subsequent exhibitions continued to

[188] Nunn, *The Mid-Victorian Woman Artist*, 10.
[189] Mrs. Robertson Blaine is one of the many amateur women travel artists whose biographical details are so difficult to determine. Her publicly exhibited work, almost unanimously well-received, appears to consist almost entirely of travel art, generally with an Italian or Middle Eastern theme. Her oil painting, *A Halt of Arabs near Petra*, was purchased by Queen Victoria at the Patriotic Fund Amateur Exhibition in 1854. (http://www.royalcollection.org.uk/collection/406458/a-halt-of-arabs-near-petra)
[190] "Society of Female Artists—First Exhibition," *The Monthly Review*, No. 1 (June 1857), 428-9. It should be noted that all this praise for SFA artists pales beside the near-hagiographic memorial article for the recently-deceased Orientalist painter Thomas Seddon which immediately follows it.

reflect this Orientalist trend. *The Art-Journal*'s 1868 review of the SFA's twelfth annual exhibition observed that, "These regions [North Africa] have been of late a favourite resort of ladies, who appear intent upon outrivaling each other in the marvels they bring home to the amaze of less privileged eyes."[191] The same reviewer mentioned that even Society members who did not travel had jumped on the Orientalist caravan: "Miss Partridge's 'Coffee Bearer,' in costume of Algiers, a work executed in the "Life Class" for ladies which has been initiated under the auspices of this society."[192] Nevertheless, remarkably few female Orientalist painters were able or willing to move beyond SFA exhibitions and pursue a fully fledged artistic career. Deborah Cherry, who has published two of the most in-depth studies of the role and experience of women painters in Victorian England, observes that, "By and large, women artists neither risked the entrepreneurial enterprise entailed in the production of illustrated volumes, nor were their Orientalist works viewed as major investments by publishers and dealers."[193]

To be sure, a privileged and hard-working few female Orientalist traveler-painters in London and Paris had the opportunity to exhibit and sell their work alongside their most successful male contemporaries. Several, like Elizabeth Butler, Henriette Browne, and Mary Adelaide Walker, enjoyed considerable success and acclaim from both critics and patrons. When Elisabeth Jerichau-Baumann set out for Constantinople in 1869, the *Art Journal* expressed keen anticipation for the travel art she would produce:

> "Madame Jerichau, the accomplished Danish artist, whose works are well known and highly estimated in England… is, it is said, about to visit

[191] *The Art-Journal*, quoted in Deborah Cherry, *Beyond the Frame: Feminism and Visual Culture, Britain 1850-1900.* (London: Routledge, 2000), 67-8.
[192] "Society of Female Artists: Twelfth Season," *The Art-Journal*, vol. VII (London: Virtue & Co., 1868), 46.
[193] Deborah Cherry, *Beyond the Frame*, 67.

> Constantinople, commissioned to paint portraits of the ladies of the Sultan's harem. It will be difficult to overrate the interest of such series."[194]

But, as Nunn demonstrates, even Browne or Jerichau-Baumann's work was not immune to the widespread mid-nineteenth-century conception of the female artist as incapable of true artistic creativity. Alexandra Sutherland Orr (1828-1903), hagiographic biographer of her friend Robert Browing and an ardent opponent of women's suffrage, declared that women were fundamentally incapable of artistic genius:

> "Women are intelligent; they are not creative. Whether in their home or beyond it, their successes can only be achieved through the contact with other minds; the impulse to mental action must always come to them from without, or at least the form in which the impulse will be clothed. That men possess the productiveness which is called genius, and women do not, is the one immutable distinction that is bound up with the intellectual idea of sex. We know that women have seldom, perhaps never, been great artists or great composers…"[195]

This view was not limited to England. In 1895, *The Parisian*, a New York-based magazine which reproduced articles "from the leading French and other Continental periodicals…to keep American readers in touch with European topics of general interest," printed a translation of René Morot's article for the *Monde Moderne* on "Women Artists of Paris." Morot acknowledged the rise of women artists in France, and serenely looked forward to what he considered the inevitable expansion of their ranks, noting, "we can only applaud this taste (or this fashion) for painting among women, for it denotes a tendency toward intellectual occupation, a very wholesome ideal that one cannot praise enough." [196] Morot briefly profiled many of the female

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[194]Kuehn, "Elisabeth Jerichau-Baumann," 259.

[195] Mrs. Sutherland Orr, "The Future of Englishwomen," in *Nineteenth Century* (1878), quoted in Nunn, *The Mid-Victorian Woman Artist*, 18.

[196] René Morot, "Women Artists of Paris," 48. Morot's conception of the effects of artistic pursuits on a woman's intellect is essentially one of increased masculinity. Women artists, he asserts, exhibit a disinterest in frivolous dress, minimal attention to their hair ("When the woman-painter has found a style of dressing her hair, an arrangement which seems to her characteristic, and a little original, she adopts it, and hardly ever changes it.") keep their studios plain, and have a distaste for the company and artistic opinions of other women. (51)

luminaries of the *fin de siècle* Parisian art scene, notably Marie Aimée Lucas-Robiquet (1858-1959), for whose North African scenes he had only the most complimentary remarks, highlighting both their authenticity and their aesthetic merit. "Mme. Lucas Robiquet," he wrote,

> "merits a very distinguished place among our Orientalists; her open-air studies are vibrating with light and sun, with a wise tendency toward reasonable impressionism… [she] has confined herself almost exclusively to reproductions of Algerian or African life. She has not shown what she would do in the genre called "Parisien," but few Parisian artists reach her freedom, her vigor, her cleanness in the very sunny scenes so full of attraction, of poetry, which belong to an artist of the highest order." [197]

But despite this fulsome praise, Morot contorted the logic of his article to isolate paradigmatic differences between men and women artists, and the works of which he deemed each capable. He allowed women artists certain natural advantages of perception and temperament, but at cost to the quality of their work. He wrote,

> "Generally the progress of women-artists is more rapid than that of men and their precocity is greater…Women are more pliable, better comprehend the artist's manner of seeing, divine new tendencies more quickly, thanks to their disposition to assimilation, and reach more rapidly a mediocre ability which it is true many of them seldom exceed. But, as an offset, they lack the power of creation. They show the influence of the master too much in their works: they remain in a state of imitation, to the great detriment of their originality." [198]

These were the critics women traveler-sketchers knew awaited them at home, and whose work they might well have read, internalized, or even agreed with. As Pamela Nunn points out, there was a "general fundamental acceptance of the idea that anything done by women in this field was, necessarily, different, and negatively so, and must be signalled as such."[199] Crucially, for the potentially taboo-breaking category of women's travel art – whose very subject matter could infringe on notions of what women were meant to do, see, and comprehend – both critics and the

[197] René Morot, "Women Artists of Paris," 59-60.
[198] René Morot, "Women Artists of Paris," 48.
[199] Nunn, *The Mid-Victorian Woman Artist*, 18-9.

viewing/reading public clung to the category of distinct, recognizable 'women's art' and 'women artists' ("paintresses" as Ruskin termed them) even when confronted with evidence to the contrary. Nunn argues that, "it mattered not, to either the critical or the popular mind, whether an artist's work in fact confirmed or contradicted the prevalent stereotype of the woman's picture it was considered as such, or as if it should have been such."[200] This approving, yet belittling attitude is perfectly encapsulated in *The Art-Journal*'s 1860 review of a Lucy Matilda Cubleys book of images from her trip to Palestine. Before the reviewer even acknowledged Cubley's own merits, he or she first weighed them against the paintings of David Roberts, and finds them wanting.

> "The pictures are not Mr. Roberts's (Miss Cubley would herself acknowledge this), but they are, nevertheless, of a right good order, faithful representations, there is no doubt, and quite worthy of occupying a place—not a subordinate one, moreover—with the illustrated works on the Holy Land which have been published within the last few years. We are always pleased to see ladies employing the Art knowledge they have acquired to good purpose, and Miss Cubley so uses her accomplishment."[201]

3.3 Women (Orientalists) painting women: safety in ethnography?

Easily the most easily identifiable and commonly discussed difference in subject matter between male and female orientalist painters is their respective handling of representations of "Eastern" women.[202] The sexualized odalisques which define Orientalist painting in the popular imagination are largely absent from women's travel art of the Ottoman Empire. Reina Lewis has persuasively argued that when they did appear, "these potentially transgressive pictures" might be "legitimated…in

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[200] Nunn, *The Mid-Victorian Woman Artist*, 19.
[201] Review of *The Hills and Plains of Palestine* by Miss L.M. Cubley. *The Art-Journal*, New Series, VI (London: James S. Virtue; and New York: 26 John Street, 1860): 96.
[202] One of the earliest and best discussions of European women's Orientalist harem art may be found in Reina Lewis' 1995 article, "Women orientalist artists: Diversity, ethnography, interpretation," in *Women: A Cultural Review*, 6:1, 91-106.

terms of prevailing discourses of ethnography."[203] I would further suggest that only well-established, professional female artists appear to have felt secure enough (or motivated enough) to produce this type of image; amongst the published and unpublished women's nineteenth-century travel narratives I have surveyed in the preparation of this thesis, I have not encountered an overtly sexualized harem image by an amateur artist.[204]

One of the most prolific artists of these "potentially transgressive pictures" was the Danish-Polish painter Elisabeth Jerichau-Baumann, whose journey to Constantinople had so excited the *Art Journal*. According to Jerichau-Baumann's friend Hans Christian Andersen, "the famous German painter Peter von Cornelius much admired Baumann's paintings, and speaking of them he declared, 'She is the only real man in the Düsseldorf school.'"[205] This was clearly intended as a compliment, but what did it mean? What did the critical designation of a female traveler-painter's work as 'masculine' or 'feminine' entail, and what can these designations tell us about the production and reception of women's travel art? Though we have seen that female travelers were frequently outspoken in their assertion of the feminine propriety of their travels, clearly, for a female travel artist's work to be called masculine, or at least atypically feminine, was not necessarily a criticism. Andersen had a point: as several art historians of the past two decades have pointed out, Jerichau-Baumann's images of Arab, North African, and Turkish women do indeed resemble those by male Orientalist painters like John Frederick Lewis more than the telegraphic respectability of Frenchwoman Henriette Browne's

[203] Lewis, *Women Orientalist Artists*, 100.
[204]This may simply reflect a preference for less risky subject matter in published or surviving material. Previous critical discussion of women's harem, notably by Reina Lewis, has also focused on the work of professional painters including Jerichau-Baumann and Margaret Murray Cookesley.
[205] Kuehn, "Elisabeth Jerichau-Baumann," 257.

harem scenes. Contrasting Jerichau-Baumann with Browne, "a relatively conservative individual," [206] Reina Lewis asked, "how someone like Jerichau-Baumann could still be seen as a respectable person when she exhibited such unfeminine and potentially improper paintings." [207] Lewis argued that because "gendered codes of art and behavior had considerable flexibility," Jerichau-Baumann never suffered an adverse reaction to such artistic daring, adding that in such flexibility lay the strength of these codes—and that the feminine conventionality of Jerichau-Baumann's wider body of work (picturesque children, often with their mothers, are a dominant theme), combined with her social position, shielded her from criticism.[208] But Lewis noticed another factor at play; one which is of great interest to our present discussion of the reception of women's travel art as ethnographic, or sometimes even proto-scientific artifacts. Elizabeth Oxfeldt pithily sums up Lewis' conclusion: "Jerichau-Baumann's contemporaries considered her paintings splendid depictions of ethnic and national characteristics, and as such they were allowed to wallow in eroticism."[209] This "ability to construct national stereotypes – her verbal and visual representations not just of Oriental women but also of Danish women and herself" [210] drew the attention and praise of Jerichau-Baumann's contemporaries, notably in the *Art Journal*'s 1871 review of her London show, excerpted below.

> "The paintings of this lady command attention as they are marked by characteristics which are by no means common to women's work… This lady is impelled upwards into the epic vein by her tastes and feelings, and, at the same time, is *more pronouncedly ethnographical than perhaps any artist of the day.* [Emphasis mine.] …*The Favourite of the Hareem*, an oil-picture,

[206] Lewis, ""Only women," 103.
[207]Lewis, ""Only women," 103.
[208]Lewis, ""Only women," 103.
[209] Elizabeth Oxfeldt, *Journeys from Scandinavia*: *Travelogues of Africa, Asia, and South America, 1840-2000* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2010), 32.
[210] Oxfeldt, *Journeys from Scandinavia*, 32.

> declares itself at once a veritable study from Oriental life. All attempts at the improvisation of Hareem beauty by painters and poets have been very wide of the truth, as we learn from this and all other genuine representations of so-called eastern beauty. There are several pictures of eastern women: what is most valuable in them is their indisputable nationality, which is brought forward without any modifications or dalliance with conventional prettiness of feature…There are also one or two female studies of Fellaheen, in which truth and genuine nationality prevail over poet's dreams of matchless houris and peerless Egyptian maids…"[211]

The biography of Jerichau-Baumann in Ellen Clayton's *English Female Artists* (1876) echoed this perception of the artist's ethnographic authority: "Few are more thoroughly familiar with Eastern life than Madame Jerichau, or better able to afford glimpses of its details."[212] Clearly, Jerichau-Baumann was perceived as a privileged and trustworthy observer/ethnographer.

Women's clarity of vision and the resulting truth value of their art (especially renderings of female subjects and feminine spaces) are frequently-repeated themes in nineteenth-century writings about women's travel art of the Middle East. Indeed, Lewis notes that, "ethnographic discourse was often used as a way to validate Orientalist images as scientifically authentic and thus endorse the artist's vision as objective." This perceived ethnographical talent tied in with the widespread nineteenth-century belief that if women could contribute to science, it was primarily through their feminine (i.e. emotional, intuitive) understanding of people, rather than through compilation or analysis of hard figures and facts. Dorothy Middleton's 1973 essay on "Some Victorian Lady Travellers" for the Royal Geographical Society, on that organization's fraught history of gender (in-)equality, points out that, of the 22 "well-qualified ladies" controversially elected Fellows in 1892-3, most distinguished themselves as travel writers and ethnographers. Middleton wrote, "[They] were not

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[211] "The Works of Madame Jerichau," *The Art Journal* "The Works of Madame Jerichau," *The Art Journal*, Volume X (London: Virtue & Co., 1871), 165.
[212]Ellen C. Clayton, *English Female Artists*. Vol. 2. (London: Tinsley Brothers, 1876), 105.

eminent as geographers or discoverers…No, they were at their best in describing the people they moved among."[213] Reina Lewis argues that Jerichau-Baumann's gender made visual ethnography problematic: "The reviewer cannot but admire Jerichau-Baumann's depiction of nationality, but would far rather see the conventional prettiness that the artist eschews."[214] But although Lewis' analysis is otherwise incisive, her interpretation in this case is less persuasive. If anything, the *Art Journal* reviewer marked Jerichau-Baumann out for praise for prioritizing the documentary over the aesthetic, and for a clear-eyed accuracy of which he or she deemed most other painters incapable.

Even ethnographic authority could not insure a female painter against a critic's moral disapproval over a nude or semi-nude perceived as excessively provocative, as we may see in a backhanded criticism levelled at Margaret Murray Cookesley's oil painting of a lounging slave girl, *Tempting Wares: Cairo* (fig. 16). The reviewer admired Cookesley's technique, but clearly found her subject unsavoury: "though scarcely satisfactory in its fruit, [the painting] deserves to be noticed for its graceful figure, its pleasant colour, and a certain glory of light."[215] (This response is particularly intriguing since, as Reina Lewis notes, Cookesley's "pseudoclassical Oriental nudes appear to have been quietly received; her [bare-chested] *Nubian Girl* of 1886…was shown to no great notoriety."[216] Despite Jerichau-Baumann's extensive travels in the Ottoman Empire, her orientalist paintings contain a powerful and revealing element of fantasy, nowhere more so than in her depictions of the peasant women of the Ottoman Empire in states of historically improbable undress.

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[213] Dorothy Middleton, "Some Victorian Lady Travellers," *The Geographical Journal*, 139:1 (Feb. 1973), 68.
[214] Lewis, "'Only women," 103-104.
[215]"Nineteenth Century Art Society," *The Academy*, No. 670. (March 7, 1885), 175.
[216] Lewis, *Women Orientalist Artists,* 105.

Fig. 16. Margaret Murray Cookeseley, *Tempting Wares: Cairo*, oil on canvas. Reproduced from *Pall Mall Magazine's Pictures of 1899* (London: The Art Journal Office, 1899), 103.

In her examination of Jerichau-Baumann's Egyptian travelogue, Julia Kuehn observes that it "hovers in the uncertain space between documentation and imagination…it is this same dilemma between documentation and imagination, content and artistry that we perceive in Jerichau-Baumann's travelogue and portraits."[217] Underlying Jerichau-Baumann's flights of painterly imagination was a career artist's commercial acumen, in her awareness that "Oriental painting or writing could not be thought of without a potential receiver." [218] Mary Roberts writes,

> "Jerichau-Baumann's odalisque paintings were clearly aimed to satisfy the expectations of her European audience. She was undeniably an ambitious painter with a strategic eye on the various requirements of the differing art markets in which she aimed to sell her work. However, it seems that her investment in these fantasy paintings was not solely market driven: there is abundant evidence in her letters to her husband and children and in her published travelogue of her own pleasures in a harem fantasy." [219]

[217] Kuehn, "*Egypt* 1870," 262.
[218] Kuehn, "*Egypt* 1870," 262. Kuehn includes a spirited quote from Jerichau-Baumann herself, excerpted from a letter she sent to her children in 1870: "People – the nasty ones – say that I am not an artist but a commercial traveller. So be it! But who among the Danish artists can match me? I laugh in my beard, which, almost like Harald's [her husband], is beginning to grow, and let them prate. I know that all able people doff their hats to me, just as the able artists also do. Of this I have far too many proofs."
[219] Mary Roberts, "Harem Portraiture: Elisabeth Jerichau-Baumann and the Egyptian Princess Nazli Hanım." *Local/Global: Women Artists in the Nineteenth Century*, edited by Deborah Cherry and Janice Helland. (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006), 86.

The sensuality of Jerichau-Baumann's depictions of women appears to increase in direct proportion to their 'Easternness'; in her travel art, women from Ottoman lands are far more likely to be shown posing suggestively, or in states of relative undress, than their Western European counterparts. Amongst Ottoman women, Muslim women are shown in more provocative attire or poses than women the text identifies as Jewish. This can be seen clearly in the engravings of her 1881 travel memoir *Brogede Rejsebilleder* (usually translated *Motley Images of Travel*). The fantasizing and sensualizing Orientalist gaze is strongest in the scene of Egyptian water-bearers (*Vandbærersker*), showing one filmy-robed water-bearer gazing at the viewer with unabashed directness, and the other in grand, classicizing profile and improbably bare-breasted (fig. 17). Despite these flights of Orientalist fancy, Jerichau-Baumann worked to assure viewers of her bona fides as an observer of the real. The reproduction that appears in the published volume is signed by the artist and dated "Memphis 1875," as if it were a sketch, a deliberate reminder of its supposedly documentary nature. Julia Kuehn notes that, "Jerichau's desire for cultural authenticity can further be seen in her use of native expressions…The titles of her paintings also take on a documentary, almost ethnographic quality when individuals become racial types,"[220], but that this was frequently an illusion; notes that another image of an Egyptian woman, *Pottery Seller*, 'is dated "Cairo, 1876,' but Jerichau had actually already left Egypt at the time."[221] A later chapter in Jerichau-Baumann's book was illustrated with an image of "Ladies from the Harem" (*Damer fra Haremet*), this one unsigned and undated, centered on a luxuriously robed woman, who gazes directly over her shoulder at the viewer with a come-hither smile

[220]Kuehn, "*Egypt* 1870," 262.
[221]Kuehn, "*Egypt* 1870," 263.

(fig. 18). In contrast, the travel memoir's two images of Jewish women, *Merjam, Jewish girl from Smyrna*, and *Zarina, Jewish Lady from Smyrna* are both named (fig.s 18 and 19). They are clearly ethnographic types, rendered as carefully as ornithological specimens. Jerichau-Baumann lavished scrupulous detail on their significantly more plausible costumes and hairstyles, while their faces appear idealized (they are recognizably 'Jerichau women'), but also recognizable as individuals.

Knowledge that an artist had actually traveled in the Middle East endowed her in critics' eyes with at least a semblance of ethnographic and geographic authority which non-travelers were not accorded.[222] In its review of the third annual exhibition of the Society of Female Artists, *The English Woman's Journal* praised the American and Algerian travel sketches of Barbara Leigh Smith Bodichon, a prolific painter of North African scenes, on the basis of the artist's authentic knowledge., as derived from what she had personally witnessed during her travels: "This lady's paintings possess the truth and power ensured by their being actual transcripts from nature."[223]

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[222] Contrast this with the equally positive, but distinctly different reviews garnered by a woman artist who had never traveled to the Middle East, Mrs. Anderson (née Sophie Gengembre), like Henriette Browne a French-born and trained painter best known for her sentimental pictures of children. (Her large oil painting of a little girl peering out a window, No Walk Today is "one of the most enduring and well loved [sic] of all images of Victorian childhood," and sold at Sotheby's in 2008 for over £1,000,000.) Anderson's best-known Orientalist painting, Scandal in the Harem, exhibited in London in the late 1870s, is ethnographically nonspecific, vaguely exotic, and, despite the name, a domestic genre scene, with hardly any trace of the odalisque about it. It was well-received; even a sharp-tongued 1877 review in The Academy of a group exhibition at the French Gallery at 120 Pall Mall found nothing to fault in this "sightly and satisfactory" painting, which the reviewer described as "two women whose faces of broad laughing enjoyment are spontaneous and genuine; the narrating action in the hands of the speaker is also very natural, and the painting solid and effective." But, aware that Anderson had no first-hand experience on which to draw, reviewers made no comment on its accuracy. Unlike the work of traveler-sketchers like Jerichau-Baumann, it was not treated as an ethnographic document. ("Sophie Anderson: No Walk Today." Sothebys.com. http://www.sothebys.com/en/auctions/ecatalogue/2008/a-great-british-collection-the-pictures-collected-by-sir-david-and-lady-scott-sold-to-benefit-the-finnis-scott-foundation-l08137/lot.96.html)

[223] "IX.—The Third Annual Exhibition of the Society of Female Artists," *The English Woman's Journal*, Vol. III (August 1859), 54.

Fig. 17. Elisabeth Jerichau-Baumann, *Water-carriers* (left) and Fig. 18. *Ladies from the Harem* (right). Engravings of sketches.
Reproduced from Elisabeth Jerichau-Baumann, *Brogede Rejsebilleder* (Copenhagen: Forlagsbureauet, 1881).

Fig. 19. *Merjam, Jewish girl from Smyrna* (left) and Fig 20. *Zarina, Jewish Lady from Smyrna* (center). Engravings of sketches.
Reproduced from Elisabeth Jerichau-Baumann, *Brogede Rejsebilleder* (Copenhagen: Forlagsbureauet, 1881).

Fig. 21. Elisabeth Jerichau-Baumann, *An Italian Maiden Mending Nets on the Bay of Naples* (right), 1872. Oil on canvas, 28 5/8 x 24 1/8 inches.
Reproduced from Christies, www.christies.com.

This section has addressed the reasoning which enabled many critics to accept the sexualized harem imagery so common to professional (male) Orientalist painters from some of their female professional counterparts on ethnographic grounds. We have also seen how career artists like Elisabeth Jerichau-Baumann had strong financial and professional incentives to produce saleable paintings, which may have influenced their adoption of representational strategies which amateur women artists avoided more or less unanimously, and which they knew from their own travels to be factually inaccurate. Should we understand the choice to paint overtly sexualized odalisques as the appropriation of the 'male gaze' or an Orientalist visual language specific to male painters? I would argue for a less clear-cut and more pragmatic interpretation. Kemal Silay has argued convincingly that female Ottoman lyric poets frequently adopted the explicitly or implicitly masculine expressive frameworks of their male counterparts because "This compromise was the shortest way for them to gain entrance to the club."[224] For trained and successful nineteenth-century female painters in western Europe, the choice was not so stark; they could and did exhibit and sell their work, albeit on an unequal footing with their male counterparts. For Jerichau-Baumann and Murray Cookeseley, who both participated in the public art world, adapting "male", mainstream Orientalist conventions of depicting Middle Eastern women was a way both to speak the visual language of their (male) professional peers, and create work which would appeal to buyers. I would further conjecture that it is possible that they may semi-consciously have been choosing to use a visual 'dialect' of Orientalism that enabled them to associate themselves more closely with the prestigious, professional male art world in which they effectively

[224] Kemal Silay,"Singing His Words: Ottoman Women Poets and the Power of Patriarchy," in *Women in the Ottoman Empire: Middle Eastern Women in the Early Modern Era,* edited by Madeline Zilfi, 197-213 (Leiden: Brill, 1997), 213.

functioned, rather than the numerous but relatively unprestigious group of amateur female traveler-sketchers.

