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Decolonising Travel Studies: Notes for the Hakluyt Society

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Introduction

The Decolonising Travel Studies project began with the three-day Hakluyt Society symposium that we organised on 10-12 November 2021 to mark the Society's 175th anniversary. That symposium, entitled Decolonising Travel Studies: Sources and Approaches, was hosted by the Global History and Culture Centre at the University of Warwick and brought together students and academic researchers working across disciplines and historical periods to reflect on the sources, approaches, and perspectives required to decolonise the study of historical travel and travel writing. What do we mean by 'decolonising', and what might 'decolonising travel studies' involve? Simply put, we take 'decolonising' to refer to the critique and dismantling of the structures through which colonialism and its legacies operate. One sense of 'decolonising' is the freeing of a people or territory from colonial rule. Yet the structures of colonialism are not exclusively geopolitical, but cultural and intellectual, too. For this reason, we understand the task of decolonising as something which extends far beyond the ending of formal colonisation. We take 'decolonising' to refer to a wide range of practices which aim to critique and ultimately undo the conditions through which colonialism is made possible and through which its structures or effects persist. This includes the processes by which colonial ways of understanding and ordering the world are enabled and perpetuated by certain forms of knowledge production. Crucially, we understand colonialism not only as an artefact of the past, but as something that is ongoing and which continues to shape our present.²

Practices of travel and travel writing have played a key part in colonial knowledge production and, through that, the exercise of colonial authority and domination. These close ties between travel and Western colonialism are well

¹ There is an extensive body of literature on the relationship between colonial domination and knowledge production. These works approach the issue from a range of disciplinary and theoretical perspectives. For examples, see Cohn, *Colonialism and Its Forms of Knowledge*; Said, *Orientalism*; Spivak, 'Can the Subaltern Speak?'; wa Thiong'o, *Decolonising the Mind*; Trouillot, *Silencing the Past*; Stoler, *Along the Archival Grain*.

² On the continuing legacies of colonialism, see Getachew, Worldmaking after Empire; Mamdani, Citizen and Subject; Patel, We're Here Because You Were There; Rodney, How Europe Underdeveloped Africa.

known.³ Our contention, however, is that the *field* of travel studies has not yet sufficiently reckoned with its own entanglements with colonialism, including its Eurocentrism. Most existing scholarship privileges the accounts, experiences, and perspectives of Europeans, especially European men from a small number of former imperial nations. The field's relationship to colonialism also shapes and constrains the categories, methods, and parameters through which it operates more broadly. Developed with these issues in mind, the aims of the *Decolonising Travel Studies* project include: examining the historical development of and colonial legacies contained in travel and exploration studies; demonstrating how the field's methodologies and theoretical paradigms, as well as the politics of the archive, have excluded and delegitimised certain groups or rendered them invisible; challenging and moving beyond Eurocentric conceptualisations of travel and travel writing including discourses of 'discovery'; pluralising the perspectives obtained from the European record of travel; and utilising empirical case studies of underrepresented histories of travel.

The main outputs of the project are two publications based on a selection of the papers presented at the 2021 symposium. One is a special issue entitled 'Travel Studies and the Decolonial Turn' published in the journal Studies in Travel Writing⁴, while the other is a collection of essays currently in progress. The project has important implications for the Hakluyt Society. The history of the Society offers a particularly striking illustration of the links between colonialism and travel studies. Through its publication record, the Society has co-constituted the field of travel studies by providing an extensive corpus on which scholars and lay readers alike have drawn. Its widespread impact on academic and popular understandings of the history of travel is in line with the Society's aims to 'advance education' and 'promote public understanding'. 5 But the Society's publication record and editorial vision, and the knowledge of travel it has produced, are bound up with its historical relationship to British imperialism. The record of travel that the Society has produced has ample strengths, but weaknesses and biases, too. It has legitimised certain historical actors and narratives while sidelining others, and, as a result, placed limits on which travellers and travels are thought to be worthy of attention and study.

In what follows, we explain the theoretical background of the project, and the main ideas and debates with which it is engaged. We then discuss the relationship of empire and editing in the history of the Society, drawing on research in the Society's archives. We close by offering some recommendations

³ See, for instance, Bartosik-Velez, *The Legacy of Christopher Columbus in the Americas*; Burnett, *Masters of All They Surveyed*; Holland and Huggan, *Tourists with Typewriters*; Lisle, *The Global Politics of Contemporary Travel Writing*; Richardson, *Longitude and Empire*.

⁴ Din-Kariuki and Van Meersbergen, eds, 'Travel Studies and the Decolonial Turn'. Parts of this lecture, especially the section 'Decolonising Travel Studies', draw on our introduction to the special issue. We have edited the lecture text to limit overlap.

⁵ On 'the objects of the Society' see Hakluyt Society, 'Annual Report and Financial Statements'.

to the Society about how it could proceed in rethinking its editorial and educational remit, as well as its colonial past.

