

THE SIX LIVES OF ALEXINE TINNE: GENDER SHIFTS
IN THE ATLANTIC WORLD,
1835-1915

by

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Abstract

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This work is the first to examine the life and legacy of Dutchwoman Alexine Tinne as an example of the cultural and gender shifts taking place in the Atlantic world in the long nineteenth century. Based on primary research in both England and Tinne's native home of The Netherlands, this work not only updates her biography, but brings her story into the field of transatlantic history. In tracing the life of this one woman one can see how roles for women expanded and how new opportunities for women, especially travel, came about in the Victorian period. Tinne serves as a perfect vehicle to trace the social changes occurring for women in this era because contemporaries saw her as a product of her elite upbringing, a symbol of eighteenth-century elitism, but by the end of the nineteenth

century Tinne writers remade her as an abolitionist saving slave children across Africa.

Through new research into the transatlantic legacy of Tinne, incorporating newspapers, magazine articles, and especially the book *The Heroine of the White Nile; Or, What a Woman Did and Dared. A Sketch of the Remarkable Travels and Experiences of Miss Alexandrine Tinne* by Professor William Wells (1871) this work establishes the six lives of Alexine Tinne – traveler, tourist, explorer, imperial mother, New Woman, and historical construct. Through an examination of these six lives, all constructed through the lenses of race, class, and gender, one can see the evolution of women’s roles in the nineteenth and early twentieth century.

This work serves as an entry point into the discussion of writing women’s histories, their biographies, and about rehabilitating images lost or changed over time. It is a work in transatlantic history, women’s and gender studies, exploration and discovery, intercultural transfer, and the importance of memory and perception on the craft of the historian.

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Chapter 1

Introduction

August 1, 1869, Wadi Berdjong, morning: Dutch woman

Alexandrine “Alexine” Tinne was in her tent readying herself for the day's travel, as preparations were underway to pack up camp and move further into the Sahara Desert for a meeting with the Tuareg chieftain Ichnuchen. Outside, two of her hired Arab camel drivers had a heated argument over the packing of the animals. A Dutch sailor in the excursion party, Cornelius “Kees” Oostman, stepped in to mediate the argument and bring some resolution so the packing could continue. The Arab drivers did not take kindly to the Dutchman's intervention in their dispute and a scuffle ensued. One of the Tuareg guides joined in the melee and threw his lance striking and killing Oostman in the fight. Fellow sailor Ary Jacobse tried to get to his fallen friend but a swift sword blow to the head stopped him dead. Into the hysteria stepped Alexine, raising a hand and calling out to settle the people of her caravan, as she had had done many times before on other expeditions into the interior of Africa. The sound of her voice brought a moment of calm, though it did not last long. One of the Tuaregs struck her down with two deliberate and decisive blows. Her forearm arm severed, she was unable to defend herself with her own dagger. A sabre blow

opening a gash in her neck and shoulder, Alexine collapsed to the ground bleeding profusely.

Her entourage scattered, running into tents to hide any way and anywhere they could. The travel party consisted of upwards of fifty people, including many former or runaway slaves collected along Alexine's previous journeys in Africa, who feared their capture would result in sale back into a life of servitude. The Tuareg guides raided every tent, trunk, crate and pannier-laden camel looking for gold and other treasures belonging to this fabled, wealthy "Daughter of the Sultan." As the horrified "family" of Alexine looked on, the Tuaregs tore through each tent, overturning tables and rummaging through anything they thought may contain something of value, going so far as to stripping the dying Alexine of her clothing to take the fine cloth. The bulk of the items taken were provisions for a long desert excursion, mostly food and water, although a few things of value were gifts for Ichnuchen. Her servants, paralyzed by fear for their own situation could do nothing but watch their benefactor bleed to death in the sand. The camp in shambles, the few found items of value securely stowed away in bags and packs, the Tuaregs left the surviving members of Alexine's group transport animals and water before disappearing into in the desert. Though they left the stripped bodies of

Alexine and her two countrymen behind the Sahara, the survivors made their way back to the city of Murzuq.¹



Figure 1-1 The Assassination of Mlle. Tinne by Touaregs – Mlle. Tinne collapsing on the ground.²

What was an upper-class and unmarried Dutch woman in her thirties doing in the Sahara Desert in 1869? Why did her gruesome murder resonate throughout Europe and across the Atlantic to the United

¹ Several versions of Tinne's death circulated the Atlantic beginning in 1870. The earliest accounts of the events surrounding her murder come from German explorer Gustav Nachtigal's diaries of his trips in the Sahara, *Sahara and Sudan*, and from the official reports of the Dutch Consul in Tripoli, Emil Testa.

² "The Assassination of Mlle. Tinne by Touaregs – Mlle. Tinne collapsing on the ground", *Journal des Voyages et des Aventures de Terre et de Mer*, Sunday, January 6, 1884, Paris.

States? And why does she matter to readers of history in the twenty-first century? In a nutshell, Alexine Tinne (1835 – 1869) defies easy characterization. She was not a travel writer, as so many women who traveled in the nineteenth century were. Rather, she was an explorer, but geographical societies of her time were unwilling to recognize her as such because of her gender. Exploration, imperialism, colonialism, and global expansion on a grand scale – the purview of many an educated white male of Europe in the Nineteenth Century – was momentarily breached by a young Dutch woman, in the 1850s and 1860s. Alexandrine Tinne (1835-1869), traveled and explored on the Nile River during the height of the search for its elusive source by expeditions funded by European imperial powers. Born in The Hague, in The Netherlands, she traveled extensively, and not always on the beaten paths, in Egypt, Sudan, Algeria, and Libya before her murder at the hands of Tuaregs in 1869.

This dissertation will provide the first historical account of Alexandrine Tinne in a transatlantic context. Placing Tinne in this context challenges analyses in both the contemporary perception of her by Victorians and the image of her, and more specifically its usage, in both the United States and Europe after her death. Even the most recent book on her life and Nile travels, *The Fateful Journey: The Expedition of Alexine Tinne and Theodor Von Heuglin in Sudan* (Amsterdam University Press,

2012) by Dutch scholar Robert Willink, leaves gaps in the understanding of her relevance for contemporaries, and stops before an investigation into her importance to both transatlantic and gender studies . This work aims at bringing Tinne into twenty-first-century relevance by incorporating new research from both the Royal Geographical Society and Dutch National Archives into her standard biographical treatment and will go beyond current scholarship by addressing the complex and remarkable transatlantic legacy of Alexandrine Tinne.³

Using Tinne as a case study allows for an analysis of the role of Western women traveling in Northern Africa in the Victorian era. Her life and her travels establish her status as a female explorer of Africa in the mid-nineteenth century, a time when Western societies did not think of women as explorers. Nevertheless, Tinne occupied both the Victorian worlds of traveler and scientific explorer.⁴ The challenge, one soon realizes with attempting to categorize Tinne, is that she does not easily fit into either category, neither in her time nor in today's definitions. She was

³ The most recent scholarship is a 2012 ethnographic study on Tinne and her travel companion Theodore von Heuglin. It also contains a catalog of all surviving ethnographic collections in Europe from the Tinne Expeditions; see: Robert Joost Willink, *The Fateful Journey: The Expedition of Alexine Tinne and Theodor Von Heuglin in Sudan* (Amsterdam University Press, 2012).

⁴ Defining 'traveler' versus 'explorer' is within the purview of this work as Victorian reports often used the terms interchangeably. *Chamber's etymological dictionary of the English language* (1868) defines 'travel' as a "to walk: to journey: to pass: to move" and 'traveler' as "one who travels." The same dictionary defines 'explore' as "to search out *with much calling* or inquiry; to search through for the purpose of discovery." The definition of 'explorer' is "*one who explores.*"

definitely not the typical nineteenth-century woman traveler nor was she the typical nineteenth-century explorer of Africa. Traveling for Victorians, especially women, was a leisure activity, one undertaken primarily by the rich and for the purpose of relaxation, health, and enjoyment. Exploration, on the other hand, was an undertaking of men in the pursuit of scientific research and was often a path to personal glory.

Tinne had the dual freedoms of disposable income and no family to care for. These freedoms enabled her to travel as she wished with little regard to cost, schedule, or responsibilities of the home. She could afford to travel and, unlike her male contemporaries, explore without consulting a Geographical Society for permission or funding. Tinne had the educational background, the scholarly curiosity, and the financial resources to allow her to break free of societal constraints and cross over into the realm of male-dominated exploration. Therefore this thesis establishes the “beaten path” of African travel for westerners in the nineteenth century and illustrates where Alexine deviated from that path and into the arena of African exploration and discovery.⁵

⁵Patterns of travel for Victorian women are found in numerous publications such as Barbara Hodgson’s *No Place for a Lady: Tales of Adventurous Women Travelers*, 2002 and *Dreaming of East: Western Women and the Exotic Allure of the Orient*, (Greystone Books, 2006); Dorothy Middleton, *Victorian Lady Travelers* (Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1965); Agnes Smith Lewis, *Eastern Pilgrims: The Travels of Three Ladies ...* (Hurst and Blackett, 1870). Contemporary newspapers, magazines, and firsthand accounts from travelers also provided women with tips and hints for traveling abroad.

Not only did Tinne's step-brother, Royal Geographic Society (RGS) Fellow John A. Tinne, present her findings to the Society, but RGS President Roderick Impey Murchison presented her explorations and adventures at meetings alongside the reports of travels by such illustrious men as Sir Samuel Baker, Sir Richard Francis Burton, John Hanning Speke, James Augustus Grant, John Petherick, Henry Morgan Stanley, and David Livingstone. Tinne was in Africa at the same time as these men and crossed paths with a few of them in her Nile explorations. Information on the presentations by her brother John A. Tinne and the inclusion of her expeditions in the RGS meetings' printed *Proceedings* indicate acknowledgement of Tinne taking part in "explorations and discovery" in Africa. Other research, including the most recent publication by Willink, addresses this fact but does not investigate it in great detail. New research indicates that Tinne did have an international profile with fellow explorers, including the aforementioned Speke, Grant, and Baker. Based on my research it is now possible to fill in this gap in her biography, therefore significantly adding to her life story examined by Willink and others.

Another key element of this thesis is the first ever analysis of the use of Tinne's image and biography on both sides of the Atlantic in the late nineteenth century. Beginning just a year after her murder in the

Sahara Desert, many ladies' magazines, newspapers, and books began to publish versions of Alexine's life, not only in Europe but also in the United States. Books like William Wells' *The Heroine of the White Nile; or, What a Woman Did and Dared. A Sketch of the Remarkable Travels and Experiences of Miss Alexandrine Tinne* (1871), W. H. Davenport Adams' *Some Heroes of Travel; or, Chapters from the History of Geographical Discovery and Enterprise* (1880), and magazine articles such as "Alexina Tinne, the African Explorer," in *The Ladies' repository: a monthly periodical, devoted to literature, arts, and religion* (Volume 6, Issue: 5, Nov. 1870), illustrate a tremendous and hitherto overlooked posthumous interest in Tinne on both sides of the Atlantic. Tinne had no connection to the United States in her lifetime, so this use of her image and story in the Americas reflects an interesting transnational occurrence of Victorian ethics. Authors write about her both in the context of abolitionist of the internal African slave trade and as a precursor to lauded women travelers of the late-nineteenth- and early-twentieth-centuries. Finally, it is necessary to discuss why, surprisingly, modern anthologies of women travelers and histories of exploration, although eager to claim other trailblazers, either mention Tinne only in passing or leave her out altogether.

