

國立交通大學

社會與文化研究所

碩士論文

**China under Victorian Women Travel Writers' Pen:
An analysis on Mrs. Archibald Little's *Intimate China*.**

維多利亞時期女性旅遊作家筆下的中國：

以立德夫人之《親近中國》為例



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摘要：

立德夫人於 1886 年隨著其夫婿來到中國，在旅居中國二十年中，她一方面活躍於當地的上層社會，在上海成立「天足會」，大力提倡反纏足運動；另一方面，她筆耕不輟，出版十本以中國為題材的小說與雜記。

本論文以立德夫人為研究對象，主要的分析文本為其所著之《親近中國》(*Intimate China: The Chinese as I have seen Them*)一書。全書共有 615 頁，於 1899 年由 Hutchinson & Co 在倫敦出版。

本論文分為導論包含研究動機與研究方法。

第一章『維多利亞時期的女性角色』分三個部分：（一）婦女的社會角色與責任；（二）女性旅遊作家所反映出的社會價值；（三）女性旅遊作家與中國社會的對話及交流。

第二章『立德家族在中國』分為四部分：（一）立德夫人婚前的生活與著作；（二）立德夫人在中國之見聞；（三）立德先生之中國背景；（四）立德夫人有關中國之著作。

第三章『在大英帝國的架構下呈現中國』分為三個部分：（一）《親近中國》的書寫分析；（二）文化衝擊以及其中國經驗；（三）探討反纏足運動以及對中國婦女的想法。

結論：立德夫人之性格與後人對她的評價。

關鍵字：立德夫人，女性旅遊作家，維多利亞時期，十九世紀在中國的西方人，女性旅遊書寫

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Abstract:

In 1886, Mrs. Archibald Little accompanied her husband to China. During twenty years there, she was active among the Chinese upper society by starting the Unbinding-Foot Association in Shanghai and was devoted in the cause. She also continued her writing career and published ten books related to China.

This thesis used Mrs. Archibald Little's *Intimate China: The Chinese as I have Seen Them* as main analysis materials.

Introduction included research motive and research methodology.

Chapter One, *Roles of Victorian Women*, focuses on Victorian womanhood. It is separated into three parts: first, women's social roles and responsibilities; second, the social values that were presented by other women travel writers; third, the dialogues and interactions between women travel writers and Chinese society, and three different types of women travel writers in China.

Chapter Two, *The Littles in China*, is separated into four sections: first, her life and publications prior to marriage; second, her life and adventures in China; third, her publications related to China; fourth, her life and publications.

Chapter Three, *Presenting China under the Framework of British Empire*, is separated into three parts: first, the analysis of *Intimate China*; second, culture shock and Mrs. Little's Chinese experience; third, discussing the Unbinding foot movement and Mrs Little's views of Chinese women.

Conclusion, summarizes Mrs. Little's life and discusses how others viewed her.

Keywords: Mrs. Archibald Little, Alicia Bewicke Little, Victorian women travel writer, Nineteenth century British people in China.

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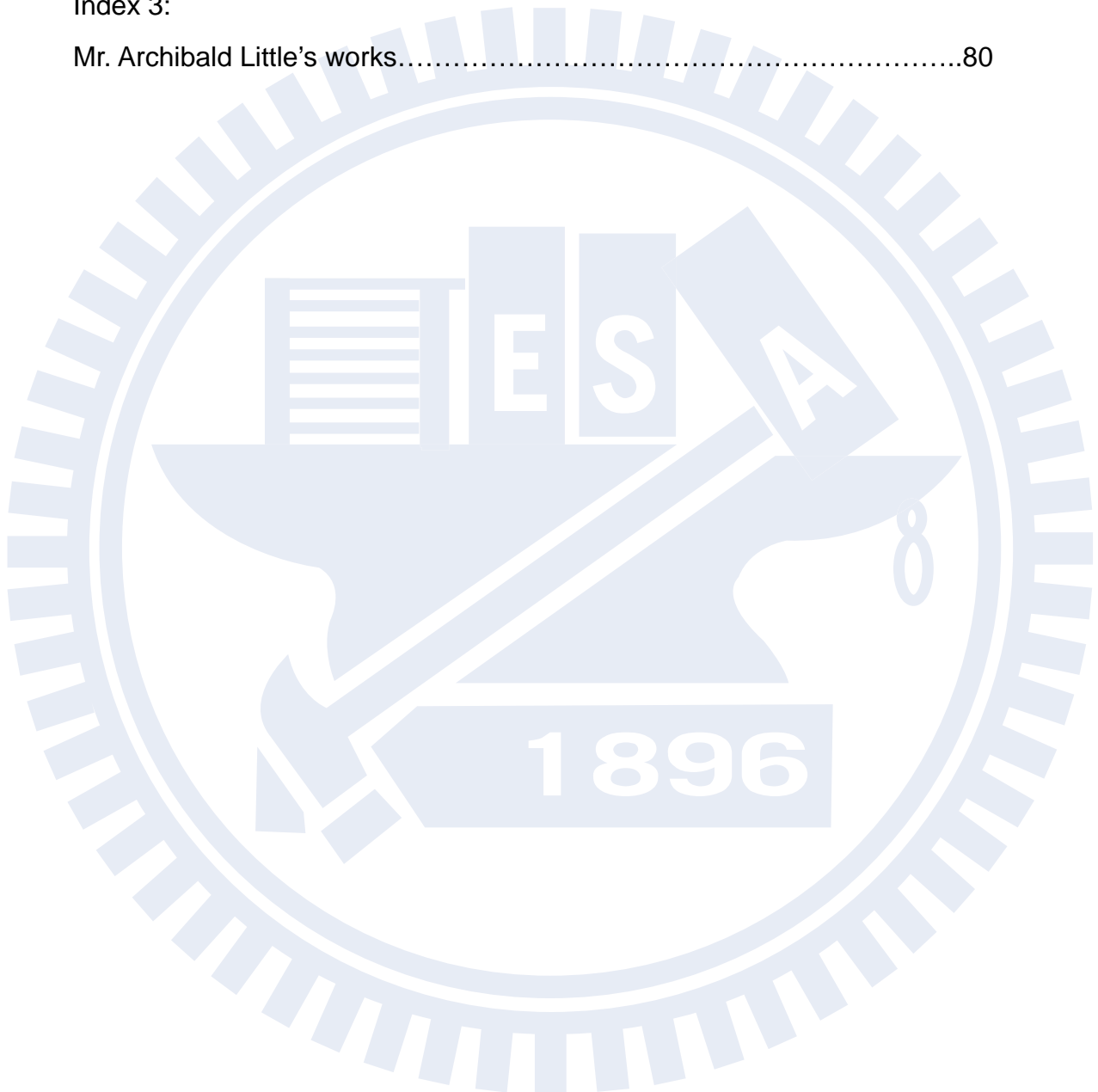
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Introduction:

On March 19th 2008, Christie's Auction House auctioned Mrs. Little's personal collection of Chinese men's and women's shoes, her scrapbook, two passports, deeds and correspondence with Chinese officials for the price of USD\$13,750 American dollars¹. The auction of Mrs. Little's personal belongings demonstrates continued interest in her life and work in China. The materials are of interest to collectors and may also be of interest to future historians.

My interest in Mrs. Archibald Little derived from participation in the National Science Council's project: *One Artificial Paradise, Two Cultures of Opium Consumption*. Mrs. Little's writings set her apart from other travel writings written at the time. She focused more on everyday life in China rather than the history of the influential and famous or geographical and cultural facts. The desire to know Mrs. Little and her works provided the motivation for this thesis. I wanted to explore Mrs. Little's *Intimate China: The Chinese as I Have Seen them* and use it to explain the complex nature of nineteenth century Victorian women travelers.

In this thesis, interdisciplinary methods and insights were applied, in order to investigate Mrs. Archibald Little's *Intimate China*—as a nineteenth-century historical record and consider how nineteenth-century British women balanced their given identity provided by Victorian society and their own recognition of it in the context of Chinese culture. Locational

¹ In Christie's catalogue, it belonged to Sale 2108, Lot 106. The collection belonged to Linda Wrigglesworth Ltd., a private company that specialized in Chinese textiles and costumes from the Ming and Qing dynasties 1396-1911.

feminism, as Susan Stanford Friedman referred to it, is a strategy “which exposes the complicated interplay of axes of identity for women subjects.”² For the nineteenth century British women travel writers, it implied that they (British women travel writers) might not have been entitled to and share in the same privileges that the British Empire provided for their male counterparts, yet they occupied a higher position in relation to colonial subjects or, as in this thesis, the local Chinese.

Using Friedman’s perspective, British women travel writers by strategically and situationally (i.e., locationally) emphasizing their womanliness or their Britishness could claim imperial authority without infringing on Victorian social traditions. In this context, Mrs. Archibald Little could teach local Chinese children English, promote the Unbinding-foot Movement and offer her insights on Chinese domestic lifestyles. While establishing their personal authority through their portrayal of the Chinese, British women travel writers encountered various other voices with which they expressed sympathy through acknowledgement in their texts.

Travel writings contained descriptions of the interactions between the travelers and locals. Such interactions often reshaped the identities of both travelers and locals. Discourse analysis focused on not only the literal aspects of the writing but also on the author’s social background and social convention. Michael Foucault defined discourse as:

We shall call discourse a group of statements in so far as they belong to the same discursive formations; [...Discourse] is made up of a limited number of statements for which a group of conditions of existence

² Megan A. Norcia, “X” Marks the Spot: *Victorian Women Writers Map the Empire*. (University of Florida, 2004), 6.

can be defined. Discourse in this sense is not ideal, timeless form that also possesses a history; ... it is from beginning to end, historical—a fragment of history, a unity and discontinuity in history itself, posing the problem of its own limits, its divisions, its transformations, the specific modes of its temporality.³

Therefore, Chapter One, *Victorian Women*, will center on Victorian womanhood and its effect on women travel writers. Chapter Two, *The Little's in China*, introduces and analyzes Mr. and Mrs. Little's life in China. Chapter Three, *Presenting China within the Framework of the British Empire*, presents Mrs. Little as a British subject, how she coped with a different culture, and how she perceived the Chinese culture and its people.

³ Michel Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge*. Trans. A.M. Sheridan Smith. (London: Tavostock, 1972), 117.

Chapter One Roles of Victorian Women

Roles and Responsibilities

Victorian women came from different financial and social strata and were expected to act in accordance with the norms of the different statuses to which they belonged. Though Victorian women from different social backgrounds had to different social expectations, they were mostly expected to stay within the domestic domain.

In *Suffer and Be Still: Women in the Victorian Age*, Martha Vicinus elaborated on the concepts of Victorian women based on their social classes and the transformation of their roles in society throughout the sixty years of Victorian time.

The lower and middle classes could not afford losing the contributions women could provide for the family. In the lower class, women were expected to contribute to the household income as well as fulfill domestic duties.⁴

Women in the middle class contributed to the family through domestic labor and household responsibilities. Regardless of their class differences, lower and middle class women were still expected to remain in the domestic domain⁵. As for Women in the upper class, they were viewed as “perfect ladies,” and were expected to do very little. Through Vicinus’ description, it becomes apparent that the role of the “perfect lady” was limited to the domestic domain,

In the upper class, a young girl was brought up to be perfectly

⁴ Peter N Stearns. ‘Working Class Women in Britain, 1890-1914’ in *Suffer and Be Still: Women in the Victoria Age*.(Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1972), 101-103.

⁵ Martha Vicinus, (ed.) *Suffer and Be Still: Women in the Victoria Age*. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1972), IX

innocent and sexually ignorant...Once married, the perfect lady did not work; she had servants. She was mother only at set times of the day, even year; she left the heirs in the hands of nannies and governesses. Her social and intellectual growth was confined to the family and close friends. Her status was totally dependent upon the economic position of her father and then her husband. In her most perfect form, the lady combined total sexual innocence, conspicuous consumption and the worship of the family hearth.⁶

Later, the roles of women in society changed, as Vicinus explained:

“Through a variety of economic and social changes her [the Victorian woman’s] sphere of action became greatly enlarged.”⁷ Due to these social and economic changes, the image of Victorian women were transformed from that of a “perfect lady,” whose purpose was merely to reproduce, to that of a “perfect woman” or “new women” whose purpose was to better herself. The “perfect women” worked, received an education and acknowledged their lack of legal and political rights.⁸ Ideal femininity had progressed with time, but family was still the cornerstone of the Victorian society. Therefore, the “new woman” might have seemed to gain a lot of rights and freedom compared to the “perfect lady,” she was still largely supported and protected by her family.

In *Women Novelists of Queen Victoria’s Reign: A Book of Applications*, Edna Lyall described Mrs. Gaskell’s⁹ life and literarily achievement by quoting a letter from Mrs. Gaskell’s daughter, Mrs. Holland. “It was wonderful...how her

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Mrs. Elizabeth Gaskell (1810-1865) was a British novelist whose novels contained full and rich descriptions on the lives of many starata of society. Mrs. Gaskel had published six novels including : *Mary Barton*, *Cranford*, *Ruth*, *North and South*, *Sylvias’s Lovers* ,and *Wives and Daughters*. Mrs. Gaskell was best known for her work on Brontë : *The Life of Charlotte Brontë*.

writing never interfered with her social or domestic duties. I think she was the best and most practical housekeeper I ever came across, and the brightest, most agreeable hostess.”¹⁰ Lyall continued to praise Gaskell on her own accord,

Some people are fond of rashly asserting that the ideal wife and mother cares little and knows less about the world beyond the little world of home...Mrs. Gaskell, however took a keen interest in the questions of the day, and was a Liberal in politics; while it is quite evidential that neither these wider interest not her philanthropic work tended to interfere with the home life, which was clearly of the noblest type. ¹¹

Lyall’s and Holland’s opinions demonstrate that maintaining a well-functioning home and raising children were still very important characteristics of Victorian women. Though women were able to pursue careers of their own, these family-oriented characteristics encouraged Victorian women to stay within the domestic domain and bound them to it.