Decolonising Travel Studies

Traditional approaches to the study of travel focussed almost exclusively on the travels of European men.⁶ Often celebratory in tone, this scholarship praised the writings and achievements of these travellers in ways which reinforced, rather than critiqued, their prejudices, biases, and roles in systems of domination. The emergence of postcolonial and New Historicist approaches to travel, as set out in Edward Said's *Orientalism* (1978) and in a series of pivotal studies published in the 1980s and 1990s, posed a challenge to these uncritical celebrations of European travel. They did so by demonstrating the relationships between travel, knowledge, and colonial conquest and by offering new interpretations of colonial texts.⁷ Despite their theoretical insights and innovations, scholarship published after the 'postcolonial turn' nonetheless implicitly reaffirmed the centrality of the narrow corpus and range of actors with which the more traditional studies of travel had been concerned. They also tended to reinforce the very binaries they set out to critique, such as those of 'Orient' and 'Occident', 'East' and 'West', 'coloniser' and 'colonised'.⁸

As Mary Louise Pratt explains, 'scholarship on travel writing stayed stuck looking over the shoulders of traveling Europeans, thereby reproducing the imperial relations that were under examination'. By taking Western travel writing as their main corpus, scholars have inadvertently established and reinforced its normativity. This focus on Western travel writing has limited and distorted our understanding of non-Western traditions of travel. It has also influenced the decisions that scholars make about which works in non-European languages they analyse, edit, or translate, in that they tend to prioritise travel writings which focus partly or exclusively on Europe while ignoring those which do not. 10

Some travellers are more likely than others to be rendered invisible by the archive and by scholarly analyses. The field has routinely excluded from focus those who are already marginalised on account of sociopolitical structures pertaining to, for instance, gender, sexuality, race, class, and ability. There are several examples of such exclusions. The field's reliance on European languages

See, for instance, Fussell, Abroad; Howard, English Travellers; Stoye, English Travellers Abroad.
 See Campbell, The Witness and the Other World; Greenblatt, Marvelous Possessions; Mills, Discourses of Difference; Pratt, Imperial Eyes; Said, Orientalism; Spurr, The Rhetoric of Empire.

⁸ For a critique of this aspect of *Orientalism* and postcolonial studies more broadly, see Varisco, *Reading Orientalism*. There are exceptions. Pratt's theorisation of the 'contact zone', for instance, sought to understand cultural difference in more nuanced terms. Yet even this theoretical framework risks reifying the binaries mentioned above.

⁹ Pratt, 'Afterword', pp. 225-6.

¹⁰ For a relevant discussion, see Alam and Subrahmanyam, 'Beijing to the Bosphorus', pp. 91-94.

means that it tends to exclude travel writing in non-European languages, and that it does not appreciate, for instance, the multilingual context in which much twentieth- and twenty-first-century African travel writing emerges. Women's travel writing, in contexts ranging from sixteenth-century England to nineteenth-century Bengal, has also often been excluded, for reasons ranging from its marginalisation in the archive to inaccurate assumptions about women's relationship to mobility.

Even where non-European travellers *do* appear in studies of travel, they are not always understood on their own terms. There are particularly striking illustrations of this tendency in studies of Indigenous voyaging. ¹³ In the colonial archive, mentions of Indigenous mobilities typically appear in reference to European travel, where Indigenous peoples act as guides or companions to European travellers. However, this privileging of European travel in colonial sources often diminishes the significance of Indigenous knowledge and agency and offers a distorted sense of the motivations shaping indigenous travel. As Rachel Standfield notes, there is much that European sources leave out, including the possibility that 'the Europeans involved were being used by the Indigenous travellers as a means to an end'. ¹⁴

More generally, scholars of travel continue to conceptualise the world through frameworks – social, cultural, and geo-political – which originate in Western empire. This is the context of Mary Baine Campbell's call for 'new and powerful theoretical work to replace, rather than simply supplement, the polemics and models produced by an academic collectivity concerned mostly with locatable cultures, bounded nations, and the imperial past'. Campbell's argument is as salient today as it was when she made it in 2006: the field has yet to develop new paradigms with which to decisively move beyond the visions of the world first set out by Western imperial powers. Eurocentrism and other forms of normativity are thus fundamental to travel studies: they inform not only *what* is studied but *how* it is studied, in that they provide the conceptual scaffolding with which the practices of travel and travel writing are understood.

Our argument, then, as presented at greater length in our introduction to 'Travel Studies and the Decolonial Turn', is that the centring of European colonial travel in travel studies – whether in older and more traditional scholarship which lionises colonial travel, or in the more critical postcolonial turn – has produced a set of wider exclusions that continue to hinder the field. What is needed for travel studies to move forward is a vision of travel and travel

¹¹ Ní Loingsigh, 'African Travel Writing'.

¹² Akhimie and Andrea eds., *Travel & Travail*; Harder, 'Female Mobility and Bengali Women's Travelogues'.

¹³ We use the capitalized 'Indigenous' and 'Black' in keeping with current practice in Indigenous Studies and Black Studies.

¹⁴ Standfield, 'Moving Across, Looking Beyond', p. 11.

¹⁵ Campbell, 'Travel writing and its Theory', pp. 262-3.

writing that is more expansive, more inclusive, and prepared not only to acknowledge the influence of colonialism on the field but to resist and move beyond it. Steps in this direction can be realised through engagement with the decolonial turn.¹⁶

First conceptualised by Latin American thinkers such as Aníbal Quijano, Walter Mignolo, and María Lugones in the 1990s and 2000s, decolonial theory interrogates 'coloniality', or the paradigms and discourses that underpin colonial domination. ¹⁷ In doing so, it seeks to develop new epistemologies with which to understand the world. Although decoloniality shares some of the same historical roots as postcolonial studies, as well as the latter's commitment to critiquing the paradigms and discourses of colonial domination, it nonetheless departs from postcolonial studies in significant ways. ¹⁸ One example of these departures is the emphasis that decolonial thought places on epistemology. Decolonial thinkers argue that the key mechanisms of colonial domination and violence are epistemic: that coloniality operates, in part, by establishing hierarchies of knowledge which privilege Western epistemes while degrading or erasing others, including Indigenous knowledges, a process they describe as 'epistemicide'. They argue that colonialism can only be resisted, and ultimately overturned, if these hierarchies of knowledge are dismantled. ¹⁹

In contrast to much postcolonial scholarship, which continued to focus on the cultural and intellectual frameworks of European colonialism, decolonial thought seeks actively to decentre Europe and to disrupt the hegemony of Western thought. It illuminates the ways in which Eurocentric epistemologies have contributed to 'creating, developing, and maintaining a hierarchy of knowledge and knowers particularly adapted for colonialism' and attempts to develop new epistemologies to take their place. We argue that a decolonial approach to travel studies should involve an interrogation and dismantling of binaries, a scepticism about received classifications and categories of thought, and a reimagining of its area of focus to include sources beyond first-person narratives, practices beyond colonial exploration, and subjects beyond the Western male traveller. A decolonial approach to travel studies would also involve a consideration of issues of intersectionality and a willingness to subject institutions – including contemporary academic and learned societies – to critique.

