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THE ORIENTALIST DISCOURSE OF NINETEENTH-CENTURY TRAVEL GUIDEBOOKS TO INDIA

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***Abstract**: The travel guidebooks emerged in the nineteenth century as a genre which apparently featured an objective source of information; yet, the guidebooks to India stemmed from the publishers' own interpretation of the Orient, shaped by the Orientalist discourse of the time, as well as from their business interests, closely linked to the state apparatus. This paper will focus on the relation between tourism and the British Empire, and the role played by the early guidebooks in English, edited by John Murray and Thomas Cook, in the colonial endeavour to control all forms of indigenous knowledge.*
***Keywords**: colonialism, gaze, guidebook, travel, tourism.*

1. Introduction

Mass tourism began to emerge in mid-nineteenth-century England, as a result of significant industrial developments, such as the invention of the steam engine and the expansion of railways. Travelling became not only easier than ever before, but also affordable to many, since the Industrial Revolution contributed to the emergence of a new middle class that had the means and the leisure time to travel. The political changes brought about by the end of the Napoleonic wars, the stabilisation of the Middle East region, the opening of the Suez Canal and Britain's acquisition of India as a Colony in 1858, opened up the Orient to travellers.

An important factor which contributed to a growing fascination with the Orient in Britain was the emergence of popular culture institutions, particularly the museums and the exhibition, which worked to construct and disseminate a preferred image of the British Empire as the cradle of a superior, civilised culture, as opposed to the savage, irrational Orient. Thus, in the first Great Exhibition of 1857, India was not presented, but constructed by the values and beliefs of upper-class English Orientalist scholars. Its visual consumption by the lower-class turned the Indian Other into an exotic commodity and instilled a feeling of racial superiority through a discourse of binary oppositions (Maxwell 1999:2).

As Edward Said stated, for the individual English traveller in the nineteenth century, "the Orient was India" (2003:169). Indeed, from the early days of the British Empire, India ignited the scientific curiosity of English Orientalists who began studying its history, architecture, religions, languages, and collecting artefacts. Apart from this scholarly interest, India, as the biggest and the most important colony of the Crown, became the travel destination for members of East India Company and their families, for missionaries and English civil servants. The country soon became a place to travel in and write about, and consequently "there developed a fairly large body of Oriental-style European literature very frequently based on personal experiences in the Orient" (Said 2003:157). The travelogues which were published were largely perceived as truthful accounts of the travellers who wrote down their experiences during their journeys to India.

The historian Daniel J. Boorstin pointed out that the mid-nineteenth century was marked by "the decline of the traveller and the rise of the tourist" (1971:84-85), which transformed travelling from an "activity" into a "commodity", the attractive items of travelling being "wrapped up and sold in packages" (1971:85). Inderpal Grewal stresses the idea that a representative element

of a tourist's identity was clearly the guidebook that he/she was carrying everywhere, by which "the English tourist could be easily distinguished everywhere in the world traversing the tourist geography prescribed in it" (1996:96). As British travelling within India increased, the guidebooks to India were some of the first foreign guidebooks published in English. One of the earliest publications of the sort was John Murray's *A Handbook for India*, which appeared in 1859, followed by Thomas Cook's first guidebook to India, entitled *Cook's Indian Tours,* in 1889.

The political and economic changes led to a shift in the discourses on travel from the narrative to the guidebook. This is not to say that the genre of the guidebook replaced the travelogue which completely disappeared; it can rather be argued that the guidebook reiterated and consolidated the Orientalist discourse of the travel narrative by creating a more systematic form of textual representation of the Orient. Ali Behdad explains this new discursive formation:

> The shift from the travelogue to the tourist guide must be viewed not just as a transformational change in the representational practice of Orientalism but also as a discursive repetition. It is precisely these constant modes of separation and return that allow the possibility of multiplication and the dispersion of statements; and these in turn reinforce Orientalism as the official discourse invested with the power of representing Europe's Other, for […] Orientalism depends on a principle of discontinuity for its authority. (1994:38)

In what follows we shall first analyse the nexus between Murray's and Cook's businesses and British imperial interests; then, investigate their early guidebooks with the aim of unveiling the colonial meaning-making of these writings.