Emily Faithfull, a women’s rights activist during the Victorian era, also displayed a comparable notion of the roles of Victorian women. In *The Mother at Home v. Public Nurseries*, Faithfull stated,

The infant day nursery in fact is a clumsy attempt to supply the place of the mother and as those mothers who from a shortsighted and mistaken policy leave their families in order to earn a few daily pence violate one of Nature's laws the result must be disastrous to the infant population... nothing can compensate for the absence of the wife and mother from her home notwithstanding what political economists may have to say upon the subject.¹²

¹⁰ Margaret Oliphant, Lynn Linton, and Charlotte M Yonge, *Women Novelists of Queen Victoria's Reign: A Book of Applications*. (London: Hurst & Blackett, 1897), 143

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² Faithful, Emily. “The Mother at Home v. Public Nurseries.” in *The Victoria Magazine*,

Faithfull was the secretary of the Society for Promoting Employment of Women, the first women's working rights activist organization. The Victorian family values were so engrained into society that even a secretary for a women's working rights organization argued for women to remain at home to raise their children.

The Victorian culture was fascinated with the idea of the "holy mother" and projected it onto women. People of the Victorian era referred to themselves as "woman worshipers". Women were considered as their saviors, the embodiments of innocence and purity. Coventry Patmore's poem, "The Angel in the House," praises women for their domestic qualities. The name of the poem became a popular Victorian nickname for the ideal wife and woman.

John Ruskin in his work *Of Queen's Gardens* described the perfect Victorian home life and women's roles,

By her office, and place, she is protected from all danger and temptation. The man, in his rough work in open world, must encounter all perils and trial; ...often he must be wounded, or subdued; often misled and ALWAYS hardened. But he guards the woman from all this; within his house, as ruled by her...This is the true nature of home—it is the place of Peace; the shelter, not only from all injury, but from all terror, doubt, and division....And wherever a true wife comes, this home is always around her...home is yet wherever she is; and for a noble woman it stretches far round her...shedding its quiet light far, for those who else were homeless.¹³

Here Ruskin presented the roles for men and women in Victorian

Volume XI (May-October, 1868), 267.

¹³ John Ruskin, *Of Queen's Garden*, (London: G. Allen & Unwin, 1902) 22.

society—e.g. men were to be outside of the house, adventuring and returning wounded to their home and women were to be inside the house, attending to household matters and nursing the men back to health. Ruskin's description presented the view of how Victorian society expected women to be innocent, domestic, nurturing and protected from the outside world. These qualities were believed to prevent women from the terror of the outside by keeping them inside the home.

In 1870, the Married Women Property Acts¹⁴ provided Victorian women with the financial security and the courage to step outside the house. The social changes, both legal and economic, prompted the growth of women's desire to explore other parts of the world. Due to the expansion of the empire and the economic growth, women finally had the chance to experience travel.

As Miller pointed out in *The Imperial Feminine*, "For women, moments of travel—the leaving behind of the metropolitan centre—are experiential manifestations of their own practical and ideological marginalizations."¹⁵

Travel and travel writings have offered women an alternative way to explore and express themselves.

Women Travelers and their writings

Victorian social convention drew the image of a safe, protected home life for women and how treacherous life was outside of the home. It discouraged and reduced Victorian women's desire to venture out. Therefore, there was lack of the presence of women in the domain of travel and the discourse

¹⁴ "An Act to Amend the Law Relating to the Property of Married Women".

¹⁵ Melissa Lee Miller, *The Imperial Feminine : Victorian Women Travelers in Late Nineteenth-Century Egypt*, (Kent University, 2000), 43

related to the experience of leaving home¹⁶.

With the spread of railway road and the development of the steamboat, the means of transportations gradually improved and the cause for caution decreased. Travel became safer, faster and cheaper for people. As the Victorian age progressed, travel was no longer seen as the privilege for men. These technological improvements and social and economic changes provided some British women with the freedom to travel. Especially for the upper class, travel became more accessible to women.

The increasing possibilities of travel because of the improved means and increased variety of destinations expanded the assigned domestic for Victorian women. From the two houses provided by her fathers and husbands, her boundaries expanded to summer and winter vacation houses and to the wider world when accompanied her husband. However, women still could not travel alone. They needed to be accompanied by family members or female chaperones. Travel for women was still regarded as highly risky and dangerous. Victorian women's mobility was constrained not only by Victorian social expectations until 1870 but also because of financial limitations.¹⁷ The amount of money that travel required was the main reason why most of the Victorian women travelers were upper class and middle class, intellectual or eccentric women.

In 1889, Lillias Campbell Davidson in *Hints to Lady Travellers* pointed out that continental travel for Victorian women was "too common to excite

¹⁶ 廖炳惠，〈《關鍵詞200：文學與批評研究的通用辭彙編》〉（台北：麥田文化，2003），265

¹⁷ 梁一萍，〈女性／地圖／帝國：轟華苓、綢仔絲、玳咪圖文跨界〉，《中外文學》第二十七卷第五期 86-87

remark.”¹⁸ Davidson cites two changes for Victorian women travelers: first, travel became very accessible to the women and second, that Victorian women travelers started to explore the more dangerous, exotic places in the world.

By the 1870's, there were amazing numbers of British women travelers who had explored some of the most remote and secluded parts of the world. Examples include Elizabeth Rigby Eastlake's grand continental travels (1827-1870) and the Indian born Anna Leonowens (1831) travels to Aden (1847), Egypt and Palestine (1849), Perth (1849), and Singapore (1857). She also stayed in Bangkok (1862) as the Royal governess, taught in New York (1880) and journeyed around Russia (1881). Harriet Martineau traveled to Egypt, Palestine and Syria (1846). Nina Mazuchelli traveled to the Alps and India (1869). Lady Margaret Brook became the Ranee of Sarawak in Africa in 1869. Anne Blunt travelled extensively to Arabia and the Middle East (1870's). Isabella Bird Bishop took a long voyage to Australia, Hawaii (1872), Japan, China, Vietnam, Singapore, Malaysia (1890), India, Persia, Kurdistan, Turkey, Baghdad and Tehran (1886-1887). Lady Florence Caroline Dixie travelled to Patagonia in South America (1878-1879), South Africa, and Zululand (1880-1881). Emily Innes stayed in Malaya for sixty years. Gertrude Bell travelled and explored in Iraq, Jordan Syria, Mesopotamia, Asia Minor and Arabia (1892-1925). Mary Kingsley journeyed through West Africa (1893-1895).

According to Shirley Forster by the end of the nineteenth-century there were only a few parts of the globe that remained unvisited by women

¹⁸ Shirley Foster, *Across New Worlds: Nineteenth Century Women Travelers and Their Writings*. (Hertfordshire: Simon & Schuster International Group, 1990), 3

travelers.¹⁹ The Victorian women travelers' destinations matched the expansion of the British Empire: India (1617), Egypt (1799), Singapore (1819), China (1839), South Africa, Zulu (1840's) Canada (1834). With the expansion of the Empire, Victorian women followed the lead and journeyed out.

The increasing numbers of women travelers did not imply that Victorian society had changed its perceptions toward women's behavior. Travel, indeed for the Victorian women was one of the most direct ways to re-discover the subjectivity of women to Victorian standards. Mill stated, "they [The Victorian women travelers] can explored with a wilder range of subject positions along both gendered and racial lines."²⁰ However, compared to their male counterparts, many of the Victorian women travelers were well-protected from the outside world and were accompanied by family members or chaperons when they traveled.

Since the action of travelling itself signified an unwomanly behavior, Victorian women travelers had to live up to Victorian womanhood while traveling. Foster and Mills in *Anthology of Women's travel writing* pointed out that the emphasis on "being a lady" accompanied Victorian women travelers. Therefore even for the most adventurous women travelers, there were still social norms and pressures they had to follow. For instance, in one of the letters Isabella Lucy Bird sent to her sister in *A Lady's Life in the Rocky Mountains*, Bird elaborated her daily routine in detailed.

...and by seven I am dressed, have folded the blankets, and swept the floor....After breakfast, I draw more water and wash one or two garments

¹⁹ Ibid., 4

²⁰ Shirley Foster and Sara Mills (ed.) *Anthology of Women's Travel Writing*. (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2002), 10

daily, taking care that there are no witness of my inexperience.. ...The rest of the day I spend in mending, knitting, writing to you, and the various odds and ends which arise when one has to do all for oneself.²¹

From Bird's description, her daily routine in the Rocky Mountains did not seem to be different than other Victorian women. She cleaned the house and took care of domestic chores. Similar descriptions of Victorian women engaging in household chores while traveling were very common.

For the Victorian woman traveler, it was important to present herself properly at all times in front of everyone. For example, Victorian women travel writers portrayed the station of women in their description of women's attire. Mary Kingsley created the perfect image of a Victorian woman in which she was always dressed in full Victorian skirts complet with hat and umbrella.²²

Impulsia Gushington, a fictional character created by Lady Helen Dufferin was a widow who accompanied her son in travels up the Nile. In Figure1, even on the occasion of camel riding, Impulsa Gushington was still properly dressed---ankle-length full body dress with her feather hat, shawl, and umbrella.

²¹ Isabella Lucy Bird, *A Lady's Life in the Rocky Mountains*. (London: J. Murray, 1881), 46

²² Monica Anderson, *Women and the Politics of Travel, 1870-1914*. (Madison, Wis.: Fairleigh Dickson University Press, 2006), 200



Figure1. "An Unprotected Female in the East" From *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* No.160. Vol.27 (September 1863):445.

Another example was Jesse Ackermann in *The World through a Woman's Eyes* where Ackermann described her visit to the mast-head:

I drew forth the garment that always forms part of my wardrobe, a divided skirt— used only on special occasions—over which I put only a jacket that my feet might be perfectly free. I tied a scarf about my ears, for the night was chilly...²³

Ackermann was so brave that with the company of a young captain and his friend, she climbed up the rope ladder and visited the mast-head. Ackermann understood the importance of her choice of clothing given the nature of the scenario. Therefore, Ackermann chose a "divided skirt" and wore

²³ Jessie A Ackermann, *The World Through A Woman's Eyes*. (Chicago:S.N. ,1896) 261.

a scarf on her head. In *Celebrated Women Travellers of the Nineteenth Century*, Adams W.H. Davenport depicted how uncomfortable Countess Dora D'Istria was in her masculine looking traveling dress "to which I found it difficult to grow accustomed."²⁴ Baroness von Zedlitz in *Woman's Life* also showed her disapproval towards the mannish new women who dressed with "kickers and gaiters".²⁵ Victorian women travel writers used descriptions of their clothing to assure their conformity to femininity and home culture.

Another strategy which Victorian women travel writers often applied in the form of preface was apologia, self-mockery or expressed hesitance to publish their works. By apologizing, women travel writers could escape from the male nineteenth-century travel writings style dominated by 'instruction' and the 'rational bureaucracy of editors and agents'²⁶. By self-mockery, women travel writers avoided being "scientific" and "objective" within the text and assured their audience of their womanhood. Jesse Ackerman in the preface of *The World through A Woman's Eyes* stated:

Happily, the day has passed when it was the fashion for authors to apologize for their printed works...it is left to those who may glance through these pages to determine to which class this little volume belongs... Most of the papers comprised in this book appeared in the *Ladies' Home Companion*... were penned under numerous difficulties of time and place, and with no attempt at literary finish. In short, they are simply a series of rambling notes culled from many chapters in a rambling life.²⁷

²⁴ Davenport, Adams W.H. *Celebrated Women Travellers of the Nineteenth Century*. (New York: E. P. Dutton&Co, 1903), 30.

²⁵ Baroness von Zedlitz. "An Interview with Miss Mary Kinsley" in *Woman's Life* 1896, 432.

²⁶ Pordzik adopted E. Mendenlson's description in "Baedeker's Universe," 1985, 383.

²⁷ Ackermann, *The World Through A Woman's Eyes*, 8.

Ackerman included a joyful note that in the preface that “the day has passed when it was the fashion for authors to apologize”, which demonstrated two things: first, it was common for Victorian women travel writers to apologize in their printed work for the behavior which was contrary to Victorian femininity; second, Victorian femininity started to loosen and there were more women beginning to travel and write about it. Even though the “fashion” had passed, Ackerman still applied the common literary strategy that Victorian women travelers often employed of self-devaluation. Ackerman characterized her work as “a series of rambling notes.”

In conclusion, for Victorian women travelers it was important to maintain their womanhood and portray the ideal of Victorian femininity, since the nature of travel was considered un-feminine. Therefore in Victorian women travel writings, one finds the affirmation of Victorian family values, lifestyle, and expectations for women as well as evidence of the author’s self-devaluation or self-mockery as an apology for the deviation from the norm presented by travel.

Women Travel Writers in China

Julia Kuehn in *China of the Tourists: Women and the Grand Tour of the Middle Kingdom* explained how the opportunity of traveling to China became available for Victorian women. Kuehn stated “through the existence of a British stronghold in China it became possible for “[Victorian women] to explore the country and venture into areas hitherto unfamiliar to Westerners.”²⁸ Lots of the

²⁸ Julia Kuehn, “*China of the Tourists: Women and the Grand Tour of the Middle Kingdom.*” in *Asian Crossings: Travel Writing on China, Japan and Southeast Asia.* (ed.) Steve Clark, Paul Smethurst. (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2008), 115

Victorian women travelers who had visited China were either missionary, or family of diplomats, soldiers, and merchants.