¹⁶ The following paragraphs draw on our 'Travel Studies and the Decolonial Turn'.

¹⁷ For overviews of the decolonial turn, see Maldonado-Torres, 'Thinking through the Decolonial turn' and Gallien, 'A Decolonial Turn'.

¹⁸ For discussions on the relationship between postcolonial studies and decolonial theory, see Bhambra, 'Postcolonial and Decolonial Dialogues'; Grosfoguel, 'Transmodernity, Border Thinking, and Global Coloniality', Colpani et al, 'Postcolonial Responses to Decolonial Interventions'.

¹⁹ See, for instance, Mignolo, 'DELINKING' and Mignolo, 'Epistemic Disobedience'. Decolonial theorists like Mignolo build on earlier feminist theoretical work such as Anzaldúa, Borderlands.

²⁰ Alcoff, 'Mignolo's Epistemology of Coloniality', p. 82.

Our project brings travel studies into dialogue with the decolonial turn in a variety of historical, geographical, and textual contexts. We will mention a few examples here. In the special issue, Gábor Gelléri's article studies a colonial propaganda trip to Indochina undertaken by an all-female group of French students in 1924, and, in doing so, demonstrates the necessity of rethinking the categories through which travel is often understood, including Mary Louise Pratt's concept of the 'travellee', a person observed by the traveller. 21 R. Benedito Ferrão shifts our focus to theatre as travel writing through a study of Mojisola Adebayo's work *Moj of the Antarctic: An African Odyssey*, a dramatization of the real story of the African American Ellen Craft, whose escape from enslavement and participation in the nineteenth-century abolitionist movement involved disguising herself as a white man. By bringing the protagonist's queerness to the fore, the article proposes an approach to travel studies which prioritises those on the margins, especially racialized, gendered, and queered subjects, who have the potential to subvert or even reverse the usual trajectories of travel.²² Further, Joanne Lee's article analyses the decolonising strategies deployed in the writings of the Italo-Somali author Igiaba Scego, raising wider questions about the relationship of travel writing to colonial history and ongoing debates about belonging, including in the context of migration in the twenty-first century.²³

Other speakers at the symposium also staged new theoretical and methodological interventions with important implications for travel studies.²⁴ Lucas Aleixo and Roberth Daylon's paper set out methodologies for the study of unstated African presences in seventeenth-century European travel literature on West Africa. By deconstructing this travel literature, especially its narrative structure, they revealed the agencies and perspectives of African individuals to whom European travellers refer only in passing. Foregrounding the role of exploitative labour practices in the early modern Atlantic world, Daniel Vitkus's paper argued that the project to decolonise travel studies must attend to the intertwined histories of racism, anti-Blackness, and capitalism. Kiranpreet Kaur offered a close reading of travel writings on Congo by the African American anthropologist Eslanda Robeson. She posed a challenge to limiting frames that confine African American travel writing to the context of European colonialism, and, in so doing, reconstructed its engagements with the politics of Pan-Africanism and discourses of racial vindication. Muhamed Riyaz Chenganakkattil intervened in the historiography of Muslim pilgrimage, which has tended to rely on incomplete, fragmented, and Eurocentric colonial archives and paradigms, by examining the global Muslim imagination in an early nineteenth-century account of hajj. Finally, Judith Bosnak offered a comparative

²¹ Gelléri, 'Exploring Travellee Agency'.

²² Ferrão, 'The Forgotten Black Ocean'.

²³ Lee, 'Decolonising the Imperial City'.

²⁴ The full programme is available on the Hakluyt Society Blog. See Hakluyt Society, 'Programme: Hakluyt Society Symposium 2021'.

study of Dutch and Javanese travel writing in the nineteenth century and demonstrated the usefulness of an approach to travel studies which is 'double-voiced' in examining the writings and experiences of local travellers *alongside* those of colonial ones. By examining the colonial legacies of travel studies, addressing important questions about Indigenous agency and their erasure, considering alternative sources for the history of travel, including cartographic and visual materials, and exploring the potential of serious and sensitive engagement with Black, queer, migrant, and other forms of subaltern and (post-)colonial mobility and identity, the symposium demonstrated what travel studies has to gain from closer engagement with the decolonial turn.

The Hakluyt Society, too, could benefit from a more sustained engagement with the question of decolonising travel studies. In addition to reflecting on its own entanglements with colonialism, the Society could take a proactive role in expanding the parameters of the field of travel studies, and of public understandings of travel, by publishing accounts of travel not traditionally considered part of its remit. This will involve thinking more inclusively and imaginatively about how to define 'travel' and 'travellers', attending to marginalised forms of knowledge and agency, and articulating a new understanding of travel uncoupled from notions of 'discovery' and markers of geographical or historical interest as seen primarily through a European and/or colonial lens. To better historicise our recommendations for the future directions of the Society, we will first take a closer look at its past.