With regard to women travelers' semi-ethnographic representations of regional and ethnic 'types' by outsiders, it must be noted that, in representing Ottoman and/or Egyptian peasants in this way, traveler-sketchers were participating in a style of representation adopted by both European Orientalist painters for artistic or ethnographic purposes, and Ottoman officials for political and possibly scientific ones. Ahmet Ersoy discusses how two of the most significant Ottoman contributions to the 1873 World Exposition in Vienna centered on exactly this kind of (self-) ethnographic typology: a display of 250 mannequins in traditional costumes from across the Ottoman Empire,[225] and "a photographic album of traditional Ottoman dress entitled the *Elbise-i 'Osmaniyye: Les Costumes populaires de la Turquie*,"[226] a co-production by two artist-bureaucrats employed by the Ottoman government, Osman Hamdi Bey and Frenchman Victor Marie de Launay.[227] As Ersoy points out, "Categorically dismissing images of the westernized urban elite, they [Hamdi Bey and de Launay] chose to focus exclusively on the Ottoman commoner who largely maintained the traditional tastes and lifestyle of the pre-Tanzimat era."[228]

It is also worth remembering that the same issues of ethnographic value and truthfulness addressed by nineteenth-century critics remain central to discussions of Orientalist representation in the twenty-first century – though modern critics of Orientalist artists' exaggerations and fantasies are unlikely to follow Lucie Duff Gordon's tactic of greeting inaccuracy with uproarious laughter. In February 2015, one stormy local review of the Montreal Museum of Fine Arts' current exhibit on

[225] Ersoy, "Elbise," 193.
[226] Ersoy, "Elbise," 188.
[227] Ersoy, "Elbise," 190.
[228] Ersoy, "Elbise," 191.

Orientalist painter Jean-Joseph Benjamin-Constant fulminated that his "art is inherently racist and misogynistic, it does not have a place in modern art institutions."[229] The more reflective *Globe and Mail* hailed the exhibition as a "spectacular must-see," but soberly concluded that Benjamin-Constant's "vision of static Muslim backwaters and barbaric Eastern ways still appeals to a broad Western public. His Orient, blinkered and dehumanizing as it may be, is still with us."[230] As I mentioned in the Introduction, while there is obviously a range of opinion amongst individuals, different professional groups concerned with Orientalist art (auctioneers, curators, academics) tend to assume certain positions vis-à-vis its truthfulness. Auctioneers and collectors, at one extreme, often revive the same discourse of truthful ethnographic observation that characterized nineteenth-century praise of Orientalist work. A recent article in the *Wall Street Journal* about the resurgence of interest in Orientalism observed,

> "In contrast to many Western curators and scholars, Shafik Gabr, an Egyptian businessman and Orientalist collector, does not view the works in his collection as patronizing or fantastical. Mr. Gabr…says he thinks of artists like Deutsch and Gérôme as chroniclers of his culture before the rise of mass media." [231]

Museum curators, in contrast, often foreground Orientalist art's ideological pitfalls in preemptive apology for nineteenth-century prejudices that modern audiences may find unpalatable. For academics, as well, the question of Orientalist art's truth value is both vital and energetically contested. The challenge is to extract as much historical, ethnographic (and even geographic) information from Orientalist artworks as can responsibly be gleaned, while maintain a steady awareness of their limitations, and the conditions of their making.

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[229] Sonia Larbi-Aissa, "Orientalism on display," *The McGill Daily*, February 9, 2015.
[230] Robert Everett-Green, "Why this new Orientalism art show is a spectacular must-see," *The Globe and Mail* (Montreal), January 30, 2015.
[231] J.S. Marcus, "Orientalist Art Makes a Surprising Comeback," *Wall Street Journal*, April 17, 2015.

3.4 Domesticizing the Orient

If Elisabeth Jerichau-Baumann and the handful of female Orientalist painters to depict socially risky subject matter were the illuminating exception, what was the norm? Pamela Nunn observes that for female travel artists,

> "the results of their travelling tended to take as much of a landscape and portrait form as a narrative form…Both women and men in Britain treated this trend, by and large, as a variation of romantic or genre painting and an exotic form of landscape and portrait painting."[232]

Nunn was referring to exhibited paintings, but the same is very much true of the travel art reproduced in published travelogues, and of the unpublished, unexhibited sketches and watercolors which I have been able to access. Reina Lewis observes, "As might be expected, the majority of women artists stuck to safely feminine areas of representation such as topography, portraiture, children and ethnographic types."[233] Picturesque landscapes (sunsets, sunrises, ruins, coasts) predominated. Depersonalized 'local color', in the form of ethnographic or costume studies, or indistinctly exotic figures peopling famous sites were also abundant, as were genre scenes of daily life, both on the streets and in the home. (In considering the importance of women's privileged access to the source material for such genre scenes, we must recall that genre painting was "the prevalent form of Orientalist art in the nineteenth century.")[234] Individual portraits were typically either of 'types' or prominent personages: figural studies from travelers' book illustrations and sketchbooks reflect a concentration of scopic interest on the telegraphically exotic costumes or racial/national/religious 'types'; detailed faces which are not clearly stylized or idealized are relatively rare.

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[232] Nunn, 383.
[233] Lewis, *Women Orientalist Artists,* 94.
[234] Meagher, "Orientalism in Nineteenth-Century Art".

Though not as plentiful as landscapes, images of children were another mainstay of women's travel art of the Ottoman Empire. Though they have received comparatively little critical scrutiny, these images have the potential to illuminate ways in which women traveler-artists engaged simultaneously with discourses of femininity/maternity and Orientalism. Depicting a Madonna-like 'Oriental' mother and child, as Isabella Pollexfen (1849-1938) did in her 1880 oil painting, *Egyptian Mother and Child*, enabled the artist to both scrutinize and tame the picturesque, while simultaneously harkening back to the Biblical significance with which many nineteenth-century Western Europeans and Americans inscribed the landscape and inhabitants of the Middle East (fig. 22).[235] In her memoir, *Travels in the Holy Land* (1859), the Swedish feminist social reformer and author Frederika Bremer (1801-1865) wrote of the women of Bethlehem, "Mrs Gobat's cook might serve as the model for a picture of the Queen of Sheba, and my servant Maria for one of Judith."[236] Many travelers presumed that this timeless "biblical" authenticity extended to the inhabitants' behavior as well. In Egypt, Lucie Duff Gordon rather huffily observed, "All the vulgarized associations with Puritanism, and abominable little "Scripture tales and pictures," peel off here, and the inimitably truthful representation of life and character comes out…"[237] An image like Pollexfen's exotic but respectable mother and child was both safe and saleable, detailed costume implying ethnographic authority over an Oriental sitter, while the choice of subject

[235] In 1864, Frances Power Cobbe's visit to the Dead Sea had prompted her to reflect, "I longed for a painter's power to perpetuate that beautiful sight…Men wonder sometimes what is to be the future of art…It seems to me as if modern painters and sculptors have before them a field hitherto almost unworked, in giving the *real* colouring [emphasis in the original]to the great scenes and parables of ancient story…and not repeating for ever the conventional types, and costumes, and localities, which the old masters adopted of necessity, knowing no better, but which, to us, ought to be no less absurd than to act Hamlet in the court-dress of George II…" (*Cities of the Past*, 123).
[236] Frederika Bremer, *My Travels in the Holy Land*. Mary Howitt, trans. (London: Hurst and Blackett, 1862), 179.
[237] Duff Gordon, *Letters from Egypt*, 201-2.

matter reassured viewers of the artist's proper maternal feelings. Maternal sentiment, both real and perceived, was a recurring theme in contemporary critical responses to most nineteenth-century art by women, including travel art. The same reviewer who admired Jerichau-Baumann's Orientalist scenes followed up with praise for her numerous paintings of children, which are deemed transparently expressive of her private feelings: "She paints them as she loves them, that is, with as earnest and warm devotion."[238] Pictures of Middle Eastern babies and children were by no means the sole province of female painters, however. Reina Lewis observes, "One might suppose that, like the harem scenes, the pictures of children would be seen to clearly project a gendered point of production. However, pictures of Oriental chilrden were a standard part of mainstream Orientalist art."[239]

Fig. 22. Isabella Pollexfen, *Egyptian Mother and Child*, 1880. Oil on board. 11 ¾ x 5 ¾ in.
Reproduced from Darnley Fine Art, www.darnleyfineart.com.

[238]"The Works of Madame Jerichau," 165.
[239] Lewis, "Only women," 109.

Though Jerichau-Baumann did not, many other married female travelers brought their children with them to the Middle East. These young traveling companions frequently found their way not only into published travel narratives, but also into the pages of their mothers' sketchbooks. Before concluding this section, I would like to briefly examine two of these images of Western children in an Ottoman context. The first, we saw in Chapter 2: Edith Holman Hunt's portrait of her fair-haired young son in well-appointed Western clothes, engaged in the ordinary and respectable childhood activity of reading in the family home—the twist being that that home has been transplanted to Jerusalem (fig. 10). The little boy's Westernness is unassailable. Holman Hunt's painting is an illustration of expatriate British life and culture that has been colored and enhanced, but fundamentally unaltered, by the adventures related in the book to which the image is a frontispiece. An 1867 self-portrait by the boy's father William Holman Hunt (now in the Uffizi Gallery), makes a striking companion piece. The painter has depicted himself with a flowing beard and Oriental costume, paint-smeared palette and brushes in his hand. It is an image of exotic masquerade and untroubled control. Though the father, unlike the child, is secure enough to engage in masquerade, the Oriental trappings remain adornments, not a disguise.

The second image, an unpublished watercolor from c.1855 by Charlotte Inglefield, and labeled "My Eldest son on board the ship going up to Constantinople," presents an illuminating contrast (fig. 23). Now in the Searight Collection at the Victoria and Albert Museum, the watercolor is part of a red morocco album entitled *Eastern Sketches*, "containing watercolour drawings (49)

mounted on 42 sheets…Most are Turkish and Tunisian subjects, including views of Constantinople, Tunis and Carthage, and figures in local costumes."[240]

Ottoman costumes, a near-universal fascination amongst traveler-sketchers, clearly intrigued Inglefield: another of her watercolors from the trip depicts "Fez Makers at Tunis," two stories of bustling artisans tidily framed by the arch of their shop (fig. 24).[241]

Fig. 23. Charlotte Inglefield, *My Eldest son on board the ship going to Constantinople*, c. 1855-57. Watercolor, 37.8 cm x 27 cm.
Reproduced from the Victoria and Albert Museum, www.collections.vam.ac.uk.

Both *Fez Makers* and *My Eldest Son* are clear, detailed and appealing, but amateurish; Inglefield's careful attempts at realistic proportions and perspective are not wholly successful. Combined with their presence in Inglefield's travel album, the very roughness of these watercolors reflects their status as personal mementos,

[240] "*Eastern Sketches* by Charlotte Inglefield." The Victoria and Albert Museum. <http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O145645/eastern-sketches-watercolour-inglefield-charlotte/>
[241] Bazaars, both characteristically and picturesquely exotic and readily accessible to even the most transient tourist, were amongst the most frequently sketched Oriental scenes.

painted either on the spot, or from very recent memory. We may therefore reasonably assume that her young son Loftus (b.1848) was indeed on shipboard with her as they sailed towards Constantinople. Looking more closely at *My Eldest Son,* we see that the ship and its appurtenances are shown with a precision that suggests observation from life. A gaggle of four dogs, two cats, and what appears to be a turtle clustered in the foreground at the boy's feet lend humor and hominess. Like Edith Holman Hunt's portrait of her son, this is an assertion of safe and domestic space in a foreign environment. The landscape is a vague but plausible Bosphorus, little more than blue waters and a distant coast. The strongest indication of place is the fact that young Loftus, perched on a large travelers' chest in an unremarkable blue jacket and beige trousers, examining a piece of paper (possibly a map), is wearing a jaunty red fez.

Fig. 24. Charlotte Inglefield, *Fez Makers at Tunis*, c. 1855-57. Watercolor over pencil, 37.8 cm x 27 cm.
Reproduced from the Victoria and Albert Museum, www.collections.vam.ac.uk.

It is well-known that many eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Western travelers to the Ottoman Empire, both male and female, had a marked penchant for commissioning portraits of themselves in Oriental garb.[242] Artists and writers wishing to establish their credentials as travelers (like William Holman Hunt above) had an additional motivation to display themselves in a costume that advertised their proximity to their Oriental subjects. For an English mother to record her young son *en route* to Constantinople wearing a fez was an expression of the powerful neutralizing force of the picturesque. Young Loftus' identity or upbringing is not threatened by this tiny masquerade; it is only a spot of color in a playful portrait for the family album. In its relative unselfconsciousness, Charlotte Inglefield's album exemplifies the potential of women's amateur travel art to illuminate the ordinary, lived realities that complemented the complex psychological and political underpinnings of nineteenth-century western European and American engagement with the Ottoman Empire.

3.5 "Something of a pedant": Lady Anne Blunt and the perils of realism in women's travel art

Even when amateur women traveler-sketchers restricted their subject matter to purely uncontroversial themes, and depicted accurately what they had seen, widespread prejudice about women's artistic incapabilities could negatively impact the reception of their artworks. As a case study, let us consider the work of Lady Anne Blunt (1837-1917). Granddaughter of Lord Byron, daughter of mathematician Ada Lovelace, expert horsewoman and co-founder with her husband of possibly

[242]As has been amply discussed elsewhere, actual travel to the Middle East was by no means a prerequisite of having one's portrait painted in a fetching turban. For a thorough discussion of the "continuous cross-cultural exchange of fashions between Ottoman and British women" (245) beginning in the 17th century, please see Onur Inal's 2011 article, "Women's Fashions in Transition: Ottoman Borderlands and the Anglo-Ottoman Exchange of Costumes."

England's most influential Arabian stud,[243] Lady Anne was an intrepid traveler, skillful writer, and dedicated sketcher. She published two influential illustrated accounts of her travels with her husband, Wilfrid Scawen Blunt, in the Arabian Peninsula, often by horse through Bedouin-controlled territory virtually unknown to Western Europeans. Lady Anne had an exceptional eye for observation of the natural world and its creatures, including all manner of people, the family way with words, and a gift for languages, of which she spoke six, including Arabic. Her husband Wilfrid, "thought Anne 'drab' (it wasn't a love match) but she had been taught drawing by Ruskin…and, he later admitted, 'there was no one so courageous as she'."[244] Wilfrid acted as editor to Lady Anne's books. For her part, Lady Anne took the feminine modesty prescribed by the period to an extreme surprising even for a proper Victorian wife. Her "self-effacement"[245] was almost absolute: "It is very tiresome," she wrote in 1891, "that everyone fancies I am a writer. I shouldn't mind only I can't do it, and nobody believes one's explanations because of W[ilfrid] having fatally insisted on sticking my name on the book of *his* travels."[246] Despite her reticence, Lady Anne's gifts as a racconteuse, adventurer and artist were swiftly recognized. After the success of her first travel account, *Bedouin Tribes of the Euphrates* (1879), her follow-up, *A Pilgrimage to Nejd* (1881), was heralded by glowing reviews. *Tablet* enthused,

> "Lady Anne Blunt can describe with light touches and good effect as well as any English lady that ever aspired to sit in Lady Mary Wortley Montague's saddle. Wherever you take her she is entertaining, and conjures up strong pictures of Bedouin life. Lady Anne's sketches are admirable, and add much to the pleasantness of the narrative."[247]

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[243] Hodgson, *Dreaming of East*, 92.
[244] Alice Spawls, "In the Saddle," *The London Review of Books*, 21 September 2012. http://www.lrb.co.uk/blog/2012/09/21/alice-spawls/in-the-saddle/
[245] Hodgson, *Dreaming of East*, 93.
[246] Hodgson, *Dreaming of East*., 92.
[247] Blunt, *A Pilgrimage to Nejd*, ii.

Lady Anne created hundreds of sketches and watercolor paintings as she traveled – many more than she could ever have considered using for her books. She put a premium on novelty in her choice of subject matter – there was a cachet to depicting what had rarely been shown before. "We have been spending the day with Mrs. Digby and her husband," she noted admiringly in *A Pilgrimage to Nejd*. "Among many interesting and beautiful sketches kept in a portfolio, I saw some really fine water-colour views of Palmyra done by Mrs. Digby many years ago when that town was less known than it is at present…"[248] In *Bedouin Tribes of the Euphrates*, she pardons herself for failing to draw a structure reputed to be the Tower of Babel, on the grounds that it had probably been depicted by someone else already: "The weather looked threatening, and I did not stop to take a sketch; but no doubt it has been drawn and described before."[249] Here is a connoisseur, a skilled draughtswoman, and an eager observer with an eye for the novel and the precise (fig.s 25 and 26).

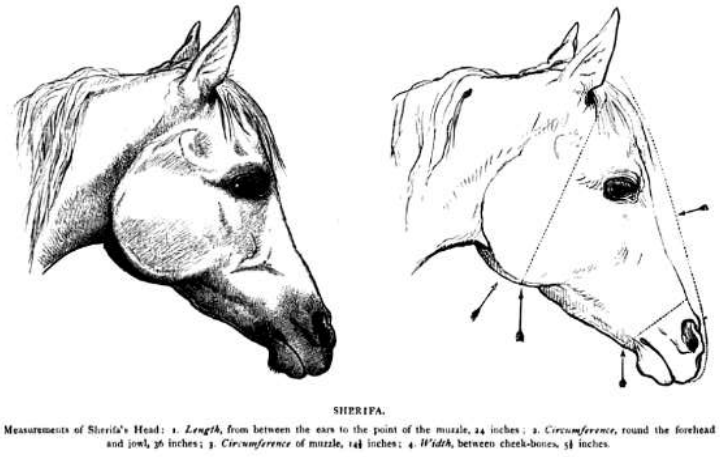

Fig. 25. Anne Blunt, *Sherifa*, c. 1879. Reproduction of a drawing.
Reproduced from Anne Blunt, *Bedouin Tribes of the Euphrates* (London: John Murray, 1879), 425.

[248] Blunt, *A Pilgrimage to Nejd*, 8.
[249] Blunt, *Bedouin Tribes of the Euphrates*, 139.

Fig. 26. Anne Blunt, *Saracenic Mill on the Euphrates* c. 1879. Reproduction of a drawing.
Reproduced from Anne Blunt, *Bedouin Tribes of the Euphrates* (London: John Murray, 1879), 77.

Although she did not share the straightforward scholarly intent of painter-Egyptologists like Amelia Edwards or the South African painter, Winifred Mabel Brunton (née Newberry, b. 1880), who collaborated with Flinders Petrie, Lady Anne maintained a similarly careful attention to accurate detail. Not all observers admired Lady Anne's scrupulous accuracy. Barbara Hodgson writes,

> "One of Wilfrid [Blunt]'s devoted biographers, Edith Finch, admitted that Anne was an elusive subject but admired her keen mind and her diligence. "On the other hand," she wrote, "…She had less, much less, of course, of the temperament of the artist…Her sketches and water-colours, though often charming are too meticulously correct to be of great interest. In fact Lady Anne was something of a pedant."

Although this scathing, and rather puzzling, [250] dismissal dates from 1938, the critique of women's travel art for being transparently observant, rather than judicially artistic, was part of broader nineteenth-century artistic discourses on the value of artistic realism, and on women's (in-)capacity for artistic creativity—discourses

[250] One might conjecture that by this time, photography had so completely eclipsed sketching as the intelligent traveler's preferred medium of record, that the very 'correctness' which gave traveler's art its Rankean authenticity could be classed as a fault, rather than a defining virtue.

which continued to influence critical reception of women's travel art and writing into the twentieth century. Sara Mills observed:

> "[Nineteenth-century] Women's travel writing is problematic because, although it was widely read at the time of its publication, and many of the texts present a slightly different view of colonialism to male counterparts, in general it is not considered within critical studies of colonial discourse. …The way these texts have been read has been primarily 'realist', that is, they are not analysed as textual artefacts, but rather as simple autobiographies."[251]

The French painter Eugène Delacroix (1798-1863) declared that his only worthwhile Orientalist paintings were produced years after his actual visit to Morocco, when artistic discernment overpowered recollection: "I only began to make something decent out of my African voyage when I had forgotten the little details enough to remember only the striking and poetic aspect in my pictures."[252] But is in just those "little details" that Anne Blunt excelled. Delacroix's emphasis on the "striking and poetic" – that is, on the artist's emphasized, visible assertion of his own value system over the landscape or people depicted – is more likely to indicate a subtle difference in priorities between professional painters (dependent on catching and holding the eye of critics and buyers) and amateurs, rather than between male and female painters. Lady Anne was, after all, a hobby sketcher and breeder of horses, with no career to carve out in Parisian salons. Like Delacroix, Elizabeth Butler, with whose striking vision of Egypt this thesis began, believed that a good travel artist must project her own "thought" onto even the most foreign scenes. She wrote,

> "This personal way of looking at things makes the value of all art, literary and pictorial, to my mind….I am of those who believe that picture will live longest which contains the most of the author's own thought, provided the author's thought is worthy, and the technical qualities are good, well understood."[253]

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[251]Mills, *Discourses of Difference,* 4.
[252]Patrick Shaw Cable, "From North Africa to the Black Sea: Nineteenth-Century French Orientalist Drawings," *Cleveland Studies in the History of Art*, Vol. 7 (2002), 108.
[253] Butler, *From Sketch-Book and Diary*, 113.

3.6 Amateurs and professionals

In the interest of biographical completeness, I have endeavored to note which of the artists mentioned here worked as amateurs, and which likely considered themselves or functioned as professional painters. As far as possible, I have tried to categorize them as they would have categorized themselves, distinguishing those who worked primarily as painters from those who used their artistic skills in aid or illustration of literary or archaeological pursuits.

The divide between professional and amateur female artists was frequently narrow, if not nearly invisible. As Anne Blunt, Florence Wyndham and many others illustrate, an amateur might well have received substantial training, possess considerable talent, and dedicate a significant time to the pursuit of her hobby. Yet in more conservative quarters, even in the latter part of the nineteenth century, accusations of unladylike behavior dogged any professional pursuits by bourgeois or aristocratic women, even painting. Even a particularly skilled amateur might downplay her abilities, or refrain from exhibiting or publishing her work in the name of modesty. Frances Power Cobbe, as we have seen, derived great pleasure from sketching during her trip to the Holy Land, and evidently made use of her sketches as an aide-memoire, but dismissed them as "very bad," excluding her artwork entirely from her published travel writing.[254] Another remarkably talented "amateur" painter of Middle Eastern landscapes was Maria Harriett Matthias (sometimes spelled Mathias, neé Rawstorne), whose better works are comparable to the luminous Orientalist watercolors of David Roberts. One album of her travel paintings survives, made during a tour with her husband and brother-in-law "through Italy to Egypt and on through Syria, Palestine and Lebanon," and along the Aegean coast of

[254] Cobbe, *Cities of the Past*, 133.

what is now Turkey.[255] It is comprised of scenes of landscapes, botanical studies, cities on the waterfront, and ancient ruins. As the catalogue notes at the V&A, which now owns the album, point out, "Although Maria Harriett Matthias is categorised as an amateur artist, yet, as with many other so-called amateurs, this description does not do justice to her skill as a water colourist. Very little is known about her life or work, simply because she was a woman, and did not need to sell or exhibit her paintings."[256] Despite her unmistakable talent, and the historical value of her precise depictions of vegetation and sites not commonly painted, the social context in which Matthias painted has ensured her near-total obscurity. And how many dozens more Matthiases were there, from whom not even a lone album of watercolors survives?