The omission of Tinne from these anthologies has more to do with how Victorian women were “supposed” to travel. Because she strayed from the accepted social model for women of her status, Tinne is left by the wayside in exploration history. Many books, such as Martha Vicinus’ *Suffer and Be Still: Women in the Victorian Age* (Indiana University Press, 1973) and Ben Wilson’s *The Making of Victorian Values: Decency and Dissent in Britain: 1789-1837* (Penguin Press, 2007), provide information on societal structure in the Victorian Age. Nearly all of these volumes are about the ideological roles of men and women as pertain to public and private social spheres. Modern scholarship, such as Sara Mills’ *Discourses of Difference: An Analysis of Women’s Travel Writing and Colonialism*. (Routledge, 1993) and her work with Shirley Foster, *An Anthology of Women’s Travel Writing* (Manchester University Press, 2002), is devoted to the analysis of these spheres through travel writing. Tinne’s ventures outside the confines of her ascribed (private) sphere and into the accepted male (public) sphere demonstrates Mills and Foster’s thesis that the act of traveling simultaneously reinforced and destroyed these socially constructed spheres. Tinne also exposed the contradiction inherent in the ideology of these constructs and thus weakened the power, or perceived legitimacy, of the ‘two-spheres’ cultural explanation of her

world. As to literature on women travelers, there, too, is abundance.⁶ Modern writing on women as travelers takes off in the mid-nineteenth century and is just as prolific today. As soon as women began traveling and reporting home, or writing for profit and publishing in magazines and newspapers, interest in traveling women began. Women wrote about what they saw, what they experienced, and how they related to their environs while abroad. This dissertation aims at discussing the changing pattern of the way in which works on travel writing and associated literature from the time of Tinne's murder until today incorporate both her life and her transatlantic legacy.

There are only a few biographies written about Tinne in English. The most recent, the aforementioned *A Fateful Journey*, deals primarily with her Nile travel from an ethnographic standpoint and catalogs the surviving items from her donated collections (and those of travel companion Theodor von Heuglin) in museums around Europe. The previous English-language treatment came in 1970 when Patricia

⁶ For more on travel writing and the combining of social roles see: Thomas Adam et al., *Crossing the Atlantic: Travel and Travel Writing in Modern Times* (TAMU Press, 2011); Amanda Adams, *Ladies of the Field: Early Women Archaeologists and Their Search for Adventure* (Greystone Books, 2010); Dea Birkett, *Spinsters Abroad* (The History Press, 2004); Eliza Bradley, Annie Hore, and Helen Caddick, *Not Just Bonnets and Bustles: Victorian Women Travelers in Africa* (Bookline & Thinker, 2008); Patricia Hill, *The World Their Household: The American Woman's Foreign Mission Movement and Cultural Transformation, 1870-1920* (University of Michigan Press, 1985); and Eugène Mage, Elizabeth Fagg Olds and Elizabeth Olds, *Women of the Four Winds: The Adventures of Four of America's First Women Explorers*, 1st ed. (Mariner Books, 1999).

Gladstone, using family papers and Alexine's mother's diaries published *Travels of Alexine: Alexine Tinne, 1835-1869*, (John Murray, 1970).⁷ This book is a straight forward biography of Tinne's life and travels up to her murder in the Sahara, but not a scholarly treatment.

Two recent publications– Alexandrine Tinne (1835-1869):

Afrikareisende des 19. Jahrhunderts. Zur Geschichte des Reisens by Antje Köhlerschmidt (Magdeburg 1994; Ph. D. thesis.) and *Tochter des Sultans, Die Reisen der Alexandrine Tinne* by Wilfried Westphal (Stuttgart, 2002) – expand upon Gladstone's biography. Westphal provides information on Tinne's early travels with her mother in northern Europe and the Near East as a precursor to her African adventures.

Köhlerschmidt's work, which is one of the more recent scholarly treatments of Tinne, utilizes archival material from the Dutch National Archives and other continental sources, but fails to include any of the available source material from the Royal Geographical Society archives.⁸

⁷ The diaries used by Gladstone are no longer available to researchers. Speculation is Gladstone still has them in her possession. Willink was unable to locate the diaries during his research and Gladstone is the last person to have used them. Without access to the baroness's diaries one must rely on proceedings from the RGS and the diaries of Dr. von Heuglin as primary source materials for the Dutch Ladies travels on the Nile. The lack of access to the diaries leaves too much to speculation on the feelings of the baroness about the trip and her thoughts on the explorations of the Nile.

⁸ In The Netherlands there have been several publications on the exploits of Tinne. See: William Sutherland, *Alexandrine Tinne: een Haagsch meisje als dappere ontdekkingsreiziger en dochter der liefde (Bint Mtacke) in Noord-Afrika. Haar leven en reizen* (Amsterdam 1935); Johannes Lodewijk Walch, 'Alexandrine Tinne', in: Idem, *Vrouwen van formaat* (Amsterdam 1941) 256-288.; Clara Eggink, *De merkwaardige*

Tinne's life, and legacy, in a transatlantic context remained unexplored until now. This is the central aspect of this dissertation, based on extensive archival research. The discovery of a multitude of contemporary publications on both sides of the Atlantic will add to the understanding of the most prominently ranked woman traveler in the nineteenth century in Africa. This discovery enlightens us to the reasons why many of the stories about the nineteenth-century European search for the source of the Nile River leave this woman out of their telling and why it is so difficult to categorize Tinne in modern writings on nineteenth-century women.

This thesis also sheds light on publications in the United States and Europe that featured articles about Tinne, her travels, explorations, and the pursuit of her assailants after her murder. In addition, it investigates the use of her image and the perception of her in the United States to establish why she was useful to religious publications while concurrently seen as a precursor to women travelers of the 1880s as an

reizen van Henriette en Alexandrine Tinne (Amsterdam 1960; reprint 1976); J. Brummelkamp, 'Alexandrine Tinne', and D.G. Jongmans, 'Clara Eggink's visie op freule Tinne', *Tijdschrift van het KNAG* 2 78 4 (1961) 353-365 (two reviews of Clara Eggink, *De merkwaardige reizen ...*); M. van der Mast, *Alexine Tinne. Reizigster door Afrika* (The Hague 1974); J.G. Kikkert, *Een Haagsche dame in de Sahara. Het avontuurlijke leven van Alexandrine Tinne 1835-1869* (Naarden 1980; reprint 2005); Wolf Kielich, *Vrouwen op ontdekkingsreis. Avonturiersters uit de negentiende eeuw* (Amsterdam 1986); Arja H. Snoek, *Een cultuurhistorische visie op de reizen van Alexandrine Tinne* (s.l. 1988) [MA thesis Universiteit Utrecht]; and Ben Moritz, *Alexandrine Tinne, fotografe van het eerste uur, 1861* (The Hague 1995) [about Tinne as photographer]. There is also one film produced in The Netherlands, in Dutch with English subtitles, *Als een vlieg naar de vlam* (*As a moth drawn to the flame*, 2007) about Tinne's life.

example of what a woman on her own could do. Therefore, this dissertation, along with providing an account of Alexine Tinne's explorations, will elaborate on her life and transatlantic legacy as a vehicle to illustrate the shifts in gender and cultural roles in the Atlantic world in the nineteenth century. This dissertation will bring her history fully into the fields of transatlantic and transnational history.

Transatlantic history is the field of study that looks at the interconnectedness of the peoples of the Atlantic Basin from the early explorations of the fourteenth century until the present. It discusses the encounters and experiences of the peoples on all sides of the Atlantic Ocean. According to historians Steven G. Reinhardt & Dennis Reinhartz in the preface to their co-edited Webb Lecture Series Volume *Transatlantic History* the field "is inherently interdisciplinary, transnational, and comparative in approach." Transatlantic history, as a field, transcends the classically defined academic disciplines to look at history beyond the confines of the nation-state. Thomas Adam and Uwe Leubken further define transatlantic history as a methodological approach focusing on the interconnectedness of the human experiences over the centuries in the Atlantic basin. As an approach it is dedicated to analyzing dynamic

processes of encounter and interchange among all the peoples of the Atlantic, both north and south.⁹

Related to transatlantic history is transnational history - a methodological approach championed by historians Ian Tyrell, Daniel T. Rodgers, Thomas Adam, and others. This approach defines history as occurring both above and below the confines of the nation-state – in a third space outside of geographical or political boundaries. Transnational history encompasses the movement of peoples, ideas, technologies, and institutions across national borders since about 1820. Both Tyrell and Rodgers argue that nations do not exist in isolation and are, in fact, produced transnationally -- nation-states lie enmeshed in each other's history. Rodgers puts forth that "even the most isolated nation-state is a semipermeable container washed over by forces originating far beyond its shores." For him, the construct of the nation-state, its boundaries, are an analytical cage.¹⁰ Transnational history tears the cage down and highlights the connectivity of the world, deconstructing the nation-states and replacing them with what Benedict Anderson coined as "imagined

⁹ "Preface" Steven G. Reinhardt and Dennis Reinhartz, *Transatlantic History* (TAMU Press, 2006), ix; "Introduction" Thomas Adam and Uwe Luebken, *Bulletin of the German Historical Institute* (German Historical Institute, 2008), 3.

¹⁰ Daniel T. Rodgers, *Atlantic Crossings: Social Politics in a Progressive Age* (Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2000).

communities.”¹¹ Transnational history as a concept focuses on community networks, diaspora, hybridity, and in-betweenness – linking and emphasizing even the smallest global units. Per Adam and Leubken the task of transnational history is to show that the nation appears as but one of many different forms of social, cultural, and political organizations. To them, traditional national histories are incapable of grasping the importance of a “hitherto marginalized but increasingly visible web of intercultural entanglements.”¹²

Intercultural transfer - an approach to transatlantic/transnational history

In its most basic form, intercultural transfer is the concept of an idea, person, or place transferred from one distinct culture to another distinct culture. This concept is neither a theory nor a method for doing history, but an approach, a notion, a conceptual way to look at history in a transatlantic/transnational context. Intercultural transfer looks exclusively at similarities and connections between two or more cultures or societies. It always occurs below the level of the nation state and allows historians to look at phenomena in a new light. Historians rely on the comparative

¹¹ For more on the idea of “imagined communities” see Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism, Revised Edition*, Revised edition (London ; New York: Verso, 2006).

¹² Adam and Leubkin, p. 3.

method of history when researching intercultural transfer because intercultural transfer has no method of its own; it requires the comparative method.

The three main aspects of intercultural transfer are selection, transportation, and integration.¹³ The selection of the item transferred can be either by accident or by plan. In the early nineteenth century, for example, elite travelers in Europe saw items (or concepts) they liked and then transferred them to the United States. The mode of transport was usually in written form. The transfer agent wrote down the idea, made sketches, painted pictures (later took photographs), or copied directly from local books and tourist guides. Once home, the agent of transfer would attempt to integrate the item/concept into their society through different degrees of presentation. The agent of transfer sent the copied items home for distribution; often published as excerpts in local newspapers and journals or published as edited books. Once home from their travels, the agents of transfer often held at-home readings or went on a lecture series to expose to other members of their elite society to the new items and/or

¹³ Bernd Kortländer, "Begrenzung – Entgrenzung: Kultur- und Wissenschaftstransfer in Europa," in Lothar Jordan and Bernd Kortländer, eds., *Nationale Grenzen und internationaler Austausch: Studien zum Kultur- und Wissenschaftstransfer in Europa* (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1995) 1-11, as quoted in Thomas Adam, *Buying Respectability: Philanthropy and Urban Society in Transnational Perspective, 1840s to 1930s* (Indiana University Press, 2009), 4.

concepts from abroad. In the case of Alexine Tinne, it is the idea of her and her life story that transfers across the Atlantic.

Perception is a crucial element in intercultural transfer. In order for intercultural transfer to succeed, there has to be a need in the “receiving” culture, or at least a perceived need. There has to be the means for selecting, transporting, and integrating the idea of transfer. Timing is everything, as the idea needs to remain fresh to be viable for transfer. The “giving” culture has to be *perceived* as being superior in order for the intercultural transfer to be successful. Successful intercultural transfer required the persons involved in the transfer to have the money, the time, and the social capital to make it work. Intercultural transfer was an elite phenomenon and depended on human agency. Agents of intercultural transfer, in the early nineteenth century, were of both genders and often became agents of transfer by chance. They were always from the “receiving” culture and became the authors and experts of the transfers.

Intercultural transfer belongs to the family of “relational” approaches; interconnectedness, underlining the spaces between two cultures, societies, cities, et cetera, and exists in a third space only available in our imagination. These approaches, according to Michael Werner and Bénédicte Zimmermann, “examine the links between various

historically constituted formations.”¹⁴ Intercultural transfer as an approach developed the 1980s as researchers began to look at the influence of the French Enlightenment on German society. It is part of cultural history (the study of all the practices and expressions of life) and must utilize the comparative method even though it is not perfect for intercultural transfer.¹⁵ Additional problems with the concept of intercultural transfer center on language, methodology, and the historians themselves. Historians bring with them their own cultural perceptions which then influences the transfer researched.