The Hakluyt Society, Empire, and Editorial Aims

Throughout much of the Hakluyt Society's 178-year history, a symbiotic relationship existed between the editing of sources resulting from, a concept of travel rooted in, and a historical vision sympathetic to European colonial enterprise.²⁵ By creating a recognisable canon available to students and researchers, the Hakluyt Society has historically helped to define the public and scholarly understanding of travel and exploration. This was not an entirely neutral or natural process. Much as we understand museum or archive collections as curated products of the past that play an important role in the ongoing production of history, the works of the Hakluyt Society likewise constitute a selected corpus of materials which reflect the priorities, aims, and biases of their compilers. In the limited space available to us here, we can only provide a short foray into the Society's history. Our starting point is 1996, the year of the Society's 150th anniversary, when the Society's then president, Professor P. E. H. (Paul) Hair (1926-2001), laid out the most ambitious agenda for change proposed at any point since the Society's founding.

Looking back to the Society's aims as articulated by William Desborough Cooley (1795-1883) in 1846 and Clements Markham (1830-1916) in 1896,

²⁵ This section draws on forthcoming research. See Van Meersbergen, 'Colonial Legacies'.

Hair reflected on the changing world in which the Society operated at the turn of the millennium. He also looked forward to 'the enormous, urgent, and altogether worldwide global task ahead for the now-international Hakluyt Society.'26 For Cooley, the Society's aims had consisted in 'commemorat[ing] the achievements of all civilized nations in the career of discovery' and exhibiting 'the constant progress of exploration and intercourse', whilst Markham believed that the narratives of past explorers inspired emulation amongst Victorian readers and excited 'a feeling of sympathy which is ennobling to those who are under its influence'.²⁷ The 'healthy tendencies of thought [...] among the peoples who speak the English language' which Markham evoked in 1896 and again in 1911 befitted the Society's outlook during the heyday of British imperial power. However, as Hair put it to his audience at the Royal Geographical Society, 'the imperial take-over of the world by Britain and the rest of western Europe which ran approximately from Hakluyt's birth to Markham's death is, in its coarsest phase, terminated. To repeat, on the threshold of a new century, where now lies the purpose of the Hakluyt Society?'.28

The suggestion he proposed captured the *zeitgeist* of late twentieth-century globalisation, embodied in the image of 'One World'. Anticipating a future in which 'our descendants, in all continents and of all social and ethnic flavours, will challenge the Past over the forms and episodes in which it created this One World', Hair made an impassioned plea for recognising the Hakluyt Society's publications as 'essential historical records, essential to the greatest debate of today and no doubt of the next century, the value of the past and present encounter of peoples and cultures.'²⁹ He continued: '[u]p to a modest point, the Hakluyt Society holds the key to the records of One World, at least to the early stages of inter-continental and inter-cultural contact', asking '[s]hould there not therefore be more regular stir, more urgency in the Society's response to its aims?' Answering his own question in the affirmative, the anniversary lecture, which accompanied a fund-raising campaign meant to enable the Society to expand its publications programme, concluded by drawing a link between late twentieth-century challenges and those in Hakluyt's day:

Hakluyt's portals were those of distance, of natural barriers across space, of storm and tempest, uncharted seas, leaking vessels and human endurance. The portals we confront are, if anything, more formidable, being barriers of the mind; limited

²⁶ London, the British Library: India Office Private Papers, MSS Eur F594/4/3/2 (hereafter: BL: MSS Eur F594/4/3/2), 'A Presidential Address given by P.E.H. Hair President of the Hakluyt Society on the Occasion of a Day Celebrating the 150th Anniversary of the Founding of the Hakluyt Society, 30 October 1996' (no page numbers).

²⁷ As cited in 'A Presidential Address given by P.E.H. Hair'. For the original texts, see: British Library, 741.k.1.(11.), 'Columbus Society' prospectus [1846]; Markham, *Richard Hakluyt*. Reissued as: The Hakluyt Society, *Address by Sir Clements R. Markham*.

²⁸ 'A Presidential Address given by P.E.H. Hair'.

²⁹ Ibid.

imagination, parochial partiality, intolerance to the concept of a truly global past. Hakluyt's circumnavigators won through; so can we. 30

The principal legacy of Hair's presidency was the expansion of the Society's remit from its traditional emphasis on geographical discovery to a wider notion of inter-cultural encounter. A mailing to members announcing the 1996 'celebration appeal' explained that '[i]t is plausible that in the twenty-first century the Society will be under pressure to expand and variegate its publication programme'. 31 This shift was further elaborated on in the anniversary volume Compassing the Vaste Globe of the Earth, in which Hair suggested that '[it] may be that the Society's remit should now be formally extended to include the concept of immediate cultural encounter resulting from voyages and travels'.32 He presented this as a natural response to a globalized world, including 'the more critical global attitude to European out-thrust' now evident in academic and public discourse.³³ His comments all but acknowledged that the Society's publication programme, by remaining wedded to the aims articulated by its nineteenth-century founders, had continued to reflect the latter's understanding of historically significant voyages and travels as primarily concerned with the exploits of European navigators, explorers, and empire-builders. He pointed out the complete absence of women travellers from the Society's list, the paucity of accounts describing non-European travels, as well as the near-total absence of Hakluyt Society editors from Africa or Asia. To redress these imbalances, Hair argued that the Society should adopt a proactive approach to identifying which sources to publish, prioritising texts in non-European languages, and recruiting editors from Africa, Asia, and the Middle East.³⁴ The Society's Council records for the following year show that 'a supplementary meeting of Council to discuss strategies of development for the Society in the next ten years has been called for Friday 25 April 1997'. Disappointingly, this is where the trail runs cold.35

We have called attention to Hair's diversification drive because it prefigures many of our own recommendations, but also because it enjoyed little follow-up.