A female artist might well cling to amateur status, even if she sometimes sold her work. In his 1895 essay on *Women Artists of Paris*, René Morot commented on the growing gulf between amateurs and professionals (a trend felt across many professions at this time), and suggested that apart from any monetary considerations, female vanity, by which he clearly set much store, might itself motivate a skilled amateur to put her work up for sale:

> "But already distinction is made between those who paint during their spare moments for amusement, and those who devote themselves earnestly to their art, giving the greater part of their time to it, curtailing their social duties and making it a real profession and become women-artists, with or without the intention of selling, but generally with this intention: for the sale proves that the work is appreciated, and that the praise accorded is not given only for the sake of courtesy or friendship."[257]

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[255] "*Crusaders Castle Graia Gulph of Akabah* by Maria Harriett Matthias." The Victoria and Albert Museum. Collections.vam.ac.uk < http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O146552/crusaders-castle-graia-gulph-of-watercolour-mathias-maria-harriett/>

[256] "*Crusaders Castle Graia Gulph of Akabah* by Maria Harriett Matthias." The Victoria and Albert Museum.

[257] Morot, "Women Artists of Paris," 48.

What implications should the professional or amateur status of a female traveler-sketcher have for our understanding of her work? Pamela Nunn makes a valid distinction between harems scenes of produced by female professional artists of the mid-nineteenth century "serious painters acknowledging a contemporary trend" -- and the generally non-narrative art inspired by "the touristic interest in the East which also gave rise to landscape and figure work produced as a result of trave ls in that part of the world."[258] Art reflects intent, and naturally, a pragmatic professional like Elisabeth Jerichau-Baumann, who laughed at accusations of being a "commercial traveller" rather than an artist, had an additional commercial filter to her artistic judgment.

Reina Lewis has made a compelling case for the inclusion of both professional and amateur women's travel art "under the remit of Orientalism," since,

> "[T]he inscribed mode of viewing is based on an Orientalist paradigm of difference and superiority…The very acceptability of Oriental lands and peoples as subjects for amateur art attests to the hegemonic status of imperial and Orientalist ideologies. In addition, as Melman's research indicates, it was often an Orientalist or imperialist motivation that took women to the East in the first place."[259]

A female travel artist's professional status should be considered significant for interpretation and biographical context, but is best understood as a continuum, rather than binary division; one of many factors that needs to be taken into account.

3.7 Women's travel art and scientific illustration

At the same time that increasing numbers of women from Western Europe and the United States were sketching in Ottoman lands, a growing number of female scientific illustrators were scrupulously documenting a different kind of exotica. As exploration, trade, and colonial expansion brought thousands of unfamiliar species of

[258] Nunn, *The Mid-Victorian Woman Artist*, 382.
[259] Lewis, *Gendering Orientalism*, 116.

plants to the attention of the increasingly professionalized scientists of western Europe and the United States, scientific illustrators – including a significant number of women— were paid to record specimens for posterity and further research.[260] In her insightful examination of the Victorian fascination with natural history, Lynn Barber writes,

> "Illustration was the only form of natural history work in which [nineteenth-century] women really excelled…Women were trained to draw well: it was one of the few things they practiced and studied consistently from infancy through to adulthood. And in fact one suspects that the list of distinguished women [scientific] illustrators should be much longer, were it not for the fact that they so often published their work anonymously."[261]

There are clear and illuminating parallels between the emergence in the nineteenth century of female scientific illustrators and the phenomenon of women traveler-sketchers in the Ottoman Empire. Indeed, if we consider the emergence of women's scientific illustration in a wider temporal context, the evidence suggests that women traveling in order to create scientific illustrations substantially predated and may have prepared the road for nineteenth-century female traveler-sketchers in general (particularly those who focused on ethnographic and/or archaeological themes) in terms of cultural expectations and propriety, as well as conceptions of feminine (in-)capabilities. A significant number of female painters (Maria van Oosterwijck (1630–1693), Rachel Ruysch (1664-1750), etc.) contributed substantially to the "Golden Age" of Dutch still life painting, building their reputations with luminous, scientifically accurate still life oil paintings of flowers, birds, and/or insects. By the late seventeenth century, there were instances of Dutch female artists using their

[260] For a thorough exploration of women's engagement with science and scientific illustration in the nineteenth century, see Barbara T. Gates, *Kindred Nature: Victorian and Edwardian Women Embrace the Living World* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1998). In a curious historical twist, Wilfrid Blunt, author of *The Art of Botanical Illustration: An Illustrated History* (1950), one of the earliest and most respected works of modern scholarship on the subject, was the grandnephew of Lady Anne Blunt.

[261] Lynn Barber, *The Heyday of Natural History 1820-1870* (Garden City, New York: Doubleday & Company, 1980), 126.

international travels to inform botanical, ornithological, and entomological paintings and book illustrations, intended for consumption by both scientific and popular audiences. Particularly relevant for the present study is the case of Maria Sibylla Merian (1647-1717), a daughter and step-daughter of artists, whose scientifically accurate illustrations of the insects of Surinam in her book, *Metamorphosis insectorum Surinamensium* (Amsterdam, 1705) "is one of the most important and magnificent works of natural history of its era, and the first scientific work to be devoted to the region,"[262] the result of Merian's independent travels in Surinam, where she lived and collected specimens for two years. Merian, and later her daughter Johanna, lavished great care and skill on their entomological illustrations at every stage of the production process; "in fact," observes Carol Speirs, "Merian asked that only she and her daughters be allowed to colour the plates in her work."[263]

By the nineteenth century, many female scientific illustrators based their work at least partially on their travels abroad, and even traveled abroad for the purpose of collecting or researching specimens to paint. Amongst the professionals, the talented and prolific British painter Marianne North (b. 1830), was"[o]f all the Victorian lady travelers and flower painters…the most famous"[264] and certainly one of the most widely-traveled; her search for specimens to paint took her around the globe, from India to Japan, Borneo to North America. 832 of North's lushly rendered botanical oil paintings now hang in the Marianne North Gallery at Kew, which she herself commissioned.[265] Many of North's botanical paintings are, in effect, a specialized form of exotic travel art, researched and sometimes completed in

[262] Carol Speirs, "Two women botanical artists and their most famous works: Special Collections featured item for May 2007," *Reading University Library*, May 2007, www.reading.ac.uk/web/FILES/special-collections/featurewomenbotanicalartists.pdf, 2.
[263] Speirs, *Two women botanical artists*, 4.
[264] Martyn Rix, *The Golden Age of Botanical Art* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2012), 210.
[265] "Marianne North (1830-1890)," Kew Royal Botanic Gardens. www.kew.org

the field, and, while foregrounding the meticulously rendered specimen, were frequently enlivened by the addition of an identifiable locale in the background, and perhaps an exotic local bird or insect. North did not travel to the Ottoman Empire; as a destination for professional female botanic illustrators, it was surprisingly unfashionable. One likely reason for this comparative unpopularity is that women's botanic illustration flourished in the middle and latter part of the nineteenth century, by which time generations of botanists and illustrators had already picked over the fields of Anatolia and the Levant.[266] Locations more remote from London or New York, and consequently less frequented by either plant hunters or leisure travelers (South America, Africa, Oceania, East Asia) were far more likely to offer novel specimens to tempt a professional artist.

One notable female scientific illustrator to paint in the Middle East was the Scottish ornithological painter Jemima Wedderburn Blackburn (1823-1909),[267] illustrator of over two dozen books. In her plentifully illustrated 1895 book, *Birds from Moidart and Elswhere*, one of the eponymous elsewheres was North Africa (Egypt and Algeria), where she had traveled with her husband in the early 1860s. Blackburn's ornithological writing bears distinct signs of Orientalism: a black grouse is described as having a "harem; for like the Peacock and Pheasant the 'bird of the jet black plume and glossy feather' is polygamous as are also those gorgeously attired Eastern potentates." Although some of her illustrations include landscapes, those of her 'oriental' birds do not. Yet Blackburn had, in fact, traveled extensively in the Ottoman Empire, and sketched much more than its fauna. A 1994 sale at Christie's in Glasgow, the following lot sold for almost £2,000 above its estimate:

[266]Asuman Baytop, "Plant Collectors in Anatolia (Turkey)," *Phytologia Balcanica* 16:2 (2010): 187-213.
[267] Rob Fairley, *Jemima: The Paintings and Memoirs of a Victorian Lady* (Edinburgh: Canongate Books, 1998).

> "A leather bound album containing approximately 109 watercolours and drawings recording Hugh and Jemima Blackburn Tour of Egypt from their departure at Liverpool on *The Palestine* through the Ports of Gibraltar, Palermo, Malta, Syra, Constantinople to Alexandria, then by donkey to Cairo between October 1861 - January 1862 and also comprising figurative studies and landscape views throughout Egypt including prospects of the River Nile, Sahara, Minya, Sioot, mostly inscribed and dated between October 1861 - January 1862."[268]

Regrettably, I have not yet been able to determine the album's present whereabouts. Blackburn's surviving paintings of daily (human) life in Scotland, while not of exceptional technical accomplishment, are rich in humor, energy and quotidian detail.

Much like travel art, botanical illustration was certainly not restricted to those who earned their living by it. Lady William Cecil, née Mary Rothes Margaret Tyssen-Amherst (1857-1919) was an amateur Egyptologist and a talented, lifelong watercolorist. She also had a keen interest in ornithology: "I have always loved birds, and it has been my habit during many wanderings to keep a short diary, and, among other things, always to mention any birds and the locality in which I saw them."[269] She claimed that her 1904 book, *Bird Notes from the Nile* – lavishly illustrated with reproductions of her precise ornithological water-colors (fig. 27), with glimpses of 'local color' in the background – had been intended only for her children, protesting, "But it is with great diffidence that I present these "sketchy" Egyptian Notes to the public. They do not in any way pretend to be scientific."[270] Her work belies this modesty, featuring extensive tables of birds' ranges, identifying

[268]Christies. "Lot 18: Jemima Blackburn (1823-1909)," Sale 1459 (Women Artists Through the Centuries), Glasgow, December 1, 1994. http://www.christies.com/lotfinder/lot/jemima-blackburn-2707043-details.aspx?from=searchresults&intObjectID=2707043&sid=77f4863f-d493-4a5c-bf37-6df1c241dcdf.
[269]Lady William Cecil, *Bird Notes from the Nile* (Westminster: Archibald Constable & Co., Ltd., 1904), Preface.
[270] Cecil, *Bird Notes from the Nile*, Preface.

features and Latin nomenclature, with illustrations executed to a professional standard of scientific precision.

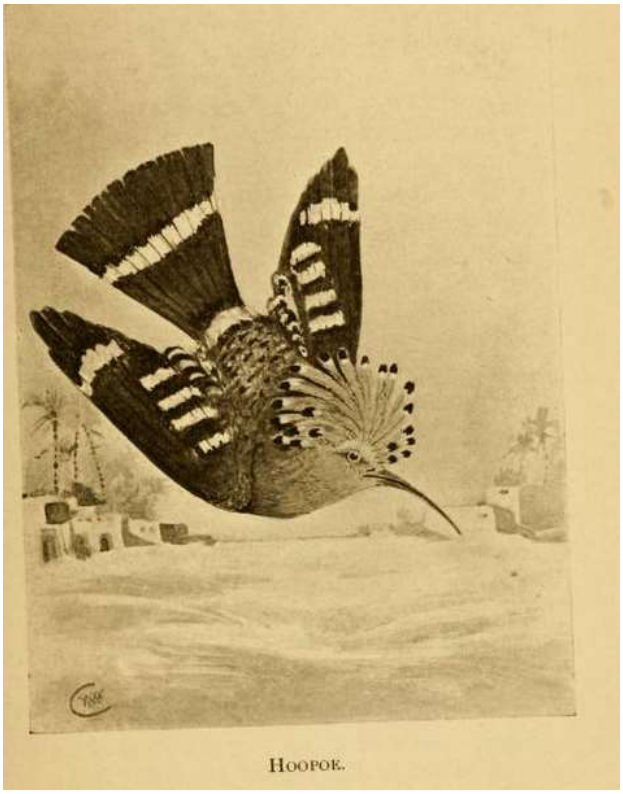

Fig. 27. Lady William Cecil, *Hoopoe,* c. 1904. Reproduction of a watercolor.
Reproduced from Lady William Cecil (Mary Rothes Margaret Tyssen-Amherst), *Bird Notes from the Nile* (Westminster: Archibald Constable & Co., Ltd., 1904).

Despite the comparatively low number of female scientific illustrators who are known to have illustrated the flora and fauna of the Ottoman Empire, women's scientific painting is significant to the present discussion of women's travel art. First, because the women travelers who made amateur sketches of peoples and locales in Ottoman territories were frequently amateur botanists as well, or at least possessed the ladylike interest in and knowledge of flowers expected of well-bred nineteenth-century woman. This, in turn, impacted their understanding and renderings of Ottoman landscapes. An illustrative example is the British amateur traveler-sketcher Emily Anne Beaufort (known after her marriage as the Viscountess Smyth Strangford), who traveled in the Ottoman Empire with her sister in 1859-60.

Beaufort kept an illustrated hand-written diary, and a few years later, published her recollections as *Egyptian Sepulchres and Syrian Shrines*, followed after her marriage by a second travelogue, *Eastern Shores of the Adriatic.* Beaufort's published illustrations are not notably scientific: a few choice reproductions from her own travel paintings of ruins, landscapes and prominent figures in ethnographically-rendered costume. Yet the book makes approximately two hundred references to leaves and flowers in the first volume alone, many of them closely observed. Her rough manuscript sketch of "Beyrout from 'Ain Anūb" is annotated with botanical notes for a future drawing: "olives" and "mulberries." And indeed, the manuscript of her diary still contains several pressed leaves from her journey, and the traces of others which have since been lost, carefully labelled with their names and provenance, frequently a place of Classical or biblical significance ("Maiden hair Caesarea Philippi", "Cyclamen leaves Mount Tabor", etc.).

The widespread perception of Eastern plants as symbolically expressive of the lands in which they were to be found is apparent in the detail and precision lavished on various exotic flora (palms, cypresses, oranges etc.) which recur with remarkable consistency in women's travel art and writing of the Middle East. Though generally consigned to background ornamentation, particularly famous 'Oriental' plants sometimes claimed the foreground. "The palms on the bank [of the Nile]near which we moored were so magnificent, that I tried to make a sketch of them,"[271] wrote Ellen Julia Hollond (née Teed) in 1864. Botanical observations could result in more finished works, such as in Maria Harriett Matthias' luminous and meticulously accurate watercolor, *Cedars of Lebanon*, part of an album which also contained her "botanical studies" (fig. 28).

[271]Hollond, *A Lady's Journal*, 96.

Fig. 28. Maria Harriett Matthias, *Cedars of Lebanon*, July 6, 1857. Watercolor over pencil, 25.2 cm x 35.9 cm.
Reproduced from the Victoria & Albert Museum, www.collections.vam.ac.uk.

Botanical specimens, like sketches themselves, were sometimes shared and exchanged as social currency in the transient communities of female travelers in the Ottoman Empire. While in Athens at midwinter in the late 1860s, Jane Loftus, Marchioness of Ely, recollected, "I saw our artist friend once more, and gave her some flowers. She has made some pretty sketches and drawings, but looked suffering, and seemed very lonely and sad at our leaving."[272]

During her husband's tenure as British Ambassador to the Ottoman Empire, Mary Montgomerie Singleton, Lady Currie (1843-1905) composed a number of poems, which she later had printed in a volume entitled, *Betwixt Two Seas: Poems and Ballads (written at Constantinople and Therapia)*, under the pseudonym of

[272]Loftus, *Mafeesh*, 40.

Violet Fane. In *Betwixt Two Seas,* Currie explicitly identified inferior Oriental plants with the Ottoman Empire, and superior English plants with England. Her poem, *Judas Tree and Hawthorn* equates the former with her present residence in the Ottoman capital, and the latter with the home she had left. It concludes,

> "Oh, weeping, heart-leaf'd Judas tree
> With budding breast!
> I love, for all my love of thee,
> Our hawthorn best!"[273]

There is evidence to suggest that foreign travelers were not the only women drawing and painting botanical studies in nineteenth-century Constantinople and Cairo. During her 1842 visit to Egypt, Mrs. Dawson Damer and three other female British travelers paid a social call on the 32-year-old unmarried daughter of "Halib Effendi, the ex-governor of Cairo."[274] Dawson Damer took an immediate liking to Halib Effendi's daughter, whom she described as, "a rara-avis [rare bird], a sort of Turkish chanoinesse...so like lady C----y, and Lady A. F---x, that I almost expected her to speak to me in English...she had a most agreeable and intelligent countenance, and appeared intended for something very superior to her condition." [275] These are highly significant compliments: Dawson Damer followed a long tradition of female

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[273] Violet Fane (Mary Montgomerie Singleton, Lady Currie), *Betwixt Two Seas: Poems and Ballads (written at Constantinople and Therapia* (London: John C. Nimmo, 1900), 22
Another poem in the same volume, *A Transplanted Snowdrop,* makes the Orientalist assumptions underlying Fane's perceptions of the national identities of flowers even more glaringly explicit. I excerpt it here for the illuminating picture it gives of how culturally loaded nineteenth-century European perceptions of the Ottoman natural world could be. Written from the snowdrop's perspective, it imagines blossoming in Constantinople, skittish of both the Ottoman people and plants around it: "*Lo! Lately waken'd from a wintry sleep,/Deeming myself in mossy English glen,/I hang my head abash d, afraid to peep/Out at this magic world of turban'd men!/ The vault of heaven beams a brighter blue/Seen thro' strange branches wherein new birds sing,/And unknown blossoms scent the air."* After several more verses in similar vein, it concludes with a plea for savage Turkish gardeners to treat the homesick little English snowdrop with care: *"Ye turban'd men who tend these garden beds/And are, to us, what Allah is to you!/Bear with their mood, nor trample on their heads/With turn'd- up shoe!"* Fane, who was fond of pseudonyms, also went by "Angelina", during the six-month affair she conducted with Anne Blunt's husband, the writer and explorer Wilfrid Scawen Blunt. Wilfrid's biographer, Elizabeth Longford, recounts the end of the Angelina/Blunt affair: "Blunt kept among his papers a bunch of everlasting flowers she had given him, tied with crimson ribbon." (*A Pilgrimage of Passion,* 161)
[274] Dawson Damer, *Diary of a Tour,* 174.
[275] Dawson Damer, *Diary of a Tour,* 174-175.

travel-writers framing those inhabitants of Ottoman harems whom they found sympathetic as European-like figures, tragically subjected to a barbarous fate. Dawson Damer's respect and goodwill for her hostess only increased when Halib Effendi's daughter cautiously revealed that she had been practicing the same kind of botanical sketching as her well-bred British counterparts. Dawson Damer recalled,

> "she took me a little apart, and unlocked a drawer, from which she produced some paintings of flowers, copied from an English Ackermann [R. Ackermann & Co., a prominent London manufacturer of prints and painting supplies[276]], and really tolerably done. My approbation encouraged her to shew me a copy-book, like those used at our infant schools...it was evident she was trying to educate herself. All her companions....looked like inferior beings; one really longed to assist her in emancipating herself from the thraldom of ignorance and superstition, not indeed that she looked unhappy, but had an air of energy and intelligence in all she said or did, that would have been remarkable under any circumstances." [277]

Despite Dawson Damer's Orientalist condescension in describing her hostess in such unmistakeably childlike terms, the fact that Halib Effendi daughter sketched "tolerably" and pursued other familiar ladylike activities clearly contributed to Dawson Damer's empathy and respect for her.

There is significant overlap between much travel art of the Ottoman Empire and nineteenth-century scientific painting in terms of both style (realist, minutely observed, staid – think of Anne Blunt's profile view of the horse *Sherifa*, fig. 25), and its perceived social implications about women's capacity for art, archaeology, science, and rational observation. A woman might not be permitted to chair a department of Botany, but she *could* be employed as a professional botanic illustrator, and even collect her own specimens around the globe. The earlier rise of female scientific illustrators was analogous to the role later played by Egyptologist-painters like Edwards or Brunton, who used their travel experience and artistic

[276] "British artists' suppliers, 1650-1950-A," National Portrait Gallery, accessed May 10, 2015, www.npg.org.uk/research/programmes/directory-of-suppliers/a.php
[277] Dawson Damer, *Diary of a Tour*, 175-176.

abilities (and, in Edwards' case, considerable literary gifts) to earn a place in the male-dominated archaeological discourse.[278] This is all the more remarkable, given that, as Reina Lewis points out, "women were not usually understood to have access to the neutral, scientific gaze of the ethnographer. As Melman has shown, when women did provide ethnographic information it was coded as empathetic and emotional, rather than disinterested and scientifically detached."[279] But as scientific illustrators or archaeologists, women travelers' visual and written testimony could be accepted as scientifically neutral and valid.

Egyptologists recognize Amelia Edwards (1831-1892) as a mother of the field. Co-creator of the Egypt Exploration Fund[280], collector of Egyptian antiquities, she published a sparklingly erudite account of her 1877 Egyptian journey, *A Thousand Miles Up the Nile*,[281] as well as successful works of fiction, journalism, translation and ancient Egyptian history. But one of Edwards' most striking contributions is the one most frequently forgotten: she was an accomplished documentary artist. *A Thousand Miles Up the Nile* was published with the sub-heading, "WITH UPWARDS OF SEVENTY ILLUSTRATIONS ENGRAVED ON WOOD BY G. PEARSON AFTER FINISHED DRAWINGS EXECUTED ON THE SPOT BY THE AUTHOR."[282] Edwards' girlhood education had included a strong grounding in the arts, and when rough weather on a planned excursion to the

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[278] Like female travel artists, nineteenth-century women archaeologists were unusual, but not nearly as rare as is often supposed. In *Breaking Ground: Pioneering Women Archeologists* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2004), the editors Getzel M. Cohen and Martha Sharp Joukowsky collected the biographies of twelve. Joukowsky later helped create an excellent online resource, *Breaking Ground: Women in Old World Archaeology* (http://www.brown.edu/Research/Breaking_Ground/), which has collected many additional biographies of these remarkable women.
[279] Lewis, *Women Orientalist Artists*, 104-5.
[280] Dawson Damer, *Diary of a Tour*, 66.
[281] Betsy Teasley Trope, Stephen Quirke, and Peter Lacovar, *Excavating Egypt: great discoveries from the Petrie Museum of Egyptian Archaeology (*Atlanta: Michael C. Carlos Museum, Emory University, 2003), xxii.
[282] Edwards, *A Thousand Miles Up the Nile*, front matter.

Continent inspired her to head south to Egypt, she put it to good use.[283] Unmarried but financially independent, thanks to her inheritance from a banker father, and the income from her own commercially successful novels, Edwards had leisure to document hundreds of Egyptian sites, artifacts, individuals, and scenes of daily life (fig. 29), building up a base of knowledge that in the 19th century's more fluid conception of academia and professionalism, more than qualified her as an expert autodidact.

Fig. 29. Amelia Edwards, *Carpet Bazaar, Cairo*, 1877. Engraving by G. Pearson of original sketch by Amelia Edwards.
Reproduced from Amelia Edwards, 2nd ed. (London: G. Routledge and Sons, 1891), 9.

Edwards' burgeoning scholarly interest manifested in her choice of subject matter for her sketches. She would later recollect, "I could have breakfasted, dined, supped on Temples. My appetite for them was insatiable, and grew with what it fed upon. I

[283]Barbara S. Lesko, "Amelia Blanford Edwards, 1831-1892," *Breaking Ground: Women in Old World Archaeology* (Brown University Institute of Archaeology and the Ancient World and the Department of Egyptology, 2004), 2. http://www.brown.edu/Research/Breaking_Ground.

went over them all. I took notes of them all. I sketched them every one." Edwards' diligent, meticulous archaeological sketches resemble in both style and purpose contemporary botanical and zoological illustrations.