2. Murray, Cook and the Empire

In 1829, John Murray III was sent by his father, John Murray II, on a tour around Europe to collect information for a new type of travel book. As a result, *The Hand-Book for Travellers on the Continent* was published in 1836, and became the first guidebook as the genre is known today. The book had immediate success, "precursor of 165 different guides printed in England and America over the next eighty years" (Brendon 1991:120). After his father's death in 1843, John Murray III took over the family business and broadened his area of travel interests beyond Europe. In 1859 he published his first handbook to India, whose full title - *A Handbook for India; Being an Account of the Three Presidencies, and of The Overland Route; Intended as A Guide for Travellers, Officers and Civilians; with Vocabularies and Dialogues of the Spoken Languages of India* – reveals not only the publisher's awareness of the diversity of travellers to India, but also his intention of connecting his business to the state apparatus. This aspect is made clear in the preface:

> Indeed it is only fair to state that whatever there is of value in the present pages is due to the suggestion, or research, of distinguished Orientalists, or those who, from their practical acquaintance with Indian subjects, are eminently qualified to aid and advise. The compiler of this volume, though he has himself travelled through many parts of both Presidencies has profited largely by the labours of others, and tenders his most grateful thanks … (Murray 1859:iii)

There follows a list of names of people with high ranks within the British colonial administration, several scholars, including the president of the Asiatic society in Bombay. The list clearly illustrates the close relation between the British Empire and the tourist industry in India. Not surprisingly, John Murray IV, who ran the business from 1892 to 1928, was publisher to Queen Victoria, thus strengthening his business connection with the state.

The first handbook to India was published in two volumes, covering Madras and Bombay, and was followed by a third volume, *Handbook of the Bengal Presidency*, in 1882, and then a fourth one *Handbook of the Panjab*, in 1883. In 1891, the four volumes were gathered in a single guidebook, *A Handbook for Travellers in India and Ceylon*, which was reedited twenty-two times,

until its last publication in 1975. John Murray thus became "one of the most famous names in the history of the genre" (Vaughan 1974: 42).

It is worth mentioning that the publishing house that John Murray I started as early as 1768 worked with famous writers such as Jane Austin, Lord Byron, Walter Scott, Charles Darwin, or Herman Melville. Murray II became a very good friend of Byron, publishing his work and, at the same time, capitalising on the poet's popularity. Thus, the early handbooks mentioned Byron's works on the list of recommended readings for tourists, and even included quotes from his poems. With the advent of tourism in the early nineteenth century, the dichotomy "tourist" vs. "traveller" emerged under the influence of the literary movement of Romanticism. Tourists were scorned for their lack of good taste and inauthentic behaviour in relation to the places they visited. Therefore, many tourists tried to act like "real" travellers and, according to Buzard, used Byron's *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage*, based on the poet's own "grand tour" around Europe from 1809 to 1811, as a guidebook (1993:117). John Murray III was quick to react and published Byron's work in a portable format that tourists could easily carry along their own handbooks (Buzard 1993:119).

Unlike John Murray who was a publisher, Thomas Cook was a tourist guide who worked hard to satisfy his clients' needs. In the early tours, he himself accompanied the tourists, and looked after their accommodation, transport, food etc. He seized the opportunities opened up by the invention of the engine and the expansion of the railway network, and began organising tours and negotiating special deals between railway companies and hotels, thus laying the ground of the tourist infrastructure in Britain.

Apart from being a bright entrepreneur, Cook was an idealist who believed in the necessity of educating the working class by means of recreational activities, which included visits to museums, exhibitions and other institutions of popular culture. His ideas resonated with the state's agenda of reformist education intended to discipline the lower-classes and to disseminate dominant meanings of culture (Grewal 1996:112-113). James Buzard writes that Thomas Cook was offered the job of organising train excursions to the Great Exhibition at the Crystal Palace in 1851, a mission that he gladly accepted as it offered working people the opportunity to admire the great achievements of the Industrial Revolution, as well as the display of commodities gathered from different parts of the British Empire, especially from India (1993: 53, 54). Inderpal Grewal stresses the role of exhibitions for imperial interests:

> By the middle of the nineteenth century, as British colonial interests took stronger hold, knowledge of colonized and colonisable cultures was believed necessary in order to govern correctly. More of the British public absorbed such knowledge in various ways through travel books, exhibitions, newspaper accounts of politics and imperial ventures, children's books, didactic and "improvement" literature; the list of ways in which the empire became a part of the British imaginary was endless. (1996:87)

In order to inform people about the Exhibition, Cook travelled in England extensively, trying to convince employers to give their employees days off so that they could attend the event. He printed a leaflet entitled *Cook's Exhibition Herald and Excursion Advertiser* with all the necessary information about the Exhibition and his services. This small publication came to be regarded as the precursor of his later guidebooks, and this excursion to London, which was finally taken by 165,000 people, represented the starting point in Cook's successful career of tour organiser, and also created a pattern of mass tourism to exhibitions (Geppert 2002:40). The political significance of these exhibitions was extraordinary, since, as Geppert points out, "the impact of the British imperial exhibitions dwindled with the Empire itself" (2002:225). Therefore, it can be argued that tourism contributed to the circulation of the preferred meanings of culture, and gave the lower classes a feeling of sharing common values with the wealthy, of belonging to a great nation that had the power to assemble objects from all over the world and turn them into commodities.