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ London, British Library, Hakluyt Society Council Papers, 1994 (uncatalogued) (hereafter: BL: Hakluyt Society Council Papers, 1994). Draft of President's Anniversary Appeal letter to members, undated. We thank Margaret Makepeace and Lesley Shapland of the British Library for kindly facilitating access to uncatalogued Council Minutes for the period 1988–2000.

³² Hair, 'The Hakluyt Society', p. 34. BL: Hakluyt Society Council Papers 1995–1996 (uncatalogued), 'The Hakluyt Society Celebration Appeal', signed by P.E.H. Hair, April 1996.

³³ Hair, 'The Hakluyt Society', p. 39.

³⁴ Ibid, 34–40.

³⁵ BL: Hakluyt Society Council Papers 1997 (uncatalogued), P.E.H. Hair to Hakluyt Society Council, 20 March 1997. A number of discussion notes were circulated ahead of this meeting, yet no further references to new strategies of development are found in the Council Minutes up to 2000, the last year for which such records are currently available for consultation.

The HAKLUYT SOCIETY

YEARS	1846-19
150 Y	1996

CELEBRATION APPEAL

April 1996

Dear Member.

The Hakluyt Society was born 150 years ago. (The first meeting was actually in January 1847 but the ground was laid at a preparatory meeting in December 1846. Your Council considered holding the sesquicentenary in 1997 but because the centenary was held in 1946 opted for the present year.) And now the celebration of the anniversary is well under way.

I am sure that your membership has convinced you that the Society has given the world something worth celebrating. Our over-200 editions of primary sources on what used to be called 'voyages and travels', but might nowadays be also termed 'initial encounters', have been influential in several ways. Our Victorian forebears spoke of 'healthy reading'. They were referring to the inspiration that comes from learning about men (never in those days women) who carried out enterprises – and at times died in the endeavour – against the hostility of nature and other mankind, and who in doing so increased the sum of knowledge about the world. So it was presented. Today, when One-World seems to be slowly but surely coming into being, we think equally of the heritage these past individuals left us, whether in positive or negative aspects, by their global and inter-cultural encounters.

This theme is taken up in the commemorative volume, entitled Compassing the Vaste Globe of the Earth, which will reach you a little later in the year. Other celebration events are under way, and a later circulation will include a cordial invitation to hear a Presidential Address and attend a Reception in London on 30 October 1996 (book the date!). Another Reception will be held in Los Angeles in May, and there may be others elsewhere. The 'Friends of the Hakluyt Society in the U.S.A.' will be inaugurated in Providence, R.I., in October.

FIGURE 1. From the British Library Collection: Hakluyt Society Council Papers 1995–1996 (uncatalogued), 'The Hakluyt Society Celebration Appeal', signed by P.E.H. Hair, April 1996.

From the launch of the Society's Third Series in 1999 until the end of 2024, a total of forty-three volumes have been published involving a total of forty-five different editors.³⁶ As far as we were able to establish, all editors were from the UK, Europe (incl. Russia), North America, or New Zealand. Only three volumes (or 7%) include accounts written by non-European travellers (Jacob Wainwright, Ibn al-Mujawir, and Purwalelana), whilst a fourth described the travels of four young Japanese men as recounted by the Italian Jesuit Alessandro Valignano (1539-1606).³⁷ Close to half of the volumes in the Third Series are concerned with European voyages of colonial and scientific exploration from the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (47%), with another three volumes describing Russian imperial interests during this period. The second largest subcategory reflects the Society's traditional interest in colonial trade and travel, including missionary travel, between the sixteenth and mid-eighteenth centuries (30%). Only three volumes deal with European lay travel (7%), while none of the forty-three volumes cover women's travel. As this overview suggests, over the last quarter century the influence of institutional continuities of practice has far outweighed the impact of changes in the Society's remit as introduced in the 1990s. So why was this the case?

The answer doubtless lies in various practical reasons, foremost among which the fact that few prospective editors with the skills and means to edit volumes that would expand the Society's remit have come forward to propose editions. Yet a contributing factor may well have been the Society's perceived institutional conservatism, including the resistance to postcolonial criticism displayed at various points by key representatives even as they advocated for new directions. For example, in 1994, in a volume dedicated to former Hakluyt Society President David Beers Quinn (1909-2002), Hair had decried '[t]he emotional armtwisting adopted by anti-imperialist historians' and accused them of 'moralistic nagging', 'ahistorical interpretation' and 'subliminal brainwashing'. 38 Two years later, in the Society's anniversary volume mentioned already, he wrote that 'if current critical appraisal of the Society's past editions shows that here and there they tended to smack of imperial triumphalism [...], the same degree of critical appraisal will eventually detect that the negative aspects of the historical process now stressed have also been exaggerated, similarly for ideological and "racist" advantage'.39 A reassessment of imperial triumphalism was welcome, indeed necessary, as long as the negative aspects of European expansion were not emphasized too strongly.

Hair was far from the only leading Hakluyt Society figure who voiced their discomfort with more radical critiques of the kinds of actors and histories the

³⁶ For full details, see: https://www.hakluyt.com/bibliography-of-the-hakluyt-society-third-series/
³⁷ Beals et al, Four Travel Journals; Smith, A Traveller in Thirteenth-Century Arabia; Massarella, Japanese Travellers; Bosnak and Koot, The Javanese Travels of Purwalelana.

³⁸ Hair, 'Outthrust and Encounter', pp. 45, 69–70.

³⁹ Hair, 'The Hakluyt Society', p. 20.