Kuehn employed the data of Chadwyck-Healey's bibliography of "Nineteenth-Century Books on China" and found that

"of the 733 books on China published in the (long) nineteenth century, only about ten percent (categorized as 'Geography as they map and describe the country') were travelogues... The large bulk of works on China is by (British) men and about 'Politics and government', 'Economics and commerce', 'Anthropology and sociology', 'History of China', 'Religion and philosophy', and 'Literature and art'... there are fewer than twenty women writers mentioned in the bibliography... but it is noteworthy that their (travel) writings emerge chiefly from around 1880 when their male counterparts focused visibly on socio-political and economic questions concerning China."²⁹

Chadwyck-Healey's data and Kuehn's analysis noticed the fact that only a few women travel writers ever published their writings on the topic of China.

The male-female author ratio was so great that it was almost 36:1. For every thirty-six books, only one was written by woman. Nicholas Clifford in: *A Truthful Impression of the Country: British and American Travel Writing in China 1880-1949*³⁰ also made a similar observation. The difference (books on China that were written by different genders) was caused by the fact that compared to men, there were less English women travelers in China.

Another similar result was found in the bibliography from *One Artificial Paradise, Two Cultures of Opium Consumption : Comparative Study of the*

²⁹ Ibid. 113-114

³⁰ Nicholas Clifford, *A Truthful Impression of the Country: British and American Travel Writing in China 1880-1949*. (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2001), xv-xvii.

19th Century Europe and the Late Imperial China³¹ project. There were about four hundreds and thirty books regarding the theme of China including travel journals that were published in English. Among the English language books, there were fifteen female authors which are the following: Jessie A.

Ackermann, Isabella Lucy Bird, Mary Isabella Bryson, Julia Corner, Gretchen Mae Fitkin, Constance Gordon-Cumming, Emily Hahn, Mrs. Hervey, Mrs. Thomas Francis Hughes, Alicia Helen Neva Bewicke Little, Mrs. D.D Muter, Helen Sanford Coan Nevius, Ida Pfeiffer, Eliza Ramsay, Emile Rocher, Eliza Ruhamah Scidmore, and Martha Noyes Williams. Most of these female writers had only published one book, Isabella Lucy Bird, Mrs. Archibald Little, and Constance Gordon-Cumming were the more prolific authors. They all published at least three books on the topic of China.

Kuehn used Isabella Lucy Bird and Constance Gordon Cumming to categorize Victorian women travelers to China into two types, “[the] traveler who travels accompanied with dangers and discomfort; [the] tourist who travels with entertainment, comfort, and relaxation.”³² Isabella Lucy Bird was looking for unbeaten tracks. Her destinations were Tibet and the upper part of the Yangtze River where the inhabitants were unfamiliar with European communities. Bird often traveled with Chinese people. Constance Gordon-Cumming traveled to Peking, Shanghai, Canton, and Hong Kong where there were a substantial amount of European communities. In comparison with Bird’s experience, Cumming’s means of travel and

³¹ One Artificial Paradise, Two Cultures of Opium Consumption : Comparative Study of the 19th Century Europe and the Late Imperial China is a project that was founded by National Science Council in 2005 and 2006. This project was lead by Professor Der-Liang, Chiu and one of its contributions was to create an bibliography of nineteenth-century’s westerners’ travel writings on China.

³² Kuehn, “*China of the Tourists*” 116-117.

companions were a lot different.

Kuehn neglected the third type of Victorian women travelers in China—long-time residents such as Mrs. Archibald Little. Long-time residents combined the attributes of both traveler and tourist, she would travel to more desolate areas while maintaining regular residence at open port cities. Mrs. Little had traveled to most parts of China and was also active among the European community at Shanghai, Peking, Hankow, and Chungking.

Among many Victorian women travel writers in China, Mrs. Archibald Little possessed three important qualities that set her apart from other women travelers and became the subject in this thesis. First, most Victorian women travelers did not have the opportunities and the will to associate, mingle, and socialize with Chinese locals including Chinese women. In the case of Constance Gordon Cumming, Cumming often avoided direct contact with Chinese locals.³³ In fact, most of the English diplomats or merchants' wives often engaged more in hosting parties³⁴. Therefore the only direct contact they might have was to communicate with their Chinese servants, cooks, and maids.³⁵ However, due to Mrs. Archibald Little's vigorous effort for the Unbinding Foot Movement, it had created many opportunities and opened many doors for her. For instance, she had been invited to many different dinner parties that were hosted by Chinese women in order to discuss girls/women situations, life conditions and education³⁶.

Secondly, Mrs. Archibald Little had published ten books that were related to China and countless articles related to China. Such a great deal of writing

³³ Ibid.120

³⁴ In A.W.S.Wingate's *One Chevalier in China*, had a lot of detailed description about the British women's everyday lives in China.

³⁵ Kuehn, "China of the Tourists" 120

³⁶ Mrs. Archibald Little, *Intimate China*. 551-553

provided researchers with rich and vivid descriptions of Mrs. Little's state of mind during her twenty years in China. Last but not least of the reasons is Mrs. Archibald Little's personality. Mrs. Archibald Little believed that a healthy body would bring a healthy state of mind. Hence, she often promoted the importance of exercise, especially of walking. In nineteenth-century China, Chinese women were obligated to stay at home and could not to be seen on the street. With this social convention, it would have been dangerous for Western women to walk on the street by themselves;³⁷ therefore they often traveled China in sedan-chairs with the curtain down³⁸. Nevertheless, Mrs. Archibald Little found her own way to mingle with the locals and made them accustomed to her presence.³⁹

³⁷ Mrs. Archibald Little, *Intimate China*, 81-82 .

³⁸ In Mrs. Thomas Francis Hughes' *Among the Sons of Han : Notes of a Six Years' Residence in Various Parts of China and Formosa* , there were six different sources through out the book describing her sedan chair experience. Ida Pfeiffer in *A Woman's Journey Round the World: From Vienna to Brazil, Chili, Tahiti, China, Hindostan, Persia and Asia Minor* had described her sedan chair experience in China. Mrs. D.D. Muter also mentioned how she traveled through China on the sedan chair in *Travels and adventures of an officer's wife in India, China, and New Zealand*. Also see, Jessie A, Ackermann, *The World Through A Woman's Eyes*. 134-135.

³⁹ Mrs. Archibald Little, *Intimate China*, 82.

Chapter Two: The Littles in China



**JACK, PONY AND I, WITH TAOIST
PRIEST'S STAFF.**

[By M. Berger.]

Figure 2. Photo of Mrs. Archibald Little from *The Land of the Blue Gown*.

Childhood and Early Writing Career

Alicia Little, often had been referred to as Mrs. Archibald Little, was the wife of a British merchant, Mr. Archibald Little. Alicia Little's maiden name was Alicia Helen Neva Bewicke which she shorted to A.E.N. Bewicke as her pen name.

Alicia Little was born in 1845 on Madeira Island off the Portugal coast. She was the daughter of Calverly Bewicke of Hallaton Hall, Leicestershire and

Mary Amelia Hollingsworthin⁴⁰. Alicia Little had one older and one younger sister, three younger brothers, and was the second of the six children.⁴¹ There was not much information regarding the Bewicke family or Alicia Little's life before she got married. Even so, in *The Private Life of Old Hong Kong: Western Women in the British Colony 1841-1941*, Hoe mentioned that Alicia Little was educated by her father at home.⁴² It was common for Victorian women to receive their education at home while Victorian men were being sent away to school. The educational difference between boys and girls was caused and defined by the Victorian social consensus and expectations. Therefore sons were sent away for higher education and experienced the world while daughters stayed at home to learn how to be a good wife and remained innocent and inexperienced to the outside world.

Alicia Little spent her time on Madeira Island and later returned to England at the age of 23. The reason for her returning was to find an eligible husband. After returning to England, instead of engaging herself in the marriage market, Alicia Little published her first novel, *Flirts and Flirts; or, A Season at Ryde* (1868). Though *Flirts and Flirts* did not draw much attention and was barely mentioned in any literature publications. *Flirts and Flirts* was notable, however, for its length—two volumes and almost 300 pages each—and its topic. It is the story of a young beautiful woman, Kathleen O'Grady, and her mother, Lady Killowen. Lady Killowen was eager to help her daughter find a suitable

⁴⁰ *Historical Dictionary of the British Empire*, (Connecticut: Greenwood Publishing Group, 1996),673

⁴¹ Elisabeth J Croll, *Wise Daughters from Foreign Lands: European Women Writers in China* (London: Winchester, MA: Pandora, 1989),24.

⁴² Susanna Hoe, *The Private Lfe of Old Hong Kong; Western Women in the British Colony 1841-1941*, (Hong Kong,Oxford and New York: Oxford university press,1990), 226.

husband regardless who or what she might hurt during the process. The story ended tragically with Miss O'Grady's admirer committing suicide. Mrs. Little used an insider perspective to portray and criticize the Victorian marriage market, the ultimate goal of which was to find a proper marriage partner for young women. It was 500 pages full of descriptions of young Victorian women in search of suitable husbands.

Alicia Little's first novel could be seen as her own interpretations and observations of the Victorian marriage market. Moreover, it might have been her way of avoiding that social tradition. Instead of marching into the social scene and looking for an eligible husband, Alicia Little started her career as a writer. During the Victorian age, upper and middle class women were expected to stay within the domestic domain. Therefore it was very difficult for these women to enter any kind of professions or to support themselves. Elaine Showalter depicted the Victorian middle class women's professional market in this way:

Middle class women had very few alternative occupations to writing in the nineteenth century. Other than teaching, their best possibilities were in the business end of publishing; many also worked as publisher's reader and copy editors...Unmarried women were increasingly drawn to writing as a means of support.⁴³

Mrs. Little's choice of career was common for the middle class Victorian women who desired to escape from the traditional role of women and wanted who wanted to be the "new women" as they referred to it. The prolific numbers

⁴³ Elaine Showalter, *A Literature of Their Own: British Women Novelists from Bronte to Lessing*. Princeton, (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1977), 46-47.

of her publications support the likelihood that Alicia Little was self-sufficient and independent through her career as a writer.

Little's marriage was the divide that separates her writing career into two different stages. Before Alicia Little married Archibald Little in 1886, she used the name A.E.N. Bewicke as her pen name and had published nine semi-fictional novels which were all about Victorian women. Please see Index 2, Mrs. Archibald Little's works, 1868-1885.

At this stage, Little's novels revolved around women's given roles and their positions in society. She transformed what she had seen in the British upper-middle-class social life into a series of witty and sarcastic melodramas. According to Croll, Alicia Little's novels were never some light romance which you would read while having tea. As an author, instead of making happily-ever-after fairy tale stories, Little presented more real stories with a bit of a dark twist. As a social observer, Little used her novels as the means to discuss her concern for the legal and social disabilities that the Victorian women were often facing.

Little also heavily criticized the Victorian mothers who often educated their daughter in proper behavior and how to dress gracefully in order to find a socially appropriate husband even when they knew nothing more about the man than his family fortune and their appearance⁴⁴. Under the general social convention, finding a wealthy husband became a very important part of young women's life. As for young men, they simply had to be 'gentlemen.' One of the recurring motifs throughout her writing was the importance of meaningful work. In her stories, there were often characters who were doomed to live a

⁴⁴ Croll, *Wise Daughters from Foreign Lands*, 24-25

miserable life regardless their gender, simply because their lack of diligence.

Little's publications attracted a considerable amount of attention. *Onwards! But Whither? A Life Story* was the one that made her well-known but the book was not critically acclaimed. The British Quarterly Review commented, "The improbabilities of this story are extreme, and the style in many portions of it is stilted and inaccurate; and as the 'Study of Life' or of an oddly-assorted groups of lives, it is obscure and indefinite."⁴⁵ Little's next work *Margret Travers* received great reviews. The *Sunday Times* commented, "An excellent novel! It is thoroughly fresh, interesting, and entertaining, and has incident enough to keep up unflagging attention," and *The Academy* commented, "written with a good deal of power."⁴⁶ *The Englishwoman's Review* praised *Miss Standish and by the Bay of Naples* with a similar review. "These stories are written with a vigour and spirit that awakes the reader's interest and carries him on to the end with unflagging attention."⁴⁷

Mother Darling, Little's last novel at this stage was the most mentioned and controversial. It was allegedly based on her eldest sister Caroline's unfortunate marriage. The story was about an obedient young woman married to a stylish wastrel who had an affair and moved his mistress back home. In the end of the story, the young woman not only lost her marriage, property, and fortune; she also lost the custody of her children. Little's intention was to create a little book that could raise the public attention to such matters and support the Married Women's Property rights. According to Thurin, the publication of

⁴⁵ Anomalous. 'Onwards! But Whither? A Life Study. By A.E.N. Bewicke,' in *The British Quarterly Review Volume 63*, London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1876. P.253.

⁴⁶ Mrs. John Kent Spender, 'Both in the Wrong' in *The Academy and Literature Volume 14*, 1878. 31

⁴⁷ Anomalous. 'Miss Standish and By the Bay of Naples By AEN Bewicke.' in *The Englishwoman's Review Volume 14*, 1883.

this novel made a considerable impact on the cause⁴⁸.