According to Werner and Zimmermann, the study transforms both the research and the researcher. The historian becomes part of the transfer.¹⁶ Intercultural transfer has no language or method of its own. There is a narrative deficit. We know something happens but there is no terminology for it and therein lays the biggest challenge for intercultural transfer, to develop a language that captures the process between two regions, cities, states, et cetera. Intercultural transfer is also seen as too

¹⁴ Michael Werner and Bénédicte Zimmermann, "Beyond Comparison: Histoire Croisée and the Challenge of Reflexivity," *History and Theory*, (February 2006), p 31.

¹⁵ The comparative method is problematic because it forces the historian to artificially divide and isolate units of comparison. It limits the historians' purview because nations are not isolated. The comparative method relies on something created by the historian and by creating entities they must remain frozen in time and space for comparison. This does not work for intercultural transfer because there is constant multidirectional movement between the cultures "giving" and "receiving" items. But, a clear division of the comparative method and intercultural transfer is not possible as one is wholly reliant on the other.

¹⁶ Werner and Zimmerman, pp 30-50.

positivistic because it has to establish much detail using little theory; it is too descriptive and not analytical enough. To make intercultural transfer more analyzing and less descriptive and positivistic historians need to analyze structures and identities created by intercultural transfer and to see similarities and differences at the same time then perhaps it will be able to stand on its own.

By using the fields of transatlantic and transnational history as a framework for this study, and the concept of intercultural transfer for the analysis of Tinne's legacy, my research options broaden and enable me to fully investigate Tinne's life and legacy on all sides of the Atlantic. The scope of this dissertation incorporates a wide variety of sources from across Europe and the United States, and across languages, to portray a fuller representation of Tinne's life (and legacy) in a transatlantic context. The first chapter of this work will introduce Alexine Tinne. It will investigate who she was and what the circumstances were in her life that allowed for her to travel. In providing her basic biography the chapter will look at her family, her life in The Hague, and the circumstances of her upbringing. This chapter sets up Tinne's life from birth to age nineteen and lays the basis for the remaining chapters. The opening chapter defines the eighteenth-century elite world of Tinne's birth and serves as a baseline against which the nineteenth-century shift in gender roles in the Atlantic

world can be compared. Chapter one serves to explore some of the rituals of the upper-classes in Europe - manners, education, and travel. Travel, especially, will serve as a mode to explore Tinne's path away from the norm of her peers.

The second chapter investigates the changing world of travel in the nineteenth century. The expansion of tourism in the Victorian era enabled more women and the lower classes of both genders to tour extensively. Though still not seen as "natural travelers" many women traveled across Europe and beyond, often to Africa and the Middle East. By looking at who went, and what they were looking for/hoping to accomplish shows the "beaten path" of travel to Africa in the nineteenth century. This chapter will demonstrate how Tinne deviated from the normally accepted path of travel for women of her time and establish her unconventionality.

The third chapter is a discussion of Tinne of her travels and explorations on the Nile River and its tributaries in Egypt and Sudan. It focuses on the "Gentleman's Pursuit" of exploration and discovery on the Nile River, and to a lesser extent the exploration of Africa as a whole. It also focus on the early nineteenth-century European exploration, "discovery," and colonial expansion, specifically the male dominated worlds of education, cartography, and the scientific discoveries in Africa. This chapter also analyses the relationship between Tinne and the various

Geographical Societies in Europe, especially the Royal Geographical Society, in London, England. Research carried out recently in the RGS archives enables a more correct assessment of Tinne's place as an explorer of Africa, exploring how the societies categorized her, how the societies, as well as the male explorers, reacted to her travels, and what the RGS (and other academic societies) made of her explorations, including her final, disastrous 1863-64 expedition on the Nile, her travels in the Mediterranean, as well as the ultimate attempt to cross the Sahara Desert, her murder, the search for, and trial of her assassins.

The remaining chapters of this work look at Tinne's legacy and the use and manipulation of her life and image. Chapters four and five delve into the curious transatlantic legacy of Alexine Tinne. This final section of the dissertation analyzes the emergence of Tinne's posthumous image in the United States and in Europe. It is also an investigation into the simultaneous usage of both her image and life deeds for examples of upper-class women giving up their wealth to help oppressed peoples and as an example of, and predecessor to, famous women travelers of the Twentieth Century. Chapter four investigates the use of Alexine Tinne as reinforcement of the ideology of True Womanhood – emphasizing her faith, femininity, and freeing of slaves in Africa. Tinne is seen posthumously as both inspiration and martyr and her story is

encouragement for women to become missionaries and go to Africa “just like Alexine.” It also investigates the purpose of using her image and story in a transatlantic context in the late nineteenth- and early twentieth-centuries.

Chapter five focuses on the other posthumous usage of Tinne’s life and image – Tinne as the ideal New Woman. This second chapter on her transatlantic legacy looks at the transfer of the idea of the New Woman onto the image of Tinne. This iteration of Tinne’s life focuses on her education, travel, exploration, defying of Victorian cultural expectations, and her independence. Tinne becomes an example of what a New Woman could be. The evolution of gender roles in the Atlantic in the nineteenth century enabled women to pursue higher education, travel independently, and work in fields previously closed to them, such as archaeology. Alexine Tinne, and more importantly her legacy, is on the cusp of this movement. The aim of this chapter is to evaluate how the usage of Tinne’s life, memory, and image was important to this emerging movement. It also investigates how she fits historically into this larger Atlantic movement and aims to answer the question of how Alexine Tinne’s life, and legacy, is important historically. This transatlantic biography of Tinne addresses issues of perception and memory and

forces us to think about how we, as historians, categorize women in the larger historical narrative.

Chapter 2

Traveler

Born into an aristocratic life of wealth, status, and comfort, Alexandrine “Alexine” Petronella Francina Tinne (1835–69), lived her life as an adventure, far removed from the tapestried parlors and social expectations of high society at her home in The Hague. Tinne, the product of two socially well-connected parents - her father, wealthy Anglo-Dutch merchant Philip Frederik Tinne, and her mother, Dutch baroness Henriette van Capellen - inherited her father’s fortune when she was a very young girl. The combination of aristocratic title and immense wealth allowed Tinne to travel as she pleased; her familial connections in both The Netherlands and Great Britain allowed her access to the uppermost levels of society across Europe, the Middle East, and eventually Africa. Most important, that wealth and status allowed her to transgress the socially constructed gendered spheres of her time.

Tinne’s family’s rise to the top rung of the social ladder came about as a mixture of the conferring of a knighthood to one grandfather and the upward mobility of the other through diplomatic ranks; ranks through which Tinne’s father also rose, though in New World colonies where he amassed great personal wealth and lucrative business connections. Once firmly in

the aristocratic set, the Tinnes moved in an elite circle within Europe. They participated in many activities common among the transatlantic upper class, including traveling extensively to spas and other health destinations to avoid the cold winter months in The Netherlands. They took Grand Tours of the continent, held lavish parties and entertained other noble families, and in 1839, the Tinnes commissioned the court painter of William II and Queen Anna Paulowna, Jean Baptiste van der Hulst (1790-1862) to paint the young Alexine.



Figure 2-1 Jean Baptiste van der Hulst, Portrait of Alexine, age 4, 1839, Oil on Canvas

The Van Capellen Family

Tinne's aristocratic ties began when her maternal grandfather Vice-Admiral Theodorus Frederik van Capellen participated in the 1816 Bombardment of Algiers. In this joint naval action van Capellen volunteered to lead his squadron of ships, five frigates and a sloop, to assist the British Royal Navy in their action to force Omar, the Dey of Algiers, to release over 3000 European Christians taken as slaves and to put an end the activities of the so-called "Barbary Pirates" in the Mediterranean Sea. Though the "Barbary Pirates" had continuously intimidated the cities along the coasts of the Mediterranean since the early sixteenth century, it was their refusal to cease the abduction of European Christians for use as slaves (primarily from Sicily and Naples), which forced Great Britain to take decisive action in the nineteenth century.¹⁷

The bombardment of August 27, 1816, lasted just over six hours and proved a success for the Anglo-Dutch forces. After his naval defenses were destroyed and all but one battlement reduced to rubble, the Dey acquiesced to the terms of the peace treaty set forth by the British naval

¹⁷For information on the capture and treatment of Christians taken as slaves in the Mediterranean see Robert C. Davis, *Christian Slaves, Muslim Masters: White Slavery in the Mediterranean, the Barbary Coast and Italy, 1500-1800* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2004); For the end of the "Barbary Pirates" action in the Mediterranean see Daniel Panzac, *The Barbary Corsairs: The End of a Legend, 1800-1820* (BRILL, 2005); Adrian Tinniswood, *Pirates of Barbary: Corsairs, Conquests and Captivity in the Seventeenth-Century Mediterranean* (Riverhead Trade, 2011).

commander Admiral Edward Pellew, Lord Exmouth. The terms of the treaty included the abolition of Christian slavery in Algiers and a return of all Christian slaves to Exmouth's fleet for delivery to their country of origin (van Capellen returned 29 freed Dutch to The Netherlands on his ships). The Dey was also responsible for repayment to their countries of origin of all monies received to purchase the freedom of Christian slaves. The Dey also had to grant the immediate release of the confined British Consul of Algiers, and to make public a declaration of the terms of the truce to the people of Algiers, including a public pardon of (and reparations to) the British Consul.¹⁸

This naval action is important because both van Capellen and Exmouth received double-knighthoods for their actions in Algiers. King George III of England appointed the men Knight Commanders of the Most Honourable Military Order of the Bath. King William III of the Netherlands awarded them the Military Order of William – Knight Grand Cross, the highest honor awarded for honorable service to king and country. William III also bestowed upon van Capellen the title of Jonkheer, admitting him

¹⁸ For a full account of the bombardment and its resolution see Edmund Burke, *Dodsley's Annual Register* (J. Dodsley, 1817), 97–107; 230–243; Sir William Laird Clowes et al., *The Royal Navy: A History from the Earliest Times to the Present* (S. Low, Marston, 1901), 226–231.

into the ranks of the nobility, which elevated the status of the family into which Alexine Tinne was born.¹⁹

Aristocracies required constant replenishment; the 1813 restoration of monarchy in The Netherlands increased the need for nobles, like the newly knighted van Capellen, and many families clamored to The Hague for recognition at court. As Wasson notes, “Great families almost always held the most prestigious offices... [many] went to court seeking opportunities to gain more wealth and power.”²⁰ The recognition of Alexine’s maternal grandfather for his service in Algiers led to his placement as the Hofmarshal of the court of the Prince and Princess of Orange. This elevated status in the royal court at The Hague, along with his new title of *Jonkheer*, subsequently led to positions for his children to

¹⁹ Edward Osler, *The life of Admiral Viscount Exmouth*. (London, 1835), p230, Sabin Americana, Gale, Cengage Learning, University of Texas at Arlington, Accessed 22 May 2013
<<http://galenet.galegroup.com/servlet/Sabin?af=RN&ae=CY100923806&srcthp=a&ste=14>>; P.C. Molhuysen and P.J. Blok, Ed. "Capellen (Theodorus Frederick van)" in *Nieuw Nederlandsch Biografisch Woordenboek* (NNBW), Volume 1. (Leiden: A. W. Sijthoff's Uitgevers-Maatschappij, 1911), pp566-567. Accessed May 23, 2013, http://www.historici.nl/retroboeken/nnbw/#page=291&source=1&accessor=accessor_index&view=imagePane. Generally the aristocracy comprised of nobles — persons on whom the monarch bestowed an elevated rank which was passed on genetically, conferring prestige and the ultimate in social advancements. The majority of nobles were landed; many held positions of power in government or some other state service. The greater aristocracy held a common set of values, including exclusivity, notions of honor attached to their bespoke lineage and family. As the highest tier of society, they were the bearers of high culture and civilization and the guardians of the general interest. For more on general European nobility, see Ellis Wasson *Aristocracy and the Modern World* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006).

²⁰ Ellis Wasson, *Aristocracy and the Modern World* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), p. 27.

serve the court as well. Two of his daughters (Tinne's aunts), Sara and Adriana, were hofdames (ladies-in-waiting) for Queen Sophie, consort of William III, and the Dowager Queen Anna Pawlovna. Their brother Theodore served as a court page. Tinne's mother, van Capellen's eldest daughter Henriette, was also a hofdame at court as well as a trusted friend and favorite companion of the queen.