Society had long been accustomed to celebrating. In the Society's annual lecture of 1980, Dorothy Middleton (1909-1999) sneered that '[c]lever modern writers spend much energy on stripping such men as Livingstone and Scott of their laurels' before asserting '[b] ut we of the Hakluyt Society are not concerned with such facile iconoclasm'. 40 Three years later, H. C. Porter (1927-2003) in his annual lecture likewise complained that '[w]e are supposed nowadays to [...] put Hakluyt in his place as an Anglican imperialist', an ironic statement given that the Society had itself long touted Hakluyt's reputation as an imperial icon. 41 At a time when many on the Society's Council still had personal connections to the former British Empire, positive evaluations of colonialism were not uncommon in the Society's communications. For instance, a 1986 tribute to Sir Gilbert Laithwaite (1894-1986), a former civil servant in British India who served as the Society's President in the 1960s, stated that 'he served an empire – and therewith the world at large', hailing the British empire as the agent, in 1945, of 'world freedom', before proclaiming that 'in terms of that freedom it was not for nothing, then, that Britain had voyaged to the Indies [...] on that cold and wintry morning of early 1601'.42

That last reference was of course to the East India Company's first voyage, captained by Sir James Lancaster (c. 1554-1618), whose account the Hakluyt Society published not once but twice, first in 1877, edited by Clements Markham; and again in 1940, edited by Sir William Foster (1863-1951). Responsible for a staggering twenty-nine and a still solid nine volumes respectively, Markham and Foster were the Society's most prolific editors and two of its longest-serving presidents. Furthermore, their editorial work may be understood as an extension of their colonial careers with the India Office and Royal Geographical Society. As Peter Mitchell, Alan Lester, and Kate Boehme recently argued, Markham 'glossed the early modern navigators as inceptionary figures in a long historical arc of imperial destiny, and as progenitors of the present and future imperial state'. Thus, Lancaster is presented by Markham as 'the founder of that English trade with the East Indies which led to the formation of the British Empire of India' and as one of 'the famous seamen who showed England the way to India, [to] commence the long and glorious roll of public servants who made the history of the Indian Marine'. 44 Over sixty years later, Foster similarly proclaimed that 'Lancaster's services as a pioneer of English trade in Eastern waters have been imperishably inscribed upon the scroll of

 $^{^{40}}$ BL: MSS Eur F594/4/1/4, 'Annual Report and Statement of Accounts for 1980', p. 10: 'Travel Literature in the Victorian and Edwardian Eras', by Dorothy Middleton.

⁴¹ BL: MSS Eur F594/4/1/4, 'Annual Report and Statement of Accounts for 1983', pp. 1, 5: 'The Tudors and the North American Indian', by H.C. Porter.

⁴² BL: MSS Eur F594/4/1/4, 'Annual Report and Statement of Accounts for 1986', pp. 28–29: Personal tribute to Gilbert Laithwaite by Martin Moynihan.

⁴³ Mitchell, Lester, and Boehme, "The Centre of the Muniment", p. 13.

⁴⁴ Markham, The Voyages of Sir James Lancaster, pp. v, vii.

fame'. 45 As he put it in his *England's Quest of Eastern Trade* (1933), such early ventures 'called forth all the energy and courage of our race', telling his readers that 'the British Empire [...] is largely the outcome of the efforts thus made. And while recording the triumphant result, let us not forget to pay a tribute to the memory of those to whom this achievement was due'. 46

By situating early navigators at the start of a 'long and glorious' narrative of 'triumphant' imperial development, editors such as Markham foregrounded the importance of the Society's own work in recovering 'these priceless materials for the opening chapter of the history of British India'.⁴⁷ This was a conscious claiming of the mantle of Richard Hakluyt, 'the saviour of records of explorers and discoverers', as Markham called him, whose own ambition 'to preserve several memorable exploits by the English nation achieved, from the greedy and devouring jaws of oblivion' the Society cited in its first prospectus.⁴⁸

In a series of public statements across the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, the Society celebrated Hakluyt as 'an apostle of colonization'. 49 This phrase appeared in the speech delivered by Hakluyt Society President Albert Gray (1850-1928) at the tercentenary of Hakluyt's death in 1916, which recalled 'Hakluyt's share in the credit of empire building' and claimed that 'by his book he may be said to have fashioned and trimmed the foundation stone itself.⁵⁰ That same year, Royal Colonial Institute chairman and Hakluyt Society Council Member, Sir Charles Lucas (1853-1931), described Hakluyt as 'a practical man who worked for the good of the Empire', and declared that '[g]reat is the debt of our British race to Richard Hakluyt'. 51 By linking Hakluyt's editorial efforts to empire building, and positioning the Society's aims as a continuation of Hakluyt's, Hakluyt Society spokesmen such as Markham, Gray, Lucas, and Foster thus explicitly aligned the Society's mission with promoting Britain's empire and its historical memory. As we have seen, later echoes of this trend were the positive evaluation of the British empire as a champion of freedom in the tribute to Laithwaite, or pushback against critical re-evaluations of empire by Middleton and Hair in the wake of decolonisation and the rise of postcolonial theory.

If the Society's traditional investment in a celebratory account of empire is the most apparent way in which colonial legacies permeate its past publication record, a less obvious but therefore perhaps more enduring influence of colonial culture is the way the Society has understood its core category of 'voyages and travels'. Nineteenth-century prospectuses and annual reports identified the

⁴⁵ Foster, The Voyages of Sir James Lancaster, p. xxxvii.

⁴⁶ Foster, England's Quest of Eastern Trade, pp. xiii, 334-335.

⁴⁷ Markham, The Voyages of Sir James Lancaster, 'Dedication' (no page), pp. v, vii.

⁴⁸ Markham, *Richard Hakluyt*, p. 9; BL: 741.k.1.(14.): 'Hakluyt Society' prospectus [1846/1847]. ⁴⁹ Gray, *An Address*, p. 8.