Little was also an activist in the feminist movement during 1870's and 1880's. According to the *Historical Dictionary of the British Empire*, Little "was lecturing, writing pamphlets, and organizing parliamentary campaigns for passage of the Women's Property Act, and for women's suffrage."⁴⁹ Little was also the secretary of the London Ladies' Association⁵⁰. Due to her enthusiasm, she was given the opportunity to speak in front of the annual congresses of the National Association for the Promotion of Social Science on the topic of supporting the law which would provide women with greater rights for custody and guardianship of children⁵¹.

Little's choice of career and her devotion to the women's rights movement showed that she was not an average Victorian woman. Her personality and professional aspirations may also have contributed to her late marriage.

Mrs. Archibald Little's twenty years in China (1886-1907)

In 1886, the forty-one-years-old Alicia Helen Neva Bewicke married Archibald John Little who was forty-eight years old. Their marriage changed both of their lives completely. For Mrs. Little, not only did she emigrate to China; she also switched the focus of her writing career from the Victorian women's movement to her life and travels in China. With Mrs. Little's encouragement support and company, Mr. Little managed to navigate the Yangtze river and

⁴⁸ Susan Schoenbauer Thurin, *Victorian Travelers and the Opening of China, 1842-1907*. (Athens: Ohio University Press, 1999), 164

⁴⁹ *Historical Dictionary of the British Empire*, 673

⁵⁰ Scott Benjamin, *A State Iniquity: Its Rise, Extension and Overthrow*, (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & co.), 1890.418

⁵¹ *Ibid.*

settle in the western part of China.

Little's marriage is interesting and worthy of further comment for several reasons. Getting married at the age of forty was not a common Victorian behavior. The average marriage age was twenty-one. Under rigid Victorian social convention, it was hard for women to follow their dreams outside of family life. Alicia Little's marriage might be understood as a rational decision. By marrying Archibald Little, she gained the opportunity to venture out to the romantic East where she could live with less of the Victorian feminine constrain. With the difficulty of finding a partner that would permit a freer life style, it was understandable that she got marriage at such late age.

Shortly after their wedding, the Little's started their journey to China. After two months on the ship, they arrived at Shanghai. Mrs. Little imagined Shanghai as "Everyone almost knows what Shanghai is like. It has been admirably described over and over...with the rows of European houses....only a little dearer in London."⁵² When she arrived in Shanghai, she found it very different than she had imagined.

"Now, darkened by the smoke of over thirty factories, it is flooded by an ever-increasing Chinese population, who jostle with Europeans in the thoroughfare, till it seems as if the struggle between the two races would be settled in the streets of Shanghai, and the European got driven to the wall."⁵³

Even though Mrs. Little first impression of Shanghai was very different than what she had imagined it would be, the most disappointing fact was the darken and over-crowed streets. For Mrs. Little, China should be "the land of

⁵² Mrs. Archibald Little, *Intimate China* 1-2.

⁵³ Mrs. Archibald Little, *Intimate China* 2

the blue gown,” and Shanghai of all cities should be cleaner, with more western style housing than what she had seen. However, like Mrs. Little described her imaginations “got driven to the wall.” Mrs. Little commented that Shanghai’s China town “enjoys the reputation of being very dirty and disgusting.”⁵⁴

Later the Little’s traveled and settled down in Chunking(重慶), which is located at Sichuan province(四川省) in the far western region of China. The British Empire had just granted access to Chunking a little over a year earlier; therefore, there were not many European residents, not to mention settlements. Without the foreign community, Mrs. Archibald Little’s life in Chunking was quite different than that of average European ladies. She studied Chinese, taught Chinese children English, took photographs, and traveled extensively up and down the Yangtze river with her husband. She explored different parts of interior China, which was normally inaccessible to expatriated women other than missionaries.

In Chunking, Little made friends with a few Chinese families and gained access to a closer look at the Chinese women’s way of living, mannerisms, value system and customs, which were less known to the European community. The reason for the lack of information on these matters was because of Chinese social convention. China, like England, also had strong and powerful social roles and expectation for women. Chinese women were expected to stay within the household domain and be limited from all public spheres. Even when paying a call to a Chinese family, Western men were only allowed to stay in the outer quarter where the dining room was. The more private living area was in the inner quarters. Western men were excluded from

⁵⁴ Mrs. Archibald Little, *The Land of the Blue Gown*, 43

the Chinese home life and Chinese women were excluded from all the public affairs. As a result, there were only descriptions about Chinese women's bound feet, female infanticide, prostitution, etc.⁵⁵ Other womanly experiences were unknown and ignored. The lack of British women travelers led to the lack of familiarity with Chinese women. Therefore, Mrs. Little, as a western woman, had a great advantage for gaining access to Chinese household domestic space.⁵⁶

During her time in China, Mrs. Little travel extensively to different parts of China including Mountain Omi(峨嵋山), Peking(北京), Tibet(西藏), Mongolia(蒙古), Hong Kong(香港), Gold Diamond mountain, Lichuan(利川), Peiho(白河礮堡), Tientsin(天津), Chefoo(煙台), the great walls(長城), Ninpo(寧波), Wuhu(蕪湖), Ichang(宜昌), Fengtu(豐都), Macao(澳門), Swatow(汕頭), Hankow(漢口), Wuchang(武昌), Canton(廣東), Amoy(廈門), Foochow(福州), Hangchow(杭州), Soochow(蘇州) . Little published her travels around China in various newspapers and magazines, and was invited to give lectures before the Geographical Society⁵⁷. During her twenty years in China, she was president of Tien Tsu Hui(天足會), Anti-footbinding Society of China and Vice-President of the women's Conference at Shanghai⁵⁸.

Archibald Little in China (1859-1907)

Mr. Archibald John Little's long journey to the East had changed not only his but also Mrs. Little's life. During his stay in China, Archibald John Little was

⁵⁵ Croll, 11

⁵⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁷ 'LITTLE, Mrs. Archibald', Who's who in the Far East, 1906-1907. (Hong Kong: China Mail, 1906), 202

⁵⁸ Ibid.

known for his adventurous travels and business in China especially his success in passing the rapids of the Yang Tzu River by steamboat.⁵⁹ Mr. Little ran the mail service through the Yang Tzu River and owned a coal mine near Chungking. Archibald Little was not only a prosperous merchant in China but also a politically active figure. He assisted the late Qing Chinese Empire to repulse the Tai Ping rebellion (太平天國) and later served on Shanghai Municipal Council(上海公共租界工部局).⁶⁰ Archibald Little was familiar to the political elites of the South-Eastern part of China such as Cheng Chih-tung(張之洞) and Li Hung-Chang(李鴻章).

Archibald Little was also a fellow of R.G.S (The Royal Geographical Society) and R.C.I. (Royal Colonial Institute). He was learned and fluent in Chinese. As a result, Mr. Little was generally regarded as an expert on China affairs and often was asked to deliver speeches and lectures on it. Mr. Little was also the editor of the *North China Herald*(北華捷報), and published many articles relating to China, for example: *Western China, Ex Oriente Lux, Two Cities, The Value of Tibet, The Partition of China, The Dangers of the Upper Yangtze, The Chinese Drama in the Quarterly, North American Reviews, Fortnightly, Spectator, Asian Quarterly, Geographical Journal and Nineteenth Century, etc*⁶¹; and five books⁶².

Archibald Little was born in London on April 19, 1838. His father was

⁵⁹ Obituary, "Archibald Little.", *The Geographical Journal*. Vol. X X xii- July to December. London: Royal Geographical Society, 1908, 629.

⁶⁰ Anomalous. *Who's who in the Far East, 1906-07 June*. (Hong Kong: China Mail, 1906), 201

⁶¹ *Editorial Note in Gleanings from Fifty Years in China*,xi.

⁶² See Index 3.

William John Little, a notable physician and surgeon. Instead of continuing his education in England, Archibald Little completed his education at Berlin and was employed as a tea-tester in Hong Kong by a German company in 1859. Three years later, Mr. Little started his own business and partnered with another Shanghai based company, Latimer & Little Co. Though the company was not the best investment and only lasted for a short period of time, Archibald Little was not daunted by it and continued his merchant career with his brother R.W. Little in Shanghai. Meanwhile, Archibald joined the Volunteers to assist repelling the attack of Tai Ping rebels (太平天國)⁶³. He traveled extensively to the Tai Ping rebellion occupied regions and returned to Shanghai in 1861 to join the Volunteer Artillery (洋槍隊)⁶⁴.

With the opening of more treaty ports, Archibald Little shifted his focus from Shanghai to the south-western part of China, Chungking(重慶). By combining his hobby, yachting, and his business interesting in Chungking, Archibald in 1884 initiated the Yang Tzu river winter steamboat transporting business from Hankow (漢口) to Ichang (宜昌), according to R.S. Gundry⁶⁵. There had not been a steamboat that could navigate Yang Tzu during winter, Archibald Little was the first person to succeed. With this successful experience, Archibald Little designed, commissioned and piloted his own steamboat and made his first ascent of the Upper Yangtze rapids in 1898⁶⁶. After his success in navigating the Yang Tzu river, Archibald Little saw Szechwan as an untouched and promising land, which had great natural resources and not yet been excavated. Mr. Little soon established the Chungking Trading Company which initially operated as a logistic company

⁶³ Ibid.

⁶⁴ Ibid.

⁶⁵ C.S.Gundry, *Foreword to Gleanings from Fifty Years in China*, (London: Sampson Low, Marston & Co., 1910), vi.

⁶⁶ *Historical Dictionary of the British Empire*, 675.

and later moved on to the bristle business in 1898⁶⁷. The same year, Archibald Little partnered with some Chinese and started exploiting the coal and iron mine at Lung Wang Tang, thirty miles from Chunking⁶⁸. The coal mine was mentioned as “the best coal-mine in the world after Cardiff”⁶⁹. At 1906, Archibald Little’s health started to deteriorate, therefore the Littles moved back to England and he passed away two year later.⁷⁰

Mrs. Archibald Little’s publications:

Susan Morgan in *The Sphere of Interest* indicated,

During the late nineteenth and early twentieth century among the most well-known British accounts of China were the books of Archibald Little, and Alicia (Mrs. Archibald) Little, Lady Constance Gordon- Cumming, Gorge Morrison (who was Australian), Archibald Colquhoun, John Thompson (verbal and pictorial), and Isabella Bird Bishop.⁷¹

This was an indicator of Mrs. Little’s popularity and authority for her works on China. Mrs. Little continued her career as a writer and started publishing her works under the name Mrs. Archibald Little and Alicia Helen Neva Little in the mid 1890’s. From her arrival in China, Little began to write more than just fictional novels. She started to write non-fiction. Little was very good at describing what she had seen, sensed and experienced and was known for her ability to clearly present what she saw, smelled, and heard⁷². Even though Little changed her writing subject, what remained the same was her keen

⁶⁷ G. C. Allen, et al, *Western Enterprise in Far Eastern Economic Development, China And Japan*. (London: Routledge, 1954), 83.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 291

⁶⁹ *Editorial Note in Gleanings from Fifty Years in China, xiii.*

⁷⁰ *Historical Dictionary of the British Empire*, 675

⁷¹ Susan Morgan , “*The Sphere of Interest :Framing Late Nineteenth-Century China in Words and Pictures with Isabella Bird.*” in *A Century of Travels in China: Critical Essays on Travel Writing from the 1840s to 1940s*. Kerr, Douglas and Kuehn Julia (ed.), (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2007), 106

⁷² Emily Lucy Daly, *An Irishwoman in China*. (London : T. W. Laurie, 1915), 102.

observation of social interactions. As in her earlier novels, Little used her works as a mean to voice the injustice she witnessed. Little's works on China was designed to serve as the bridge for expatriates or people back in England to understand China and its people.

Little carefully presented the local Chinese and the expatriate community regarding of their way of living and value systems,⁷³ and tried to show how much they were alike⁷⁴. However, she differed from the British male counterpart writers. Little used many anecdotes and descriptions to allow her readers to help her readers to be more familiar with the Chinese life style.

During her twenty years in China, Little published four novels with the background set in China and six non-fiction works on China and its culture⁷⁵.

Among all Mrs. Little's books, *Intimate China: The Chinese as I have seen them* and *The Land of the Blue Gown* were by far the most mentioned. *Intimate China* was in print twice (1899, 1901) and was translated into Chinese (親密地接觸中國) in 2008; *The Land of the Blue Gown* was in print for four times (1901, 1902, 1904 1909) and was translated into Chinese (穿著藍袍的國度) in 2006. *Round about my Peking Garden* (我的北京花園) was also translated into Chinese in 2006. Elibron Classic publishing house had reprinted *Intimate China*, and *Out in China* in 2001, and *Li Hung-chang: His Life and Times* in 2002.

⁷³ For further information about how the expatriate view Chinese and the difference between the East and the West, see John McCarthy, "China and the West" (The Quarterly Review, 163 [1886]: 65-85) and "Western China-Its Products and Trade" (The Quarterly Review, 171 [1890]: 205-34).

⁷⁴ Mrs. Archibald Little, *My diary in a Chinese farm*, 62.

⁷⁵ See Index 2, 1894-1906.