> … the many forms of popular culture, the kinds of education that were given by the state and by the church, and […] by travel guides, by museums and their guidebooks, turned all the English into classes through differential relations to various notions of 'culture'. What is evident is that shifting and emerging class interests, such as distinctions between tourists and travellers, the emergence of the Cook's tours, the working-class 'improvement' societies, and 'rational recreation', brought certain sections of the working class into a culture shared with other classes, one that contained common notions of England and its relation to other parts of the world. (Grewal 1996:87)

The Great Exhibition was a sound success and was followed by many other such events all over the world. Thomas Cook & Son organised tours to exhibitions in Calcutta, Melbourne, or Chicago, taking the British tourists along the routes of imperialist expansion (Maxwell 1999:5).

By the early 1860s, Cook had ventured abroad, and then his trips gradually became longer, taking him further away from England. In 1865, his son, John Mason, entered the business and greatly contributed to its success overseas. He went to India in 1881 and managed to establish a tourist infrastructure. He first opened branch offices in Bombay, Calcutta and Delhi, then, started collaborating with the British colonial officials over there (Swinglehurst 1982:73,80). The outcome of this collaboration was that the British government asked John Mason to encourage the rich Indians "to visit Britain and thus strengthen their links with the Empire" (Swinglehurst 1982:82). Swinglehurst writes that the Cooks were officially commissioned to take Indian princes to the great Colonial and India Exhibition in Exhibition Road, London in 1886 (1982:82). They transported between 5,000 and 6,000 Indians to England, princes and poor people alike (Geppert 2002:242). What was exceptional about this exhibition was its display of colonised people, which raised public's interest in the origin of races, and worked to shape a sense of British/European racial superiority: "In an age in which few people travelled, these images were regarded as evidence of what was happening in the distant regions located at the edge of the empire. By representing colonized people as savage and primitive, the images reassured Europeans of their unique claim to civilization" (Maxwell 1999:7).

On the other hand, these exhibitions represented a climax in the development of tourist industry in the nineteenth century, as tourism became possible without travelling. "To adopt the tourist's gaze at the outer world did not even require leaving one's own city" (Geppert 2002:234). In the absence of any prior personal experience of other cultures, the visitors of the exhibitions were easily influenced by the display of imperial richness and propaganda, and ready to rejoice in the idea that they were part of a mighty empire that could spread before an audience the beauties and the treasures of the world. However, the display was meant not only to reinforce British superiority, but also to show the Indian visitors their peripheral place within the imperial world order.

Following the success of the 1886 Exhibition, one year later, in 1887, Thomas Cook & Son was officially invited to organise the trip of Indian princes to London in order to attend Queen Victoria's Golden Jubilee (Brendon 1999:210), and ten years after that, the company received a similar mission, that time to transport Indian maharajas to Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee. As Brendon points out, by the end of the nineteenth century, Cook's firm had covered the whole Indian Empire; it "had laid the foundations of tourism throughout India. It had helped to tighten the imperial bonds and had earned the title 'Booking clerk to the empire'" (1999:212). In the Introduction to the 1912 edition of the guidebook *India, Burma and Ceylon. Information for Travellers and Residents*, the Cooks' connection with the Empire is openly stated:

> Acting under the special authority of the Government of India, and of the Secretary of State for India, as well as of the Railway Administrations of India and Australasia, and being the recognised Agents of the principal lines of steamers and of the railways in all parts of the world, it will be evident that our Passenger and Tourist system, based on an experience of seventy years, may be relied on as complete and practical. (Cook 1912:iii)