Numerous women traveler-sketchers not otherwise historically inclined dabbled in the study of Egyptian history or archaeology; Anne-Margaretta Higford Burr (née Scobell) went so far as to sign her own initials in ancient Egyptian hieroglyphs in the bottom left-hand corner of an otherwise unexceptional harem scene. But Edwards' commitment was exceptional. The surviving sketchbooks from her Egyptian trip display a sensitive eye to detail, color and composition, and a proto-scientific commitment to precision in rendering of historic details. Edwards used the numerous sketches and watercolors she created during her single trip to Egypt (her only journey beyond Europe) as a cornerstone not just of *A Thousand Miles Up the Nile*, but for her creative and academic work for the rest of her life; Hodgson pithily dubs her a "painterly scholar" [284]. Edwards was famously concerned with the preservation of the archaeological treasures she loved and sketched against the ravages of time, tourists, and predatory collectors. Her punctilious visual record-keeping may thus be understood not only as the act of a dedicated scholar, but in light of a salvage mission. Edwards sought both to preserve the archaeological traces of ancient Egypt (and raise the money needed to safeguard them), and to create visual and written records of these vanishing treasures, much as contemporary scientific illustrators raced to sketch exotic flora and fauna rapidly vanishing in the face of industrialization and colonial expansion[285], and Edwards' more Orientalist fellow traveler-sketchers aimed to document the 'unchanged' Orient before modernization or Westernization progressed further.

[284] Edwards, *A Thousand Miles up the Nile,* 354, quoted in Hodgson, *Dreaming of East*, 89.
[285] Barber, *The Heyday of Natural History*, 126.

A Thousand Miles Up the Nile is not a leaden work of scholarly minutiae, but an accessible account of a 19th century journey as much as a foray into the distant past. (Edwards, after all, was a professional writer, and had every reason to make her book as easily saleable as possible.) She chose to include amongst her many careful illustrations of temples and hieroglyphs recognizably Orientalist scenes of villages and bazaars (fig. 29). Edwards was keenly aware of the emotional and intellectual power that the images she chose to include could exert over her readers. In her preface to the 1877 first edition of *A Thousand Miles Up the Nile*, she obtained special permission to reproduce one Mr.Vedder's "very beautiful picture called The Secret of the Sphinx", showing a man in 19th-century Egyptian peasant garb standing in moonlit contemplation, hands grasping the face of the monumental sphinx. "What does he seek to know?" Edwards rhapsodizes, "What does he hope to hear? Mr. Vedder has permitted me to enrich this book with an engraving from his picture. It tells its own tale; or rather it tells as much of its own tale as the artist chooses."[286]

Having examined the social context of female traveler-sketchers in the Ottoman Empire in the context of gender, professional status, scientific illustration, and archaeology, I now turn to their own accounts of the lived experience of sketching in the nineteenth-century Ottoman Empire. *Pace* Edwards, I will attempt to see past the surface of the tales these artists chose to tell.

[286] Edwards, *A Thousand Miles Up the Nile*, xvi-xvii.

CHAPTER 4

SKETCHING AS LIVED EXPERIENCE

The act of painting from life is never one of pure and isolated observation; still less so when the artist is functioning outside his or her ordinary milieu. Still life subjects must be acquired and arranged; a landscape must be reached and then observed at length, during which time the artist is subject to its heat and storms and smells, and to the presence of insects, animals, and other people. Portraitists must interact and negotiate, even if nonverbally, with any sitter who is aware of being drawn. Anyone, male or female, foreign or otherwise, who wished to fill an easel or sketchpad in a village or bazaar in the nineteenth-century Middle East, would almost inevitably find him- or herself an observed curiosity, possibly the center of a crowd of onlookers. These onlookers were self-selecting, rather than chosen by the sketcher. This generated the potential for interactions with local men, women and children that were less scripted (and less neutralized by social convention and expectations) than those which female travelers typically planned for themselves (e.g. the formal visit to a respectable aristocratic harem, the brief, choreographed visit to the exotic bazaar, with suitable escort; the picturesque locals glimpsed from afar). In her brief biography of Elisabeth Jerichau-Baumann, Mrs. Clayton emphasized the exotic, somewhat dangerous glamor of the artist's lived experience of sketching in the Ottoman Empire:

> "Many recollections are treasured by the painter of the scenes, the models, the exalted personages, the studies she made in this mystical region. She was brave in daring the discomforts and difficulties of open-air study, in the midst of a crowd of prying women and noisy, naked children, or on the roof under the scorching rays of the sun. But she was rewarded by being able to carry away several nearly completed works..."[287]

[287]Clayton, *English Female Artists*, 103-4.

What was the lived experience of the hundreds of European and American women who sketched in the nineteenth-century Ottoman Empire, and what can we learn from an examination of the moments in which women's travel art was actually made? How did these acts of sketching impact the experience and perception of artists and the people they encountered and/or sketched? Did sketchers see and understand the lands through which they traveled differently from their non-sketching peers? This chapter will seek answers to these questions, considering what information can be gleaned from travel artworks, and from the travel narratives which so frequently accompanied them.

There is more at stake here than synthesizing yet another illustration of nineteenth-century Orientalist cultural/political/religious agendas at work in the Middle East. Furthermore, while the lived experiences of female sketchers in the Ottoman Empire merit examination for their own sake, that is not my sole aim. Uzi Baram has written eloquently of the largely untapped potential of visual and literary representations of Ottoman Palestine by Western artists, specifically the landscapes painted there in the 1830s by David Roberts, whose paintings, Baram argues, "represent aspects of the imagined landscapes of Palestine as seen by Roberts, not simply unreal places."[288] Baram makes a compelling case that,

> "Establishing context for the travelers need not be the final goal. In fact, the focus on the con text for the travelers, an approach that returns the travel accounts to their Western European and North American homes, has led to a dualism between Orientalist and indigenous understandings of the recent past of the Middle East, as if the two were of separate worlds. *The significance of the travel accounts, however filtered by their authors, comes from the experiential observations while in the region.* [Emphasis mine.][…]The travelers are not the best messengers, but they produced the most accessible

[288] Baram, "Images of the Holy Land," 113.
Although such an approach has been widely reintroduced to the study of Middle Eastern history only in the first years of the twenty-first century, historians focusing on other regions have long mined even the most biased Victorian travelers' accounts for information on everything from transport to trade. See Roger W. Pethybridge, "The Merits of Victorian Travel Accounts as Source Materials on Russia," *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas, Neue Folge*, Bd. 20, H. 1 (March 1972), pp. 10-23.

> artifact from the 19th century, material culture that impacted political decision making regarding the Middle East."[289]

Although the political and social impact of female travel painters and writers might be less immediately obvious than that of their male contemporaries, whose work was typically accorded greater public authority and prestige, it must not be discounted. Many privileged female traveler-sketchers moved in the most powerful diplomatic circles of Cairo and Constantinople, and in equally influential company in their home countries. (Winston Churchill, for example, was a close personal friend of Anne Blunt's husband Wilfrid, and deeply influenced by his views on the Ottoman Empire—which had, in turn, been largely shaped by Wilfrid's joint travels with Anne.)[290]

Women's travel art itself can offer many possible clues to the moments and experience of its making, revealed in the artist's choice of subject and the nature of details she included. As Reina Lewis perceptively observed of European women's harem paintings:

> "Rather than hide the presence of the westerner at the scene, the construction of these paintings as female testimony foregrounds the presence of the artist: the image would not have been possible if a woman had not been there, even though the figure of the artists is not actually depicted in the painting. Her presence is projected into the scene…"[291]

Still, the artist's physical presence is generally – though not always – deliberately elided. I am aware of only two female travel artists, Nina Mazuchelli and Charlotte Inglefield, who drew themselves into their own travel sketches—an acknowledgment of reality that required a measure of fantasy, since to paint themselves as part of a

[289] Baram, "Images of the Holy Land," 112
[290] Warren Dockter, "The Influence of a Poet: Wilfrid S. Blunt and the Churchills," *Journal of Historical Biography* 10 (Autumn 2011): 70-10. www.ufv.ca/jhb.
[291] Lewis, *Women Orientalist Artists,* 103.

larger scene meant adopting the point of view of an imagined external observer.[292] Such a fantasy, however, was so well entrenched in the visual vocabulary of travel art that we should be careful not to read too much into adherence to a centuries-old convention. After all, the German-Danish painter Melchior Lorichs (b. 1526-27) had incorporated a self-portrait into his 1559 *Panorama of Constantinople*, depicting a small figure of himself holding drawing implements, while gazing out over the Golden Horn. Nigel Westbrook et al. have argued that Lorichs' "insertion of his self-portrait in the view seems to declare his intention to place himself at the scene of an historic engagement between East and West."[293] Though Mazuchelli and Inglefield's endeavors were approximately three centuries later, and far more modest than Lorichs', the motivation behind their insertion of self-portraits was likely similar.

A subtler, yet striking assertion of the female traveler-artist's presence as part of the scene she depicted is visible in the dozens of jewel-toned paintings produced by Margaret Thomas (1842-1929), the Australian painter who had contributed 67 paintings to Rev. Kelman's memoirs of the Holy Land.

Born in Surrey, but raised in Australia from the age of nine, Margaret Thomas was one of the relatively few female travel artists to make the journey to the Ottoman Empire from the Antipodes. Something of a Renaissance woman, Thomas not only won early acclaim for her drawings and paintings, particularly realist

[292] Mary Roberts points out in *Intimate Outsiders* (60-61) that Lucinda Darby Griffith is depicted on a harem visit Cairo in the lithograph of her husband's drawing, "The interior of the Hharee'm of Mochtah Bey," which served as the frontispiece to her 1845 travel memoir. Roberts describes how Griffith's visible otherness dominates the image: "Despite the awkwardness of the amateur artist's work, this sketch conveys the exoticism of the Cairene interior…peopled by exotically attired Ottoman women. As such, this illustration conforms to the European stereotype of the harem. There is, however, one significant incongruity, namely, the inclusion of Griffith in bonnet and crinoline seated on a chair at the right. All eyes are directed toward this newcomer to the harem whose difference is so marked by her attire."

[293] Nigel Westbrook, Kenneth Rainsbury Dark, and Rene van Meeuwen. "Constructing Melchior Lorichs's 'Panorama of Constantinople,'" *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 69:1 (2010), 82.

portraits in oils, but "was later described by D.B.W. Sladen as 'the first Australian-bred sculptor of eminence.'"[294] She studied in London, Rome, and Paris, and built a formidable reputation. By the time she was in her fifties, "her portraits were so successful that she was able to retire and devote the rest of her life to travel and book-writing."[295] Her first travel memoir (lavishly illustrated) focused on Spain and Tangier. In 1900, the London periodical *The Book Buyer* billed the publication of her second, an illustrated account of Ottoman lands, *Two Years in Palestine & Syria*, "with 16 illlustrations reproduced in colors in facsimile if [sic] the original paintings by the author…An unsual book of journeying it[sic] out-of-way places in Palestine." Unsurprisingly for a realist painter, Thomas stated that she had set out to scrupulously document the way of life she, like many of her European contemporaries, believed was vanishing from the rapidly moderninzing Ottoman Empire. She wrote, in the book's introduction,

> "Civilization at present advances with such rapid steps, and modern improvements are so indispensable to our manner of living, that the changes which centuries have not been able to effect a few years now suffice to complete. Before the country is transformed, before the Bedouin is replaced by the European colonist, the camel by the railway, the tent by the suburban villa, and the khân by the hotel, I propose to endeavour to depict by means of pen and pencil a likeness, as it were, of the Palestine and Syria of to-day, so far as is possible, from a purely secular point of view…in other words, to be one of the units which serve to create a correct impression of the scenes described. For this purpose, with sketching materials and note-book in hand I set out on my journey."[296]

Thomas was as good as her word; her very skillful, vivid, light-saturated images of Syria and Palestine—market scenes, ethnographic types, notable trees, landscapes, ruins, churches—construct a picturesque (yet plausibly grubby) Ottoman world, all

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[294]Marjorie J. Tipping, "'Thomas, Margaret (1843–1929)", Australian Dictionary of Biography, National Centre of Biography, Australian National University. Published in hardcopy 1976. Accessed online January 5, 2015. http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/thomas-margaret-4707/text7803.
[295]Tipping, "Thomas, Margaret."
[296]Margaret Thomas, *Two Years in Palestine & Syria*. With Sixteen Illustrations reproduced in Colours in facsimile of the Original Paintings by the Author (London: John C. Nimmo, 1900), ix-x.

signs of whose participation in the dawning twentieth century she chose to omit. But Thomas did not attempt to whitewash her own presence in these images. Her pictures are densely populated, with Otttoman figures who give every impression of having been sketched from life. Many are shown from afar, as she might have seen them from a comfortable distance on the street. But many of those who are shown at closer quarters appear to be acknowledging the artist's own presence (fig.s 30-33). Men and women turn from their activities and interracitons to stare intently at the intruding artist, in whose place the viewer stands. Thomas' presence is not neutral. She has become an observed participant in the scenes she intended to document in pristinely oriental conditions.[297]

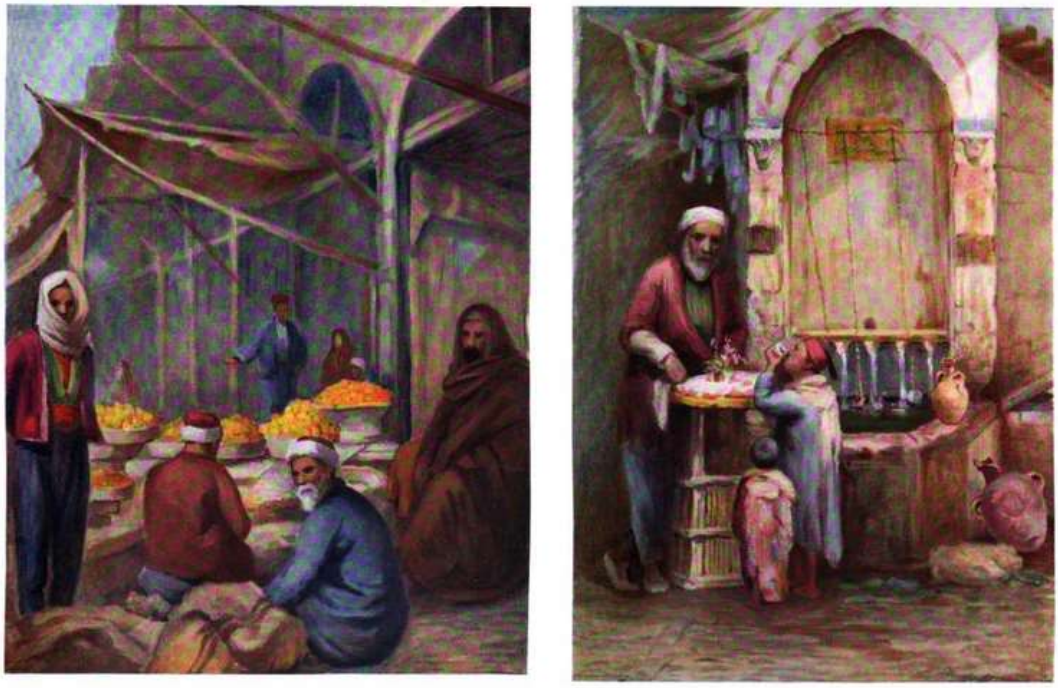

Fig.s 30 and 31. Margaret Thomas, *In the Fruit Bazaar, Damascus* (110) and *A Seller of Sweets, Damascus* (142), c. 1900. Reproductions of paintings.
Reproduced from Rev. John Kelman, *From Damascus to Palmyra. Painted by Margaret Thomas* (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1908).

[297] In this sense, Thomas' work displays a striking similarity with the Orientalist paintings of the Maltese artist Amedeo Preziosi (1816-1882), which also frequently featured scenes of daily life in the Ottoman Empire, in which some of the participants turn to stare at the artist.

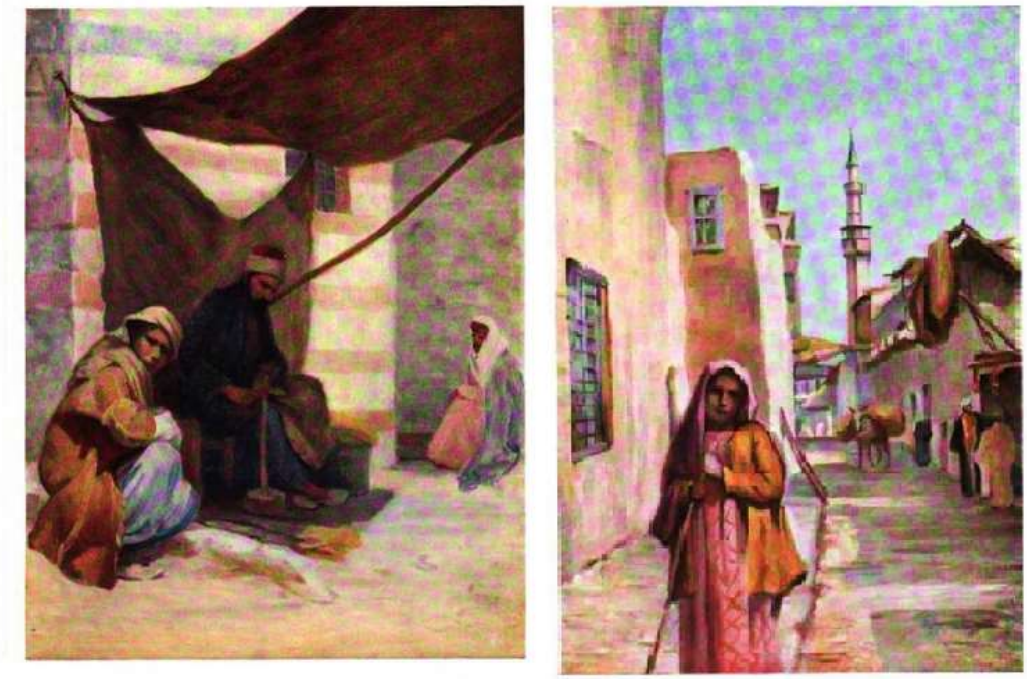

Fig.s 32 and 33. Margaret Thomas, *A Cobbler, Damascus* (154) and *At Salehîeh* (164), c. 1900. Reproductions of paintings.
Reproduced from Rev. John Kelman, *From Damascus to Palmyra. Painted by Margaret Thomas* (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1908).

Taken in isolation, there are serious limitations to what paintings and sketches – particularly those intended for public sale or consumption – can tell us about the lived experience of their making. Fortunately, their visual testimony is amplified by the voluminous literary production of women travelers to the nineteenth-century Ottoman Empire. It is helpful here that many traveler-sketchers believed that sketching stories made for excellent travel anecdotes. The British painter Emily Mary (E.M.) Merrick (b. 1842), who trained at the Royal Academy, [298] published an entire chatty volume devoted to them, *With A Palette in Eastern Palaces* (1899),

[298] E.M. Merrick, *With A Palette in Eastern Palaces* (London: Sampson Low, Marston & Company Ltd, 1899), 2.
Merrick's interest in Orientalist painting long predated her travels: two years into her training, she had launched an illustrious career with a portrait of "the head of a handsome old Arab," for which she received the Academy's Silver Medal. The principal purpose for her travels was shrewdly professional: like Elisabeth Jerichau-Baumann and Mary Adelaide Walker a generation earlier, she used her gender to gain access to privileged Ottoman and Indian women, who would be unwilling to sit for a male portraitist.

which the publishers advertised as "A bright and charming account of the journeys of a portrait painter through Egypt and India, with inside glimpses of the palaces and harems of the Rajahs".[299] (It is a mark of the ubiquity of women's travel sketching by the end of the nineteenth century that the same page on which the advertisement for Merrick's book appeared in also advertised Thomas'.)[300] Though this chapter will draw on the accounts of both professionals and amateurs, I will concentrate here on those sketches which were not formally commissioned by their subjects, since the social dynamics of these interactions are more appropriately considered in conjunction with nineteenth-century Ottoman and European patronage practices, rather than travel sketches.[301]

Without collapsing this polyphonic discourse to a single voice or set of experiences, I would like to categorize several meaningful commonalities which emerge when women's accounts of sketching in nineteenth-century Ottoman lands are considered as a body. For, as Baram puts it, "The paintings become less Oriental masterpieces and more like artifacts when the specifics of their production within a particular temporal context are made clear." [302] I will consider in turn: women's remarks on the process of choosing what or whom to sketch; the joys and difficulties involved in sketching in an environment they could not control; how the desire to

[299] "Scribner's Importations: Some Spring Announcements," *The Book Buyer: A Review and Record of Current Literature* XX (February-July 1900), 160.
[300] Even as early as 1857, Amelia Falkland had remarked that, "So many go every year to Thebes, and so few return from thence without giving to the world a volume of either "Notes," "Fragments," or "Sketches," written on the Nile, that the narrative of an excursion thither can scarcely be made to present any features of novelty" – not that it stopped Falkland herself from trying. (Amelia Fitz Clarence Cary Falkland's *Chow-Chow: Being Selections From a Journal Kept in India, Egypt, and Syria* (London: Hurst and Blackett, 1857), 125.)
[301]The complex social negotiations and power structures underlying women's formally commissioned art of illustrious Ottoman women has been discussed in fascinating detail in Mary Roberts' *Intimate Outsiders*. Roberts' new book, *Istanbul Exchanges: Ottomans, Orientalists, and Nineteenth-Century Visual Culture* (Oakland: University of California Press, forthcoming May 2015), promises to examine "the cross-cultural artistic networks that emerged in that cosmopolitan capital in the nineteenth century. European Orientalist artists began traveling to Istanbul in greater numbers in this period, just as the Ottoman elite was becoming more engaged with European art." (www.ucpress.edu)
[302] Baram, "Images of the Holy Land," 113.

sketch impacted their behavior as they traveled; and their remarks on being observed themselves while sketching, and instances when their subjects spoke back, provoking the sketcher's awareness (amused, touched, astonished, or irritated) of the agency of the men, women, and children whose likenesses she hoped to record.

4.1 Lived experience: choosing and altering subjects

Lady Mary Wortley Montagu famously opened her first letter describing Ottoman Adrianople (Edirne) with the exclamation, "I am now got into a new world, where every thing I see appears to me a change of scene."[303] Many nineteenth-century women traveler-sketchers would echo Montagu's all-encompassing astonishment at the visual impact of the landscapes and cityscapes of the Ottoman Empire—but one could not draw everything, and a sketcher had to be selective, especially if she was a tourist, and not a long-term expatriate. What values played into her choice? In Chapter 2, we considered the impact of sketchers' personal motivations and cultural context on the choice of subject matter. But it is valuable to examine how these combined factors played out in the lived experience of individual sketchers. It is well-known that most Western sketchers in the Middle East sought the picturesque and the exotic, but individual travel accounts reveal the depth and dimensions of their interventions in *creating* what they wanted to paint. I will consider here one intervention with landscape, and one with individuals, both of which transpired on the Nile in the latter part of the nineteenth century.