Under Little's sharp and witty pen, she criticized some western travelers as twenty-years-in-China-and-don't-speak-a-word-of-the-language men who did not bother to learn about the local customs and who stereotypically group the locals⁷⁶. She also criticized the expatriates who considered that they were superior than Chinese, like Mrs. Jenkins in *A Marriage to China*. When they traveled up the Yantze river, the group had to watch while Chinese trackers (繹夫) towed the boat against the strong current. Mrs. Jenkins comments:

I never know what you [Dr. Maxwell] mean by talking about Chinese courage and all that.... These men don't really pull. They are afraid to. Have you watched them rowing? I have not the patience, it is so ridiculous. And have you ever seen one catch a rope yet? Why, they turn away, and hide their faces, just as a woman would. Then the way they throw too! Oh, they are all a set of women rather than men.⁷⁷

Race issues had long been one of Little's main concerns, exposing especially hypocrisy displayed by expatriates towards the offspring of expatriate men and Chinese mothers. Little also advised the need for mutual recognition and respect between people from different cultures.

Little's choice of pen name might reflect the Victorian social expectations for women. Among her eleven publications which were about China, only the first four were published under the name Mrs. Archibald Little. *The Land of the Blue Gown* was published with both Mrs. Archibald Little and Alicia Helen Neva Little. The last five were all published under Alicia Helen Neva Little. Note and

⁷⁶ Mrs. Archibald Little, *Intimate China*, 5

⁷⁷ Mrs. Archibald Little, *A Marriage to China*, (London: F V White, 1896),132.

Inquiry once mentioned that Alicia Little preferred others to address her as Mrs. Archibald Little rather than Alicia Little.

Since the Victorian social convention at the time conceived women as tame, submissive and domestic, traveling to a foreign land without the company of family or chaperon would be considered as eccentric and outlandish. On one hand, using Mrs. Archibald Little as pen name indicated the companionship of Mr. Archibald Little and also increased the creditability, reliability, and truthfulness of the book. On the other, Mrs. Little's choice of pen name underscored the unstable nature and the duality of Victorian women travelers' identities. As a women's rights activist, Little proclaimed women's rights to property and to voting, etc but when faced with the issue of an appellation, her name disappeared and was unseen.

Publications related to Mrs. Archibald Little

New York Times described her book, *Intimate China*, as "a singularly entertaining volume, throwing much additional light on China. The illustrations which are many, are of great help to the text."⁷⁸ They also depicted *The Land of the Blue Gown* as "Many Pleasing Narratives of Travel...Mrs. Little was a well-known person in the Far East on account of her crusade against foot-binding as practiced by Chinese women in all parts of the empire."⁷⁹ The Evening Post wrote, "Mrs. Little wields a graceful pen, and from long years of residence is thoroughly conversant with things Chinese."⁸⁰ The *Cambridge Public Library Bulletin Catalogue* contributed, "In her knowledge of the real

⁷⁸ 'China. Mrs. Archibald Little's Book. Describing the People as She Has Seen Them.' in *New York Times* : June 10th, 1899.

⁷⁹ Fritz von Holm, "China from Various Points of View." *New York Times*, January 1st, 1910.

⁸⁰ 'Current Literature' in *Evening Post* :February 24th, 1900.

China, Mrs. Archibald Little admittedly stands unrivalled among living European women.”⁸¹

Little’s Unbinding Foot movement was very successful and influential. Therefore, Little was invited to deliver lectures before the Geographical Society of Glasgow, Edinburgh, Aberdeen, Dundee, Manchester, Liverpool, Newcastle, South Shields and at the Glasgow Exhibition,⁸² which rarely happened during Victorian time.

Little was often quoted in academic writings. The books and papers that mentioned and discussed Little’s Unbinding Foot movement are listed as follow: *Barbarians and Mandarins*⁸³, *Wise Daughters from Foreign Lands: European Women Writers in China*, *Victorian Travelers and the Opening of China*, *Chinese Footbinding: The History of Erotic Custom*, *A Century of Travels in China: Critical Essays on Travel Writing from the 1840s to 1940s*, *Dragon lady, Cinderella’s Sisters*, ‘*Bound to Be Represented: Theorizing/ Fetishizing Footbinding*’⁸⁴, ‘*Women Travellers and Their Writings.*’⁸⁵, ‘*Asian Awakenings : Alicia Little and the Limits of Orientalism.*’⁸⁶, *Ending Footbinding and Infibulation: A Convention Account.*⁸⁷, ‘*The Anti-footbinding Movement in Late Ch’ing China: Indigenous Development and Western Influence*’⁸⁸, *Gender*

⁸¹ *Cambridge Public Library Bulletin* Volume x i , 1906, 59.

⁸² Ibid.

⁸³ Hoe, 226.

⁸⁴ Angela Zito, ‘*Bound to Be Represented: Theorizing/ Fetishizing Footbinding*’ in *Embodied Modernities: corporeality, representation, and Chinese cultures*, (Hawaii: University of Hawaii Press, 2006), 21-41

⁸⁵ Foster, 1-27

⁸⁶ Shanyin Fiske, ‘*Asian Awakenings : Alicia Little and the Limits of Orientalism.*’ in *Victorian Literature and Culture*, Issue 37, 2009,11-25

⁸⁷ Gerry Mackie, *Ending Footbinding and Infibulation: A Convention Account* in *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 61, No. 6, 999-1017

⁸⁸ Chia-lin Pao Tao, ‘*The Anti-footbinding Movement in Late Ch’ing China: Indigenous Development and Western Influence*’ in *近代中國婦女研究* V2, June, 1994. 141-176.

*and Sinology: Shifting Western Interpretations of Footbinding, 1300-1890*⁸⁹, *Secularizing the Pain of Footbinding in China: Missionary and Medical Stagings of the Universal Body*⁹⁰, and *Mrs. Archibald Little as an Educator and Activist with Emphasis on Her Anti-Footbinding Activities*⁹¹.

Other than the academic writings, Gerald Vizenor in *Griever: An American Monkey King in China* also mentioned Little's work with the Unbinding Foot movement and how it affected the younger generations⁹². Dupée in *British travel writers in China* used Little's narratives to investigate the differences between British and Chinese dining customs and women's positions in society⁹³. Antonia Finnane used Little's descriptions to map out the late Qing empire's fashion and clothing. Aldrich took Little's journals as his sources to analyze the boxer rebellions and show how it affected the expatriate community at Beijing⁹⁴.

Starting from 2002, both Taiwanese and Chinese publishing companies translated *The Land in the Blue Gown* (穿著藍袍的國度 2002), *Round About My Peking Garden* (我的北京花園, 或譯京華往事 2008), *Intimate China* (親密地接觸中國 2008) and also republished all three books in English. In 2009 a Chinese novelist Lo, Shuai Pon (羅學蓬) created a fictional character based on

⁸⁹ Patricia Ebrey, *Gender and Sinology: Shifting Western Interpretations of Footbinding, 1300-1890. Late Imperial China Vol. 20, No. 2 (December 1999)* 1-34

⁹⁰ Angela Zito, 'Secularizing the Pain of Footbinding in China: Missionary and Medical Stagings of the Universal Body.' in *Journey of the American Academy of Religion*, Volume 75, No.1, 2007. 1-24.

⁹¹ Gregory A Wagner, *Mrs. Archibald Little as an Educator and Activist with Emphasis on Her Anti-Footbinding Activities.*, National Taiwan University, 2002

⁹² Gerald Robert Vizenor, *Griever, an American monkey king in China*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1986, 19-20 ; 181-182

⁹³ Jeffery N Dupée, *British travel writers in China--writing home to a British public, 1890-1914*, Lewiston, New York: E. Mellen Press, 2004, 217-220

⁹⁴ M. A Aldrich, *The Search for a Vanishing Beijing : A Guide to China's Captial through the Ages*. (Hong Kong : Hong Kong University Press), 2006.

Little's work with the Unbinding Foot Movement.⁹⁵ The character was a French young woman named Noris Mollen.⁹⁶



⁹⁵ The name of the character was translated to Chinese as 莫兰·诺丽丝。

⁹⁶ 羅學蓬，華勇營，重慶：重慶出版社，2009。

Chapter Three:

Presenting China in the framework of British Empire

Introduction

This chapter has three sections. The first section is a general introduction to *Intimate China: The Chinese as I Have Seen Them*. It covers its background, an explanation of the title of the book, the content arrangement, and its critical reviews.

The second section focuses on Mrs. Little's Chinese experiences and how she presented China from the perspective of the British Empire. The analysis focuses on how Mrs. Little, as a British subject, coped with a different culture and how she perceived the Chinese culture and its people.

The last section looks at Mrs. Little as a British woman traveler in China with her sense of the exotic East. The section will also examine the unbinding foot movement and analyze the differences between women's roles in Victorian and Chinese society and how Mrs. Little reacted to the paradigm shift.

The analysis of this thesis focuses on her novel, *Intimate China*, because it is her most revealing and comprehensive novel that includes her travels, adventures, observations and experiences with the Chinese people in various parts of China. It also includes her efforts promoting the anti-foot binding association. *Intimate China* has been considered a summary for her twenty years in China due to its variety of contents and its length⁹⁷. Secondly, *Intimate*

⁹⁷ Most researchers used *The Land of the Blue Gown* or *Intimate China* as their main source. In this thesis author chose *Intimate China* over *The Land of the Blue Gown* for the following reasons : *Intimate China* published before *The Land of the Blue Gown* ; secondly, judging from the content arrangement, *The Land of the Blue Gown* would be considered as the sequel to *Intimate China*. Thirdly, and most importantly, *Intimate China* started as Mrs. Little first arrived China while *The Land of the Blue Gown* started as Mrs. Little's trip to Peking. The content of *Intimate China* would serve better for this thesis.

China was not written only for publishing purpose, it contains Mrs. Little's personal journal about China along with some of Mrs. Little's published articles in newspaper, magazines, and her personal letters. It has a great range of sources.

Background and Critical Review of *Intimate China*

Intimate China: The Chinese as I Have Seen Them was published after Mrs. Little's thirteenth years in China in 1899. During those thirteen years, the relationship between China and British Empire had changed and so did the Chinese mentality toward the expatriate community. In 1890, the Chinese opened Chungking as one of the treaty ports and allowed Europeans to run the steamboat line from Ichang to Chungking. The Sino-Japan war in 1894 ignited Chinese intellectuals' passions to reform and modernize China. Due to the Chinese intellectuals' growing desire to learn more about Western knowledge, and with the help of her husband, Mrs. Little gained access to the Chinese political elites.

Intimate China: The Chinese as I Have Seen Them was a critically acclaimed book. New York Times described *Intimate China* as "a singularly entertaining volume, throwing much additional light on China. The illustrations which are many, are of great help to the text."⁹⁸ Isabella Bird Bishop in a letter to her publisher, John Murray appraised *Intimate China* as "a very clever and readable book and very well-illustrated."⁹⁹ One of the reasons for *Intimate China*'s popularity was the great amount of photos in the books. There were

⁹⁸ 'China. Mrs. Archibald Little's Book. Describing the People as She Has Seen Them.' in *New York Times* : June 10th, 1899.

⁹⁹ Susan Schoenbauer Thurin, 'Travel Writing and the Humanitarian Impulse : Alica Little in China.' in. *A Century of Travels in China: Critical Essays on Travel Writing from the 1840s to 1940s.* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2007), 94.

altogether 120 photos in *Intimate China* which was rare. Similar books usually had around 50-60 illustrations.

The Name - *Intimate China*

The name “*Intimate*” suggested that Mrs. Little regarded herself as having a close, insider understanding of Chinese culture and social conventions. At the beginning of the book, Mrs. Little stated,

I shall endeavour to make the reader see China and the Chinese as I have seen them in their homes and dinner parties, and living long, oh! such long summer days among them and yet wearier, dark days of winter. And to make the reader the more feel himself amongst the scenes and sights I describe, I mean to adopt various styles sometimes giving him the very words in which I at the time dashed off my impressions, all palpitating with the strangeness and incongruity of Chinese life, at others giving him the result of subsequent serious reflections.¹⁰⁰

Mrs. Little intended to expose the authentic, unseen, private life of China to her readers. The content which Mrs. Little chose was defined by Victorian social expectations for subjects suitable for women. For example, when Lady (Sydney) Morgan’s publisher asked her to write about Italy, she was asked to write on “morals and manners”; while her husband was asked to write about the “laws and government institutions.”¹⁰¹ Mrs. Little and her husband followed the same convention. Mrs. Little used *Intimate China* as the title of the book while Mr. Archibald Little used *The Far East*. The words “*Intimate*” and “*Far*” characterized both books and provide an example of how different genders presented their narratives. *Intimate China* was written for English readers to

¹⁰⁰ Mrs. Archibald Little, *Intimate China*, 5.

¹⁰¹ Mills, 94-95

have a better understanding of the Chinese way of living; while *The Far East* was written for the British Empire and its subjects to have a better understanding of China as an old empire, its natural resources, people, and business.

Mrs. Little employed a personal perspective to portray and examine the situations and people that she saw. Mr. Little employed an impersonal, detached and fact finding perspective. Their different approaches suited their strengths as well as Victorian social convention. Mrs. Little's closer, personal vantage point provided greater insight into China and the culture of its people than Mr. Little even though he was fluent in Chinese. Mrs. Little sometimes struggled with conversations because of language barriers but her approach allowed her to get closer to the people. Therefore, the choice of *intimate* as a title could be seen as Mrs. Little's strategy to comply with the Victorian social convention and her own strengths. Although Mrs. Little was out and traveling, which was not seemly for a Victorian woman, she remained within the private, inner, closed domestic domain of Chinese life. It was clear that Mrs. Little on the one hand present herself as an expert in Chinese affairs. On the other hand, she was careful and caution enough not to trespass into the masculine arena in her writings.