The noble status of the van Capellen family allowed them to intermingle freely with the highest levels of European society and later ensured the Tinne women formal introductions to royal houses, foreign courts, diplomatic circles, and the highest levels of Victorian society as they traveled across Europe and beyond.²¹ The Baroness von Capellen's 1830 marriage to Philip Frederik Tinne, a wealthy English merchant who originated from The Hague, was a boon to them both; it enhanced her ability to move among the European elites, financially, and moved the merchant up near the top of the social ladder.²² Wasson notes,

Marriage was a means of rapid social ascent. Modest gentry or lesser nobles, who gained money or power through commerce or office, could swing instantaneously to high places through one spectacular marriage or a series of well-

²¹ Robert Joost Willink, *The Fateful Journey: The Expedition of Alexine Tinne and Theodor von Heuglin in Sudan* (Amsterdam, 2012), pp. 43–44.

²² Penelope Gladstone, *Travels of Alexine: Alexine Tinne 1835–1869* (London, 1970). pp 5-6. For more on the

plotted ones. Nothing allowed for more rapid blending into the established elites [than marriage].²³

This blending of families, the aristocratic van Capellens and the monied merchant Tinnes, resulted in Alexine and her mother having the financial and social capital to do whatever they pleased.

The Tinne Family

The Tinnes, like the van Capellens, were a well-known and well-regarded long-time family of The Hague. Originally Huguenot refugees to The Netherlands, the Tinne family rose to prominence in Hague aristocratic circles in the late 1780s when Alexine's paternal grandfather, Johan Abraham Tinne (1742-1808), became a private secretary to Count Willem Gustaaf Bentinck the Chief Bailiff of The Hague (responsible for the law enforcement and criminal prosecutions in the city). In 1787, he moved up to be the secretary to the Raadspensionaris (first minister and magistrate of The Netherlands) Laurens Pieter van de Spiegel.²⁴ From

²³ Ellis Wasson, *Aristocracy and the Modern World* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), 59.

²⁴ Sir Harry H. Johnston, in his volume on the search for the source of the River Nile, attributes the Tinne name to an ancestor from Saxony who bravely battled the Saracens in Egypt during the Crusades (which Crusade, he does not say). For his bravery storming a fortification, this ancestor was given as his nickname the Low Dutch term for battlement - "tinne"- which was then incorporated into the family name and subsequent coat of arms. Johnston does not cite his source for this familial anecdote though; see Harry H. Johnston, *The Nile Quest: A Record of the Exploration of the Nile and its Basin*, University Press, John Wilson and Son: Cambridge, 1903, p 193-194. For more on

this high government position and with the connections to the upper ranks of The Hague, Johan Abraham Tinne became a popular political pamphleteer in Orangist circles. In 1793, he resigned from his post with the Raadspensionaris and transferred it to his son, Philip.²⁵

Philip Frederik Tinne, Alexine's father, followed a career path that spoke volumes about the family's social credit. Born in 1772 in The Hague, Philip joined the Dutch Foreign Service at age eighteen and served as the secretary to the Baron van Nagell, the Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of the Court of St. James, Dutch ambassador to London, before inheriting his father's position with the Raadspensionaris in 1793. After Napoleon's invasion of The Netherlands in 1795, Tinne's governmental position was dissolved so he set sail for a new life in the Dutch Atlantic colony of Demerara (modern day Guyana on the northeastern coast of South America) where his brother-in-law (and cousin) Matthijs Tinne worked as the colonial Receiver General.²⁶ In 1796, during his two-month Atlantic voyage on the *Austria* the colony fell to Great Britain. After Tinne settled in, the new colonial government appointed him Government Interpreter to the Court of Policy of Demerara,

Count Willem Gustaaf Frederick Bentinck and Laurens Pieter van de Spiegel see *Biographisch Woordenboek der Neiderlanden... der Van der Aa*, 1854.

²⁵ Johann Abraham Tinne, *Nieuw Nederlandsch Biografisch Woordenboek*, Deel 1 p. 1501 – 1502, accessed May 22, 2013, <http://www.historici.nl/retroboeken/nnbw/#1:758>.

²⁶ Fred. Oudschans Dentz, *History of the English Church at The Hague 1586-1929*, W. D. Medina: Delft, 1929, p101.

as well as Interpreter of the colony of Berbice, in recognition of his former position in London and developed English-language skills. Philip Tinne described his first colonial post as one where he translated official reports of the court into “pretty bad English.” The following year he became the Secretary to the Colonial Governor A. Beaujon.²⁷

Once established in the colonial government of Demerara, Alexine’s father was able to keep his positions, and advance, even as the colony governments changed hands – in 1802, the Dutch recaptured Demerara and in 1804, lost it again to the British.²⁸ With each power shift, Philip Tinne advanced, and in 1804 the British appointed him the Deputy to the Secretary and Receiver of Demerara with an eight-year contract providing an annual salary of £1800. He was now a prominent member of Demerara colonial society, a wealthy landowner, and the proprietor of the coffee plantations Vauxhall and Westminster, as well as other assorted properties in the area.²⁹

²⁷ Philip Frederick Tinne, *Reminiscences d’une vie insignifiante*, unpublished, quoted in Dentz, p.100.

²⁸ Philip F. Tinne, in his role of Colonial Secretary, was aboard the HMS *l’Heureux* to arrange the terms of British capitulation signing the terms document September 18, 1803; Dentz, p.103.

²⁹ Notice of property belonging to P. F. Tinne for sale, “The Subscriber offers for Sale on very moderate and easy Terms the Lot and Premises occupied by him in Cumingsburg, next to the Custom-House, P. F. Tinne. Demerary, 24th August 1805,” *Essequibo and Demerara Royal Gazette*, August 24, 1805, accessed July 24, 2013, <http://www.vc.id.au/edg/18040825edg.html> . P.F. Tinne initially was part-owner of Vauxhall and Westminster with P.C. Overmaker (first clerk of the colony secretary) and two other men, Mr. F. Martin and Mr. Pasquier; David Hollet, *Passage from India to El*

In November 1806, Philip Tinne married for the first time at the Chateau Margot estate in Demerara. His wife, Anna Rose, was the daughter of William and Mary (née Robinson) Rose, a Scottish family with ties to the transatlantic sugar trade.³⁰ Philip and Anna's first son, John Abraham, (who would later be important for Alexine's interaction with the Royal Geographical Society) was born in the colony in 1807 and a second son, William, followed shortly after. By 1810, unhappy with colonial life, Anna longed to return to Europe.³¹ Philip, unable to reestablish himself in The Netherlands due to his previous employment in the British colonial government -- relocated his young family to Great Britain, settling first in Scotland then finally to Liverpool. Through connections made via his in-laws in Glasgow, Tinne entered into a business partnership in 1812 with William Sandbach of the McInroy, Parker, & Co merchant house, forming the newly renamed Sandbach, Tinne, and Co. shipping business in Liverpool. Of the business negotiations, Tinne wrote:

Dorado: Guyana and the Great Migration, Associated University Presses (London, 1999), p 41.

³⁰ Marriage Banns of P.F. Tinne and Miss Anna Rose, *Essequibo and Demerara Royal Gazette*, April 12, 1806, accessed July 9, 2013, <http://www.vc.id.au/edg/18060412edg.html>; Dentz, p102.

³¹ The *Essequibo and Demerara Royal Gazette* of March 6, 1810 contains notices of the public sale of some of Tinne's property and possessions. The nature of the items for sale, "a large set of Dining Tables for 20 persons... a mahogany wardrobe... a Chaise and Horse. - And likewise some very capital House-Slaves, if not previously disposed of by private sale," indicate the wealth of Tinne and establish his position in the top tier of Demerara society. *Essequibo and Demerara Royal Gazette*, March 6, 1810, accessed July 3, 2013, <http://www.vc.id.au/edg/18100306edrg.html>.

I did not make any difficulties as to the conditions nor the quality of the interest that should be allowed me, but they made it a condition that I should again make once more a voyage to Demerara to expand there their connections with the help of a credit of £30,000 sterling, which would be placed at my disposition.³²

Philip Tinne returned to Great Britain a very wealthy man and a partner in a lucrative shipping company. He quickly established himself as a reputable merchant and his company as a primary trading house of Liverpool.

Owing to his Dutch nationality the British government would not allow Alexine's father to own commercial ships in his own name; to get around this, he paid for a Private Act of Parliament naturalizing him as a British citizen in 1823.³³ Once he held his own ships his personal wealth (and the income of the company) dramatically increased. The Sandbach, Tinne, & Co. trading house began with routes between Liverpool and the West Indies building upon the McInroy, Parker, & Co merchant house's established shipping routes to and from Demerara. According to historian David Hallett, the partners of Sandbach, Tinne, & Co. were the largest holders of slaves and plantations in Demerara and had a stable and consistent transatlantic trade. The company shifted its focus to the Indian

³² Tinne, *Reminiscences d'une vie insignifiante*, unpublished, translated and quoted in Hollett, *Passage from India to El Dorado: Guyana and the Great Migration*, Associated University Presses (London, 1999), p 41.

³³ Act of Naturalisation for Philip Frederick Tinne, 17 June, 1823, MS, HL_PO_PB_1_n174, Great Britain, House of Lords, London.

Ocean and the “coolie trade” shipping bound Chinese laborers to the Americas after the 1833 Act of Parliament emancipated enslaved Africans in the British West Indies, Mauritius, and the Cape Colony of South Africa.³⁴

This 1833 Act also included £20 million in taxpayer-backed funds to compensate slaveholders in the British West Indian colonies for the loss of their “property” and investments. The members of Sandbach, Tinne, & Co jointly filed thirty claims for the recompense of 3,324 slaves emancipated by the parliamentary Act. The eight members received a total of £173, 577 (the equivalent of £12,700,000 in 2012) for their losses, breaking down to approximately £21,697 (or £1.6 million in 2012 values) to each member of the company. Alexine’s father also filed a claim on his own for the loss of 161 slaves from his plantations of Vauxhall and Westminster and received a payment of £8,362 4s 9d (the equivalent of £614,000 in 2012). These were very large reparations; in 1833, the average annual income in Great Britain was £33 (£2,425 in 2012). This partnership in a new merchant

³⁴Willink, p. 36. Hollet, *Passage from India to El Dorado*, p30-31; 44-46. The “coolie trade” was the term used for the business generated after the end of legalized slave trading in the Western Atlantic wherein laborers (mostly indentured) from Southeast Asia and China entered into contracts of varying length (5-7 years) and emigrated to the British West Indies to work on sugar plantations and in other labor jobs. The Sandbach, Tinne & Co shifted the bulk of their operations to this new line of business after the 1833 Act of Parliament emancipating slaves in the British West Indies. Hollett documents the Sandbach, Tinne & Co’s involvement in the trade to Guyana in *Passage from India to El Dorado: Guyana and the Great Migration* (Fairleigh Dickinson Univ Press, 1999). For more on the “coolie trade” see David Northrup, *Indentured Labor in the Age of Imperialism, 1834-1922*, (CUP Archive, 1995).

company increased Tinne's already established wealth, and Alexine's future inheritance.³⁵

After the death of his wife Anna in 1827, Philip Tinne moved back to The Netherlands to retire, leaving the family business in Liverpool in the care of his eldest son, 20-year-old John Abraham.³⁶ Once back in The Hague, Philip Tinne reacquainted himself with the upper ranks of fashionable and courtly society and on November 15, 1830, Philip married Baroness Henriette Marie Louise van Capellen, eldest daughter of his friend Vice-Admiral Theodore van Capellen, cementing his place in the upper tiers Hague society.³⁷ On October 17, 1835, nearly five years after they wed a daughter was born to the couple - Alexandrine Petronella Francisca Tinne, or Alexine, as her family called her.

The Tinne family lived in the center of The Hague, home of the Dutch royal residence, at the very fashionable address of 32 Lange Voorhout. As Wasson notes, it was more prestigious for a noble family to have a home near the royal palace, as "regular residence near the court

³⁵ Hollett, p30-31; See also the Legacies of British slave-ownership Database <http://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/> for more on the individual payments to P. F. Tinne and the other members of the Sandbach, Tinne, & Co. For the individual claim by P. F. Tinne see <http://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/claim/view/8068>; all currency conversions done via the site <http://www.measuringworth.com/> accessed January 30, 2014.