⁵⁰ Ibid, p. 10-12.

⁵¹ Watson, 'Richard Hakluyt', p. 237 (Lucas' comment).

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called a contain the HAKLUYTE SOCIETY.

The object of this Society is to print, in English, for distribution among its members, rare and valuable Voyages, Travels, and Geographical Records—including the more important early narratives of British enterprise.

The highly-prized collections of this kind, made by Ramusio, Hakluyt, Purchas, and De Bry, were all produced between the middle of the 16th and that of the 17th century. Europe still felt, during that period, the emotions awakened by the discovery of a New World, and viewed with pleasure the spirit of enterprise resulting from the impulse of that remarkable event.

The first steps leading to a communication with the inhabitants of strange and distant countries, are naturally those which we regard with the deepest interest. 'Yet the extension of scientific research into every region of the earth, and the frequent, though less prominent discoveries which affect the channels of commerce, and with them the fortunes of nations, furnish materials of the greatest importance to the history of civilization.

This store of knowledge increases daily. Exploration and discovery advance without intermission; while the general progress of learning throws new light continually on the writings of early travellers.

The publication of Hakluyt's collection may be ranked among the many characteristic distinctions of the age of Elizabeth. That writer had it in view, as he informs us, "for the benefit and honour of his country, to bring Antiquities, smothered and buried in dark silence, to light; and to preserve several memorable exploits by the English nation achieved, from the greedy and devouring jaws of oblivion." But now the time seems to be arrived when the treasures of the older geographical information, may be advantageously reproduced on a plan more comprehensive than Hakluyt's, as well as more in the spirit of an advanced literary age.

FIGURE 2. From the British Library Collection: 741.k.1. (14.): 'Hakluyt Society' prospectus [1846/1847].

purpose of the Society's publications in three, interlinked ways. The first was commemorative, expressed as 'recounting the toils and adventures of those who first explored unknown and distant regions'.⁵² This spoke to the promotion of heroic narratives of travel and the primacy accorded to 'discovery'. The second was historiographical, with the Society pitching its editions as the main sources, or even 'standard authority', for writing histories of exploration and colonial settlement.⁵³ The third was practical, with the Society's annual report of 1867

⁵² BL: MSS Eur F594/4/1/1, 'The Hakluyt Society', Prospectus for 1850, p. 1.

⁵³ BL: MSS Eur F594/4/1/1, Hakluyt Society Report for 1867, p. 2.

boasting that '[e]xplorers in the Amazon Valley and the region of the Andes, are furnished [...] with portable editions of the leading discoverers of former times, whose footsteps they are following', and that 'the ancient voyages and travels printed by the Hakluyt Society, may often be of real practical use to seamen and explorers'. '54

If this practical aim fell away in the twentieth century, a text's relationship to geographical discovery remained the most important vardstick applied in determining whether a proposal fitted the Society's remit. Hence, many accounts offered to the Society were turned down because their subject 'was only slightly geographical', or because they 'did not add much to the information' on a particular region already available in previous Hakluyt Society publications.⁵⁵ In a typical example, in 1950, Hakluyt Society secretary R.A. Skelton (1906-1970) explained that the proposed edition of the Irish Catholic Henry Piers' (1567-1623) travels through Europe (1595-1598) 'hardly falls within the province of the Society' because the journey 'does not seem to have been made with the object of geographical discovery, nor can it have made any substantial contribution to geographical knowledge'. 56 Interestingly, it was Skelton himself who some years later, in 1958, objected that 'the test question "Has this text or document any geographical interest?" [...] could lead to a too narrow delimitation of the Society's field', yet the resultant discussion on Council concluded that there was no need to change the Society's 'object' as contained in its Laws.57

The Society's continued attachment to an understanding of historically significant voyages and travels as those primarily concerned with geographical discovery, a notion rooted in the aims and visions of its colonial forebears, significantly narrowed the subset of 'travels' published by the Society. With respect to Halford MacKinder's (1861-1947) journal of the first recorded ascent of Mount Kenya (1899), discussed on the Society's Council in 1989, the minutes record that reviewers were not 'convinced that the journal added anything new to the subject of exploration and geography'. So One reviewer, Professor Roy Bridges (1932-2020), pointed out that 'the expedition was very short and part of it was covered by railway', adding about the earlier part of MacKinder's journey that 'by 1899, visits to Mombasa and Zanzibar could almost count as tourism rather than travel'. Neither aspect corresponded to a

⁵⁴ BL: MSS Eur F594/4/1/1, Hakluyt Society Report for 1852, p. 1; BL: MSS Eur F594/4/1/1, Hakluyt Society Report for 1867, p. 2.

⁵⁵ BL: MSS Eur F594/1/2, ff. 37, 56-57: Hakluyt Society Council Minutes, 26 February 1931 and 8 June 1933.

⁵⁶ BL: MSS Eur F594/6/1/2, f. 11: R.A. Skelton to Thomas Frank Esq, 3 November 1950. For Piers' journals, see: Mac Cuarta SJ, *Henry Piers's Continental Travels*.

⁵⁷ BL: MSS Eur F594/5/1/1, f. 6: 'The Society's object', signed R.A. Skelton, 10 October 1958; BL: MSS EUR F594/4/1/2, Hakluyt Society Council's Report for 1958, p. 4.