On Amelia Edwards' trip up the Nile, one of her companions was the artist Andrew McCallum, to whom she refers throughout as "the Painter", referring to herself in the third person as "the Writer". During the eighteen days they spent at Abu Simbel, they frequently sketched together. Edwards described the "restless

[303] Montagu, *The Turkish Embassy Letters*, 68.

excitement" of their first day there, as each carefully selected the exact vantage point from which to sketch:

> "While the morning was yet cool, the Painter and the Writer wandered to and fro, comparing and selecting points of view, and superintending the pitching of their tents. The Painter planted his on the very brink of the bank, face to face with the colossi and the open doorway. The Writer perched some forty feet higher on the pitch of the sandslope; so getting a side-view of the façade, and a peep of distance looking up the river. To fix the tent up there was no easy matter. It was only by sinking the tent-pole in a hole filled with stones, that it could be trusted to stand against the steady push of the north wind, which at this season is almost always blowing." [304]

They had chosen the site for its renowned ancient Egyptian sculptures; Edwards presumably selected her difficult perch in order to include that picturesque glimpse of the distant Nile. But soon, they embarked on a much more active intervention on the landscape they were recording. Neither apparently approved of the condition of the colossal statues of the Pharaoh Rameses—not because it had fallen into disrepair, but because it was tainted by traces of previous Western intervention, in the form of plaster stains from a cast taken by the wealthy British amateur Egyptologist Robert Hay, who had employed a team of six artists and architects to record ancient Egyptian ruins fifty years earlier.[305] It would not have been remotely unusual for an artist to "Photoshop" the white blotches out of her watercolors. Had McCallum and Edwards encountered a similar aesthetic challenge while sketching, say, the carvings of an English chapel, they would have had no other remedy. But, like many nineteenth-century British artists traveling in Ottoman lands – particularly far from urban centers—McCallum and Edwards felt at liberty to act on their own initiative to tame the landscape, and modify it to better suit their conception of how it ought to be, in its 'pure' state, an extremely common strategy for Orientalist artists. The

[304] Edwards, *A Thousand Miles Up the Nile*, 295-6.
[305] Jane Waldron Grutz, "The Lost Portfolios of Robert Hay" *Saudi Aramco World*, 54:2 (March/April 2003), 2-11.

difference was that instead of altering only the painted landscape, they also altered the real one. Edwards merrily recalled,

> "[O]ur Painter conceived the idea of setting them [the men] to clean the face of the northernmost Colossus, still disfigured by the plaster left on it when the great cast was taken by Mr. Hay more than half a century before…and the men, delighted as children at play, were soon swarming all over the huge head, just as the carvers may have swarmed over it in the days when Rameses was king. All they had to do was to remove any small lumps that might yet adhere to the surface, and then tint the white patches with coffee…It took them three afternoons to complete the job; and we were all sorry when it came to an end. To see Reïs Hassan artistically touching up a gigantic nose almost as long as himself; Riskalli and the cook-boy staggering to and fro with relays of coffee…the rest chattering and skipping about the scaffolding like monkeys, was, I will venture to say, a sight more comic than has ever been seen at Abou Simbel before or since. Rameses' appetite for coffee was prodigious...Still, the result justified the expenditure. The coffee proved a capital match for the sandstone; and though it was not possible wholly to restore the uniformity of the original surface, we at least succeeded in obliterating those ghastly splotches, which for so many years have marred this beautiful face as with the unsightliness of leprosy."[306]

There is much to unpack in this brief anecdote. It is artistic Orientalism in one of its most active expressions, and an interesting case in which a woman's perception enhances, rather than tempers or diverges from, the 'mainstream' Orientalist narratives of the time. Though it was deliberately staged by McCallum with her cooperation, Edwards finds the men's cleaning of the colossal "comic," timeless (nothing has changed since the days of Rameses), childish, even animal ("like monkeys"), and picturesque – for she paired her anecdote with a reproduction of her sketch of the cleaning process (fig. 34). It shows a small figure sketching, presumably McCallum, since it is wearing trousers. Edwards' sketch, while it displays her usual scrupulous attention to archaeological detail, is not simply a document of Abu Simbel as she found it, but Abu Simbel as she and McCallum chose to animate it. To use a cinematic analogy, McCallum and Edwards not only

[306] Edwards, *A Thousand Miles Up the Nile*, 307-308.

chose the location and the camera angle; they have also hired the actors, provided the props, and written the script.

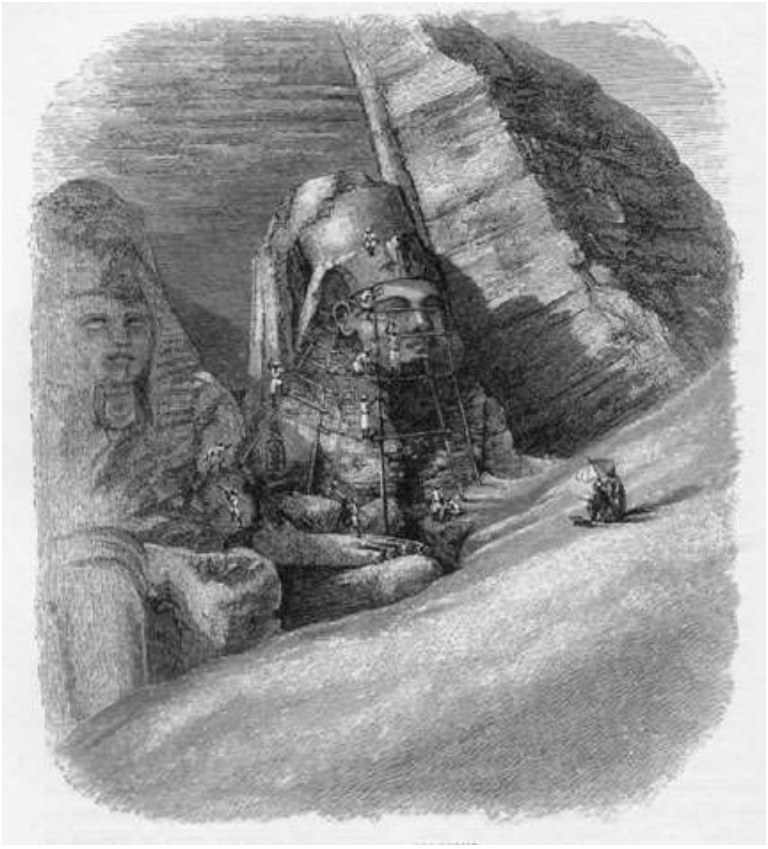

Fig. 34. Amelia Edwards, *Cleaning the Colossus*, 1877. Engraving by G. Pearson of original sketch by Amelia Edwards.
Reproduced from Amelia Edwards, 2nd ed. (London: G. Routledge and Sons, 1891), 308.

Edwards chose her own subject matter, but the Abu Simbel intervention was done primarily under a man's authority. An equally active intervention that was more frequently accessible to female travelers was the power they held over 'casting' subjects to people their sketches. Our second sketcher, Ellen Charlotte Hope-Edwardes (b. 1837), brought her sketching materials when she accompanied her ailing brother on a health-cure to Egypt in the early 1880s. The *Spectator's* review of her travel account, *Eau-de-Nil*, remarked that the book "contain[s] nothing very remarkable, and little that is new (this they could scarcely do)" but added that it was "worth publishing" because of the garrulous Hope-Edwardes' ability to interact and converse (presumably via a translator) with the local people, thereby obtaining

authentic insights about their perspectives and way of life.[307] *Eau-de-Nil* reveals a distinct sketcher's-eye-view perspective in the nature of Hope-Edwardes' fascination with the people she pseudo-anthropologically terms, "*les indigenes.*" Visiting the Mosque of Amer (Amr ibn al-As) with her brother shortly after her arrival in Cairo, she described seeing, "a little girl who did not look more than four years old, and who made a very effective picture as she stood in the entrance to one of the niches, holding a candle on high in one small brown hand, and the light making a halo round her pretty little soft face and scanty pink tunic."[308] Hope-Edwardes did not sketch her, but they rewarded the little girl's picturesqueness with a piastre. At Karnak, Hope-Edwardes acted on this scopic preference, sketching another little Egyptian girl, this time picturesquely carrying water. This child, she more amply rewarded with "some piastres, and, what she seemed to like still better, a large flake of pink-and-white sugar from a cake."[309] But it is in what Hope-Edwardes' explicitly chose *not* to sketch that her staging (rather than selective recording) her lived experience in Egypt is most clearly indicated. In one Nile village, she wanted to sketch, but rejected the only available sitter on the grounds that he was insufficiently good-looking. She wrote,

> "I am glad to find that the sailors do not at all mind being sketched, and most of them have beautiful limbs and figures, and are always throwing themselves into picturesque attitudes. The villagers on shore, however, do not always like it. The other day we were sitting near some houses, with only one young sailor with us, when a rather importunate crowd collected, and St. L. [her brother] proposed I should try the effect of drawing them. So I took his pocket-book, and, looking sternly at the nearest group, began to draw, when they all rushed away, screaming and hiding their faces. One man came back, however; and arranging his toilet, posed in front of me, saying that for a

[307] Review of *Eau de Nil*. By E. C. Hope-Edwardes. (Bentley and Son.)—Miss, *The Spectator*. (June 3 1882), 24.
[308] E.C.(Ellen Charlotte) Hope-Edwardes, *Eau-de-Nil. A Chronicle* (London: Richard Bentley and Son, 1882), 20-1.
[309] Hope-Edwardes, *Eau-de-Nil*, 135.

> baksheesh he should be willing to devote himself and brave the evil eye.' He was not a beauty, so I declined to accept the sacrifice."[310]

An ugly villager might be a joke, but he was not a suitable souvenir, and would not be allowed to pollute Hope-Edwardes' sketches. Through her sketching, she edited the evidence of her journey, choosing only what she considered worthy and beautiful, rewriting Egypt with her gaze. For Edwards, Hope-Edwardes, and hundreds of other female traveler-sketchers, artistic choice of subject matter could be a potent means for even the least powerful or knowledgeable woman tourist to express and enact judgment about how the Orient *should* be. As we shall shortly explore, Hope-Edwardes' possibly exaggerated recollection of the villagers' terror at being sketched is an assertion not only of her cultural or intellectual superiority (we are meant to find her intentions reasonable, and their reaction comic or ridiculous), but also of the power she wielded as an artist and observer.

Even the most junior and least skilled of female sketchers understood the choice of what or whom to sketch as an expression of privilege and control based in their Westernness, and largely independent of their gender. Although most appear to have treated this as a natural extension of social order, several found comedy in the exaggerated nature of their artistic authority, far greater than any they could possibly have wielded at home. The potential magnification of a woman traveler's real and perceived authority by both her sketching and her presence in the East is very clearly illustrated by the travel memoir of Miss M.L.M. Carey, *Four Months in a Dahabeeh: or, Narrative of a Winter's Cruise on the Nile* (1863). The volume is enlivened by six color illustrations of the journey, apparently based on Carey's own numerous watercolors. The daughter of a prosperous London family, the young Carey traveled

[310]Hope-Edwardes, *Eau-de-Nil*, 95.

to Egypt to accompany convalescing relatives. In its review, *The Atheneum* described Carey as a wholly unexceptional but "lively young lady with [a] turn for writing and sketching," and condescendingly summed up her (lack of) authorial qualifications for her thoroughly ordinary book:

> "She is sweet sixteen; she evidently has her little accomplishments in music and languages; she prides herself on knowing an officer…she travels….with her maid and every other kind of propriety including an elderly male cousin a pretty female cousin and a staid domestic named Thomas. The party spent four months in Egypt the winter months which hundreds invalids spend on the Nile at Malaga or in Algiers without dreaming of a printer's devil…There is not much in her diary of the voyage."[311]

In her own culture, Carey was in a position of minimal inherent authority. Yet her selection of suitably picturesque – but inconveniently located—subjects to sketch would result in a major urban disturbance affecting hundreds of people, all for the sake of two teenaged tourists' souvenir sketches. Carey and her cousin Selina "sallied forth with Mohamed, our sketch-books, umbrellas, camp-chairs, and two of the crew, who were always in attendance with their big sticks to chase away the admiring crowd."[312] So far, so commonplace, at least for female sketchers in Egypt. Before we continue with Carey's story, it is worth noting that, despite the ubiquity of travel sketching in Constantinople, Smyrna, and former Ottoman territories in modern-day Greece in the latter part of the nineteenth century, I have yet to locate a woman's travel account which details similarly heavy-handed precautions taken there, and only one such recorded in Jerusalem.[313] One possible explanation for this

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[311] Review of *Four Months in a Dahabeeh: or, Narrative of a Winter's Cruise on the Nile.* By M.L.M. Carey. (Booth), *The Atheneum* 1866 (August 1, 1863), 142.

[312] M.L.M. Carey, *Four Months in a Dahabeeh: or, Narrative of a Winter's Cruise on the Nile* (London: L. Booth, 1863), 97.

[313] Lucy Matilda Cubley's *The Hills and Plains of Palestine* (1860), discussed later in this chapter. It should be noted that, unsurprisingly, some male traveler-sketchers took similar routine precautions against harassment from local citizens, weather, and wildlife, though they might not choose to advertise the fact. Mrs. Lee Bacon recalled her husband's preparations for a day of sketching in Egypt: "Howadji thinks that a sketch, even one at miodday, would be a pleasing souvenir of this wondrous day, so he settles to work, with his faithful Alli hard by, keeping the sun off by means of an

is simply that Egypt was the more popular tourist hotspot, and the new field of Egyptology more open to eager female amateur sketchers and archaeologists than the much more hidebound and gender-restricted field of Classical history and archaeology, which encompassed the study of the ruins of Greece and Anatolia. A larger number of women's illustrated travel accounts of Egypt were consequently published, and that some of these happen to record the ladylike habit of going sketching with one's armed bodyguards. Another possibility is that the distinction women travelers made between the precautions necessary to sketch in Egypt versus Anatolia may reflect a practical reaction to the actual difference in local responses to sketchers in Cairo or Alexandria and Smyrna or Constantinople. Relative proximity to central Ottoman authority surely played a role as well. It is difficult to envision Amelia Edwards and Andrew McCallum striding into the Hippodrome in Constantinople and ordering their servants to shimmy up and polish the obelisks; even the sketching wives of powerful British Ambassadors never attempted anything of the kind. Given that the literary record of women sketchers' self-perception of their own literal (as opposed to artistic) power over Ottoman individuals they chose to sketch also appears to be concentrated along the Nile, the Egypt/Turkey distinction may also reflect a deeper trend. Especially in the wake of the Tanzimat reforms, about which many female travelers knew little, but whose ramifications in daily life and Ottoman self-presentation they frequently perceived, there was a subtle but widespread trend in women's travel art and writing of the later nineteenth century to distinguish between Ottomans in what is now western Turkey, and those elsewhere. There was a widespread tendency to treat "Arabs" (except those residing in the 'Holy

immense sketching ubrella, and the flies off by means of a limber fly-brush of split palm, which he plies diligently and silently." (42)

Land', who gave substance to travelers' fantasies of its biblical inhabitants) as more comic or boorish than "Turks", whose poor were more likely to be taken as harmlessly picturesque, and whose privileged classes as exotic simulacra of their European counterparts, like the gentlemanly Sultan Abdülhamid II, who had chatted with Hariot Georgina Blackwood and her daughter about sketching and music.

Returning to Carey and her cousin Selina in the bazaar of Minieh (modern Minya), we find them very selective about who or what merits their artistic attentions, clashing with their Egyptian helpers about suitable sketching matter. Carey recollected,

> "The Dragoman went to seek for turkeys, &c., the more humble attendants remaining, and assisting in looking for a subject worthy of a sketch. Their taste was curious, and we were difficult to please, for the heat was very great…At length we fixed upon a trio of cobblers, mending up all the old shoes, just within one of the gates of the city. This gate was only a plain wooden door across the street, and the market was on the other side of it."[314]

Hardly unusual subject matter for an Orientalist sketch, and corresponding to nearly all the usual preferences of women's travel art of the Middle East: picturesque, exotic, timeless, conventionally respectable. Carey and Selina considered their attention a valuable gift, and Carey reported her opinion that the townsfolk felt the same:

> "Very proud the cobblers were of the choice of the ladies, and many a more important personage thrust himself in the way, evidently thinking that he was far more worthy of a place in the sketch-book than the cobblers. But the crowds passing through the gate began to press round thicker and thicker, in spite of the great sticks of the crew; and the contact with Minieh's inhabitants was becoming so close that we were just going to give up in despair, when an 'officer' stepped forward and ordered the gate to be closed. The order was instantly obeyed, and the unfortunate populace continued pushing in vain from without. This we thought rather an alarming crisis; and considering all the difficulties under which the sketch was labouring, we made ready to decamp, but the expostulations of the spectators were so urgent that, we sat on, wondering at our own boldness, and wishing that 'Cousin Phil' and our friends at home could have a peep at us and the cobblers."[315]

[314] Carey, *Four Months,* 98.
[315] Carey, *Four Months,* 98.

Carey's protestations of conflicting pride and alarm at the situation into which sketching had precipitated her ties in which an extensive tradition of proud complaints about the discomforts of sketching, which I will examine shortly. Carey and her cousin soon discovered that the instigator of all the commotion on their behalf was their own dragoman:

> "On a sudden a dark figure started up, wielding a huge stick, and speaking in threatening accents. The crowd dispersed on all sides, and a clear space was made and kept for the adventurous artists. It was Mohamed el Adlëéh himself, whose blood was boiling at seeing how near the people had pressed upon his charge; and in answer to our inquiries about the propriety of the gate having been closed for us, he insisted on our remaining, saying, "Of course; take your time: that's our business; we must do it. I think I broke the arm of one man just now!" It was he himself, who, from another quarter of the town, had found out where we were, and ordered the closing of the gate. We had had enough of it, however, and now rose to depart, the gate opened, and the crowd rushed through and followed us. What a nuisance they must have thought us! But they seem to expect to be pushed about whenever a European, more especially an English subject, appears, and in most instances their own countrymen are the ministers of this petty tyranny; an office which, it must be added, they assume with great relish."[316]

The choice to sketch the cobblers did not cause Carey and her cousin to observe an ordinary market scene *in situ*, but to completely, if inadvertently, transform it into a spectacle—of which they were the center. Carey's conjectures are illuminating. On the one hand, she supposed all the townsfolk trying to walk in front of her wanted to be in her sketch; on the other, her prolonged observation helps her realize "what a nuisance" the sketching expedition has caused in a provincial Egyptian marketplace, [317] and the intrusive authority of the dragoman, acting on the borrowed power of his foreign employers. Having set out to sketch a picturesque and peaceful scene, she instead both triggered and captured a moment of social tension between townspeople

[316] Carey, *Four Months,* 98-99.
[317] Despite her relatively insightful comments in Minieh, Carey expressed only limited compassion where non-Europeans were concerned; on the very next page, when the navigator of the *dahabiyeh* became ill and asked her for medicine, "We could scarcely restrain a smile at the thought of administering three globules of nux vomica to such a sturdy looking black" (100).

engaged in daily life. The sketch of the cobblers was not amongst the six illustrations reproduced in Carey's book, though she did include two of her ship's crew (fig. 35). Despite the fact that she had grown to know many of them well over the course of the four-month journey, her portraits of the crew tellingly give much more emphasis to their colorful local costumes than their cursorily-depicted faces.

Fig. 35. M.L.M. Carey, *'Mohamed el Adlëéh,' in Undress; 'El Abiad' & 'My Man Ali'*, c. 1863. Reproduction of a watercolor.
Reproduced from M.L.M. Carey, *Four Months in a Dahabeeh: or, Narrative of a Winter's Cruise on the Nile* (London: L. Booth, 1863), Frontispiece.

4.2 Proud discomforts

Virtually every surviving travel account by female sketchers in the Ottoman Empire features admiring descriptions of the beauty and/or exotic fascination of the landscape, architecture, and people; many of these also explicitly remark on the pleasure of sketching such wonders.[318] Amelia Edwards went so far as to claim,

[318] The language of delight in which many female authors of travel narratives framed their sketching is striking. Ellen Julia Hollond wrote of sketching both as an unfailing antidote to the petty boredoms of travel ("As the donkeys had to be taken over in boats, we waited a long time for them, so I amused myself with sketching the river." (191); "[The fog] did not clear till near eleven, so we spent the morning in our cabin drawing." (42)) and a source of joy :"Spent a delicious day at Philæ drawing, and looking at the ruins…" (155); "our crew alighted and took their breakfast; and I enjoyed the

"the most delightful occupation in life is undoubtedly sketching."[319] But descriptions of a sketcher's travails and discomforts, whether from minor natural hazards (e.g. the flies, sand and heat described by Butler and Edwards) or local inhabitants, are also prevalent. A consideration of women traveler-sketchers' lived experience would be incomplete without a brief analysis of these proudly-recounted discomforts.

Most sketchers' accounts of these inconveniences affect a cheery, practical indomitability, an unwillingness to sacrifice art or souvenirs in the name of comfort. Tirard's response was typical: "After breakfast we went ashore, and having enlisted an Arab to fan away the flies, we sat writing and sketching till lunch-time..."[320] An anonymous 17-year-old girl visiting Egypt in the late 1850s was similarly undaunted: "The heat was very great during the middle of the day, but if there was nothing particular to do I generally managed to crawl back to Karnak, and in some shady corner, or with a donkey-boy holding an umbrella over my head, tried to sketch what was almost unsketchable." [321]

Despite this sangfroid in the heat, the prevalence of these remarks on discomfort suggests a certain cachet. Clare Emily Buxton (b. 1873), one of three sketching British sisters who accompanied their father on a hunting expedition to the Red Sea in the 1890s, recollected, "The camping is glorious fun. We live in the greatest luxury, and M.[Hannah Maude] and I are quite disappointed we don't have to rough it more."[322] Later, in the Sinai desert, Hannah Maude proudly frustrated their servant's attempts to make the party more comfortable: "He tells us that if only we

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pleasure of making a sketch of the first sakia [saqiya, a kind of water pump] we have seen on this side of Cairo." (29-30)

[319] Edwards, *A Thousand Miles Up the Nile*, 308.

[320] Tirard, *Sketches from a Nile Steamer*, 168-9.

[321] Anonymous (A Daughter of Japhet), *Wanderings in the Land of Ham* (London: Longman, Brown, Green, Longmans and Roberts,1858), 117.

[322] H.M. (Hannah Maude) Buxton, C.E. (Clare Emily) Buxton, and T. (Theresa) Buxton. *On Either Side of the Red Sea. With Illustrations of the Granite Ranges of the Eastern Desert of Egypt, and of Sinai* (London: Edward Stanford. 1895), 54.

would let him have his way in everything, we should live as if we were in a first-class hotel, but we prefer to remember we are in the desert."[323]

Not all female traveler-sketchers were so sanguine. During her time in Cyprus, where her husband Andrew was Civil Commissioner at Kyrenia, Mrs. Esmé Scott-Stevenson, an enthusiastic sketcher, found her efforts thwarted the ubiquity of fleas. Attempting to sketch one ruined church, she observed: "I had intended sketching the interior, but my ancient enemies prevented me. On looking down I found my riding habit, though well tucked up, dotted all over with brown specks. The place, in truth, literally swarmed with fleas, and I had to fly in disgust."[324] (Fleas, unlike the desert sun, were not deemed exotic enough to counterbalance their inconvenience. In Egypt, Ellen Julia Hollond recoiled from an ancient temple she had hoped to sketch at Gerf Hossayn, which contained similarly prosaic obstacles: "The smell from the charred wood, the cold and darkness, with the flitting of the bats, made me prefer not penetrating to the depths." [325)] Mary Louisa Whately, energetically engaged in attempting to educate impoverished Egyptian women, still found that the climate hampered her in her moments of leisure: "…a strange, weary feeling crept over the frame, exertion seemed impossible…and the flies made it diffficult to draw or write, unless the room was so dark that colours could hardly be distinguished."[326] The stillness necessitated by sketching offered a ready excuse to female travelers who preferred not to overexert themselves. In Egypt with her family, the writer Ellen Julia Hollond wrote of an occasion when, while her daughter and husband "went to take a walk…I was afraid of the heat, so remained painting."[327]

[323] Buxton, *On Either Side of the Red Sea,* 109.
[324] Scott-Stevenson, *Our Home in Cyprus, 274*.
[325] Hollond, *A Lady's Journal,* 150.
[326] Whately, *Ragged Life,* 133.
[327] Hollond, *A Lady's Journal,* 96.

How did ignoring weather and flies become a badge of honor for female traveler-sketchers, most of whom would have been unlikely, or even ashamed, to tolerate such discomforts at home? Apart from a simple reflection of the lived reality of sketching out-of-doors, these remarks served two functions. First, they reflected both an awareness of and pride in the effort of creating travel art. Second, like any leisure traveler's boasts of hardship, they served to underscore the value and authenticity of the sketch created under such uncomfortable circumstances. These observations were one of the few socially sanctioned ways in which a respectable nineteenth-century woman could publicly lay claim to physical courage or prowess—a kind of artistically-licensed female toughness.[328] Mary Dawson Damer, on the island of Patras in 1839, claimed that the picturesqueness of what she saw negated the attendant physical discomforts: "The effect produced upon us by the variety and beauty of the oriental costume served to cheat the length and heat of the walk; for, at every step, I was longing to have some striking group committed to our sketch-book."[329] It was with barely-disguised pride that Hannah Maude Buxton noted, on her way back from a long day of sketching, "It took us a long time to walk back, and it was very hot work the first part of the way, as there was much loose sand…That day quite finished our complexions."[330]

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[328]These characteristically Orientalist observations about the (worthwhile and/or comic) discomforts of sketching abroad are also commonplace in women sketchers' accounts of nineteenth-century India, which suggests that they reflect not so much an engagement with or experience of Ottoman/Islamic culture as an approach to the exotic in general. Amelia Fitz Clarence Cary Falkland's *Chow-Chow: Being Selections From a Journal Kept in India, Egypt, and Syria* (1857) furnishes the following illustrative example: "In the neighborhood of Poona, particularly near the river, are exhaustless subjects for the pencil...It is, however, difficult to sketch here as the streets are so crowded. I attempted to draw once or twice, but was obliged to give it up. Once, in a secluded part of the city, I had sat down in a corner, with my servant standing near me, and was about to begin a very pretty subject, when an elephant passed, nearly treading on my feet; in a few minutes a large buffalo came sharply round a corner, and, startled at the sight of me, turned back, raising up a considerable quantity of dust..." the buffalo is followed by children, women, fakirs, "a herd of cows and goats" "...and as the dust not only shut out my view, but completely covered my paper and the inside of the colour-box, I went to the carriage in despair."(282-3)

[329] Dawson Damer, *Diary of a Tour,* vol. 1, 7-8.