Thomas Cook became successful due to his work as a travel entrepreneur, and he did not initially rely on guidebooks. As we have already mentioned, he did write handbooks of the journeys he organised, which contained descriptions of the itinerary and the places that were to be visited. As the number of tours increased, there were more and more tourists who needed to travel alone, so Cook started to sell guidebooks edited by Murray and other publishers in his office. In 1874, he entered the guidebook business, initially in association with Simpkin Marshall of New York, to produce the series "Tourists' Handbooks" for all the destinations where the firm operated tours, a series which was published until 1939 (Swinglehurst 1982:45). His first guidebook to India, *Cook's Indian Tours,* came out in 1889, and in the preface, Cook explained that the book was his response to the scarcity of concise guides that showed "how India can be seen to the greatest advantage, in the shortest time, and at the least expense" (1889:5). This was a way of attacking John Murray, whose guidebook had been reedited five times before Cook released his, but also an attempt of distinguishing his work from Murray's by emphasising its main advantage, namely the conciseness. In spite of this, Murray's *Handbook for India, Ceylon, and Burma* continued to be mentioned in Cook's publications, even as late as 1912, in the section "Other Guide Books" (Cook 1912:207). John Murray returned the favour, by including advertisements of Cook's excursions and tours in several editions of his *Handbook.*

3. The Orientalist Speaking Position

In the nineteenth century, the literary genres of the travelogue and the guidebook emerged out of a "desire for the Orient" which, according to Ali Behdad, "holds a mediating relation with the orientalist desire for knowledge and power" (1996:14), thus representing "the historical urge to capture the Other through the official or dominant discourses that the speaking subject has at his or her disposal" (1996:20). However, the two genres mediate this desire differently, the fundamental difference between them lying in the speaking position. Thus, travelogues were written in the first person, the travel-narrator being the unique subject of enunciation, who told the story of his or her adventures into the unknown. The tourist guide, by contrast, is a discourse in which the author as a speaking voice disappears. It is usually the publisher who is in charge with the production of the guide; and usually perceived as its writer. For over a century and a half, Murray's guidebook covers revealed only the publisher's name. Thus, "Murray's Handbook - India, Burma & Ceylon" is written on the cover of the 1911 edition of the publication, implying that the name "Murray" had become a valuable business asset and John Murray's successor, Murray III had no interest to change it. In a similar way, Cook's handbooks to India mentioned "Thomas Cook & Son" on the covers and the introductions concluded with "Thomas Cook & Son", thus giving the impression that the Cooks were the real authors.

Despite the fact that their names were associated with the production of the guidebooks, both Murray and Cook dissociated entirely from the text. The Preface to the eighth edition of Murray's *A Handbook for Travellers in India, Burma and Ceylon*, published in 1911, presents the multiple revisions and reprints, and the names of those who helped the publisher bring the information to date. Consequently, there is no central voice in the discourse. Esther Allen explains that the disappearance of the author and the subsequent impersonality of the discourse reinforced the guidebook's "quasi-scientific verifiability" (1996:217), its anonymity becoming synonymous with the "truth" of science.

The new genre of the guidebook was constructed as an authoritative discourse, its claim to tell the "truth" relying on the assertion that the information was mainly collected "on the spot" by the publishers, therefore, derived from their personal observation. Although their perception was supposed to be a guarantee of objectivity, a disinterested recording of observed reality, it was obviously filtered through their upper-class taste and connections with the British imperial interests. Thus, as we previously mentioned, Murray's early guidebooks cited famous authors such

as Byron, Southey, and Scott (Allen 1996:214) and referred the readers to Orientalist texts, while Cook emphasised the idea that his credibility was guaranteed by his solid reputation as a travel agent who acted under the direct authority of the Government of India.

Another method of securing the accuracy of the information was the invitation that the publishers addressed to the tourists to bring their contribution to future revisions of the text. In the Introduction to *A Handbook for Travellers in India, Burma and Ceylon,* Murray stated that:

> … it is impossible to ensure perfection in any guide-book, however carefully prepared. The publisher therefore hopes that where inaccuracies are found the indulgent traveller will kindly point them out to him, with a view to their correction on the first opportunity. Any such acceptable communications may be addressed to Mr. Murray, 50 Albemarle Street, London W. (1911:vii)

Likewise, in the Introduction to *India, Burma and Ceylon. Information for Travellers and Residents*, Cook acknowledged potential alterations of the information provided and asked the readers' help in tracing the inaccuracies:

> The information contained in the following pages has been revised to the date of publication, but changes and modifications, over which we have no control, may occur at any time, *and all fares and conditions published herein are subject to alteration without notice.* We shall esteem it a favour if those who use this book will point out any inaccuracies or deficiencies, for correction in future editions. (1912:iv)