Arrangement of Content

The content of *Intimate China* was separated into two parts. The first part covers twenty-four chapters: First impressions; On the upper Yangtze; A land journey; Life in a Chinese city; Hindrances and annoyance; Current coins in China; Footbinding; Anti-footbinding; The position of women; Births, deaths and marriages; Chinese morals; Superstitions; Our missionaries; Up-country

shopping and up-country ways; Soldiers; Chinese students, A father's advice to his son; Buddhist monasteries; A Chinese ordination; The scared mountain of Omi; Chinese sentiment; A summer trip to Chinese Tibet; Art and industries; A little Peking pug.

The second part--Affairs of State—included seven chapters: Getting to Peking; The sight of Peking; The Chinese emperor's magnificence; The empress, the emperor, and the audience; Solidarity, co-operation, and imperial federation; Beginnings of reform; and The coup d'état. Comparing to the British male travel writers, Mrs. Archibald Little had covered a great variety of Chinese lifestyles, and social norms.

Mrs. Little started her work with her first impression of China from what she had seen in Shanghai, which was the first destination for most foreigners who traveled to China. Then Mrs. Little presented her trip down the Yangtze gorge, its landscape and the people there. Next, Mrs. Little spent a significant number of chapters introducing and discussing Chinese customs. From there, she moved onto her travels and adventures around China. The last five chapters of the book were categorized as "Affairs of State," where she addressed the Chinese political situation and the reformers.

An interesting feature of *Intimate China* was the "Dry Statements." In the beginning of *Intimate China*, Mrs. Little added "Dry Statements—to be carried with the read, if possible."¹⁰² The statements included geographical information on China and a short profile of Chinese social conventions. It served as general background knowledge on China for her readers. Mrs. Little further stated,

¹⁰² Mrs. Archibald Little, *Intimate China*, XV

“People who want more detailed information about China, I would refer to Sir John Davis’s always pleasant pages; or to my husband’s *Through the Yangtse Gorges*, containing the results of years of observation;”¹⁰³

The recommendation of male authored works over her own for this type of information conformed with the Victorian women travel writer’s writing tradition. Instead of claiming authority in Chinese affairs, Mrs. Little yielded the spot to her male counterparts and fitted her writing into the more domestic aspects of Chinese life.

Chinese Experiences: Assumptions and Reality

The Shanghai Experience

Mrs. Little described her visit to Mr. Tee San’s garden in Shanghai as an experience closer to what she had imagined China would be like. “Once arrived, however, a bewildering sense comes over one of having left prosaic Shanghai very far away, and having at last arrived at a bit of *romantic* East!”¹⁰⁴ The comparison between prosaic and romantic implied the gap between the reality of China and what she had imagined before arriving in China. Life in China was nothing like the version Mrs. Little had imagined—the grand Middle Kingdom filled with beautiful scenery, the scents of all kinds of exotic flowers, which were portrayed on the fine porcelain plates. Mrs. Little’s life in China was not what she was expecting.

In *Intimate China*, Mrs. Little often painted life in China as dull and boring,

¹⁰³ Mrs. Archibald Little, *Intimate China*, 4

¹⁰⁴ Mrs. Archibald Little, *Intimate China*, 30.

“A Chinese city is certainly very like a prison.”¹⁰⁵ She described not having newspapers to connect her to what was happening around her. “Is it not partly this [the absence of a newspaper] that makes life in China so dull?”¹⁰⁶, “[T]hey have no light literature, no sports, very little of a newspaper press, no concerts, no bands no intercourse with women except of the baser sort. No wonder they look dull.”¹⁰⁷ She further elaborated her disappointment with China,

But here let me record my first great disappointment, because it may be that of many other. Brown mud is the first thing one sees of China. Brown mud accompanies the traveler for miles along the Yangtse River, all along the Peiho, up to brown and muddy Tientsin, and on up to Peiking itself. China generally is not at all like the willow-pattern plate. I do not know if I really had expected it to be blue and white; but it was a disappointment to find it very brown and muddy.¹⁰⁸

This description displays her disappointment at having her imagined China replaced with the real one. From these disappointed hopes comes her inspiration to write about the real China as she saw it. China, ever since Marco Polo described it as a more sophisticated country with a higher culture, gorgeous silks and fine porcelain.

By the nineteenth century, after Europe’s dramatic technological, cultural, and scientific advancement, China was old-fashioned, out-dated, and backward. Therefore the contrast between the “porcelain blue” and “muddy brown” as her contrasting images of China. For Mrs. Little, Shanghai was no

¹⁰⁵ Mrs. Archibald Little, *Intimate China* ,57

¹⁰⁶ Mrs. Archibald Little, *Intimate China* ,216.

¹⁰⁷ Mrs. Archibald Little, *Intimate China* ,268.

¹⁰⁸ Mrs. Archibald Little, *Intimate China* ,5.

different than “the East End of London...with the horrible sights, and still more horrible smells,”¹⁰⁹ yet another common English perceptions toward China and the Chinese people.

The Wu-Chang Experience

When Mrs. Little was newly in China, she went to the city of Wu-Chang (武昌) to spend the night at the residence of a missionary who was lonely for company since he lived there with few expatriates. As she went to bed that night, she stood by the window and listened to the sounds of the people of the city initially fascinated by its strangeness. Then she was startled by it.

I suddenly realised, with a choking sense of emotion, that the gates were shut, and I was within there with a cityful of Chinese so hostile to foreigners, and especially to foreign women, that it had not been thought safe to let me walk through them to the missionary's house.¹¹⁰

The word selection such as “shut” “cityful of Chinese”, “not...safe”, “hostile” painted a vivid image of Mrs. Little's unstable, frightened psychological state in the midst of Chinese people. Such feelings were caused by the anti-foreign riots which happened quite often in China. It also depicted the dangers for a woman, particularly a British subject, to travel deep into the inner parts of China.

Without the comfort of home, Mrs. Little began to reflect on the difference between her and the Chinese people around her. These anxieties were never

¹⁰⁹ Mrs. Archibald Little, *Intimate China*, 9.

¹¹⁰ Mrs. Archibald Little, *Intimate China*, 13.

presented in Mr. Little's publications.¹¹¹ The difference between Mr. and Mrs. Little's perspectives derived from the following reasons. First, Mr. Little spent thirty years in China prior to their marriage. He was accustomed to the local Chinese.

Second, it is normal to feel estrangement when exploring an exotic place and encountering an entirely different culture. It was also a reflection of how the Victorian self image of womanhood responded to her new surroundings. Mrs. Little was in the foreign land, confined within, and surrounded by "hostile Chinese", the perfectly respectable angel was not only not in her house but in a foreign, hostile city. The dangers of traveling might have been disciplined by the ideals of Victorian femininity but they also transformed Mrs. Little from the angel in the house to the Amazon out on the battle field.

Presenting China within the framework of the British Empire

Initially, Mrs. Little's impression toward China was as a hostile, tedious place and she found it hard to endure. Later, Mrs. Little grew comfortable with the Chinese customs and lifestyle. As a result, she painted a great variety of images and characters from her difference perspectives of the Chinese people. For example when she discusses Chinese business practices she says that the "Chinese have a fine sense of honesty, if not honour; and merchants are apt to kill themselves, if they cannot meet their obligations."¹¹² Or "the images of China are quite untainted by any suggestion of impropriety...virtue is sufficiently in the ascendant in China for vice to pay it the compliment of

¹¹¹ Archibald Little, *Through the Yangtse Gorges*, (London: Samson Low, Marston & Company, 1898), 18, 244, 248. *The Far East*, (London: The Clarendon Press, 1905), 124

¹¹² Mrs. Archibald Little, *Intimate China*, 10.

hypocrisy.”¹¹³ Even though Mrs. Little described the Chinese merchants with great integrity, she felt otherwise for Chinese officials, “Until the officials of China were properly paid, it is unreasonable to expect them to be honest.”¹¹⁴

In the domain of religion, Mrs. Little said of being in China that “you find yourself in the land of superstition.”¹¹⁵ Then Mrs. Little also left the statement such as “And though we reckon the Chinese people such an irreligious race...[y]et in every guild house there is a temple.”¹¹⁶ At quick glance, these descriptions seem to be contrarily to one another. However, it may more be a matter that Mrs. Little associated and mingled with Chinese who came from different vocations and classes. It also brings out another aspect in Mrs. Little’s writing.

Spurr in *The Rhetoric of Empire* says that by presenting the reader with savages or in this case, the ethnic others, it extends not only the geographic but also the psychological boundaries. According to Spurr:

“Like other representations of the savages, this one stops short of crossing the boundary from one culture to the other; rather, it makes use of the savage in order to expand the territory of the Western imagination, transforming the Other into yet one more term of Western culture’s dialogue with itself. The idealization of the savage has always taken place alongside a more general idealization of the cultural Other.”¹¹⁷

Of course such idealization would be different for China due largely to its

¹¹³ Mrs. Archibald Little, *Intimate China*, 172.

¹¹⁴ Mrs. Archibald Little, *Intimate China*, 535.

¹¹⁵ Mrs. Archibald Little, *Intimate China*, 211.

¹¹⁶ Mrs. Archibald Little, *Intimate China*, 541.

¹¹⁷ David Spurr, *The Rhetoric of Empire: Colonial Discourse in Journalism, Travel Writing, and Imperial Administration*. (Durham & London: Duke University Press, 1994), 128.

having long been portrayed as the Middle Kingdom--- an ideal and romantic country in Western culture ever since *The Travels of Marco Polo*. Mrs. Little once stated her voyage as “a dream of childhood realised, a dream inspired by many readings of Sinbad’s marvellous travels,”¹¹⁸ and “At last—at last we had come upon something Oriental in China, aesthetic, eye-satisfying.”¹¹⁹ Since the cultural boundaries had already been expanded in this way, Mrs. Little turned the focus to a dialogue between Chinese culture and Western culture.

Throughout *Intimate China* Mrs. Little continuously spoke highly of Chinese art¹²⁰, silk¹²¹, porcelains¹²², tea¹²³, buildings¹²⁴, gardens¹²⁵, wisdom. Mrs. Little inherited her husband’s views on the Chinese Empire as an old empire filled with culture and past glories. Mr. Little equates ancient Chinese with that of the west.

“[T]he peculiar civilization of the Chinese attained its highest development, and produced, in the seventh and sixth centuries before our era, a school of philosophers worthy to rank with their contemporaries in the West—in India and in Greece.”¹²⁶

Mrs. Little compared the Chinese Empire with the Roman Empire at its collapse when the barbarians from Gaul invaded their world. She was describing the Chinese in their fine silks as they observed her with their cold

¹¹⁸ Mrs. Archibald Little, *Intimate China*, 41.

¹¹⁹ Mrs. Archibald Little, *Intimate China*, 471.

¹²⁰ Mrs. Archibald Little, *Intimate China*, 385-392.

¹²¹ Mrs. Archibald Little, *Intimate China*, 436-438.

¹²² Mrs. Archibald Little, *Intimate China*, 425-426.

¹²³ Mrs. Archibald Little, *Intimate China*, 5-9 ; 10-13; 436-444.

¹²⁴ Mrs. Archibald Little, *Intimate China*, 23-27 ; 433-444.

¹²⁵ Mrs. Archibald Little, *Intimate China*, 14-23.

¹²⁶ Archibald Little, *Far East*, 23.

expressions from their balconies as she caravanned by.

“the haughtiness of their gazing recalling the decedent Romans of the last day of the empire...Do they feel that the Gaul is at the gates and that the China of their childhood is passing away?”¹²⁷

Both Mr. and Mrs. Little made the comparison between China and other past glorious European Empires. At the time of the British Empire, China was falling from its glorious position. The association of China with the Roman Empire was enhanced the such perception. The comparison of China and other European ancient Empires also helped establish a comparison which would allow their readers back in England to have a better understanding of China's situation. Mrs. Little provides geographic and cultural comparisons of China and present European to establish a similar point of familiarity.

“Peking is on about the same parallel as Madrid, Chungking as Cairo, Shanghai as Madeira...The Russian nation, already extending over one-sixth of the globe, while China only extends over a little more than one-twelfth, musters little over 129 millions, and thus has about one-third of the Chinese population, with about twice its territory to stretch itself in...Their cooks are second only to the French; their serving-men surpass the Germans.”¹²⁸

Furthermore, Mrs. Little compared China with the British Empire, which served two purposes. First, it created easier access for English readers by providing common ground for identification with the Chinese. It portrayed China as an empire, which set the Chinese experience in a frame that the

¹²⁷ Mrs. Archibald Little, *Intimate China*, 4.

¹²⁸ Mrs. Archibald Little, *Intimate China*, X V.

English could relate to. By doing so, Mrs. Little created the gate for her readers to empathize with the life in China. Such comparisons show how Mrs. Little processed and defined her encounters with and interpretations of China.

Secondly, the attempt also served as a means to legitimate the British existence in China. They could see themselves as benefactors for an Empire that was behind. It arose from the differences between the progressiveness of the British identity and the backwardness of China and the intention to justify the British Empire's actions in China. Mrs. Little used tea business for example,

“It is, however, no wonder that the China tea trade had languished. Home industries are universal in China, and each peasant who farms a bit of land grows tea, picks it and dries it, according to his own ideas. To introduce any improvement it would be therefore necessary to educate the great mass of peasant cultivators. European tea-buyer's exhortations have so far provided fruitless.”¹²⁹

In contrast to the British Empire, Mrs. Little considered China as an ancient country with a fascinating and dazzling culture without modern technological advances. The western ideas of modern factories, standard operational qualities were none to be found in the Chinese tea business. Little saw it as an indication of the Chinese failure on the world stage. Mrs. Little came to the conclusion that there was “no hope for China under the present dynasty.”¹³⁰

The word “ancient” appears thirty-six times included once in a poem in *Intimate China*. Mrs. Little's perceptions toward China could be best presented

¹²⁹ Mrs. Archibald Little, *Intimate China*, 475.