[330] Buxton, *On Either Side of the Red Sea,* 126.

It is worth noting that the "inconvenience" of harassment or even benign interest on the part of local people is treated by most writers as distinct from the discomforts of weather, sand, flies, etc. The Buxton sisters, so stoic in the face of the physical challenges they chose to set themselves, became ill-tempered when confronted with human interference, which they could not choose or control. The passage in which Hannah Maude shrugs off her sunburn begins with a revealing complaint about another challenge they encountered that day: "After lunch we sat and sketched the Convent. There were Arabs all over the place…At last they got rather troublesome, especially the children, and we had to chivy them away with our parasols."[331] (The confrontational nature of this interaction is not unique, though the fact that the Buxton sisters themselves wielded the parasols is relatively unusual. More typical is the scenario recounted by Tirard, in Egypt in the 1890s: "All the village people turned out and sat round us, one man acting guardian with a big stick to keep them from coming too close. We sketched the temple with a fine clump of palms beyond…"[332]

Interestingly, female reviewers appear to have been more open to applauding and acknowledging the struggles or physical discomforts lady sketchers underwent. There was a marked tendency amongst certain male reviewers to assume that a bourgeois lady traveler's experience of travel would be as sheltered as her life at home was presumed to be. In 1847, in its "Miscellaneous Notices" section, *The Calcutta Review*, offered the following fantasy of women's oriental travel, in which the Western lady appears as a dilettante-observer, impervious to the discomforts of travel, and herself a picturesque object:

> "In most cases, well looked after by the vain lord of the creation, travelling ladies seldom trouble themselves about personal security, or comfort; and

[331] Buxton, *On Either Side of the Red Sea*, 126.
[332] Cobbe, *Cities of the Past*, 20.

> while the husband or brother is "setting all to rights," the blue or black eyes of the fair wanderer roll about in search of incident and novelty, while she herself becomes the "observed of all observers." [333]

4.3 The impact of sketching on behavior and experience

Travelers' accounts are full of references of the effects of sketching on daily life. "You would wonder at my finding any time to write, if you saw our expeditions," wrote the English writer Elizabeth Rundle Charles (b. 1828) from Mount Zion, just outside Jerusalem. "Our walks are all scrambles, and our rides steeple-chases, so that every excursion involves repairs…Then there are sketches to be made, and thus every moment is brimful of business."[334] We have seen how the adoption of a "sketcher's-eye-view" could subtly but significantly alter travelers' perspectives. It heightened their tolerance for discomfort and cultural differences, and their awareness of the picturesque qualities of the lands through which they passed. It seared in vivid details that would otherwise likely be fleeting: particulars of color, architecture, landscape, plants, animals, costumes, and faces—the atoms of memory from which they synthesized their art and understanding of the region. But on a very prosaic level, sketching also impacted travelers' and expatriates' daily routines, at times prompting even relatively unadventurous female travelers to linger in unexpected places or company, or to climb or ride literally beyond their comfort zones. (Or, to reverse the paradigm of spectatorship, meant that villagers or mountain-dwelling shepherds might be confronted with a party of pen- or brush-wielding foreigners.) This section briefly considers the degree to which the practice of sketching impacted the behavior and experience of female traveler-sketchers.

[333] "Miscellaneous Notices," *The Calcutta Reveiw*, xi.
[334]Charles, *Wanderings Over Bible Lands*, lxiv.

For Elizabeth Rundle Charles, the peripatetic consumption of scenery necessitated by sketching was intense. Hardly had she arrived in Jaffa, when she set out to document it: "We went through the bazaar to a Saracenic fountain, just outside the town, and tried to sketch the picturesque groups collected there--Bedouins in grand historical attitudes...The other point of view from which we attempted a sketch was on the sea-shore..."[335] Later, in Bethany, she hiked before dawn to catch the right light, recalling, "we went once more alone to that sacred height above Bethany to see the sun rise once more behind the hills of Moab and to sketch."[336] These exertions, though exhilarating, took their toll. Resting after an "expedition to the Red Sea", Charles observed, "It is delightful to be relieved for a while from the hurry of doing as much as possible, and the responsibility of seeing as much as possible, and just to be quiet, and realize that we are here, in the Holy Land, in Jerusalem, while the fingers are busy drawing and sketching."[337] Charles' sketching strengthened and refined her pre-existing inclination to see as much as possible, prompting her to seek out scenes of daily life and picturesque rural vantage points. Nearly any female sketcher's published account will furnish similar instances of the impact of sketching on travelers' daily routines. At Luxor, young Carey expressed initial misgivings about climbing on top of "the roof of a modern inhabitant's house" to see the view from the top of a temple, but claimed her sketcher's instincts made her bold: "I repeated the expedition the two following mornings, to see the sun-rise, to enjoy the cool air, and to endeavor to note down in my sketch-book all the objects of interest around me." [338] Mary Dawson Damer, in Athens in 1839 en route to Ottoman lands, noted in her diary: "Friday, October 11th. — Lord A--, Minney [her

[335] Charles, *Wanderings Over Bible Lands*, 53-4.
[336] Charles, *Wanderings Over Bible Lands*, 134.
[337] Charles, *Wanderings Over Bible Lands*, 119.
[338] Carey, *Four Months*, 134.

eldest daughter, Georgiana, b. 1826], the doctor, and myself, took our usual afternoon's walk to the Acropolis, where I am writing this journal, from the Propylaea, while they are wandering about, making sketches."[339] As worthy and unimpeachable subjects, Classical or ancient Egyptian ruins constituted moral and intellectual safe havens for female sketchers, generally removed from any unsought human interactions. In the process of sketching, many amateur students of Classics or Egyptology found themselves subjecting sites to an almost archaeological degree of scrutiny. The same anonymous teenaged girl who had used her donkey-boy as a human umbrella-stand while sketching Karnak recalled, "Being obliged to remain at Esneh the whole of the 7th we returned to the temple, and spent three hours sketching and examining the sculptures." [340] Ellen Julia Hollond spelled out the cause-effect relationship of sketching and observation even more plainly: "Strong cold wind, which did not prevent our going up to the temple; I and Annie drew two of the figures, and I thus had leisure to examine them well."[341]

It is worth noting that the widespread diffusion of photography in the latter half of the nineteenth century did not put a stop to the distinctive impact of sketching on the behavior of female travelers, even those who also took photographs. The three intrepid Buxton sisters, who accompanied their father's hunting expedition to Egypt in 1894, brought with them, "an ordinary Kodak camera, such as is now commonly found on the back of every tourist."[342] The camera furnished dozens of illustrations for their book, and colored several of their local interactions. During a visit with Bedouin men, "we made friends over the camera, which excited them a

[339] Dawson Damer, *Diary of a Tour*, vol. 1, 32.
[340] Anonymous (A Daughter of Japhet), *Wanderings in the Land of Ham* (London: Longman, Brown, Green, Longmans and Roberts,1858), 78.
[341] Hollond, *A Lady's Journal,* 141.
[342] Buxton, *On Either Side of the Red Sea*, 2.

great deal."[343] Yet the sisters' recollections of the trip overflow with references to walks, climbs, and exploits undertaken specifically to produce sketches, not photographs. "There was a lovely sunset last night," observed Hannah Maude, "and T.[Theresa] and I dashed off to do a little sketch from Suez before we started."[344] Or again, "February 6. Yesterday we went back to Wadi Nasb to sketch. It took us most of the day."[345]

The experiences of Charles, Dawson Damer, the Buxtons, et al. illustrate the most common influences of sketching on behavior: prompting sketchers to seek out the exotic, picturesque, or historically notable, despite discomforts or additional exertions. For Lucy Matilda Cubley, the desire to record sites, particularly those of religious significance, had a still more powerful impact. Cubley's visit to Ottoman Palestine in 1853-6 was the fulfillment of a childhood ambition, prompted by the opportunity of "assisting to raise the condition of the poor Jewesses in Jerusalem." But if Cubley's initial motivations were charitable and religious, her daily life during the years she spent in Jerusalem was shaped by artistic ones. An amateur artist, she sketched prodigiously, eventually distilling her energetic production into 30 lithographed illustrations for her brief travel memoir, *The Hills and Plains of Palestine* (1860), a scant 56 pages long. Most of Cubley's illustrations are scrupulous landscape studies, with small figures in local costume and careful botanical and architectural detail. The balance are genre scenes, mostly local women and children, rendered with much more vitality and warmth. Cubley's sketches were considered sufficiently skillful and authoritative for Rev. Patrick Fairbairn to reprint one of her images of Jerusalem in *The Imperial Bible-Dictionary, Historical*

[343] Buxton, *On Either Side of the Red Sea* , 85.
[344] Buxton, *On Either Side of the Red Sea* , 98.
[345] Buxton, *On Either Side of the Red Sea*, 116.

Biographical, Geographical, and Doctrinal (1866). Cubley's sketches were, by her own estimation, by far the most valuable outcome of her trip. She prefaced her book:

> "During my stay in Palestine I had made numerous sketches of various objects of interest, figures and groups, which, on my return, gave great pleasure to my many friends, and they having repeatedly expressed a desire that these sketches might be reproduced in a permanent form, I was induced to publish a portion of them, with the necessary description…. The only merit I claim for the work is its truthfulness; the sketches were all made by me on the spot, and are faithful representations of places and persons I have seen during the period of my abode in Jerusalem. The descriptive letter-press is a subordinate part of the work, and I have nothing to advance in extenuation of its want of power, its prosaic sentences, and many other defects."[346]

Cubley succeeded: reviewers more or less ignored her text, but trusted the images (though, as we saw earlier, her gender appears to have hampered their critical reception). *The Christian Reformer* dismissed her descriptions, but deemed Cubley "accomplished" and the book "beautiful," noting, "The sketches… executed with admirable taste, are evidently as truthful as they are beautiful, and are invaluable to those who wish to make up for the want of personal inspection of the Holy Land."[347] Yet again, we see the tendency on the part of nineteenth-century reviewers to treat female traveler-sketchers as truthful recorders, rather than invest them with an artist's powers of choice, invention, and modification.

In her account of sketching the Al-Aqsa Mosque on Temple Mount in Jerusalem, Cubley (over-)emphasized the potential dangers of the site, and the physically threatening otherness of its Muslim keepers: "It has been the desire of all travellers visiting Jerusalem to gain admittance into the Mosque Enclosure, and although Christians run great risk if found within its precincts, yet curiosity and veneration for the place have proved so strong with many, that they have braved the

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[346] Lucy Matilda Cubley, *The Hills and Plains of Palestine. With Illustrations and descriptions by Miss L. Cubley.* (London: Day and Son, 1860), Preface.
[347] Review *of The Hills and Plains of Palestine, with Illustrations and Descriptions*, by L.M. Cubley. *The Christian Reformer; or, Unitarian Magazine and Review* XVI. (Jan-Dec. 1860), 508.

danger...Once I ventured too near one of the gates whilst riding; a Takruri and a number of boys immediately threw stones at me…"[348] It is noteworthy that -- at a location of enormous religious significance -- Cubley framed her own courage and motivation in repeatedly returning to the site in terms of her art as much as her faith. She proudly noted her determination to enter only on her own terms, painting herself as an incorruptibly proper Christian explorer: "I was one of the first who was allowed to enter the Enclosure as a Christian. I had several times had the offer made to me to go in, if I would put on the izzah (sheet) and yellow slippers; but this I refused to do, and would not make use of the privilege until permitted to go as a Christian and in my own costume."[349] When she finally did enter, Cubley took with her both her actual sketching paper, and a pronounced aestheticizing perspective, imbuing architectural details with artistic value, and staking an explicit claim not simply to artistic authority, but to the honor of being the first *woman* to sketch there. She wrote:

> "In my last visit I went into every part,--the vaults, gates, and every nook and corner; indeed, I remained at least half an hour after all the others had left, to take the sketch on the title-page; it is from the front of the Mosque el Aksar [al-Aqsa], looking up the avenue to the great Mosque, and has the fountain in front that is still supplied with water from the pools of Solomon...I believe I am the only lady who has sketched in the Mosque Enclosure. Whilst I was drawing, the Moslems came in to prayer, and were exceedingly angry to see me, *a female*, [emphasis in original] so occupied; but I had a sufficient protection in the Pasha's Secretary, who stayed with me, with a guard of soldiers. When my sketch was finished, I walked with this escort round the Mosque and Enclosure, gathered a bunch of cypress, olive, and such flowers as were growing wild, and returned home without accident. I believe the Moslems were so petrified with astonishment they had not power to act, or I might have fallen a victim to their fanatical rage."[350]

Here we have a generally conventional female traveler, an amateur artist, claiming (however inaccurately) to have deliberately and repeatedly risked her safety for the

[348]Cubley, *The Hills and Plains of Palestine,* 1.
[349]Cubley *The Hills and Plains of Palestine,* , 2.
[350]Cubley, *The Hills and Plains of Palestine,* 4.

sake of being "the only lady" to sketch this famous scene. Not only that, but asserting that her gender made the danger all the greater—and her achievement consequently more noteworthy. In addition to illustrating how strong an impact even amateur sketching could have on travelers' behavior, this example demonstrates how valuable written accounts are in illuminating the lived experience and perceptions that underlie women's travel art of the Ottoman Empire, and helping to reclaim them as historic documents. For Cubley's scrupulous rendering of the Mosque Enclosure, reproduced as her book's frontispiece, gives no indication either of the culturally and religiously charged exchanges she describes, of her or her party's physical presence in this space, or indeed anything but a tranquil Oriental cityscape (fig 36).

Fig. 36. Lucy Matilda Cubley, *Mosque Enclosure*, c. 1860. Reproduction of a watercolor. Reproduced from Lucy Matilda Cubley, *The Hills and Plains of Palestine* (London: Day and Son, 1860), Frontispiece.

The wide open, tree-dotted expanse of the enclosure and the almost indistinguishably minute human figures enhance the almost timeless stillness of the scene. Given Cubley's emphasis on both her gender and her artistic pioneering, this image is strikingly impersonal; at first glance, it could be anyone's Jerusalem. But Cubley's invisible presence arguably dominates the image. Given the juxtaposition of conflicting image and account, it is tempting to read "Mosque Enclosure" as

Cubley's assertion of control over the scene whose real-life counterpart she claimed to find so threatening. In her sketchbook, she can make Jerusalem peaceful, picturesque, sacred and safe.

This kind of Orientalist artistic intervention was by no means restricted to female artists, but they freely participated in it, most frequently by erasing signs of modernity, Westernization, or 'airbrushing' people and places they deemed insufficiently picturesque. The pervasiveness of this practice is most starkly illustrated by the contrasts between artists' visual renderings and their own written accounts. While one of the primary motivations of this thesis is to historically situate women's travel artworks, and thereby help establish their potential as both documents and artifacts. Yet these conflicts serve as an important reminder of how careful we must be not to automatically attribute documentary accuracy to every traveler-sketcher who lays claim to it. Another illustrative example is Esme Scott-Stevenson, an amateur sketcher and author of three travel memoirs about the Eastern Mediterranean, whose Cypriot sketching expeditions I mentioned earlier. Describing her first glimpses of Larnaca, she lamented the intrusion of modernity and the emergence of a Western European-style urban environment: "Larnaca has become now almost Europeanized, and has lost much of its picturesqueness… Shops full of European goods have taken the place of the old bazaars; and one sees more people in English than Greek costume. All this may be much more civilized, but I cannot say it is more beautiful…"[351] Yet, when she chose one of her sketches of Larnaca to be reproduced to illustrate the city, the scene is nearly unrecognizable, a storybook image of a charming Oriental bazaar (fig. 37).

[351]Scott-Stevenson, *Our Home in Cyprus*, 9.

Fig. 37. Esme Scott Stevenson, *Bazaar at Larnaca*, c. 1880. Reproduction of a sketch.
Reproduced from Esme Scott Stevenson, *Our Home in Cyprus* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1880), 9.

Lest there be any doubt that act of sketching could help shape a traveler's behavior and itinerary, let us briefly consider the case of Jane Digby, Lady Ellenborough (1807-1881).[352] A renowned society beauty, daughter of one of Nelson's admirals, Digby quickly became notorious for her many marriages and high-profile love affairs. Her four husbands reflect her eastward progress: an English earl, a German baron, a Greek count, and finally Medjuel el Mezrab, a Syrian sheikh she encountered when his Bedouin escorted her *en route* to the ruins of Palmyra, and with whom she lived in Damascus for almost three decades. Digby had been trained in water-color painting as a child,[353] and was an avid sketcher on her travels; given her comparative lack of interest in history or religion, sketching appears to have been the primary motivation for her initial trip to Palmyra. The English barrister Sir

[352]For the most detailed and up-to-date biography of Digby currently available, see Mary S. Lovell, *A Scandalous Life: The Biography of Jane Digby El Mezrab* (Richard Cohen Books, Ltd., 1995). Despite its frequently purple prose, the book is factually reliable, and Lovell made good use of Digby's voluminous (unpublished) diaries and sketchbooks from her travels.
[353] Lovell, *A Scandalous Life*, Kindle edition, location 221.

Edwin Pears recalled meeting Digby as "an elderly lady" during a trip to Damascus "in the late autumn of 1876":

> "I had heard her history before leaving England from Mr. Karl Haag, the well-known painter. He had gone on a sketching expedition into the Syrian desert, and had been accompanied by the lady in question, now fifty years of age, who also possessed very considerable talent in water-colours. The Uttle expedition was under the protection of a Sheik, Abdul Mejuel, [sic] a bright, clear-eyed Arab, having a tribe of from two hundred and fifty to three hundred Bedouins under him. The expedition was a success, Karl Haag obtained the sketches he desired, and the Sheik and the lady fell in love with each other and married."[354]

Digby was certainly proud of the travel artwork she created in Syria, including the "really fine water-colour views of Palmyra" which she showed Anne Blunt, Isabel Burton, and Emily Beaufort[355] when each, in turn, called on her in Damascus. Digby even accompanied Emily Beaufort's own sketching expedition to the ruins of Palmyra (fig. 5). Here we see sketching motivating generations of female travelers to make an arduous desert trek, putting them into extended contact both with officials and residents of Damascus (as they waited for permission) and with the Bedouin who acted as both guides and guards. For Digby, her collection of sketches was at once a record and celebration of her travels, and a link to the home and society with which she had deliberately severed almost every other tie. Sir Edwin Pears admired the watercolors prominently displayed in Digby and el Mezrab's house in Damascus:

> "I examined several paintings which were upon the wall, and at once recognised two from the hand of Karl Haag. As my form of recreation has long been painting in water-colour, I passed a quarter of an hour very pleasantly in looking at the pictures… [Digby] came to my end of the sala, and after making some banal remarks, the object of which was to remove any idea of discourtesy, I replied by speaking of my enjoyment of the pictures and specially called attention to one where the painter had caught the atmosphere of the desert. She was interested in my criticisms, and recognising that I knew something of the subject, informed me that the picture in question was painted by her. That broke the ice. We got into an interesting conversation, which ended by her stating that she would have tea on the table every day at

[354]Sir Edwin Pears, *Forty Years in Constantinople: The Recollections of Sir Edwin Pears 1873-1915 With 16 Illustrations* (London: Herbert Jenkins Limited, 1916), 71-72.
[355] Lovell, *A Scandalous Life*, Kindle edition, location 4748.

> five o'clock, and would be very pleased to see me any and every day during the week I proposed to remain in Damascus.[356]

From Cubley's repeated returns to sketch the Mosque Enclosure at Temple Mount, despite her avowed fears for her safety, to the sketching expedition that ultimately resulted in Digby's marriage to Sheikh Medjuel, to the hundreds of small sketching-inspired climbs, walks, rides and perchings-on-ruins reported by other lady travelers, we clearly perceive that sketching impacted the way in which female travelers physically negotiated the Ottoman Empire and interacted with its inhabitants. Sketchers often scrutinized what non-sketchers had no cause to observe or remember, and (literally) sought different points of view. Did the many subtle and not-so-subtle effects of sketching on lived experience alter sketchers' perceptions of the 'Orient'? To observe is not necessarily to understand. Yet their painted and written testimony suggests that, at the very least, the effort of sketching helped many female travelers glimpse real and complex people, towns, cities, and cultures through the haze of preconceptions and fantasy that obscured the vision of so many travelers.

4.4 Disrupting the artistic hierarchy: the observers observed

Annie, Lady Brassey (1839-1887), travelled around the world on her yacht *Sunbeam*, including extensive cruises from Constantinople down through the Turkish Aegean, and along the coast of north Africa. No sketcher but an avid photographer, Brassey soon learned that observation flowed both ways. One Algerian woman observed to her, "You like to look at us, we like to look at you. You're quite as strange to us as we are to you."[357] This strangeness could be provocative, especially when artists presumed to sketch without permission. Uzi Baram observed of Western visitors to Ottoman Palestine, "These travelers intruded into the political and social dynamics of

[356]Pears, *Forty Years in Constantinople*, 72-73.
[357] Brassey (1880), quoted in Hodgson, *Dreaming of East*, 125.

a place under empire, controlled by a modernizing regime. Indeed, [David] Roberts reports having his sketchbook knocked out of his hands while working in Cairo." [358] This section will survey a handful of the numerous mentions in nineteenth-century women's travel narratives about the frequently active and vocal reactions of the people whom they sketched, or who observed them sketching. A caveat: These examples are only one side of the story, and, though common sense and awareness of contemporary cultures of various Ottoman-controlled territories are helpful, there is no way to empirically verify exactly how much is lived experience, how much is skewed perception, and how much invention. Nevertheless, taken as a body, these accounts offer a both unique glimpse of cross-cultural and interpersonal negotiations and exchanges that would otherwise be entirely lost, and a valuable antidote to the misperception that the men, women and children depicted in Orientalist art were necessarily passive, silent, or helpless.

Mary Roberts has observed that when European or American women visited Ottoman harems in Cairo or Constantinople, inspection and admiration of clothing served as a frequent, almost ritualized nonverbal bridge, one repetitively recorded in dozens of nineteenth-century travel narratives:

> "Sartorial display was another important touchstone for tangible memory in these travelogues. The display of clothes was one of the rituals of entertainment in the harem visit that enabled the British visitors to establish a rapport with the women they met there. In recounting this ritual, the diarists wrote lengthy descriptions…"[359]

Interactions while sketching could serve an analogous function, both as lived experience and as a mnemonic or narrative device in subsequent written accounts. But whereas inspection of clothes was highly gendered and class-restricted (typically, only between visiting bourgeois or aristocratic Western women and their

[358] Mancoff (1999), 71, cited in Baram, "Images of the Holy Land,"113.
[359] Roberts, *Intimate Outsiders,* 73.

Ottoman counterparts), sketching could open up interactions with people of various ages and genders, frequently traveling Bedouin, street children, fellow passengers on shipboard, or, indeed, as an added dimension to a harem visit. In her 1872 travel memoir, Mary Elizabeth Beck, a "prolific writer," who wrote "books on the Bible and on Quaker principles,"[360] recollected how bad weather forced her party to stay indoors with pens and paper, attracting the interest of the local women and children:

> "The Arab women and children streamed in *ad libitum* at the open door, dirty, and full of curiosity—look through the *window* they could not, as the house did not boast one…sketching and journalising, with the amusement afforded by our unbidden visitors, made us half forget our forlorn condition. One pretty woman with her child stood in the doorway and seemed gratified at being made the subject of a sketch, coming up and softly stroking the velvet jacket of our lady-artist with fearless familiarity…Our day passed cheerfully, and no harm reached us in our mud walls during the night—it was a very new and droll experience; the "Arabian Nights Entertainments" being transferred from the realm of fiction to fact."[361]

Beck's general perceptions of the women were unaltered by this encounter (that she chose to give her memoir the polarizing title *East and West* suggests her conviction about the fundamental otherness of the Middle East). Yet because she considered the Arab women entertaining to see and sketch on a rainy day, Beck engaged with them much more intimately and at greater length than she would likely otherwise have contemplated. And in so doing, she began to speak of them, though not as equals, at least as human individuals, rather than an undifferentiated and grubby group.