The fact that the tourist is encouraged to collect information and participate in the process of text revision and reproduction, has "strategic value in maintaining colonial power as well as 'scientific' value in 'mapping' the Orient for the West" (Behdad 1994:41). This practice also contributed to the creation of a collective authorship that secured the credibility of the genre. If anyone could contribute to the "upgrading" of the guide, the guidebook became a cultural production, unmediated by any narrator; on the contrary, reflecting the work of a community. The reader is no longer excluded from the discourse, but obsessively incorporated in its domain. At the same time, the editor's acknowledgement that there could be errors or incomplete information in the tourist guide enhanced its credibility, since readers believed that what the guide claimed was true.

4. The Orientalist Discourse of the Guidebooks

The shift from the personal narration to the impersonal presentation of information featured by the guidebooks can be inscribed in the commodification process of culture that occurred in mid-nineteenth-century England. Ali Behdad explains that:

> The rise of the tourist guide occurred during an era when the dissemination of information through the media, such as newspapers, public notices, and governmental reports […] achieved its cultural dominance. No longer was knowledge mediated through the experience of a particular subject. The new mode of knowledge was defined by the accumulation of "informative" statements uttered in a dispersive fashion. (1994:43)

Following the pattern of an exhibition, both Murray's and Cook's guidebooks feature a compilation of non-linear informational statements which belong to several epistemological domains in their representations of the Orient. There are historical information, geographical data, architectural notes, city descriptions, anthropological details about the natives, weather comments, medical advice, business reports, philosophical reflections, and so on. Thus, the tourist guides encompassed every aspect of Indian life, the detailed information being used in order to achieve "a sense of totality" in the absence of "the unifying role of an author-traveller" (Behdad 1994:46), for fear of incompleteness or of failure to communicate (Behdad 1994:45). At the same time, the comprehensive information leaves no space for interpretation, and this aspect makes the guidebook

a very efficient way of popularising Orientalist discourse. On the other hand, the maps, diagrams, description of sights, geographical indications guide the traveller not so much to find their way in space, but to see the Other's culture in a specific way, suggested by the publishers who, as we have seen, served the imperial interests of the British state. Inderpal Grewal reads the taxonomic ordering of information in the guidebook as a way of domesticating foreign space, of turning the unknown into something familiar:

> This space would have its living and moving arrangements all mapped out within the guidebooks in a familiar taxonomy that replicated the domestic, English space; even the mysterious would become familiar, when placed within a known aesthetic geography. The exotic would be domesticated, suggesting the ways in which English culture in this period would be receptive to creating colonies, to making other familiar spaces far from their own home. (1996:103)

Inderpal Grewal offers yet another interpretation of the taxonomic structuring of information. She stresses the idea that the guidebook, by telling the tourist where to go, what to see and what to do, transforms him/her into a consumer, and the sights into mere commodities (Grewal 1996:95). Thus, the tourist follows the guidebook as he/she would follow a recipe, and in so doing, misses the opportunity of connecting with the native culture. The European remains at distance from the Other which is perceived solely through the grids of specification dictated by the guidebook. It is an aspect which exposes the political power of the genre in supporting European colonialism abroad.

The discourse of commodification turns India into a spectacle and the guidebooks function on the principles of advertising, promising the readers immediate satisfaction of their desire for Oriental exoticism. Ali Behdad stresses this idea, arguing that, in the guidebooks, "the Orient is represented as a natural theatre where the tourist can observe exotically untouched scenery, the local habits and costumes" (1994:42). In the Preface to his 1859 *Handbook for India*, Murray wrote:

> India abounds with objects of interest. It presents every imaginable variety of scenery, from the loftiest and most sublime mountain ranges, to the gentle undulations of an English park. Its natural products are equal, if not superior, to those of any region of the world, and would furnish endless materials for the pen of the describer. It is rich in historical associations, and there is scarce a hill which is not crowned with the picturesque ruins of some old fortress, little known or altogether unvisited by Europeans, but bound up in the native mind with many a strange tale and legend. (1859:i-ii)

The passage constructs India as suspended in a timeless past, and the European is invited to discover a lost sense of beauty and wonder. The idealised representations of India, its landscape, ruins, temples, were central to mid-nineteenth-century travel writing and greatly contributed to shaping tourists' desire for the East. The "neglected", ruined, abandoned, irregular, deformed sights or buildings were a source of fascination, emotion and imagination within the Romantic discourse of the time. India became the primitive, timeless Other to which the Europeans could return in order to find their origins and recover their Self.