¹³⁰ Mrs. Archibald Little, *Intimate China*, 490

when she was invited to the Chinese military parade ground in the following description,

The artillery appeared with the most marvelous of cannon, slight and somewhat dragon-shaped, and muzzle-loading of course, requiring to be laboriously wheeled round after each volley, and resting on some strange, outlandish supports, that had puzzled us foreigners much whilst carried round upon the shoulders of what now proved to be the artillery...But those poor men [Chinese] down there would march in that style against modern weapons of precision, used in accordance with modern tactics, and of course had *run away!* "Poor old China! Poor old China!" rose like a chorus from the pitiful ones...But we wondered somewhat sorrowfully whether we had had the great privilege of assisting at one of the last Viceregal reviews of the kind, one of the last survivals of antediluvian periods. All nations have passed through similar stages, as the Scottish sword-dances, Highland flings, and English beefeaters remind us. Or could it be that China is going to persist in living still longer in the Middle Ages? In the one case—for we Europeans are nothing, if we are not practical—let us at once buy up one of the painted shields, and Tiger uniforms, and too often brandished banners with their tribes of attended bannerets. In the other, let us stand back, and look aside, lest our hearts should be too much torn by pity when the great catastrophe comes, and China meets a foe who follows his thrusts home, and is determined to reap the full fruit of his victories.¹³¹

The description demonstrated that in Mrs. Little's eyes China could be a country with a glorious past but compared to the British Empire China was simply vulnerable and stood no chance against the forces of the modern world. Mills invoked Said's interpretation which showed similar views. "As Said has shown, this 'Othering' process is essential for Europe to regard European

¹³¹ Mrs. Archibald Little, *Intimate China*, 289-291.

behaviour as the norm and hence to assert itself as superior race.”¹³²

Nevertheless, the images of China provided by Mrs. Little opened up the possibility of a diversity of British perspectives including identification with the Chinese.

As a British women traveler in China

“Certainly, a man has great advantages in travelling”¹³³ summed up Mrs. Little’s views on a British woman traveler in China. The social convention for Chinese society was to encourage women to stay in their domestic area and avoid any appearances in public. In western China where only a few foreign men had visited, foreign women or men became a spectacle. They were something Chinese would be curious about.

Once we thought we were going to spend the night, as we always tried to do, at a lovely inn; but there was just a village beyond and the villagers came over, and were rather troublesome in their curiosity. ...when we closed the door, all who could rushed up ladders into the rafters to look down, or on to the loose boards above us, staring down at us...I got so tired of people, I went outside...Even in the moonlight, however, a growing crowd followed me, staring and giggling, till impatiently I remonstrated. On which a man stepped forward as spokesman “We are nothing but mountain people,” he said, “and anything like you we have never seen before! So we do just want to look.”¹³⁴

Being followed by a Chinese crowd was a recurring topic among the Victorian women travel writers. Such descriptions imply two important key

¹³² Mills, 88.

¹³³ Mrs. Archibald Little, *Intimate China* ,61

¹³⁴ Mrs. Archibald Little, *Intimate China* ,59-60

elements in their travel narratives. First, they were in danger, surrounded by locals. Second, the social conventions which Mrs. Little observed were different from those of the local Chinese. The word choice of “mountain people” is an example. It might be understood that they were in a remote. It might also be attributed from the frustrations of being a British lady. Another good example occurred at Lichuan.

At Lichuan occurred our first mobbing....Our cook had, as we thought, very imprudently engaged rooms for us in an inn outside the walls, and evidently not the best inn....So often we have no windows at all, it seemed particularly unfortunate we should have three there; for in poured a howling crowd, and the windows were at once a sea of faces. We thought it best to bolt the door of the room, setting our solidier-coolie on guard over it....But there were eyes and fingers at every crack—and the room was all cracks—and the people coughed to attract our attention, and called to us to come out; while to judge by the sounds—but one can never do this in China—there seemed to be fierce fighting between some of them and our coolies. Presently, my husband went out, and tried to reason with them, telling them if it was only himself they should be free to come into his room and see him all the time; but they knew themselves it was not proper to look into a women’s apartment. They seemed too low and rude a crowd for reason...”¹³⁵

Though Mrs. Little painted a hostile picture of the life in China, in Mrs. Little’s eyes, China was like a woman who was neither dangerous nor hazardous to the Western world. Mrs. Little stated, “The Chinese are like women in this respect also. They afford an extraordinarily small percentage of criminals to the world’s criminal roll, and of these the most part are for petty

¹³⁵ Mrs. Archibald Little, *Intimate China*, 61

theft.”¹³⁶ From Mrs. Little’s descriptions, the Chinese were more curious than dangerous. It was interesting how Mrs. Little saw China as feminine. Such an image might have come from a European tendency to view the Orient as feminine. Also, considering the political situation during the nineteenth century in which China had signed one after another unfair treaties with the Western world, such an analogy was understandable.

In the nineteenth-century, British women travelers often were in positions which required contact with and exposure to different cultural perspectives. Their responses were initially limited by the historical and socio-political context of Victorian culture. When British women travelers left the Victorian social expectations; however, they began to experience changes in their responses to situations. As British subjects in Victorian society, women’s identities and behaviors were shaped by a patriarchal culture. Traveling dislodged them from their primary position of subjugation to the Victorian cultural norms and they began to relate to the norms of Chinese culture.

Mrs. Little’s descriptions demonstrated the complex nature of her identity as a British woman in China. First, the fact that Chinese woman could take part in the affairs associated with men in Victorian society surprised. Mrs. Little responded; “doubtless Chinese ladies’ speak of many subjects with the freedom of the days of Queen Elizabeth.”¹³⁷ Chinese women’s deep involvement in all family matters contrasted to Mrs. Little almost invisible involvement in her husband’s business. On the other hand, the silence and acceptance observed by Chinese women with respect to their destiny, family,

¹³⁶ Mrs. Archibald Little, *Intimate China*, 205.

¹³⁷ Mrs. Archibald Little, *Intimate China*, 169.

and body contrasted with Mrs. Little's active campaign for promoting women's rights in both the east and west. These comparisons of social roles and social conventions affected how Mrs. Little viewed British women's family and social roles. This is apparent in the use by Mrs. Little of a scene in which her Chinese cook articulates the Victorian limitations of women to a Chinese woman. She lets the cook tell the British readers of these limitations more forcefully than she could.

When we first arrived in Chungking, the wife of a formerly very wealthy merchant came at once to see me, begging that some place might be found in my husband's business for her husband, who had unfortunately become impoverished. I promised to mention the matter; but as she proceeded to enter into details, and my knowledge of Chinese was even less than it is now, I called for our cook to interpret, and to my amusement presently heard him say, "I don't know why you trouble my mistress about all this. Foreign ladies are not like our ladies; they don't understand anything about business, and take no part in their husbands' affairs." This he said in a tone as if explaining that we were ignorant, frivolous creatures; and it must be remembered that, like most Chinese who go into foreign employ, he had been uniformly in service with foreigners since his earliest years.¹³⁸

With the increasing insight Mrs. Little gained as a British subject in China, she could not ignore their cook's belittling tone toward not only women but also the British Empire.

The Sense of the Exotic East

Thurin elaborated on British women travel writings about China. "Victorian

¹³⁸ Mrs. Archibald Little, *Intimate China*, 177.

women travel writing about China reflects the crossover of [fiction as an outgrowth of travel writing] in enhancing—or fictionalizing—experience with sensational details... and self-exoticism.”¹³⁹ “Sense” seemed to be one of the important sources for Mrs. Little in presenting China and its people. She continuously described all kinds of smells as in the following passages.

...as to those from time to time come down from some roadless, gasless, shopless, but smell-ful up-country sojourn, there is one bit of Shanghai that is exceptionally refreshing and delightful; and that is the garden by the river....Those who care for local colour can find it in this garden quite as well as in the China town...when one can find the local colour without local odours, it is a thing to make note in China¹⁴⁰....through a local Convent Garden, full of colour enough, like its prototype in London, but like that, not smell-less¹⁴¹.... There, too are only the flowers I can name. There are numbers more and so fragrant!”¹⁴²....the smells are the great objection to going through the often lovely-looking—from a distance—villages.¹⁴³....And before we got there we had to sleep one night in one of the more stinking, dirty towns we ever passed through.¹⁴⁴....the sweet sickly opium smell¹⁴⁵....with the dank smell of earth outside¹⁴⁶....There were boys burning something that had a horrible smell in the great incense burner¹⁴⁷....we never wished to go outside (of the British embassy) again to face that vile mews, with its holes, its dust and its smell.¹⁴⁸

Her abundant use of sense probably arose from Mrs. Little’s literary style picked up from her reading. It also set her writings apart from male British

¹³⁹ Thurin, 22

¹⁴⁰ Mrs. Archibald Little, *Intimate China*, 29

¹⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 30

¹⁴² *Ibid.*, 35

¹⁴³ *Ibid.*, 39

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 70

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 344

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 413

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 470

travel writers and potentially unveiled another Victorian common view. In 1824, in *Blackwoods*, American author John Neal advanced his theory of imagination.

Imagination, I believe, to be always in proportion to animal sensibility, and to the delicacy of animal organization; women, I delicately organized, than men; and, therefore, do I believe that women have more imagination than men....Have you ever heard of a great mathematician, mechanic, or theologian, who was remarkable for his imagination, or at all remarkable of this animal sensibility—or very irritable in his temper—or exceedingly alive to the delicacies of touch, flavour, sound, sight, or smell?—never. For, if he had been so, he would never have been distinguished for abstract, severe, thoughtful science.¹⁴⁹

Neal believed that women have more delicate senses and therefore are more imaginative and less scientific. Rather than discuss the accuracy of Neal's argument, it is reasonable to consider it a common Victorian view. It remained unknown whether Mrs. Little employed vast amounts of descriptions of smells simply as a literary technique or as unconscious conformity to Victorian writing norms— or in Freudian terms—Eros. Whatever the explanation, Mrs. Little painted China with the brush of the nose as a smelly, odorous land.

Unbinding Foot Movement

¹⁴⁹ Elizabeth K Helsinger, et al. *The woman question: society and literature in Britain and America, 1837-1883*. (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1983), 16-17



Figure 3. Comparison between bind and unbind feet. The photos are from *Intimate China*.

With Little's relocation from England to China, Mrs. Little left the dominant Victorian conception of womanhood and allowed her to reformulate herself into another social arena, which empowered her in ways she would not have been able to experience in the Victorian society. Little took the opportunity to get involved with Chinese affairs.

In 1895 Little joined one of the meetings of the Society of Diffusion of Christian and General Knowledge(廣學會)¹⁵⁰ and was inspired by Reverend Macgowen. SDGK was a Christian organization that distributed Christian literature in China in the hope of making China stronger and safer.¹⁵¹ At the time Reverend Timothy Richard was the secretary of SDGK and Reverend John Macgowen had just started his unbinding foot movement. Zito in *Secularizing the Pain of Footbinding in China* described their meeting. “[H]e (John Macgowen) was introduced to Mrs. Archibald Little by Missionary Timothy Richards...she (Mrs. Archibald Little) was convened at a meeting of

¹⁵⁰ It will be shorten as SDGK.

¹⁵¹ Gregory A.Wagner, *Mrs. Archibald Little as an Educator and Activist with Emphasis on Her Anti-Footbinding Activities.*, (M.A Thes.,National Taiwan University, 2002.), 37.

Shanghai's foreign elite to hear Macgowen speak."¹⁵² After their meeting, Little decided to organize her own T'ien Tzu Hui¹⁵³ (天足會) at Shanghai to promote the unbinding foot movement.

Reverend Macgowen was a Missionary who was dedicated to the unbinding foot movement. He described footbinding as "one of the caste that bound the Empire of China, imperious, cruel, savage in its demands and impervious to the deepest instinct of the human heart."¹⁵⁴ At the first Tien Tzu Hui (TTH) meeting Reverend Macgowen made the following statement:

The [bound] feet of the women of China, I declared, were not the result of Heaven's creative thought, but were the debased ideals of the past that during the passing centuries had been forced upon women. "It now will be the work of the Society," I continued, "to drive out from every Chinese home the cruel custom of footbinding, and to restore the women to the Divine conception that God at first conceived for her in His creation of her."¹⁵⁵

Although Reverend Macgowen and Mrs. Little's campaigns were both called T'ien Tzu Hui in Chinese, the English translation was different. Reverend Macgowen translated it into "Heavenly Foot Society"; Mrs. Little translated it into "Natural Foot Society." Zito pointed out that the differences between Reverend Macgowen's (Heavenly Foot Society) and Mrs. Little's (Natural Foot Society) descriptions were reflections of their concepts of the natural body.¹⁵⁶ Reverend Macgowen believed that the human body was

¹⁵² Angela Zito, 'Secularizing the Pain of Footbinding in China: Missionary and Medical Stagings of the Universal Body.' in *Journey of the American Academy of Religion*, Volume 75, No.1, 2007, 4.

¹⁵³ It will be shorten as TTH.

¹⁵⁴ John Macgowen, 32

¹⁵⁵ Ibid., 65.