⁵⁸ BL: Hakluyt Society Council Papers, 1989 (Sarah Tyacke's Papers) (uncatalogued), Hakluyt Society Council Minutes, 23 May 1989, pp. 4-5. For the journal, see: Mackinder, *The First Ascent*.

notion of historically significant travel as the Society understood it.⁵⁹ Dorothy Middleton agreed: 'there does not seem to me sufficient element of "discovery", of penetrating into really new worlds. At the risk of being personal, I can't help feeling that we have come as far into modern times [as possible?] with my Jephson's Diary which clears up the last geographical mystery of Africa'.⁶⁰ Such insistence on a notion of 'penetrating into really new worlds' limited the Society's ability to broaden its range even when an opportunity to do so presented itself. For instance, in 1992, on the rare occasion that Council received a proposal concerning an account by a woman, Maria Graham's (1785-1842) journal of her travels in Chile in 1822, it turned it down on the grounds that 'the journal did not add much to the geographical knowledge of the time'.⁶¹

In an impressive 178 years of publishing, the Hakluyt Society has helped define and enrich the public and scholarly understanding of travel, but also limited its parameters. It has done so by creating a printed archive that centred experiences and perspectives derived from the European colonial tradition. Whilst non-European accounts of travel have occasionally been part of this corpus from the nineteenth century onwards, on balance it has accorded only a marginal presence to African, Asian, and Indigenous authors and travellers, has excluded women travellers, and accorded little room to lay accounts of journeys and places by men such as Henry Piers. The range of materials offered to the Society for publication will itself have been limited by the ways its remit is articulated through its existing list, and recurrent disparagement of scholarly critiques of colonialism and its legacies may also have dissuaded scholars working in these traditions from submitting proposals to the Society. All this suggests that a future development of the Society's publication programme, if it is to be successful, will require a wider institutional effort of reflection on, and rethinking of, the Society's remit and present and future purpose. As we hope to have shown, the Society's historical trajectory both illustrates and has played a role in shaping the wider development of the field of travel studies. Because of this close relationship, new directions in the Society's publishing programme have the potential to contribute to the broader project of uncoupling public and scholarly understandings of travel from their colonial origins.

⁵⁹ BL: Hakluyt Society Council Papers, 1989 (Sarah Tyacke's Papers) (uncatalogued), 'Comments on the Proposal for a Hakluyt Society Edition of Mackinder's *The First Ascent of Mt. Kenya*', by Roy Bridges, 18 May 1989, pp. 2-3.

⁶⁰ Middleton referred to 'the final elucidation of the Nile sources' by Henry Morton Stanley's Emin Pasha Relief Expedition (1887-1889). See: BL: Hakluyt Society Council Papers, 1989 (Sarah Tyacke's Papers) (uncatalogued), 'Mackinder on Mount Kenya: Two Unresolved Problems', by Dorothy Middleton, 11 April 1989. For her edition of Jephson's diary, see: Middleton, *The Diary of A. J. Mounteney Jephson*.

⁶¹ British Library, uncatalogued, Hakluyt Council Minutes, 16 October 1992. On Graham, see for instance: Thompson, 'Sentiment and Scholarship'.

Recommendations

Looking ahead towards the Society's 200th anniversary in 2046, where does the Society see itself going, and how will it get there? Let us end this lecture with three main recommendations:

- The Society to review its stated objectives with an eye to broadening its
 publishing remit so that it encompasses a much wider range of travellers
 and a greater diversity of forms, experiences, and locations of travel. We
 recommend that the Society reviews the text on its website to reflect any
 reconceptualization of the remit that is decided upon.
- 2. The Society to be proactive in diversifying its publication programme, by prioritising the publishing of accounts by women, by non-European travellers, and those by or about marginalized and/or underrepresented groups. We recommend that the Society develops a plan of action to undertake these steps, and that progress is reviewed on a regular basis.
- The Society to issue a statement acknowledging its own historical links with empire and promotion of colonial values and narratives, and how the latter are reflected in the emphases and exclusions of the Society's publication record.

Survey

Following the annual lecture on 12 June 2024, we surveyed members present at the Royal Asiatic Society and attending online via Zoom using an identical digital and hard copy questionnaire consisting of the following six questions:

- Q1. How long have you been a member of the Hakluyt Society?
- Q2. Do you support a broadening of the Hakluyt Society's publication programme?
 If so, what changes would you support?
- Q3. Do you support (further) research into, and acknowledgement of, the Hakluyt Society's links with colonialism? Why/why not?
- Q4. Has the lecture changed your understanding of travel studies? If so, how?
- Q5: Has the lecture changed your understanding of the history of the Hakluyt Society? If so, how?
- Q6: Do you have any additional comments or suggestions?

A total of 27 respondents completed the anonymous survey, 23 of whom reported they were Hakluyt Society members. The latter group was divided roughly evenly between those who have been members of the Society for up to 10 years (10 or 11 respondents) and those who have been members for over 10 years (11 or 12 respondents), 8 of whom have been Society members for more than 20 years. 62 The questionnaire results demonstrated overwhelming support for 'a broadening of the Hakluyt Society's publication programme' (Q2). Out of 27 respondents, 20 expressed explicit agreement, with another 6 indicating support for specific changes (collaborating with non-British societies, editorial workshops outside Europe, translations of primary source material in



⁶² One member indicated the duration of their membership as either 6-10 or 11-20 years.

non-European languages, publishing texts from under-represented groups). Only a single respondent expressly rejected both the spirit of the initiative and the proposals made.

The results also showed broad support among surveyed members for '(further) research into, and acknowledgement of, the Hakluyt Society's links with colonialism' (Q3). Of 26 respondents, 19 expressed explicit agreement that further research into the Society's links with colonialism is important and worthwhile. We presented a report discussing the full questionnaire results to the Society's Council in October 2024, in which we recommend that the Society reviews our recommendations. As part of this process, we also suggested consultation and collaboration with like-minded institutions such as the Royal Geographical Society and Linschoten-Vereeniging, with an eye towards formulating principles of best practice for diversifying the Society's editorial remit and publication programme.

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