Interaction between sketchers and subjects could be as straightforward as mutual observation, as Mrs. Lee Bacon described, in reaction to her husband's sketching:

> "While we have been examining the temple of the lions, the villagers from hard by have gathered about us, and as the Howadji makes a sketch we receive more attention than the natives heretofore have given us. They have become less and less shy as the sketch has progressed, and when it is

[360]Marion Ann Taylor and Heather E. Weir, *Let Her Speak for Herself: Nineteenth-Century Women Writing on Women in Genesis* (Waco, TX: Baylor University Press, 2006), 221.
[361] Mary Elizabeth Beck, *East and West* (London: R. Clay, Sons, and Taylor, 1872), 88.

> completed they accompany us back to the boat, while Alli [sic], who constitutes himself a rear guard, walks between them and us."[362]

But many female sketchers' accounts attest to the power of the sketching process to stimulate pleasant and humanizing exchanges, particularly between women. In *Cities of the Past* (1864) Frances Power Cobbe repeatedly recalled using sketching to bridge cultural and linguistic divides throughout the eastern Mediterranean. On one occasion, "some Maronite women coming up, I began to sketch them and was soon surrounded by a merry group."[363] On another, "I conversed for a little while with some Greek women…if conversing it could be called, to interchange a few friendly signs and an odd word or two, and exhibit some very bad sketches, which they were surprisingly clever to recognise as those of the Holy Sepulchre. Their manners were very sweet and engaging."[364] In the village of Zachly (Zahlé), near Baalbek, Cobbe made a deliberate, friendly exhibition of her art supplies to the assembled curious villagers:

> "To amuse them I showed them the contents of my traveling bag…each new object calling forth ecstasies of wonder and delight…My little rough sketch-book was hardly comprehensible till I began to draw the children, and there was much amusement, and many undeserved "Taïbs;"[good] and then they each told me their names, which I wrote down in the order following…"[365]

And indeed, Cobbe's published book affectionately includes the villagers' names and particulars. That the bond created by Cobbe's sketching display was mutual is strongly sugggested by the fact that the villagers' curiosity persisted even after she bade them farewell and went to bed:

> "I closed my tent-door for the night; not, however, from public gaze could I retire so easily…some faint sounds caused me to look up and round. Lo! through the slit of the tent-door a whole perpendicular row of bright laughing girls' eyes were peering at me…"[366]

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[362] Lee Bacon, *Our Houseboat on the Nile*, 220.
[363] Cobbe, Cities of the Past, 19.
[364] Cobbe, Cities of the Past, 133.
[365] Cobbe, Cities of the Past, 20.
[366] Cobbe, *Cities of the Past*, 21.

Whille I by no means intend to propose that sketching necessarily led to improved understanding or communication between female travelers and the people who encountered them, for open-minded nineteenth-century women sketchers, it could be a potent tool for seeing beyond the picturesque, engaging respectfully and enjoyably with locals. As in Cobbe's case, sketching could render the sketcher benignly conspicuous, a pleasant curiosity to a far broader range of people than she might otherwise communicate with.

On a visit to the harem of Shami Bey in Cairo, Dawson Damer recounted a much more formal, yet strikingly collaborative exchange, in which sketches and sketching became a means for communication, interaction, and amusement between the British and Arab women, the latter offering painting materials to help complete the sketch. Sketching, in this instance became an extension of the "sartorial exchange" identified by Roberts,[367] for after describing the costume of her hostess Sarame, Shami Bey's daughter-in-law, in elaborate detail, Dawson Damer continued,

> "As these fair harem prisoners are very fond of seeing all they can of European novelties, we put on every possible ornament, few as we had, and shewed them our album, which amused them very much, at least the portraits, for the landscapes they always held upside down. Minney [Dawson Damer's thirteen-year-old daughter] asked Sarame to let her try and do her picture, and succeeded in making something of a likeness, in pencil. On this they produced some red ink, for her to add colour to the cheeks, and wanted very much to send off our interpretess for our box of colours, but we resisted parting with our mouth-piece."

[367] Sketching as an extension of sartorial or other visual exchanges is a very common feature of sketchers' harem narratives. Another illustrative example appears in Lady Alicia Blackwood's account of a visit to her neighbor in Constantinople, the wife of Kaffi Pasha: "She seemed very pleased at our visit. It was a peculiar one—the communications being chiefly carried on by signs…my sketch-book was a great amusement, as "Pashaess" Kaffi recognised the neighbouring views. She showed us, in turn, over her house, which was very handsomely decorated…"(235) Again, like so many harem narratives, these tales were often accompanied by formulaic, Orientalist asides purporting to deplore the miserable/oppressed/ignorant/inferior condition of their hostesses, as Blackwood duly proceeded to do: "Our visit had a melancholy interest in it, for it was very sad to see one for whom nature had done so much, and who seemed so qualified for a high and perhaps noble sphere, in so unhappy a state of uselessness and ignorance" – a most pointed remark from Blackwood, who had herself traveled to Constantinople to help with relief efforts for British soldiers fighting in the Crimean War. (236)

Despite Dawson Damer's overtly Orientalist rendering of her hostesses ("fair harem prisoners", [368] who childishly fail to recognize a landscape), she acknowledged their agency in the production of the sketch, both in consenting and in offering their own ink. This is even more firmly underscored by the conclusion of the incident:

> "Minney was in the act of packing up her performance, when there was a regular re-presentation of the impossibility of such a proceeding, and the reasons given were, that should my father, husband, son, or brother, see the portrait, it would be the same as if they had seen Sarame herself, and draw down upon her her father and husband's vengeance. This was more flattering to Minney's talent than it was at all intended, but it was really amusing to see the state of excitement of the whole harem, the prospect of such a contingency."[369]

Filtered though it is through Dawson Damer's condescending amusement, this depiction is significant. First, because it supports the evidence presented by Mary Roberts in her discussion of commissioned harem portraits by Western women that, "In the production of these harem paintings, it is the harem woman who exercises control, in contrast to the pervasive European stereotype of the passive odalisque."[370] Even in this much more informal situation, the aristocratic harem ladies are far from passive, and it is ultimately their authority which prevails. Dawson Damer correctly interprets women's concerns as reflective of concern for propriety and Ottoman social norms of gender segregation, rather than the vague fear of 'the evil eye' to which many sketchers eagerly ascribed their subjects' discomforts. (I will return to the intersection of sketching and Western projections/perceptions of Ottoman superstition shortly.)

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[368] The apparently widespread Ottoman/Arab preference for (or at least heightened fascination with) travelers' figure, rather than landscape, drawings is a recurring theme in Western depictions of Ottoman responses to Western art. Tirard wrote, "The people seemed very nice; they did not bother one at all, but sat round quietly while we sketched. I showed one of the sketch-books to a circle of admirers, who were much amused, especially at the picture of an Egyptian soldier; they all liked the figures better than the scenery, and they showed their gratitude by keeping all the boys who came by out of the way, so that the sketching might go on uninterruptedly" (163).

[369] Dawson Damer, *Diary of a Tour*, vol. 2, 204-206.

[370] Roberts, *Intimate Outsiders*, 116.

Dawson Damer's account of sketching in Shami Bey's harem is also significant because it predates the similar accounts of Mary Adelaide Walker and Elisabeth Jerichau-Baumann (cited by Roberts) by several decades, and may well have influenced the preconceptions of a generation of female traveler-sketchers. Upon its publication, Dawson Damer's account of her harem visit was deemed to hold exceptional interest, and was reprinted in the *London Saturday Journal,*[371] and featured in a round-up of "Lady Travellers" in the *Quarterly Review* by Lady Elizabeth Rigby Eastlake (herself an accomplished travel sketcher).[372]

Though most of the significant encounters I have highlighted so far were between women, or women and children, the act of sketching also offered a socially sanctioned means for female sketchers to engage in conversation with local men, with whom they likely would not otherwise have had much, or any, prolonged interaction. As she was sketching a temple, Ellen Julia Hollond fell into chatting with a local sheikh, of whom she formed a favorable opinion: "So I remained outside, drawing, and trying to talk to a shick or chief of the village just below, who kept us company all the time. His house looked so neat, with its well-polished mud…"[373] Dawson Damer mentioned a visit to the tomb of Rameses II, "of beautiful form and proportions," of whose existence she learned only because of a conversation with the "Reiz of Saqquarda" (likely Saqqara), as her young daughter Minney drew his portrait:

> "I am surprised that it is not more celebrated; for its very existence was only casually mentioned to us by the Reiz of Saqquarda, who was sitting for his picture to Minney and Mr. E ds. His dress was far more picturesque than his countenance, but such was not his own opinion, for he repeatedly and

[371]Mrs. G.L. Dawson Damer, "Description of the Interior of a Nobleman's Harem at Cairo [from Mrs. Damer's "Holy Land."],"*London Saturday Journal. New and Pictorial Series*, vol. II, July-Dec. 1841 (London: W. Brittain, 11 Paternoster Row), 143.
[372]Lady Elizabeth Rigby Eastlake, "Lady Travellers" in Quarterly Review, Vol. 76 (June), pp. 98-137, 1845.
[373]Hollond, *A Lady's Journal,* 150-151.

> conceitedly regretted not having sat for his portrait when he was in possession of his fine teeth.[374]

It is worth noting how absolutely Dawson Damer positions herself as the judge of what about the Reis is 'picturesque', regardless of his own opinion.

The variety of experiences reported by female sketchers illustrates the social complexity and variability of these encounters, in which class played as significant a role as gender, age, or cultural differences. Contrast the capitulations – however unwilling—to the propriety of aristocratic Constantinopolitan and Cairene ladies on the parts of Dawson Damer, Walker, and Jerichau-Baumann with the following anecdote from Mary Louisa Whately's 1863 *Ragged Life in Egypt*. Whately's overriding goal was to raise awareness about and help the Egyptian poor, whom she also frequently sketched. But, as in her aid work, Whately preferred to retain as much power as possible over these interactions. She recollected,

> "At six o'clock I came down with a drawing-book to sit near the door, sheltered by stone pillars….and presently two little girls, natives of the place, came up, and furnished pretty subjects for a drawing. They were dressed in their best, it being a festival day, and were very proud of their gay print trousers and spangled handkerchiefs. I promised a cake to each if they would stand still, which they consented to do…"[375]

This is a dynamic by now familiar to us: Whately did not coerce or hide from the subjects of her sketch, but coaxed and propitiated them with a small bribe. But "then," she wrote, "after admiring their own likenesses, and vainly trying to obtain possession of them by entreaties, they begged to look at the contents of my travelling bag…"[376] These are street children, not harem ladies; Whately's will prevails, and she retains the portraits.

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[374]Dawson Damer, *Diary of a Tour,* vol. 2, 206.
[375] Whately, *Ragged Life,* 152.
[376] Whately, *Ragged Life,* 152.

For harem ladies, the female traveler-sketchers generally had a well-defined social role: they were either hired artists, or guests. But outside of such a well-defined social framework, how did locals – Turkish, Arab, Bedouin, Greek islanders—interpret the sight of these sketching women? Many female traveler-sketchers developed theories of their own as to how they were themselves perceived. (As we shall see shortly, these theories were often poorly informed, and often involved superstitions about the evil eye.) But there is evidence that on some occasions, locals would simply interpret sketchers' acts of spectatorship in terms of their pre-existing cultural categories and expectations. Ellen Julia Hollond, in Egypt in 1858-9, recounts a very illuminating anecdote about her encounter with an *almeh*, a figure often mentioned by male travelers to the nineteenth-century Middle East, and defined by Edward Said as "a courtesan of sorts, but a woman of significant accomplishments. Dancing was only one of her gifts; others were the ability to sing and recite classical poetry, to discourse wittily, to be sought after for her company by men of law, politics, and literature."[377] Hollond wrote,

> "Wednesday, 29th. The first object that met my eyes on drawing the curtain of my window, was a girl dressed in red, her head adorned with gold coins, and her face unveiled. I had heard too much about the Almehs of Egypt not to guess she was one. She was about fifteen, sallow faced and pretty, and so much accustomed to be looked at that she soon saw I was taking a sketch of her from my window, and standing still for a few minutes she sent to ask for backshish."[378]

Was the girl recognizing her picturesqueness as a commodity saleable to foreign sketchers? Not exactly. Rather, confronted with Hollond's obvious efforts to sketch her, the young *almeh* interpreted the situation according to the norms of her own experience, and responded accordingly. She was a performer; Hollond was an

[377] Edward Said, "*Homage to a Belly Dancer," London Review of Books* 12, no. 17, Sept. 13, 1990, 6-7.
[378] Hollond, *A Lady's Journal,* 90-91.

observer. Therefore, she reasoned, Hollond ought to pay her as she was accustomed to being paid by her audiences. What is especially interesting here, in considering the power dynamics involved in Western women's travel sketching of the Middle East, is that the *almeh* has accorded Hollond an essentially masculine role, apparently interpreting her (artistic, documentary) interest as a different, highly gendered, and potentially sexually charged form of spectatorship. This became increasingly clear to Hollond as events progress, and her discomfort and desire to distance herself from this association is evident:

> "Later a whole troup [sic] of these damsels came down with their musicians; these last seated themselves in a row, and four of the girls prepared to dance. At the sound of the music a numerous audience arrived; Almehs dressed in scarlet and white, with gold necklaces and head-gear, squatted down on the ground, some smoking their pipes, all looking anything but fascinating or beautiful. The dance was for our benefit; I looked at it for a few minutes and recognised the same hideous wriggle as in the dancers of Alexandria; I was more interested in the group that surrounded them; swarthy men who looked on with great gravity, merry Almehs who made fun of everything, and little boys who were constantly getting their toes beaten by the turbaned guard of our boat."[379]

Even as she recounted the *almehs*' agency and initiative (having found an apparently willing audience, the first one decided to back the entire troupe to perform) Hollond both reasserted her power as observer, and attempted to distance herself from the performance she inadvertently commissioned. The dancing must have appeared highly improper to a traveler from Victorian England, most especially to a respectable matron like Hollond, who referred to it later as "the disgusting Arab dance".[380] Like Hope-Edwardes, refusing to draw the only villager willing to sit for her because she did not find him sufficiently handsome, Hollond recoiled when *presented* with a subject to sketch. She wanted the power of choice to be entirely

[379]Hollond, *A Lady's Journal,* 91.
[380]Hollond, *A Lady's Journal,* 216.

hers, and almost defiantly fixed her gaze instead on the unthreateningly picturesque, unsexualized crowd that surrounded the dancers. In cases in which Hollond interacted, on her own terms, with local women whom she considered respectable, the difference is striking; her interaction with these women is much more analogous to the kind of friendy exchange described by Frances Power Cobbe. Hollond wrote,

> "[We] rode off returning towards Philæ, for I had set my heart upon having a sketch taken from the point whence I had first and last seen it. I was enchanted at finding the very spot I wished for, and sat down on a bit of granite rock, Hassan holding the umbrella to keep off all cold wind. Of course heaps of little boys came to take a peep, or talk in the neighbourhood; I was more interested in the women, who half shyly stood in groups laughing and peeping, and, encouraged by a smile from me, would come forward and look, and touch my dress…"[381]

Let us linger a little longer on the matter of how the local participants in these less structured encounters perceived the female sketchers. One sub-category of the amiable-exchange stories so common in sketchers' travel accounts are the many anecdotes in which female sketchers record that their subjects perceived them – and particularly their sketching – as eccentric, insane, or simply hilarious. The Buxton sisters describe "a very amusing morning" at Wadi Nasr in which, having bribed their way into a Bedouin encampment to sketch and take photographs, they found themselves the objects of unbridled mirth:

> "[W]e went to pay a call on some Bedawin who have got an encampment about two miles up the valley. At first they did not appreciate our desire to sketch their tents, and tried to send us away, but we propitiated them…They took us into their tents and let us sketch and photograph them. The women were tremendously amused, and roared with laughter at our attempts…"[382]

The apparent hilarity of the sight of foreign women sketching was reported by female travelers to India as well. Amelia Falkland, who had also sketched in Syria and Egypt, recalled an incident in the Mahabeleshwar Hills:

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[381]Hollond, *A Lady's Journal,* 158.
[382] Buxton, *On Either Side of the Red Sea,* 110-111.

> "I stopped to take a sketch of one of the women in her picturesque dress. The moment I began to draw, she fell into a fit of laughter, rolling herself in the dust, which did not improve her appearance; and whenever I endeavored to take up the pencil again, she recommenced the laughing and rolling. I saw it was hopeless, so I went on my way, and no doubt she thought me as extraordinary as I did her."[383]

It's striking that these incidents took place over such a wide geographical range. Why? What about being sketched was so amusing? It is highly unlikely that Falkland and the Buxtons should have simply invented these anecdotes to make these women appear childish or 'other'. Was this laughter a strategy to diffuse tension, or did something about a foreign woman balancing a box of watercolors and a sketch-book simply appear unbearably funny to these women? The question cannot be authoritatively answered. But these incidents do clearly indicate the humor which so frequently characterized these encounters, and which is often obscured by academic treatments of Orientalist art and writing. In many cases, there was not only no 'clash of civilizations', or even necessarily an imbalance of power; simply encounters between people intrigued and amused by their differences.

Of course, not all encounters during sketching were so benign. As we saw in her account of sketching in the Mosque Enclosure in Jerusalem, Lucy Matilda Cubley was disposed to interpret the responses of locals to her sketching in terms of antagonism and potential danger. She adopted a somewhat more sympathetic perspective in recounting their concerns about permitting her to sketch their portraits:

> "The Fellaheen came to look at us; some, not knowing what sort of people we could be, kept at a distance, for fear of the evil eye; others ventured nearer. I asked several to let me sketch them, but all seemed afraid, and ran away; a boy named Abd-el-Azime…consented when I told him he should have a backsheesh if he would stand still: he came, but as soon as his mother heard of it, she began throwing stones at him; she was afraid of an evil eye." [384]

[383] Falkland, *Chow-Chow*, 21.
[384] Cubley, *The Hills and Plains of Palestine*, 45-46.

Neither Cubley nor the boy, however, were prepared to give up so easily on their respective goals:

> "The boy ran away behind a building, but said if I would keep my promise, he would come back when his mother was gone; but she returned directly, and began pelting him again. I got one of our Arab guides to tell her I was going to give him a backsheesh, which I showed her, and also a figure I had drawn; so, at last, she became reconciled."[385]

Cubley's habit of reworking her memories in highly altered visual form comes through again here, for her actual published drawings of children in Palestine are tranquil, huge-eyed, and almost cutesy. The contrast between her written and visual records are all the more striking, given the expense, effort, and (for her model) danger involved in enabling her to sketch him from life.

The fact that the boy's mother was appeased by seeing an actual sketched figure may suggest that Cubley was somewhat over-eager in her tendency to attribute all local misgivings about being sketched purely to a superstitious fear of the evil eye. Such traditions were present throughout the Middle East in this period, and undoubtedly did contribute to the reluctance of many local inhabitants to sit for portraits. But, relying on received wisdom, relatively inexperienced female traveler-sketchers were often over-anxious (or unduly condescending) in their concerns that they would be perceived as agents of the evil eye—concerns which clearer communication could dispel. Hollond was astonished to discover that, far from fearing the power of her pencil, the crew of her dahabiyeh were eager to have their likenesses drawn:

> "I spent the morning in making vain attempts at drawing a likeness of our black steersman, fearing all the time he might think I was going to do him harm; for to look much at a person in this country is to run the risk of being accused of the evil eye; I told our dragoman to inquire if he had any objection, the good fellow grinned, and showed his fine white teeth, and

[385]Cubley, *The Hills and Plains of Palestine*, 46.

> testified his satisfaction; and the Reis then requested me to do him also, and all the men in turn seemed to look at me with a new expression of interest."[386]

These systematic misperceptions reflect more than travelers' simple lack of information about local beliefs. Many traveler-sketchers, particularly women, appear to have relished the notion that their sketching might be perceived as magical, powerful, or even dangerous. That this was not simply rooted in misinformation about Mediterranean/Middle Eastern 'evil eye' traditions is strongly indicated by the fact that a number of European and American sketchers were prepared to project it onto virtually any non-Western culture they encountered. In her memoir, *Journal of a Lady's Travels Round the World* (1883), F.D. Bridges made no mention of evil eye superstitions during her sketching expeditions in Egypt. But, sketching a temple near Borobudur (in modern Indonesia), Bridges eagerly imagined that the local inhabitants believed that she was going to make the nearby volcano erupt by means of her sketchbook:

> "I sat down to sketch, and did not for some time observe that the population of the village close by had turned out, and were ranged on their heels in rows behind me, but at a safe distance, waiting to see the catastrophe which they felt sure must happen whenever the black art of making signs with a stick on paper is exercised. There they sat and patiently gazed, and I went to sleep and woke up again to find them still gazing. From their expression I could see they quite expected the volcano not far off would open fire very soon at the command of the evil spirits; and we left the crowd searching the place where I had sat for signs of witchcraft."[387]

It is not difficult to understand why an amateur female sketcher, interpreting an unfamiliar (to her, highly exotic) landscape and culture partly by means of her sketching, at cost of considerable time and inconvenience, would delight in the notion that the people she sketched believed she was working a kind of enchantment.

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[386] Hollond, *A Lady's Journal,* 55-56.
[387] Bridges, F.D., *Journal of a Lady's Travels Round the World* (London: John Murray, 1883), 253-254.

Similarly, many female traveler-sketchers wrote of their belief or hope that locals considered them and their sketching incomprehensibly eccentric. A brief sampling will suffice to convey the tenor and ubiquity of these observations. From the Buxon sisters: "It is unlikely that this Arab had ever seen European ladies before, and their independence somewhat alarmed him."[388] The anonymous teenaged author of *Wanderings in the Land of Ham* fancied that her boat-man considered her intrepedity eccentric: "I went on shore at sunset, and strolled about for some time in the desert, to the amazement of Nimri… who followed me at a respectful distance armed with a long club, and who no doubt wondered what the "sitt sogheiyer" [glossed by the author as 'small lady'] meant to do." [389] Emily Beaufort recollected with obvious amusement that the Kashef (local governor) of Esneh considered her and her sister a peculiar and remarkable sight, again because of their independence:

> "He afterwards sent his daughter to see us, but we were unfortunately on shore when she came; and he was much disappointed at her not being able to see the novel, and to him incomprehensible, sight of a hareem belonging to nobody travelling in blissful liberty by itself on the Nile."[390]

Ellen Julia Hollond put a different spin on this pervasive refrain, reporting with amusement how a passing Egyptian woman was astonished by her dedication to such a seemingly impractical task as sketching: "…one woman who, on going to market, saw me drawing, and finding me, on her return, still at work, exclaimed to Hassan, "Why, I have been to the bazaar and back, and she is still at work; is it for her husband?" [391]

Regardless of whether they accurately reflect the perceptions of the individuals who encountered these women, the sketchers' own repeated expressions

[388] Buxton, *On Either Side of the Red Sea,* 79.
[389] Anonymous (A Daughter of Japhet), *Wanderings in the Land of Ham*, 106.
[390] Beaufort, *Egyptian Sepulchres,* 24.
[391] Hollond, *A Lady's Journal,* 158-9.

of their belief that locals regarded their independence, industry, and physical courage as eccentric actually constituted an expression of inverted pride. This pride was both cultural/nationalistic, and specifically related to their awareness of taking part in the cultural phenomenon of independent, industrious female travelers. In her 1845 article on "lady travelers" for the *Quarterly Review,* Lady Elizabeth Rigby Eastlake proudly enumerated the qualities which, she claimed, made Englishwomen the best female travelers in the world—qualities she considered inherent to Englishwomen, and both unattainable and incomprehensible for those of other nationalities:

> "Whether as traveller, or writer of travels, the foreign lady can in no way be measured against her … Where is the foreign lady who combines the four cardinal virtues of travelling – activity, punctuality, courage, and independence – like the Englishwoman?…There are certain modes of life for which English nature and education alone seem adapted;– travelling is one…The truth is that no foreign nation possesses that same class of women from which the great body of our female tourists are drafted. They have not the same well-read, solid thinking, – early rising – *sketch-loving* [emphasis mine] – light-footed – trim-waisted – straw-hatted specimen of women; educated with the refinement of the highest classes, and with the usefulness of the lowest; all-sufficient companion to her husband, and all-sufficient lady's maid to herself – they have her not."[392]

In describing both their own intrepidity and artistic industry *and* the locals' supposed incomprehension of it, these "lady travellers" were actively reinforcing and participating in the ideology Eastlake had spelled out. At home, or by means of their published or exhibited works, a female traveler-sketcher might use her exotic experiences to gain status as an integrated member of her own social groups. But a great part of her identity as a *traveler* was founded on the establishment of Ottoman people and spaces as 'other' – and she might therefore cherish the notion of their incomprehension, amusement, or even fear of her and her travel sketching, the ultimate leisure activity for the "well-read, solid thinking, – early rising – sketch-

[392] Eastlake, "Lady Travellers," 55.

loving – light-footed – trim-waisted – straw-hatted" Western European or American gentlewoman.