³⁶ John Abraham Tinne not only ran the company, but also married Margaret Sandbach, daughter of Samuel Sandbach, merging the two merchant families personally and professionally. Gladstone, *Travels of Alexine*, p 7.

³⁷ Marriage announcement of P.F. Tinne, Esq. to Henrette van Cappellen, *The Times*, January 19, 1831.

gave aristocrats access to information about fashion, culture, foreign visitors, and politics that set them apart from their noble brethren immured in the countryside.”³⁸ The Tinne family attended many court functions, parties, balls, theatre, formal dinners, and other engagements of the highest levels of Hague society. Like their peers they also traveled, especially in winter when they spent several months per annum in the most popular spas on the continent - Baden-Baden in Germany, Spa in the Ardennes valley of Belgium, Mariánské Lázně (or Marianbad) and Karlovy Vary (or Carlsbad) in the former Czecholovakia, and Vichy, France. On a trip to Italy in 1845, Philip fell ill and never fully recovered. The family went to Spa so he could regain his health, but Philip Tinne died in July 1845; Alexine was only nine years old.

As stipulated in Phillip Tinne’s will, Baroness van Capellen inherited all of the property at 32 Lange Voorhout and its belongings, as well as 200,000 Dutch Guilders to support her “until the means of our marriage settlement can become available for that purpose....” The baroness also was to inherit a third of bonds vested with the Brazilian government “equal to seventeen thousand three hundred pounds sterling British money and the sum of thirty one thousand three hundred and seventy two Dollars and

³⁸ Wasson, p.17.

six percent stock...in trust to pay the interest and income thereof.” For the young Alexine, Philip Tinne’s will stipulates:

[T]he sum of eleven thousand pounds bequeathed upon trust...and I direct that the interest and annual produce...shall be from time to time invested and accumulated until my said daughter shall attain her age of twenty one years or shall marry and I give and bequeath the amount of such accumulations to be for her separate absolute use and benefit to be paid to her on attaining her said age or on her marriage accordingly.³⁹

In addition to the primary trust he established which would allow Alexine to live an independent life at age 21, if she was not married, Philip’s will also directs that:

I give and bequeath the sum of thirty three thousand pounds sterling...upon trust to receive the yearly income thereof until my said daughter...shall attain the age of twenty-one years or die under that age and out of the same yearly income...pay the sum of six hundred pounds sterling a year for the maintenance and courattion [care] of my said daughter...⁴⁰

Philip’s death not only left the very young Alexine very well off, it also left her closer to her mother. After Philip’s death, the baroness and Alexine spent the remainder of the summer of 1845 in England with his eldest son, John, and John’s wife Margaret (Sandbach) Tinne at their home *Briarly*, near Liverpool. Once back at Lange Voorhout, Alexine and

³⁹ Tinne, P. F. Last will and testament of Philip Frederic Tinne, 14 June 1841, MS, Public Record Office of The National Archives (PROB 11/2009), The National Archives, Kew, Richmond, Surrey, UK.

⁴⁰ Ibid.

her mother were rarely apart and would remain constant companions for the next two decades.

During Alexine's youth, the Baroness van Capellen devoted herself to giving her daughter the best available education she could. As Wasson explains,

The education of noble women was almost always confined to the home and conducted by governesses [and] almost always involved the mastery of one or more foreign languages...as French, English, German and Italian were all spoken by the elites on the Continent.⁴¹

By her early teens, Alexine was fluent in both English and Dutch (both in speaking and writing) as they were the languages used at home. She also had at varying times a French governess, an English governess, and other tutors. While at home in The Hague the young Tinne took an active role in her own education, immersing herself in the volumes of books available to her at the Dutch Royal Library, conveniently located adjacent to her home. She also took continuing lessons in geography, archaeology, botany, other sciences, and photography, all of which would serve her well in her future expeditions in Africa.⁴² Young Alexine's education was – by contemporary standards – exceptionally comprehensive for a girl, even one of her social rank, and covered a multitude of topics. In a letter to Alexine, a former governess recalls her charge's desire to learn:

⁴¹ Wasson, 63-34; 83.

⁴² Willink, p. 38-43; Gladstone, p. 8.

Do you remember how we used to dream over our future studies and what we were to undertake together when we should meet again? Astronomy, geology, mineralogy, etc., etc., etc., in the way of Science. And then the literary subjects: logic, rhetoric, Greek, Hebrew, Arabic, and all the other things with hard names to them that we were to try and learn.⁴³

As the Tinne women traveled, Alexine always strove to increase her education, learning Spanish while they vacationed on the Iberian Peninsula one winter and then studying Arabic on their first journey to Africa and the Middle East.

In 1848, the baroness enlisted the painter Eugène Devéria (1805-1865) as an art instructor for Alexine while the two were staying in Pau, France, with her sister Sara. Devéria liked the young Tinne very much - nicknaming her Pucky – and she was a good student with a talent for art. His meeting of the Tinne's was fortuitous as he was having difficulties making his fortune as a painter in France. At the conclusion of their stay in Pau, the baroness invited the painter to come to Het Loo palace in The Hague and paint her friend, Queen Sophie. It seemed an excellent opportunity for the artist and he traveled to The Netherlands and took up residence at court. Alas, it was not as he had hoped. The queen was not an easy subject to paint, she would not stay still, and often had toothaches so would not come and sit for the painting. Ultimately, she disliked his

⁴³ Letter from E. Hedges to Alexine, Tinne Family Papers, quoted in Gladstone, p. 8.

final product. Devéria, who painted members of the Dutch court including Alexine, left disillusioned. Before he departed The Netherlands for Scotland, he reportedly said, “So things go, I lost a queen and only managed [to get] an ugly lady-in-waiting...”⁴⁴



Figure 2-2 Eugène Devéria, *Portrait d'Alexandrine Tinne* (1835-1869)⁴⁵
Devéria perfectly captures the headstrong young Alexine, as his

portrait suggests a confidence she already possessed at age 13. Though

⁴⁴It is not clear which *hofdame* the painter found ugly, as he does not make any indication of the ones he painted. Information on Eugène Devéria and his time in The Hague is from the *Exposition Virtuelle Eugène Devéria*, a web archive established by Musée national du château de Pau. Accessed 22 May, 2012 at http://deveria.mncp.expomuseo.org/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=101&Itemid=44; Devéria has two works housed at The Louvre in Paris, France – *Naissance d'Henri IV* (1827), considered his finest work, and *Puget présentant sa statue de Milon de Croton à Louis XV* (1832). Site Officiel du Muse du Louvre, accessed May 30, 2012. http://cartelen.louvre.fr/cartelen/visite?srv=rs_retour_liste.

⁴⁵ Eugène Devéria, *Portrait d'Alexandrine Tinne* (1835-1869), Crayon et gouache, H. 30,9 ; L. 23,6 cm, Inv. kl.A 3208, La Haye, Haags Gementarchief, ©Haags Gementarchief, La Haye. Alexine Tinne sat for this sketch at Devéria's residence at the Het Loo court in 1849. *Exposition Virtuelle Eugène Devéria*, a web archive established by Musée national du château de Pau. Accessed 22 May, 2012 at http://deveria.mncp.expomuseo.org/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=103&Itemid=141

her hair is still down in the long braids of a little girl, she gazes directly at the viewer, reading material at her side and no needlework in sight. Devéria described her as “lively, smart, and engaging,” rather than demure, proper, or graceful, adjectives perhaps more aspired to by most other aristocratic young girls of her era.

Alexine’s unorthodox upbringing – an only child and wealthy heir being raised by a widow - especially her broad education and extensive travel, often gave her the means to venture outside the expectations and conventions for a girl of her social stature. There were set social rules on the upbringing of the young women of the era’s finest families and expectations for them to adhere to both in public and in private. According to Wasson, this was because

[The royal court was] the principle aristocratic marriage market and a school of manners and conduct for young men and women of quality... [A place where] aristocrats also reasserted their cultural hegemony.⁴⁶

Well-defined societal parameters were in place to maintain the separate spheres, by gender, of the era’s elites of the North Atlantic Basin.

Separate Spheres – an ideology

Those parameters rested upon a new set of cultural ideals that emerged in Alexine Tinne’s lifetime. The idea of separate spheres for

⁴⁶ Wasson, 27.

men and women in the nineteenth century really only pertained to the upper- and middle-classes as lower-class individuals of both sexes did not have the luxury of separating themselves into defined social spheres. In contrast, with the development of markets and a capitalist economy, middle- (and some upper-) class men primarily worked and functioned outside of the home, in the public sphere; their wives occupied and managed their homes, in the private, or domestic, sphere. Society expected these women to be perfect ladies, mothers, and a reflection of the status of their fathers, then after marriage, their husbands. According to Martha Vicinus, “in her most perfect form, the lady combined total sexual innocence, conspicuous consumption and the worship of her family hearth.”⁴⁷ The perfect lady did not work, even in the home; she had servants, governesses, and nannies to keep her from the detritus of everyday life. Her education, socialization, and moral growth came from the church, her family, close friends, and the status of her father or husband. The notion of women’s limitations, however, had no class distinction and men of all classes were to keep women and children (as well as “the savage races”) in their subordinate place and under their protection.

⁴⁷ Martha Vicinus, Ed. *Suffer and be Still: Women in the Victorian Age*, (London: Methuen & Co. Ltd. 1972), p. ix.

Historians Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall, in their joint study of the formation of the English middle class 1750-1850, show that class and gender in the modern era are inseparable. In *Family Fortunes*, the two look at how the ideologies, institutions, religious practices, and social and economic constructs of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries molded middle class masculinity and femininity differently. Their work traces how “new conceptions of sexual difference were built on existing traditions and maps the social and institutional effects of those beliefs.”⁴⁸ They stress that in this period legal, political, and social practices subordinated women via a ‘double view’ of social order – one that defined women by their sexuality and men by their (gender-neutral) class status. In this period, they argue, the middle class construction was a romantic one that “indelibly fixed the image of a rose-covered cottage in a garden where Womanhood waited and from which Manhood ventured abroad: to work, to war and to the Empire.”⁴⁹

Most middle- and upper-class women may have functioned in the private sphere (albeit one that frequently had public implications), where they ran the household, were responsible for the proper upbringing of the children, and maintained the social connections and entertainments

⁴⁸ Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall, *Family Fortunes: Men and women of the English middle class, 1750-1850*, (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1987), p. 13.

⁴⁹ Davidoff and Hall, p. 28-29.

appropriate for their class, but these women were not powerless. From within their “sphere” middle-class women participated in voluntary societies that set standards about which lower-class women might expect to receive their charity. For their part, aristocratic women exercised power in a variety of ways – they were patrons of the arts, literature, music, and learning. Because of their education and the amount of leisure time they had, they were also the arbiters of [high] culture.⁵⁰ A big part of their ability to determine culture was their ability to travel, especially to sites deemed culturally appropriate. The act of traveling blurred not only class but gender roles of the day as well. Travel pushed these two spheres into each other thrusting women out further into the public sphere and allowing men to retreat into the private if they so desired, setting up home aboard ships, trains, and the like as they traveled.

Travel as ritual

Nineteenth-century elite leisure travel was part of what economist/sociologist Thorstein Veblen labeled as “conspicuous consumption” – something one buys or does that is outside the realm of need and consumed in a very public manner.⁵¹ While Western Europe

⁵⁰ Wasson, p 81.

⁵¹ For more information on the idea of conspicuous consumption, see Thorstein Veblen, *The Theory of the Leisure Class: An Economic Study of Institutions*, 1912.

had long had a leisure class, those whose production was not necessary for the economic survival of the nation, the United States in this period reached a level of economic prosperity that enabled the rise of a leisure class of their own.⁵² The prosperous nineteenth-century transatlantic economy of the United States supported a professional class of lawyers, clergymen, and professors that often used transatlantic travel as a way to increase not only their education and career prospects, but to enhance their social capital and reinvent themselves to become part of the social elite, especially in the Americas.⁵³

One can view elite and professional class travel at this time as a type of secular ritual. Ritualistic in that only a privileged few had access to the set routine, one written in texts that others in their group followed, and sacred in the sense that it was not ordinary to all peoples. Culturally prescribed; one participated to be part of a group. Nineteenth-century elites perceived travel as being important and like most rituals, there was an expected reward at the end. Travel in the earlier decades of the nineteenth century was ritualistic because elite travelers went to sacred

⁵² William W. Stowe, *Going Abroad*, First Edition (Princeton University Press, 1994), 8.