Another instance of the commodification discourse of the guidebook is provided by *Cook's Indian Tours*:

> Amongst the endless variety of objects of interest which will probably attract visitors in a tour through India, will be, not merely those wonderful and ancient rock temples and shrines, and buildings of historic interest, but some perhaps of the following: the tea-producing districts, indigo-factories, coffee and nutmeg plantations, cotton and silk industries […]; shawls and pashmina, and Rampore chuddurs and Dacca muslins; carpets, towels and purdahs of jail manufacture […]; the brass and other models of deities and idols worshipped in India […]; and also the great variety of skins and furs to be seen at Peshawur and in Northern India, imported from all parts of central India. (Cook 1889:8)

Perhaps not surprisingly, Cook, who himself organised trips to the Great Exhibitions, presents India as a display of collectable things, meant to satisfy the traveller's desire for an exotic world. In so doing, he places the reader in the position of coloniser, ready to consume the delights offered by the colonised lands.

The inhabitants of these often romanticised landscapes are inscribed in the dichotomy "us"/ Westerners vs. "them"/Orientals, a practice which underlines "the importance of the distinction between some men and other men, usually towards not especially admirable ends" (Said 2003:45). Thus, the guidebook reinforces Orientalism by promoting a discriminatory discourse which stresses the strength of the Westerner and the weakness of the Oriental.

The representations of the Other in Murray's guidebook reiterate the dichotomy "us" vs. "them", by displaying British national and racial identity as superior to the Indian race. The presentation of the locals' habits, behaviour, education, or rather the lack of it, is meant to secure the image of the European as civilised, clean, educated, cultured and so on. The tourists are thus informed that "local guides with a knowledge of English more or less *imperfect* are available at all important centres" (Murray 1911:xvii); native travelling servants are imperiously necessary, but "such servants should be quietly kept in their proper places" (Murray 1911:xxi); Indian services are poor since "for some obscure reason the guards of trains render none of their services expected of them in Europe" (Murray 1911:xxiii), therefore, all luggage should be secured by locks; "there are hardly any hotels in India really up to the European standard of excellence" (Murray 1911:xxiii). There is even a section titled "Bedding" which advises every traveller to provide himself with some bedding, even "when on visit to friends" because: "Except at the best hotels, there is either no bedding or there is the chance of it being dirty" (Murray 1911:xx).

Cook's Indian Tours also abounds in examples of discriminatory discourse. For instance, the visitors to Assam, travelling by boat up a river to see the tea plantations "will probably be much interested by the numerous and joyous coolie emigrants from Bengal swarming on the lower deck of the steamer on their way to different tea factories. The scenery here is very fine…" (Cook 1911:75). Thus, from his/her superior position on the upper deck, the tourist is invited to watch the spectacle of natives, swarming like insects, on their way to work. The landscape and the people are commodified into objects of the gaze, representing a source of pleasure for the imperial subject.

Special attention is paid to the tourists' appropriate clothing for different seasons, trips, or activities. This information is provided at the very beginning of Cook's *India, Burma and Ceylon*, showing how valuable it was for tourists. "Simple outfits" are recommended and listed separately for men and women: "For men, ordinary summer clothes as worn in England"; and for ladies "morning and evening dresses such as would be worn at home" (Cook 1912:1-2). In Murray's guidebook, there is an entire section entitled "Clothing" which offers the same kind of advice, divided on genders. The European tourist costume contributes to the construction of the traveller's identity, emphasising his/her difference and power. The emphasis on clothing as a marker of authority is an old strategy for preserving the distance between the self and the Other, and for securing the imperial, superior position of the tourist.

5. Conclusion

The colonial institutions and the tourist industry that developed in the nineteenth century contributed to the emergence of the guidebook, a literary genre that continued and transformed the tradition of travelogues of writing about the others. Murray's and Cook's guidebooks to India introduced and pieced together massive information related to almost everything, which reflects the comprehensive nature of the texts, in an attempt to exhaust every aspect of knowledge about the subcontinent. Such monumental descriptions aspired to a "scientific" view of the world; yet, their Eurocentric perspective led to the commodification of the East for the benefit of the tourist who was invited to "see" everything that India has to offer, and, as we all know, seeing is never

an innocent act, but a cultural construction. In conclusion, the guidebooks served imperial interests by providing a systematic form of consolidating and disseminating the Orientalist discourse of the time.

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