4.5 Stepping out of the frame

I would like to conclude this survey of the lived experiences of women traveler-sketchers and the individuals they sketched with two travel narratives, both of which (unwittingly) highlighted the agency and choice of the models/subjects, and clearly indicate the kind of cross-cultural negotiation sketching could necessitate. Both incidents took place aboard ships either bound for or departing from Constantinople, a detail I do not think is incidental. Not only was the isolated atmosphere of a nineteenth-century ship highly conducive to sketching, its practical confines created an atmosphere which enabled, or even encouraged, prolonged social contact between travelers of various nationalities, who might not otherwise engage with each other.

Two Lady Tramps Abroad, privately printed in New York in 1881, is the chatty, epistolary chronicle of the touristic adventures of Mrs. Straiton and her young daughter Emma as they traveled from the across Europe to "Asia Minor, Egypt, The Holy Land, Turkey," and onward to India. Neither sketched, but onboard a ship bound from Constantinople to the island of Syra, Emma witnessed a Western lady (her exact nationality is unstated) sketching an Ottoman man and his wives. This itself was, as we have seen, far from unusual. What makes the anecdote striking is the fact that the lady's sketching was abruptly cut short—because the (male, apparently British) captain of the vessel attempted to join in, without permission of the sitters. Emma blithely recounted:

> "A very amusing incident occurred one day. A man with about a dozen wives was aboard, and a lady, *having got the necessary permission*, [emphasis mine] undertook to sketch the party, who sat in a clump with the husband in the centre, and the women unveiled. As the lady progressed with her work, Captain East, who is quite an adept with the pencil, was quietly duplicating the scene; but suddenly he was detected, and the indignation of

> the subjects knew no bounds. They turned away, resumed their veils, and the picture was left unfinished. Veiling is a necessary adjunct of a woman's toilet in the East, for if she be without it, under almost any circumstances, she is liable to insult."[393]

Emma Straiton was clearly untroubled by the "amusing" distress and understandable indignation of the Ottoman family at this intrusion. Clearly Captain East was also fairly unperturbed by violating what he knew to be a cultural taboo. But the nameless lady not only asked permission to sketch this family with its womenfolk unveiled – *she was granted it*. Like the many Western women who were permitted to sketch in Ottoman harems, from the renowned Jerichau-Baumann to little Minney Dawson Damer, this sketcher used her gender and her ability to communicate and gain consent to sketch subjects inaccessible to her male counterparts, even by stealth.

The second narrative, also published in 1881, relates an incident from Lady Alicia Blackwood's 1854 sea journey from Marseilles to Constantinople. Blackwood's husband had been appointed chaplain "to the forces" fighting in the Crimean War, and she accompanied him, "ready to do whatever might be needed to the best of our abilities."[394] She brought her sketchbook with her, and was immediately fascinated by the "Arabs" traveling alongside them, whom she found exotic and visually arresting, though she shrank from the possibility of social contact with them. She recollected,

> "Amongst our *compagnons de voyage* were some eighteen or twenty Arabs, and as they kept to the distant part of the ship, we were not a little amused by watching them—nearer acquaintance might not have been so agreeable. The very perceptible chief of the party was a man of immense stature…The gigantic form of the Marabout, [North African Muslim religious teacher]for such he was, especially attracted our attention, and he appeart to be some one of note in his way. On inquiry we learned he was closely related to the well-

[393] Mrs. Straiton and Emma Straiton, *Two Lady Tramps Abroad; A Compilation Of Letters Descriptive Of Nearly A Year's Travel In India, Asia Minor, Egypt, The Holy Land, Turkey, Greece, Italy, Austria, Switzerland, France, England, Ireland And Scotland, by Two American Ladies. Published by Request*. (Flushing, NY: Evening Journal Press, 1881), 156-157.
[394]Lady Alicia Blackwood, *A Narrative of Personal Experiences & Impressions During a Residence on the Bosphorus Throughout the Crimean War* (London: Hatchard, 1881), 3.

> known Abd-el-Kader, at that time a prisoner in France. I could not refrain from making a sketch of this very picturesque person, though I did not intend he should see me; but his quick eye soon spied it out, and bringing an interpreter he approached, asking permission to look at what I was drawing."[395]

Unlike the lady glimpsed by Emma Straiton, the more xenophobic Blackwood (who, it must be remembered, was totally inexperienced with Middle Eastern cultures, having only just embarked for Constantinople), attempted to sneak a sketch. Having been caught, she was forced into the conversation she had avoided—a textbook example of how travel sketching could prompt encounters between otherwise unlikely or unwilling participants. Tellingly, Blackwood attempted to shift, or at least share, the blame, acccusing the Marabout of "peeping" at her drawing:

> "I own to having felt a little shy at the request, not knowing how he might be affected by the gratification of his wish, for though he was the peeping intruder, perhaps I had no right to depict him. However, as he seemed more amused than angry, I at once handed him my sketch-book, at which he laughted heartily, and *immediately offered to write his own name under his portrait, and the date of the performance.* [emphasis mine] This pleased me, and so for a short time we became as good friends as we could, through an interpreter…"[396]

The contrast between Blackwood's preconceptions and the actual agency of the Marabout is staggering. She assumes that the license to observe is wholly her own, barely conceding that his consent might be a necessary prerequisite for her portrait of him – all agency, by her reckoning, belongs with her, as the (Western) observer of an exotic (Eastern) subject, whose individuality she has not considered. She fears his reaction – and yet he is not only amused, but adds his own voice to the narrative, producitng a hybrid artwork drawn by her and labelled by him. Indeed, Blackwood claimed, the Marabout appeared to feel that *she* was *his* social inferior:

"Notwithstanding the friendship, however, he obviously despised us as much beneath

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[395] Blackwood, *A Narrative*, 4.
[396] Blackwood, *A Narrative*, 4-5. Blackwood is joking here; Dr. Blackwood's supposed three wives constituted herself and two young Swedish companions.

him, because, forsooth, he had fourteen wives, to whom he pointed, while he hinted that my husband had but three, and only one atteendant!"[397] For Blackwood's part, the Marabout's unexpected agency in an artistic relationship over which she had expected full and absolute control made her uneasy, and she concluded the anecdote by observing, "Honestly, I could not regret that, shortly after this, the effect of an increasingly rolling sea parted us, and we saw no more of him…until we reached Constantinople."[398] But she retained the sketch which she claimed he had annotated, and, almost three decades later, chose to give it pride of place as the first illustration in her memoir.

Fig. 38. Lady Alicia Blackwood, *The Marabout*, 1854. Reproduction of a sketch drawn by Blackwood and allegedly annotated by its subject.
Reproduced from Lady Alicia Blackwood, *A Narrative of Personal Experiences & Impressions During a Residence on the Bosphorus Throughout the Crimean War* (London: Hatchard, 1881).

[397] Blackwood, *A Narrative*, 5. Blackwood's accuracy is doubtful here, since she is clearly poking fun at the Marabout; Dr. Blackwood's supposed three wives constituted herself and two young Swedish companions, a fact her interpreter surely could have clarified.
[398] Blackwood, *A Narrative*, 5.

Blackwood's narrative of this incident is complicated by a closer examination of the illustration of the Marabout (fig. 38). While a number of real Arabic letters are recongizeable, the scrawl appears to spell out nonsense; it is assuredly not the hand of a trained religious teacher, fluent in Arabic. There are three possible explanations for this. First, and least likely, Blackwood might have invented the entire anecdote, and fudged the inscription herself. This possibility can, I think, be confidently dismissed: such a forgery goes against the code of ethics expressed elswehere by the highly principalled Blackwood, and the incident she described is highly plausible in the context we have discussed. (In the unlikely event that the incident was Blackwood's fantasy, such a tall tale would underscore how very significant travelers considered encounters of this kind.) The second possibility is that Blackwood misunderstood the identity of the man she spoke with, and he was not, in fact, an educated marabout,but someone not well-trained in writing, whose untidy script was worsened by the reproduction process. The third possibility, which I consider most likely, is that Blackwood's story is accurate, but that her London engraver, "I.M." of Clement-Smith & Company, struggled to accurately reproduce the unfamiliar script, and that the portrait "lost its original Arabic inscription most probably during engraving." [399] This case is a chastening reminder of how much information can be lost or misrepresented when, as so often with women's nineteenth-century travel illustrations, the original sketch is not available.

4.6 Female traveler-sketchers and Ottoman women's visual culture

Several recent publications have begun the much-needed work of examining the vibrant, profoundly multicultural and international art scene which emerged in

[399]Çiğdem Kafescioğlu, email message to author, April 27, 2015.

Constantinople in the second half of the nineteenth century. [400] An investigation of the impact of the presence of traveling Western female artists on late Ottoman visual culture, and particularly on Ottoman women's art-making, would form a valuable counterpart to the present consideration of women's travel art in the Ottoman Empire. (How) did the presence of so many foreign female sketchers impact Ottoman women's artistic culture – their private sketches, their fashion drawings, their illustrated periodicals? Though an in-depth analysis of this subject is beyond the purview of this thesis, it is worthwhile to briefly consider the role of expatriate or traveling European and American women artists in relation to this milieu.

Art and its making were, unsurprisingly, frequent topics of discussion between traveler-sketchers and local individuals, from dinner-party conversations with urban elites to talks with servants and street children. This is particularly significant because the (in-)ability to make and appreciate art was one of the standards by which European or American observers interpreted the relative otherness or civilization (and hence, relatability) of their Ottoman counterparts. Art-making could therefore play an important role in European and American perceptions of Ottoman attitudes visual culture, modernity and/or Westernization.

In a reflection both of women travelers' varied experiences and observational abilities and of the late-nineteenth-century Ottoman Empire's own shifting cultural norms, travel narratives of this period do not present a tidy consensus of opinion

[400] Notable examples include the recent work of Mary Roberts (her essay in *Local/Global: Women Artists in the Nineteenth Century* (2006), and her own book, *Intimate Outsiders* (2007)) and the Pera Museum's exhibition publication, *The Poetics and Politics of Place* (Istanbul: 2011). In Turkish, Seda Sinanlar Uslu's *Pera Ressamları-Pera Sergileri*: 1845-1916, (Istanbul: Norgunk Yayıncılık, 2010), published to accompany an exhibition of the same name at the İstanbul Fransız Kültür Merkezi, is one of the most thorough examinations of the late-nineteenth-century art scene in Pera currently available. Another valuable resource is the work of Zeynep Inankur, notably *Constantinople and the Orientalists*, co-authored with Semra Germaner (Istanbul: (Istanbul: İş Bankası Cultural Publications, 2002). It is noteworthy, though unsurprising, that most scholarship on this topic is still being carried out in Turkey.

about Ottomans' doctrinal, temperamental, or technical ability to make art. In her 1859 account of Constantinople, the American traveler Caroline Paine found much to criticize in her host culture: the local music she deemed "torturing", and the food "meagre". But she willingly credited the city's inhabitants with visual good taste and a knack for landscape architecture:

> "It would seem as if the organ of sight were the one sense of the Turk, through which he receives his highest gratification. That he has a taste for the beauties of natural scenery, may be inferred from the fine positions chosen upon the quays for palaces, and the commanding eminences selected for *kiosks* […]The prettiest lawns and clumps of trees are resorted to for passing the days in listless idleness, where the eye alone is feasted […]While all possible pains are taken to produce an effect upon the eye, showing his keen perception of objects and a high appreciation for beauty, he sits with an astonishing degree of composure…"[401]

Tirard, sketching in Egypt in the 1890s, teasingly asked two of her young servants why they did not take it up as well:

> "Both boys are very fond of watching the sketching, so we asked them to-day why they did not try to draw too. "Why not Arab draw? Arab lazy man." Ahmad, shocked and indignant, "Arab not lazy man. Arab never draw. Arab a shadoof [irrigation system] man." This answer expressed much of the life of the nation…"

In fact many children of affluent, urban Constantinople families did receive painting lessons, much like their well-off counterparts in London or New York. In Constantinople, several traveling or expatriate women artists became influential art teachers to the Ottoman elites, with whom their own sketching might serve to bring them into initial contact.

Since their introduction in 1859 at the Hendese-i Mülkiye (the Istanbul engineering school which would eventually evolve into Istanbul Technical University), drawing lessons had been slowly proliferating across the Ottoman higher

[401]Caroline Paine, *Tent and Harem: Notes of an Oriental Trip.* (New York: D. Appleton and Company 1859), 12.

education system, culminating with the foundation of the Nefise Mekteb-i Alisi (Academy of Fine Arts) in 1883.[402] By this point, as Burcu Pelvanoğlu observes, "For the daughters of upper class families, westernization meant learning a foreign language, especially French, and piano and painting lessons in their mansions, all from private tutors (*mürebbiye*)."[403] These private tutors were frequently non-Ottoman, and there was a particular demand for European women tutors or governesses, who could impart these accomplishments to young Ottoman women.[404] In her 1911 travelogue of Constantinople, American traveller Hester Donaldson Jenkins firmly associated the by-then well-established existence of Ottoman women's painting with the luxury of employing a European governess:

> "The greater part of the girls of Constantinople leave school when they finish the course of the mosque school. If they are then rich and ambitious, they have a French, English or German governess in the house…Sometimes by the aid of governesses the young ladies become quite accomplished. I knew a lady who speaks English exquisitely, and constantly reads it, who knows French and Greek, who paints a little…"[405]

It is known that some traveling female artists found work as painting instructors in wealthy Ottoman homes (see Zeynep Inankur and Mary Roberts' illuminating examinations of Mary Adelaide Walker's teaching career in late-nineteenth-century

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[402]Didem Üstün Vural, "Yüzyılda Asker Ressamların ve Cumhuriyet Dönemi Türk Ressamları'nın Hocaları Olan Bir Grup Avrupalı Ressam," Türkiye Sosyal Araştırmalar Dergisi (August-December 2004), pp. 115-126, 117.

[403] Burcu Pelvanoğlu, "Painting the Late Ottoman Woman: Portrait(s) of Mihri Müşvik Hanım," in Duygu Köksal and Anastasia Falierou, ed.s, *A Social History of Late Ottoman Women: New Perspectives* (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 156.

[404] These foreign tutors could be men; the "eccentric and bohemian painter Mihri (Müşvik) Hanım" (b. 1886 in Istanbul), daughter of a prominent physician, had "her first private lessons in painting […] provided by an Italian Orientalist artist, Fausto Zonaro (1854-1929), in his studio in the Istanbul quarter of Beşiktaş-Akaretler." (Pelvanoğlu 157), which is all the more remarkable in light of the difficulties Ottoman women artists faced in their campaign to be admitted to the Academy of Fine Arts. Hester Donaldson Jenkins observed, "Another set of women petitioned Hamdi Bey, the curator of the Art Museum, to admit them into the so-called School of Fine Arts; he replied that that was impossible, as men were studying there, and the accommodation was insufficient to admit of women having separate rooms, but that he would arrange later for Turkish women to study drawing and painting" (155). This problem would be surmounted with the foundation of the İnas Sanayi-i Nefise Mekteb-i Âlisi in 1914 (Pelvanoğlu 159)

[405] Jenkins, Hester Donaldson, Behind Turkish Lattices: The Story of a Turkish Woman's Life with 24 Illustrations (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott Company, 1911), 29.

Constantinople).[406] Roberts has also demonstrated how Princess Nazlı Hanım's prolonged interaction with Elisabeth Jerichau-Baumann while the Polish-Danish artist was painting her portrait, combined with Nazlı's upbringing "in an Islamic family milieu that was engaged with Western cultural practices" and boasted a substantial collection of European art, helped encourage Princess Nazlı to develop her own painting skills.[407] It also enabled her to contribute to one of the most remarkable manifestations of the hybrid art scene of 1880s Constantinople, the Artists of the Bosphorus and Constantinople (the ABC Club, sometimes referred to as the Elifba Kulübü, Club de l'ABC or occasionally Abese Kulübü). The short-lived ABC Club's foundation in 1880 attracted a remarkably wide and varied range of responses from the world press: Orientalist fascination with its exotic Ottoman contributors in the Danish paper *Dagbladet*; nationalist pride from the Ottoman periodical *Osmanlı*[408]; and the mildly amused approbation of the London press. The *Pall Mall Budget* published an extremely brief note of its first exhibition. It read,

> "The exhibition of pictures of the A B C Club has been opened at Therapia [modern Tarabya] with the view of engaging, by the display of local talent, the artistic tendencies of its inhabitants. M. Tissot, the French Ambassador, contributes sixteen sketches in Morocco."[409]

It is notable, given the exhibition's location, that the only artwork this reviewer should have chosen to mention were Orientalist travel sketches of a *different* Orient. In becoming a hospitable environment for such an exhibition, had Constantinople briefly ceased to appear exotic enough to warrant its own Orientalist renderings?

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[406] "Mary Adelaide Walker," and "Genealogies of Display: Cross-Cultural Networks at the 1880s Istanbul Exhibitions" in *The Poetics and Politics of Place.*
[407] Roberts, *Intimate Outsiders*, Kindle Edition, 154-155.
[408] Roberts, *Intimate Outsiders*, Kindle Edition, 155.
[409] *The Pall Mall Budget*, Vol. 25 (October 1, 1880), 27-28.

Though the Earl of Dufferin presided over the club, the *Atheneum*'s review of the ABC Club's 1882 exhibition clearly credits two female traveller-sketchers, the otherwise-obscure Miss Sharpe and Miss Colville, with its inspiration:

> "The exhibition mania has made way in Constantinople. The first modest attempt was made in 1880 by two English visitors, Miss Sharpe and Miss Colville. This succeeded, and last year the ABC Club was formed and a larger exhibition held, as we mentioned in the *Atheneum*. A considerable balance remaining over, the ABC Club has grown into the Art Club, with the Earl of Dufferin as president. This year's exhibition is to have three galleries—one of contemporary works, one of loan paintings, and the third of miscellaneous works of Oriental art."[410]

The ABC club deserves a much more thorough investigation than it has yet received, though Roberts has made an exemplary start, and a compelling case for the necessity of a "radical revision of the paradigm of Orientalism in order to acknowledge productive cross-cultural collaborations and the priorities of Ottoman audiences."[411] For purposes of this thesis, the ABC Club offers a remarkable glimpse of the often-obscure, yet undeniable impact of female traveller-artists on both the late Ottoman Empire they sought to experience and depict, and the communities of expatriates and foreign travelers present there.

[410] *The Atheneum*, No. 2842 (April 15, 1882), 483.
[411] Roberts, *Intimate Outsiders*, 156.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

The many hundreds of female European and American travelers who sketched in the nineteenth-century Ottoman Empire left behind three important legacies. First and most concrete, their artworks themselves, and the first-hand accounts of their making. These valuable historic documents provide unique insight into the shifting realities and perceptions of the Ottoman Empire in this time of profound transition, into the many overlapping 'Orientalisms' which shaped nineteenth-century Ottoman encounters with the "West", and into the extraordinary social phenomenon of Western women's independent, respectable, and purposeful travel in the Middle East, at a time when their lives in their home countries were so often constricted. The second legacy of these 'lady travelers' is the long-reaching impact their artistic and literary contributions had on their home cultures' comprehension of contemporary cultures and conditions in the Middle East. Women travelers' archaeological, proto-sociological, ornithological, and botanic illustrations also helped contribute to a global sea-change in perceptions of women's capacity for intellect, artistic genius, scientific endeavor, and physical hardship. These travelers' final, equally significant legacy – and also the most challenging to trace – is their influence on and participation in the emergence of a vibrant, semi-Westernized, hybrid art culture in late-nineteenth-century Ottoman urban centers, and the impact of their conspicuous physical presence on contemporary Ottoman understandings of Western cultures.

To open these legacies to the historical scrutiny they deserve, it is essential that we establish a clear understanding of the social and artistic context which gave rise to the subculture of female traveler-sketchers, and the dynamics of their lived experience in the Ottoman Empire. In this thesis, I have employed the sketches,

paintings, diaries, and books of nearly a hundred nineteenth-century female travelers to synthesize a picture of the women who sketched the nineteenth-century Ottoman Empire, how and why they did it, and how their sketching brought them into sometimes-surprising contact with their host cultures.

We have charted the emergence of women's Orientalist travel art and writing, and of a distinctive, highly influential 'picturesque-icizing' sketcher's-eye view of Ottoman lands and people, which arguably continues to impact present-day Western perceptions of the Middle East. We have seen how sketching helped make exotic journeys, to the Ottoman Empire and beyond, socially acceptable for bourgeois European and American women, and significantly expanded their likelihood of having their travelogues, archaeological endeavors, or Orientalist artworks taken seriously. We have explored the rarely-mentioned but crucial link between the rise of women's travel art, and the emergence of professional female botanic illustrators – the closest thing to an accepted scientific career path available to women for most of the nineteenth century.

We have seen how sketching brought female travelers into conversation, negotiation, or interaction with local men, women, and children from virtually every walk of life, in many cases, people with whom they would otherwise have had no reason to engage, and inspired them to tolerate or even revel in lengthy hikes and rides, or other inconveniences. We have seen how these encounters produced a remarkable variety of artworks, artworks whose fate and finished form were frequently shaped both by the sketcher's projections and tastes, and by the participation or even direct intervention of their subjects. From the Ottoman perspective(s), we have seen how sketching made spectacles of sketchers, transforming these potentially uninteresting foreigners into curiosities,

inconveniences, sources of entertainment, traffic hazards, baksheesh-distributors, tidiers-up of Sphinxes, and violent wielders of parasols.

It is problematic to quantify and impossible to accurately generalize the impact of these many thousands of encounters on the hundreds of Western women who sketched in the Ottoman Empire, or the thousands of local individuals who encountered them. But, as the accounts surveyed in this thesis demonstrate, the act of sketching frequently enabled sketchers and (active) subjects to glimpse each other as individuals with agency, and not merely figures in strange, exotic turbans— or petticoats. These sketching expeditions produced a kaleidoscopic visual archive of nineteenth-century Ottoman domains, as they appeared to female travelers, at once relatively unencumbered by overtly sexualized Orientalism compared to their male counterparts, and yet equally (or perhaps even more) likely to erode the real complexities of land- and cityscapes through which so many of them traveled in their quests for the socially, morally acceptable picturesque.

Equipped now not only with the vastly digitally expanded archive of women's travel art and writing of the Ottoman Empire, but with an understanding of how, why, and by whom it was made, and the concept of the sketch as an event, we are now prepared to engage with the many exciting questions that remain about the making and historiographical implications of these artworks. Is it possible to establish a protocol to determine how authoritatively a given traveler's artworks may be used as accurate documentation? Despite the nineteenth-century fascination with both ethnography and Oriental 'types' and costume, two of the most popular subjects for female travel artists were landscape paintings, and unpeopled city views. How should we understand this predilection? Would a comparable examination of the experiences of nineteenth-century female photographers in the Ottoman Empire

reveal significant differences in their perspectives, artistic choices, and lived experience? The ABC Club, its exhibitions, forgotten female founders, membership, and social impact, require much more investigation. Did similar clubs emerge in late nineteenth-century Damascus or Cairo? If not, what conditions made those cities less welcoming to such organizations?

Many truly accomplished and insightful female travel artists and writers – Maria Harriett Matthias, Margaret Thomas, and Emily Anne Beaufort, to name only a handful – deserve far more scholarly and curatorial attention than they have yet received. The source material is accessible, abundant, and profoundly rewarding. A systematic integration of women's travel art into our understanding of the complexities of Orientalism(s) and the nineteenth-century Ottoman Empire is both timely and worthwhile.

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