⁵³ For more on this idea of the upward mobility and philanthropy of the transatlantic upper class, and travel as intercultural transfer, see Thomas Adam, *Buying Respectability: Philanthropy and Urban Society in Transnational Perspective, 1840s-1930s*, Indiana University Press: Bloomington (2009). Adam argues that the cultural infrastructure of European and North American became a transnational community because of their constant intercultural transfers. This work bolsters the idea of the Atlantic World having a transatlantic upper class in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth century.

sites, read quasi-canonical texts, and experienced the awe and wonder of the sites they witnessed just as they expected they would. In her work on ritual encounters, historian Karen Harvey notes,

Interpretations of rituals must be situated firmly in specific political and historical contexts.... sociable gatherings are exercises in the performance of cultural capital; there are things at stake in their formation, workings and the creation and policing of their boundaries....[R]itual encounters ultimately reinforce the power of the group.⁵⁴

Travelers in this period read the same guidebooks, travel accounts, and travel literature. They were familiar with the sites they would see before they ever left their parlors. These texts - known to the entire social community - told the group where to travel, the best method to get to the destination, and what their experience should be upon arrival. Ritualistic travel was a way to establish oneself as a member of the group. By partaking in the rituals, one could become a member of an exclusive club.⁵⁵

Nineteenth-century elite travel also revealed another aspect of ritualistic pilgrimages in another way, one more important for the analysis here about the Tinnes' challenges to social boundaries. Anthropologist

⁵⁴ Karen Harvey, "Ritual Encounters: Punch Parties and Masculinity in the Eighteenth Century," *Past and Present*, No. 214, (Feb, 2012.), p 200. Though this article focuses on the masculinity of the drinking culture of the eighteenth century, Harvey's discussions on rituals as a part of group dynamics apply here to my analysis of nineteenth-century travel as ritual for the transatlantic upper class.

⁵⁵ Stowe, 19–22.

Victor Turner has established three stages of ritual pilgrimage: a separation from society followed by a middle phase of transformation, where the ritual usually takes place. The pilgrim then reintegrates back into his or her society as transformed by the ritual/experience. For nineteenth-century travelers, the middle phase was the most important. This central stage changed travelers in many ways. The first place they experienced change was in the act of travel. Once aboard a steamship, passenger train, or carriage the elite traveler was in a liminal space where a leveling of distinctions and a sense of *communitas* – the feeling of sympathy or fraternity for others in the same situation – could develop. For Turner, *communitas* “transgresses or dissolves the norms that govern structured and institutionalized relationships and is accompanied by experiences of unprecedented potency.”⁵⁶ A literal feeling of “we are all in this boat together.” Moreover, boats (or ships) provide a literal illustration of what this important element meant for the transformative power of travel. Should a ship-at-sea hit an iceberg, the ocean does not make distinction between first-class and steerage when swallowing up a sinking boat.

⁵⁶ *Ibid*; Victor W. Turner, *The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-Structure* (Chicago, 1969), 128. Mark Renella and William Stowe both apply anthropologist Victor Turner’s three stages of ritual pilgrimage in their works on nineteenth-century elite travel. For more on travel as ritual see Mark Rennella, *The Boston Cosmopolitans: International Travel and American Arts and Letters*, 1st ed. (Palgrave Macmillan, 2008); Stowe, *Going Abroad*.

Alexine Tinne as 'Traveling Lady'

When most nineteenth-century women traveled throughout Europe, Africa, and across the Atlantic—that is, when they engaged in ritualistic pilgrimages—they were normally in the company of men, usually their fathers, their husbands, or other male relations. Women were supposed to be under the protection of males at all times when they ventured out far from home, most especially if they were to undertake a voyage out of the country. But the early death of Philip Tinne and the extraordinary wealth he left his wife and daughter allowed the Tinne women – Alexine, Baroness van Cappellen, and her sister Addy—to travel unescorted and “unprotected” during all of their travels. Clearly, their actions were a flagrant challenge to the notion that women were to adhere to a domestic sphere in the Victorian era.

Tinne’s earliest travels began when she was a young girl, and were in the company of her parents. In the late-1840s and early-1850s, Tinne and her mother traveled extensively throughout Europe unescorted. Penelope Gladstone’s 1970 biography of Tinne, *Travels of Alexine: Alexine Tinne 1835–1869*, based primarily on the diaries and letters of Tinne’s mother Baroness van Capellen, provides a detailed account of

their travels and is the sole source for the information known today on the women's initial journeys.⁵⁷

Gladstone illustrates that Tinne's youthful travel experiences away from her home in The Hague were very much that of a noble born lady of the time. Initially, at least, she followed the same routes as other members of her class, and only pressed the boundaries of acceptability by not having male accompaniment. Tinne and her mother traveled to further Tinne's education and to take a Grand Tour of Europe. According to Amanda Gilroy, men mostly undertook Grand Tours "for the purposes of self-cultivation and the reaffirmation of a common civilised heritage."⁵⁸ Grand Tourists would return home laden with cultural impressions and experiences of the places they toured as well as having collected art, books, pictures, sculpture, and other items of culture, which would afterward be displayed in the libraries, gardens, and drawing rooms of their homes, increasing the prestige and social standings of the Grand

⁵⁷ Penelope Gladstone, *Travels of Alexine: Alexine Tinne 1835–1869*, (London, 1970). The bulk of the Tinne women's letters, correspondence from John A. Tinne and other relatives, and materials relating to the inquiry into Alexine's murder are in the Archief De Constant Rebecque, 3de afdeling, inv. nos 217–49, at the Dutch National Archives in The Hague. The Baroness's diaries used by Gladstone for her book are no longer available and are speculated to be lost or in the possession of Gladstone herself.

⁵⁸ Amanda Gilroy, "Introduction," in *Romantic Geographies: Discourses of Travel 1755–1844*, ed. Amanda Gilroy (Manchester, 2000), p. 3; Buzard, p130.

Tourist. The Grand Tour thus became a symbol of both wealth and freedom for men.⁵⁹



Figure 2-3 H.A. d'Ainecy (1817-1859) Count van Montpezat, *Alexine Tinne*, 1849.⁶⁰

By the time Alexine had reached the age of eighteen, however, it seems their interest in the tamer benefits of the Grand Tour had waned. In July 1854, Tinne and her mother journeyed to Scandinavia, a trip

⁵⁹ Buzard, p 130.

⁶⁰ H.A. d'Ainecy (1817-1859) Count van Montpezat, *Alexine Tinne*, 1849
Oil on canvas, 95 x 81.5cm, Collection of The Hague Historical Museum D'Ainecy painted this portrait of Alexine while she was on Grand Tour in the Pyrenees with her mother and Aunt Sara in 1849. The riding costume, her location on a rugged mountain trail in front of a castle in ruins all point to her wealth, her education, and her taste for adventure. She looks to be on her return from visiting the dilapidated castle and is traveling on horseback sidesaddle, instead of in a more comfortable carriage, on a rough and quite possibly dangerous road.

Gladstone reports as considered “unsuitable for ladies.”⁶¹ The details of this trip, as conveyed by Gladstone, indicate that their ability to ignore costs, and perhaps a burgeoning taste for novel experience, led them in new directions. Not only did they flaunt conventional expectations of destinations, they also used irregular means of travel and stayed in lodgings below the usual expectations of the aristocratic class. Nevertheless, Tinne and the baroness executed the first leg of their “unsuitable” tour in their own carriage with a second following behind carrying their servants Jan and Flore, Alexine’s pet dogs, and the luggage. Once the party reached Utrecht, they hired larger carriages and traveled on for two more days to Oberhausen where they booked the overnight train to Hamburg, Germany. From Hamburg, they voyaged to Copenhagen, Denmark, by rail and then steamer. They spent nearly a week touring coastal Denmark on the converted British man-of-war *North Cape*, now a tour cruiser for hire. The women spent leisurely days visiting Goteborg, Sweden, and Christiania (now Oslo), Norway. Alexine even learned some Norwegian from the Dutch Consul while there, before starting their overland trip to Bergen, the travel there a foreshadowing to the large caravans they would use on their African expeditions. This

⁶¹ Gladstone notes that the Scandinavian countries were well known for their activities more suited for “gentleman tourists,” namely fishing, shooting, and staying in rough lodgings. Gladstone, p 12.

European caravan consisted of five horses and five carioles to transport them and their accoutrements.⁶² According to the baroness they had no room for their clothing and yet still had to pack provisions for their journey. The trip to Bergen took 10 days and they spent their nights in lodge houses, at stage posts, or in the homes of local farmers along the way.⁶³

On September 7, 1854, they took the ship *Christiana* to Trondheim and then traveled overland to Stockholm. The trip took 18 days and they covered approximately 632 miles in their open carioles. Once in Stockholm the women presented their letters of introduction from of the House of Orange court and soon received an invitation to the Royal Palace. They spent two weeks in Stockholm before returning to Copenhagen via canal boats. Their return to The Hague was a languid tour through Germany and Prussia where they traveled by both train and carriage. Upon arrival in Potsdam, residence town of the King of Prussia, a royal carriage arrived to take them for a tour of the *Neues Palais*. While in Potsdam, they also received a private tour of *Sans Souci*, the summer residence of the Prussian royal family by Princess Marie. They the women reportedly encountered King Frederick William IV in his dressing gown! The Tinnes' second European tour wound down with a trip to

⁶² A cariole is a horse-drawn open two or four-wheeled cart.

⁶³ Gladstone, pp 13-14.

Brussels followed by a two-week sojourn in Paris before ultimately returning to their home on the Lange Voorhout in early December 1854.⁶⁴

For Alexine, this trip came at a particularly auspicious time. She was just emerging from a time of life (girlhood) where society expected less of her, and moving into a stage of life where a strict script circumscribed the lives of most wellborn women. This unconventional northern European tour, by the standards of their fellow aristocrats, is an early move towards the Tinne women using unusual travel destinations as a means to escape the strictures of nineteenth-century aristocratic womanhood. That is, as long as they followed the ritual travel expected of their social class - as long as their pilgrimage was to the expected destinations of their group - they would also stay in the same sort of places and see the same sort of art and culture that all their peers did. So instead, they went to northern Europe, at a time when that was not part of a traditional Grand Tour, especially for women. This meant they had to stay in roadside lodges and farmers' houses. Their traveling off the script combined with their admittance to many places only available to those

⁶⁴ According to Gladstone, Princess Marie took Alexine and Baroness van Capellen to SansSouci unaware her father was there trying to work on State papers. He had made arrangements with his equerry to keep his location secret and to be left alone. The king was not expecting to encounter visitors, yet even in his dressing gown he visited with the women for a while before returning to his work. Two days later the Tinnes received an invitation back to the palace for a royal dinner with the king and queen. Gladstone, pp 16-17.

with royal access meant they saw the King of Prussia in his dressing gown and had other experiences outside of the expected parameters. This sets the women, and their experiences, apart from their social circle, allows them a certain sense of freedom, and marks them as unconventional.

In the Victorian era, elite women were to be proper “ladies” and maintain adherence to social conventions, but girls could maintain a small sense of sensual freedom and entertain their more fanciful passions, even about travel and adventures in far off, exotic lands. In her work *The Awkward Age in Women’s Popular Fiction, 1850-1900: Girls and the Transition to Womanhood*, Sarah Bilson analyses popular fiction for girls in the Victorian era. She offers a glimpse of the social constructs for Victorian girls at a time when their lives, on the cusp of womanhood, were carefree and theoretically, anything was possible for their futures. Bilson notes that through the literature these girls engaged with, they learned to be dutiful wives and mothers while turning away from their childish ways. Tinne, who would have been about 15 at the early years Bilson’s study covers, was an avid reader and would have had access to these stories either on her own or through her female cousins in The Hague.