¹⁵⁶ Zito, "Secularizing the Pain of Footbinding in China", 3-6.

given and created by God. Mrs. Little believed that the health of the body was a matter of hygiene. Both of their concepts concerning the “natural body” were common in the nineteenth century. Due to their different views of bound feet, Reverend Macgowen and Mrs. Little took different routes to promote the cause. Mrs. Little avoided associating the campaign with Missionary work by having no Missionary members in the society. The reason for Mrs. Little to disassociate herself from the Missionaries was to decrease the possibilities of precipitating anti-foreign or anti-missionary riots.¹⁵⁷ Mrs. Little chose drawing rooms and private houses as their meeting places and did not hold their meetings at churches or other Missionary affiliated locations.

Mrs. Archibald Little advocated two courses of action, one is to stop such tradition being practiced onto young girls; the other was to unbind the feet which were already bound. Therefore Mrs. Little started to travel extensively through the Southern China included Hankow(漢口), Wuchang(武昌), Han-Yang(漢陽), Canton(廣東), Hong Kong(香港), Macao(澳門), Swatow(汕頭), Amoy(廈門), Foochow(福州), Hangchow(杭州) and Soochow(蘇州) to promote and spread out the campaign.

Mrs. Little started the campaign in Chinese Lady’s drawing rooms. All her lady guests were from the upper-class of the region. Mrs. commented,

The wealth of embroideries on the occasion was a thing to remember. One young lady could look neither to the right nor to the left, so bejeweled was she ; indeed, altogether she was a masterpiece of art...Everyone came, and many brought friends ; and all brought

¹⁵⁷ Chia-lin Pao Tao, 150.

children, in their best clothes too, like the most beautiful dolls. ¹⁵⁸

Instead of making foot-binding a comparison between the East and West, progress and backward, Mrs. Archibald Little emphasized the brutality of foot-binding, its physical and psychological suffering, its mortality rate. She invited both European and Chinese doctors to the meetings and explained how foot-binding could have fatal results. Additionally, Little had a special prop to illustrate their point of view:

“Next a missionary lady in fluent Chinese explained the circulation of the blood, and with an indiarubber pipe showed the effect of binding some part of it. There were no interruptions then. This seemed to the Chinese ladies practical, and it was quite striking to see how attentively they listened.”¹⁵⁹

It was both educational and visually stimulating. It had raised not only Chinese women but also men’s concerns toward the issue. Later Mrs. Little quoted a Chinese gentleman, Mr. Chou:

Foreign women have natural feet; they are daring, and can defend themselves; whilst Chinese women have bound feet, and are too weak even to bear the weight of their own clothes. They think it looks nice; but in reality it does not look nice, and weakens their bodies, often causing their death.¹⁶⁰

By adapting a more Chinese friendly approach, Mrs. Little’s campaign seemed to have great results. However, that was not the primary reason the

¹⁵⁸ Mrs. Archibald Little, *Intimate China* ,151.

¹⁵⁹ Mrs. Archibald Little, *Intimate China* ,152.

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid.*,162.

campaign prospered. The most important reason came from the Chinese themselves. The Chinese intellectuals contributed the point of view in association with being defeated by the Japanese during the First Sino-Japanese War. It was shocking, unbelievable and mostly humiliating for the Late Qing Chinese Empire. Chao Zu-de (趙祖德) depicted this view in *Notes on Anti-Footbinding Association in Current Affairs Newspaper* (時務報),

The Sino-Japan war, our army lost completely, and was forced to cede territory and pay indemnities. It caused the greatest humiliations throughout Chinese five thousands history....Ever since then, the whole court realized the trauma, pain and then as if waken up by the dream, met a harsh teacher, cane the naughty child and make him harden its body and soul. We need to repent and strive for progress.... Luckily there were two men, Lai and Chen from Canton started the anti-footbinding association in Canton.¹⁶¹

In 1895, Kang Youwei (康有為) started his own anti-footbinding campaign, the Pu Tsan Tsu Hui (不纏足會) in Canton. Kang as a well-respected Chinese intellectual, his campaign ignited the public awareness for the matter and had helped out Mrs. Little's campaign in degrees. Mrs. Little's TTH started to invite political influential figures to write for their campaign such as Chang-chih-tung, Viceroy of Hupeh and Hunan¹⁶² (湖廣總督), the Viceroy of Naking¹⁶³ (兩江總督), and the Viceroy of Chihli(直隸總督).¹⁶⁴

¹⁶¹ Chao, Zu-de. (趙祖德)*Notes on Anti-Footbinding Association in Current Affairs Newspaper*. Volume 45, 1897 November 15.

¹⁶² Ibid., 155-156

¹⁶³ Ibid., 156. In *Intiamte China*, Mrs. Little only addressed it as Viceroy of Naking with no name or reference. It might be Liu kunyi (劉坤一) who was political allie with Chang-chih-tung and was in office from 1890-1902.

¹⁶⁴ Ibid. Mrs. Little addressed the official as Viceroy of Chihli, it should be the Viceroy of Zhili (直隸總督). Mrs. Little did not mention the name of the Viceroy, it could be Wang win-shiao 王文韶(1895-1898), Ronglu 榮祿 (1898), Yuan Shikai 袁世凱(1898,1901-1902), Yulu 裕

With Mrs. Little's vigorous effort, her campaign received great feedbacks. Duke Kung Hui-chang referred her as "wise daughters from foreign lands."¹⁶⁵ FooChow Taotai (福州道台) called her as "You are just like Kwanyin Pusa." [觀音菩薩] (the Chinese Goddess of Mercy). Hitherto we Chinese have had but one Kwanyin. But now we have two. You are the second."¹⁶⁶

By the time Little returned to England in 1907, she was certain that the practice of footbinding was a dying one.



祿(1898) or Li Hung-Chang 李鴻章(1900-1901).

¹⁶⁵ In *Intimate China*, Mrs. Archibald Little claimed the duke was : one of the lineal descendents of Confucius. (IC : 156.) Mrs. Archibald Little was in China from 1886-1907, during that time the duke who was one of the lineal descendents was 孔令貽, 字谷孫, 號燕庭. The name Kung Hui-chang remained unknown.

¹⁶⁶ Mrs. Archibald Little, *The Land of the Blue Gown*, 356.

Conclusion

Mrs. Archibald Little was indeed an amazing British woman travel writer in the nineteenth-century. It was admirable that Mrs. Little had the courage to travel around China especially when the situation, tension toward foreigners was high and horrifying. Mrs. Archibald Little's description, "The cry of "Slay the foreigner!" was a novelty that year. It has become very common since then"¹⁶⁷ could demonstrate well on the hostility of such situation. Such intensity would force her to examine the relationship between the British Empire, its value system (whether in the perspective for women or to other country) and its people.

Although Mrs. Little was well respected as Chinese authority within British Empire, Gertrude Bell, a well known Victorian women traveler "whose brilliant political work in the Near East would earn her the title of "uncrowned queen of Iraq"."¹⁶⁸ once made the following comment on Little,

Mr. and Mrs. Archibald Little were there - she is a truly awful lady. She wore a mustard yellow dress which was exactly the same colour as her skin, so that for some time I did not notice she had a low gown on and Hugo never observed it at all! She has a very vivacious manner and a heavy black moustache. Her husband doesn't count. Dr. Morrison says her books are pretty feeble, but as they are popular he hopes she will write a great many more, for he rejoices to see any interest roused about China.¹⁶⁹

Bell's comment might not be flattering but it had shown a more human

¹⁶⁷ Mrs. Archibald Little, *Intimate China*, 257.

¹⁶⁸ Thurin, "Travel Writing and the Humanitarian Impulse", 92

¹⁶⁹ For Gertrude Bell's letters, diaries and photographs, University of New Castle has the full online collection : Gertrude Bell Archive <http://www.gerty.ncl.ac.uk/index.php> This quotation of Gertrude Bell's letter in May 5th, 1903 is at the following website : http://www.gerty.ncl.ac.uk/letter_details.php?letter_id=1398

side of Mrs. Little. Mrs. Little was someone who would be considered as eccentric and not an average Victorian lady. Therefore Bell's comments such as "awful" or "very heavy black mustache" might reflect from the Victorian gender stereotype or simply spiteful. Nevertheless, the description showed Mrs. Little was not into the appearance but was more into her writings.

A renowned illustrator Harry Furniss once recorded his meeting with Mrs. Little whom he found "delightful and interesting,"

One I was asked to meet at dinner for a special reason, which I should like to record. The lady who desired to "renew" my acquaintance was the celebrated authoress, Mrs. Archibald Little, whose *Intimate China* had just then made a great hit. She is a delightful and interesting lady, and I was curious to know why she had so mysteriously wished to meet me without disclosing her object. As we sat at dinner the mystery was disclosed. I was, so she declared, a man with a past. She knew, though others did not, a secret in my life....The Furniss Mrs. Little had confused with me was my half-brother, a young man who was five-and-twenty years of age when I was born. ...For one reason alone I was glad to pass as a very old man with a past, for it led to an interesting meeting with a very charming authoress.¹⁷⁰

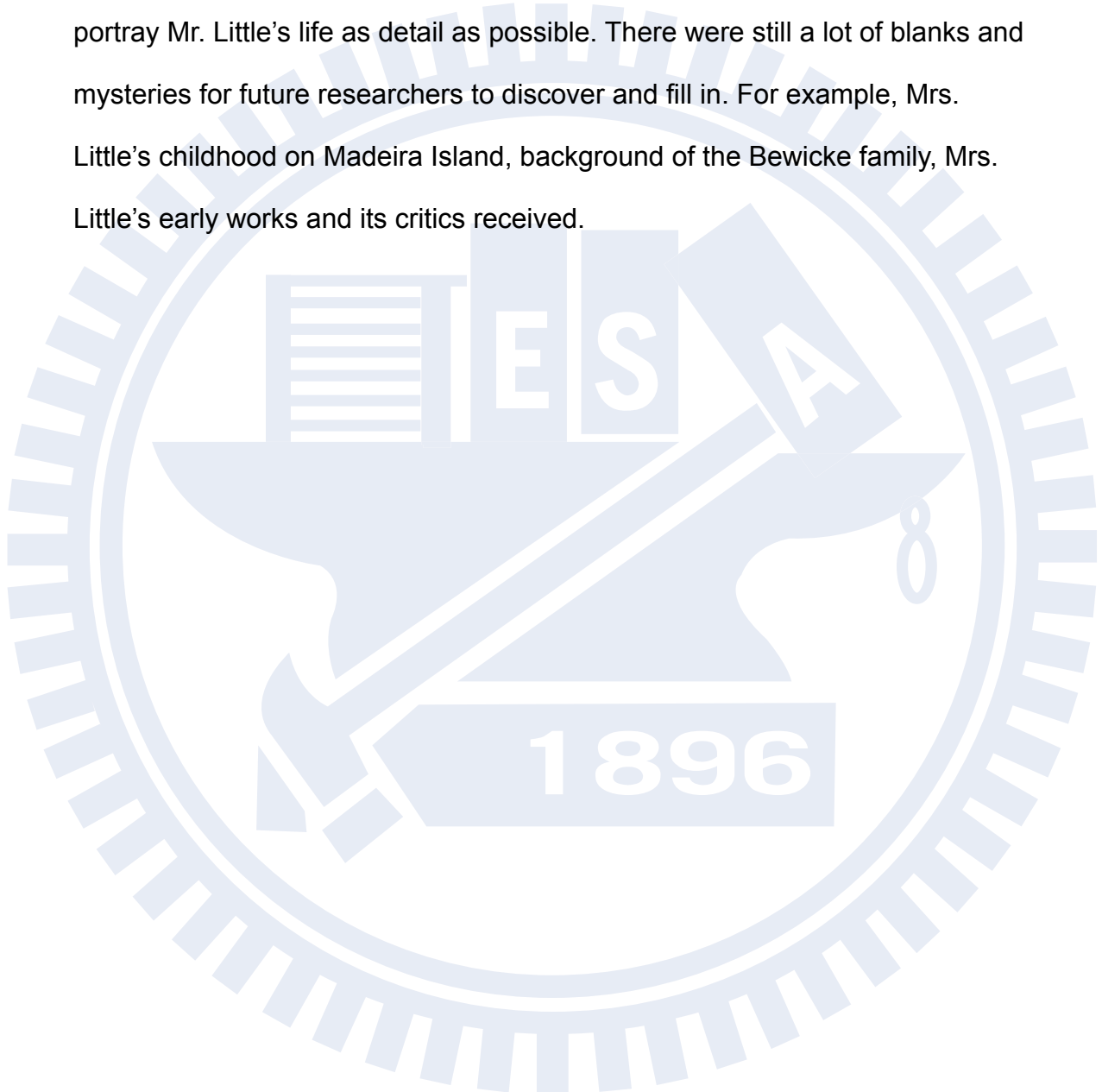
During different encounters and situations, Mrs. Little had made different impressions to people. In Mrs. Little's eyes, China and its people were also filled with all kinds of colors. As a nation, China was old, weak and could not compete with not only British Empire but also America and Japan.¹⁷¹ However as an ancient civilization, the romantic East, Little praised highly about the Chinese culture, values and Chinese through out the book. Such duality

¹⁷⁰ Harry Furniss, *Some Victorian Women - Good, Bad, and Indifferent*. (London: John Lane The Bodley Head, 1923), 3-14.

¹⁷¹ Mrs. Archibald Little, *Intimate China*, 287-291

demonstrated her careful and comprehensive observations and also indicated the nature of uncertainty of her identity.

Though this thesis had devoted a great effort to gather information and portray Mr. Little's life as detail as possible. There were still a lot of blanks and mysteries for future researchers to discover and fill in. For example, Mrs. Little's childhood on Madeira Island, background of the Bewicke family, Mrs. Little's early works and its critics received.



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