The precise years are not so very important though, for as Bilson explains, the period of girlhood had no definite age markers. Girlhood began early and would end upon marriage, or if a girl remained unmarried

for a long period, “girlhood” could last until her mid-to-late twenties. Bilson states that the representation of girls in women’s popular fiction in the late-Victorian period assisted in their transition to womanhood because:

For the girl, standing at the awkward age, offered reader and writer the possibility of remembering a time when self-interest and rebellion were culturally possible, because temporary and transitional; a brief period in which the world and its opportunities might legitimately be evaluated and questioned. The consequences of this process of evaluation and questioning, repeated by numerous heroines in text after text, decade after decade, turned out to be far reaching indeed.⁶⁵

I could argue that Alexine Tinne never left her girlhood since she never married and she died young. I could also argue that she traveled extensively because of self-interest and quite possibly as a form of rebellion. I argue, instead, that by slipping out of the bonds of the domestic sphere at this life stage into the relative freedom of the public sphere, via travel, she launched out of her girlhood and well past the expectations of her social standing. Tinne evaluated and questioned the world around her and wanted to do more than read about it in her library. In traveling, the private and the public spheres collided and Tinne’s immense wealth allowed her to not only have unparalleled freedoms in the nineteenth century, but to continue to follow her passions, those normally confined to that ‘awkward age’ of girlhood.

⁶⁵ Sarah Bilson, *The Awkward Age in Women’s Popular Fiction, 1850-1900: Girls and the Transition to Womanhood*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), p. 24.

Recent analyses of the idea of two separate gender spheres in the Victorian era move the spheres into a realm of greater malleability.

Davidoff and Hall urge us to see the spheres as an “ideological construct with specific meaning which must be understood as products of a particular historical time.”⁶⁶ Rebecca J. Fraser, in her analysis of woman’s role in the United States in the same period, encourages us to consider that

The notion of separate spheres could perhaps be better understood by historians reading backwards in time as a trope, a means of expression for men and women...to define their own expectation of gendered experiences, which although rooted in reality did not reflect the intricacies of lived experience.

Fraser continues, noting, “[E]xperiences often presented a much more complex reality, one that a strict adherence to the ideology of separate spheres and true womanhood does not allow room for.”⁶⁷ In her blurring of the idealized social spheres - through her reality - Alexine Tinne is an embodiment of the permeability of those constructs and she exemplifies the messiness inherent to strict historical categorization. History is a construct, but the actors in it are real and reality is complicated and not as

⁶⁶ Davidoff and Hall, p. 33.

⁶⁷ Rebecca J. Fraser, *Gender, Race and Family in Nineteenth Century America: From Northern Woman to Plantation Mistress*, Genders and Sexualities in History Series, John H. Arnold, Joanna Bourke and Sean Brady, Eds. (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), p.2-3. Fraser also looks at the social spheres different constructions in the unique situation of the antebellum United States – north versus south.

black and white as the nineteenth-century ideology of separate spheres would have us believe.

Fashion and cultural prescriptions ostensibly conspired to limit the Tinne women's travel. In this time period, upper- and middle-class women were to learn all they needed to know about becoming skilled wives and mothers at home. Exposure to foreign lands and customs, and especially travel into exotic corners of the globe, were deemed unnecessary for a woman of quality's refinement and some construed travel as harmful. One has to agree with Tinne biographer Patricia Gladstone when she says, "no doubt, in many a Hague drawing-room eyebrows were raised at the news that the Baroness and her daughter were going by themselves. . . ." ⁶⁸ The Tinne's Grand Tours of Europe, especially traveling without any gentlemen, merely set the precedent for their subsequent *a deux* travels into the Middle East and Northern Africa. ⁶⁹

⁶⁸ Gladstone, *Travels of Alexine*, p. 22.

⁶⁹ For more information on the Grand Tour becoming popular for upper-class British women, see Brian Dolan, *Ladies of the Grand Tour: British Women in Pursuit of Enlightenment and Adventure in Eighteenth-Century Europe*, 1st ed (New York, 2001). Dolan documents the continental travels and exploits of several English women on the European continent in the eighteenth century. He argues that the women who traveled at this time depart England and its strict class rules, which dictated behavior, especially of women in fashionable society to live more enlightened and experienced lives abroad. Dolan characterizes their experiences as both intellectual and romantic rites of passage.

Chapter 3

Tourist (1855-1860)

Part and parcel with the ideological changes of the nineteenth century were economic ones; indeed the development of the “separate spheres” ideology and the Industrial Revolution were inextricably intertwined.⁷⁰ With the progress of the Industrial Revolution, advances in technology enabled more people to travel and travel itself became easier to accomplish. The ‘Grand Tour’ was no longer solely the purview of male aristocrats. The bourgeois and merchant classes rapidly acquired the taste for traveling without obvious religious or business interests and thus created modern tourism as an industry. Along with religious calls for women to reform society, this new industry offered a path for women to leave the private sphere and enter into the public. Yet there was a backlash from many in Tinne’s class. With the rise of tourism, elites came to resent middle-class travelers and began to criticize them as mere “tourists.” This hostile response eventually formed into a clear anti-tourist movement and there was an increased desire among the members of the upper-class to distinguish himself (or herself) as a “traveler”—not a lower-

⁷⁰ For more on the nineteenth-century economics of women and work see Mary Poovey, *Uneven Developments: The Ideological Work of Gender in Mid-Victorian England*, Chicago: University Of Chicago Press, 1988.

class “tourist.” Travel in this time period, at least for the upper classes, was a sort of ritual based on the travels and writings produced by their peers. In this era of expanded mobility, travel—and edifying travel writing—helped to justify the leisure class, especially in the United States where a Puritan work ethic remained influential. Women began to travel more, and more independently, and “lady travelers” became a fixture of the late-nineteenth century.

In this developing climate of travel and tourism, Alexine Tinne’s experiences were revelatory of just how far elite women could “push the envelope.” If her extension of the Grand Tour to Northern Europe demonstrated her ability to refuse the limitations of the “separate spheres,” her travel and after the age of nineteen do that and more. Tinne not only continued to extend her destinations beyond the usual, but she and her mother did so outside of the usual parameters for women’s travel, including the accompaniment of a male chaperone. To understand just how dramatically she challenged gender roles, we must first understand how the new technology and ideology of the industrial age was altering travel for all Europeans and Americans of the middle- and upper-classes.

Travelers and Tourists

What made a traveler a traveler and how was a tourist different? In this age the distinction was primarily class- and gender-based. Victorian upper classes saw themselves as 'authentic travelers,' as they had access because of their elevated status (and wealth) to places, events, and experiences tourists could not attain. James Buzard's work on the emerging tourism industry addresses how, via travel, travelers and tourists competed for experiences of "culture." Buzard argues that tourism appeared alongside technology, which enabled a broader class of people to engage in leisure travel. In the post-Industrial era travel was "no longer based in the overt class and gender prerogatives of the Grand Tour."⁷¹ For Buzard, travel is a model of culture separate from regular life, an escape. It is "a clear embodiment in the temporary separation of the tourist from home...a psychic liberation from domestic social life and the self-defined there," regardless of class or gender.⁷² Tinne capitalized on this "psychic liberation" and fashioned herself a life of travel that was very different from her existence, and the expectations of her station, at home in The Hague.

Escaping into fields afar proved problematic for the upper classes who would encounter their lower-classed countrymen in locales that were

⁷¹ James Buzard, *The Beaten Track: European Tourism, literature, and the ways to 'Culture' 1800-1918*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993, p. 18.

⁷² *Ibid*, p. 8.

previously destinations only *they* could experience. The masses' new accessibility to once unattainable holiday spots rankled travelers at the top of the social ladder. Buzard notes:

[A]nti-tourism evolved into a symbolic economy in which travelers and writers displayed marks of originality and 'authenticity' in an attempt to win credit for acculturation; and visited places were perceived as part of a market-place of [high] cultural goods, each location chiefly of interest for the most demonstrably appropriate tokens of authenticity it afforded.... Travelers sought to distinguish themselves from the 'mere tourists' they saw or imagined around them. Correspondingly, the authentic 'culture' of places...was represented as lurking in secret precincts 'off the beaten track' where it could be discovered only by the sensitive 'traveler,' not the vulgar tourist.⁷³

It was the lament of "real travelers" that tourism took both the adventure and the work of travel out of the picture and replaced them with modern technology – trains and steamships in particular. Travel around continental Europe had become too "touristy," too tourist-laden, predictable, and did not leave any unfinished "work." There simply was not enough "real" travel left in Europe for the aristocratic and well-heeled set.

Buzard shows that the tourism industry produced travelers who were both "product and client of commercial structures that administered leisure travel according to the exigencies of business and bureaucracy."⁷⁴ This industrialization of travel caused a paradox within the notions of

⁷³ Buzard, p.6.

⁷⁴ Buzard, pp 45-47.

freedom and escapism. New modes of travel enabled more and more people, of varying ranks and stations, the freedom to travel away from their homes, but at the same time the very nature of the tourist industry restricted the freedom of travel because tourists were beholden to the confines of the tour. For the Victorian upper class, on both sides of the Atlantic, the idea of what travel was changed. As Buzard explains:

The privileged notion of 'the traveler' was concurrently redefined in opposition to these new tourist-serving institutions, and it became an expected feature of much travel writing for authors to set themselves apart from such structures by refuting their assertions of authority, by self-consciously demonstrating independence from them.⁷⁵

But even in this redefinition of themselves as anti-tourists, as "real travelers," the transatlantic upper classes followed a specific route of travel. The routes, sites, and experiences of these well-heeled Victorians became a type of class-based ritual that Buzard terms "acculturating tours' - tours to places known and valued in one's own culture."⁷⁶ This acculturation took place first in the writing and reading of travel letters, diaries, and published stories.

Travel writing was important to the nineteenth-century transatlantic elites. It was a source for travel information and it also provided a means

⁷⁵ Buzard, p. 47.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.* See my previous chapter for discussion on travel as ritual and the use of travel for social group definition. For more on this, see the works of historians Mark Renella, William Stowe, and anthropologist Victor Turner.

of work for a class of people who did not need to work for a living. Travel writing enabled wealthier members of the professional classes to break into the upper-class (by confirming their participation in the rituals of the group) and it often allowed them to make a name for themselves to the public. The closeness of bourgeois families in this era coupled with improvement in the international postal service greatly helped travelers who wrote to share their ideas more easily.⁷⁷ Letters written home were sent more often and were passed around enabling family and friends to live vicariously through their traveling kin and to experience the privileges they enjoyed. Travel writings are valuable research tools because they provide historians a way to investigate interactions between peoples in the Atlantic World in-between and beyond the borders of the nation-state. Their travel writings also provide evidence of a transatlantic upper class and permit investigation of the socially constructed spheres of not only class but gender as well, making them a valuable part of a more comprehensive transatlantic history of the nineteenth century.⁷⁸

⁷⁷ There is a difference between travelers who wrote and writers who traveled. The former wrote their experiences for personal use, to share with family and friends, as proof of ritual, and sometimes had them published. The latter were writing from the start with the intent to publish, generating a different type of text for a different type of consumption.

⁷⁸ For more on transatlantic traveling in the nineteenth century see Adam et al., *Crossing the Atlantic*; Thomas Adam and Ruth Gross, *Traveling Between Worlds: German-American Encounters* (TAMU Press, 2006).

Travel writing was also a way for the “non-productive” members of society to justify their status. It was a way to assuage any feeling of guilt and a way to turn a conspicuous consumption into a valid occupation, especially in the neo-Puritan work ethic of the United States at the time. Travel writing was also a way for women to “work.” William Stowe explains that writing was an important social skill for elite women. Letter writing was an essential skill and was highly prized. Society did not consider it unusual to produce writing while traveling and doing so was even respectable because it was still within the socially prescribed roles for women and what Shirley Foster and Sara Mills call “writing within discursive restraints.” Writing within their sphere actually allowed elite women to work without being in the “public” and therefore was a respectable “occupation” for their class.⁷⁹

In discussing gender and class within travel writing one has to look at the discourse framework, the construction, the actual text, and perception of text, to determine if there is in fact any difference in the way men and women produce travel writing. It is my opinion that there is not a difference in the text that men and women write. The differences come in the construction and in the perception of each text. Semiotician Umberto Eco says it best by stating, “Text is a lazy machine that requires a lot of

⁷⁹ Stowe, *Going Abroad*, 11; Foster and Sara Mills, *An Anthology of Women’s Travel Writing* (Manchester University Press, 2002), 4–5.

collaboration from the reader.”⁸⁰ Text is neither male nor female. It is in the construction of the text by the writers and in the perception of the text by the readers, who are either male, female, both, or neither, that differences are apparent. Tinne, and her mother, wrote letters home during their travels, especially during their African stays. Their letters ranges in content from the description of flora and fauna, to geographic coordinates of a specific location they visited, to the types of people and places they encountered while away.

Women Traveling

In order for women to produce these writings they first had to travel. Buzard notes, “travel, like culture, offers an imaginative freedom, not as a rule available in modern social life; it encourages fashioning a special identity, good for the journey and afterwards.”⁸¹ Travel was especially enticing to women. This imaginative freedom is what allows the Tinne women to step outside their European social conventions and take on the identities of travelers, tourists, and later on, explorers. Travel in the East, especially, allows women freedoms not necessarily afforded to them at home. The flexibility of customs inherent in traveling allows them to slip out of the constraints of Victorian high society; quite literally when women would forgo their corsetry and adopt local dress.

⁸⁰ Umberto Eco, *Six Walks in the Fictional Woods* (Harvard University Press, 1994), 28.

⁸¹ Buzard, p. 81

Author Barbara Hodgson, who has written several volumes on women and travel, has two categories of women who traveled the seventeenth through nineteenth centuries, the first for middle-class women wanted to break free from the tedium of their life, the second for upper-class women, “for whom restlessness became a habit that had to be maintained at all costs.”⁸² For these women who traveled, regardless of class, Hodgson notes, “that by displacing themselves [women] were able, through comparison and distance, to assess who they were and who they thought they should be.” But, she also notes that many of the women “were unwilling to renounce society’s approbation so unless they were very rich or were very poor they advanced cautiously.”⁸³ The very rich Tinne women could throw social caution into the wind as they traveled.

Women who traveled at this time, regardless of wealth, position, and length of trip, were expected to travel accompanied by a gentleman, usually a family member. Buzard points out:

The British men in touring parties that included women were extorted to constant vigilance, because it was commonly acknowledged that women required shielding from a host of perils large and small: women traveling alone (or in groups without men) were referred to as ‘unprotected’ and looked at askance; young women traveling any distance alone were almost never to be encountered.... The very involvement of

⁸² Barbara Hodgson, *No Place for a Lady*, Ten Speed Press: Berkeley, California, 2002, p. 4.

⁸³ Barbara Hodgson, *Dreaming of East: Western Women and the Exotic Allure of the Orient*, Greystone books: Vancouver, British Columbia, 2005, p. 3.

women represented a threat to the ideals associated with independent, 'masculine' travel.⁸⁴

The Tinne women undoubtedly encountered men who absorbed that mandate that men had to protect women from the nastiness that they would encounter while traveling abroad: disease, low-quality meals, and leering men. Several factors led to these beliefs, the growing idea of the respectability of the middle- and upper-class women, the idea that there were gender-specific travel hazards, and that public forms of transportation were generally suspect due to the accessibility to almost all classes of people.⁸⁵ Early Victorian-era guidebooks usually had some information for parties including women, mostly addressing items of hygiene, safety, food, and accommodations. Women traveling, according to Buzard, "gave the male guardian frequent cause to realize how little he was escaping the most familiar domestic pressures and necessities."⁸⁶

Victorian men also thought that women could not travel spontaneously because of all of their accoutrements; their clothing considered especially restrictive to their mobility because of the bulky layers, petticoats, and corsetry, and of course the luggage required for its transportation. In her work on women and machines in the modern age, Julie Wosk dedicates an entire chapter to the roles of crinolines and

⁸⁴ Buzard, p. 149-150.

⁸⁵ Davidoff, *Family Fortunes*, 403–405.

⁸⁶ Buzard, p. 151.

corsets - and how they could be a hindrance both to the women who wore them and to the men in their lives. First patented in 1856, steel-cage crinolines helped to lighten the weight of women's clothing, eliminating the need for multiple petticoats to give the desired fullness to the popular dress styles of the time. Yet their size and inflexible nature led an upset, anonymous man to complain about women in a letter published in *Harper's Bazaar*, "You have required three chairs to make one of you comfortable; while your escort – father, or husband, or cousin – has perched near you on a fourth!"⁸⁷ European travel attire for women, minimally modified versions of everyday wear, was designed more to meet the needs of style and decency than ease of travel. Popular thought was that when women were part of a touring party, travel became, at least in a logistical sense, less enjoyable for their male companions because men were natural travelers who could stay anywhere whereas women were natural tourists who required the creature comforts of set itineraries, comfortable lodging, familiar food, and their belongings.

⁸⁷ Julie Wosk, *Women and the Machine: Representation from the Spinning Wheel to the Electronic Age*, John Hopkins University Press: Baltimore and London, (2001), p. 53.



Figure 3-1 Alexine Tinne at home, Lange Vorhoort 32, 1860⁸⁸

Women's Reasons for Travel

If women's travel was different from men's in terms of luggage and destination (at least commonly), it was also different from men's because the writing element—important in all elite travel to a certain extent—was particularly important for women, as it affected their motivations in traveling at all. Patricia Gilmartin states “women often needed to justify their desires to travel in terms of self-improvement, or humanitarian motives.” For many women, that justification came in the writing they

⁸⁸ Photograph of Alexine Tinne, most likely taken by Tinne herself. Nationaal Archief, Den Haag, Collectie 066 De Constant Rebecque, (1925–66), 1802–1941, nummer toegang 2.21.008.01, No. 223. Notice the significant size of her hoops and crinolines, which theoretically would have made travel a less adventuresome experience, but in reality did not.

produced. Writers of travel journals did them for myriad reasons, as a form of respectable work, as a way to give reason for their travel, as a way to earn money and as a way to include their relatives at home in their experiences. The traditional desires for men; exploration, the conquering of natives, the expansion of empire, or the quest for raw materials and other exportable resources, she argues, did not motivate women. There was no expectation for Victorian women to travel or explore for political, military, or economic gain, or for fame. In fact, Gilmartin argues that for many woman travelers the point was to leave home “hoping to be alone, reveling in the relatively free, unstructured life of independent travel.” It is this description that fits Tinne and her mother more than any other. They fall into Gilmartin’s category of woman traveler who

[E]ngaged in exploration for...the desire for adventure, curiosity about unknown places, a restlessness that compelled [her] on, the lure of the exotic, unspoiled environments, [and] the joy of being on one’s own far from civilization.⁸⁹

Historian Amanda Gilroy supplements Gilmartin’s argument stating, “Travel seemed to offer access to imaginary spaces of personal liberation and medicine for the troubled mind.”⁹⁰

⁸⁹ Patricia Gilmartin, “Women Travelers,” in *The Oxford Companion to World Exploration*, Vol. 2, David Buisseret, Ed., Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007, p. 361

⁹⁰ Amanda Gilroy, “Introduction,” in *Romantic Geographies: Discourses of Travel 1755–1844*, ed. Amanda Gilroy, (Manchester, 2000), p. 3

Along with flaunting many of the rules of women's travel—discussed above in chapter one, and further below here—the Tinne women also demonstrated a remarkable willingness to ignore the rules of society regarding women's marriage. And yet, the need those women had for travel-as-“medicine for a troubled mind” surely played a large role in the Tinne's excursions in these years. The entire story of the Tinne women's travel at this time revolves around her failed courtship with Adolf von Königsmark, a Prussian military attaché of noble birth. He was not her only suitor, of course, though it is difficult to know precisely how many men she met during the social seasons in which she was in Europe, as this season was the prime marriage market for the noble set of Europe. With her youth and extreme wealth it was no surprise that Tinne attracted the attention of admirers wanting a chance to gain her favor. In 1851, after a ball she and her mother attended in Paris a gentleman caller came and asked the baroness for Tinne's hand in marriage on behalf of a duke. Of this proposal, the baroness wrote, "The best of all is dear Alexine's heard it all and only said, 'I suppose I am not Obligated to marry.'" ⁹¹ As a result of her generous inheritance, and her familial position in The Hague, Tinne

⁹¹ Antje Kohlerschmidt, *Alexandrine Tinne (1835-1869) - Afrikareisende des 19. Jahrhunderts Zur Geschichte des Reisens*, (Ph.D. Dissertation: Universität Magdeburg, 1994) .p 19; Gladstone p. 9-11.

did not need a successful marriage match to secure her future or her place in society.

In all of the writing by and about Tinne, only one person holds the position of a love interest – Adolf Hans Josef von Königsmark from the German Kingdom of Saxony. The two became acquainted because Königsmark’s uncle was the Prussian Consul to the Dutch court. Königsmark was a lieutenant in the Prussian army assigned as a military attaché to his uncle. His parents, the Count and Countess Königsmark approved of the relationship, and the baroness, too, felt it to be a good match, but there was never an engagement announcement.⁹²

The challenging aspect of this story came in May 1855, when the Tinne ladies attended a ball at the home of the Königsmarks in Dresden. Afterwards Tinne stated she never wanted to see Adolf again. Unfortunately, for much of this story, we are beholden to the research of Tinne biographer Patricia Gladstone, whose research is not currently replicable, and on this point, leaves several unanswered questions for those interested in the boundary-stretching decisions of Alexine Tinne and her mother. But, according to Gladstone, Königsmark was “insistent and pleaded with her” but to no avail. Of the incident the Baroness wrote to her daughter-in-law Margaret Tinne:

⁹² Unfortunately, there is no record in letters or other archival materials about how Tinne and Königsmark met, or how long they were together before things fell apart.

I think Alexine has been again dreadfully agitated about Königsmark and she has now decidedly and finally refused him, and I have likewise written to the Countess Mother begging her not to make any more attempts to change the resolution of Alexine to give him up. It has been a sad story, dear Margaret, and though God knows I do not envy you the happiness you must feel to see your two daughters respectively and happily married, yet I cannot help comparing what we have felt since a year! And yet it seemed all I could wish for Alexine. Name, rank, fortune, consideration, the wish of his family, the same religion, near neighbors, and as Anna can tell you, every appearance of sincere love on his part. Oh, it has been a cruel disappointment and I fear it will take long before Alexine will get over it.⁹³

The end of the relationship with Königsmark (the “troubled mind” Gilroy referred to) was the start of a third, and this time two year long, tour of Europe for the Tinne ladies, beginning at The Hague and with Vienna its projected terminus. This tertiary European was a wandering tour, heading first to Saxony and Prussia via train and then onto Kassel and Eisenach to stay with the grand Duke and Duchess of Saxe-Weimar.⁹⁴ Latter itineraries included a succession of stops in Leipzig, Nuremberg, and Augsburg, then on to Stuttgart, not by rail but by diligence (horse-drawn carriage), to visit the King and Queen of Württemberg, the parents of Queen Sofia of the Netherlands, before taking a private carriage to Salzburg, Austria.

⁹³ Letter to Margaret Tinne as quoted in Gladstone p21

⁹⁴ Gladstone p 24

While touring in Salzburg they heard news reporting an outbreak of cholera in Vienna and decided to travel to Italy instead. In November 1855 they made their way through the Italian Alps taking an extended journey through the Adige River valley to Bolzano before traveling on to Verona. Once again in a foreshadowing of their African travels the baroness rented, for their sole use, an entire diligence for the voyage to Verona.⁹⁵ Once in Verona the ladies took the train to Venice where they began inquires about travel to Egypt. Alexine fell ill in Venice but was not so poorly that she could not undertake their planned trip to Trieste in November. Tinne's illness worsened and the women remained in Trieste for three full weeks until she was strong enough to board a steamer and cross the Mediterranean on December 10, 1855. According to Gladstone the baroness gave up the steamer cabin's bed and slept on the sofa in a "typical gesture of self-denial" so that Alexine could rest and recuperate.⁹⁶

Cairo and the First Nile Voyage

It was the baroness who made the decision to go to Egypt partially to mend Alexine's still broken heart. Although Gladstone documents this love match gone awry neither she nor the Tinne women leave any

⁹⁵ Most scheduled diligences had up to 12 seats inside and a few more on top of the carriage, usually passengers only purchased one seat each.

⁹⁶ Journal of Henriette December 10th, 1855, as quoted in Gladstone p. 26-27; Willink, p. 41-43.

evidence to explain the reason why Alexine's heart was broken. Though possibly spurred by failed romance, the women were following in part the paths of other well-heeled Europeans in pursuing the more exotic locales of African and the Middle East. Barbara Hodgson argues that some of the traveling women sought freedom in the East. She states, "Travel to the East offered a woman escape from convention and filled gaps in her education." To those in the West, the East was an idealized past, a living history, a place where the novel and exotic present mixed with an idealized and often heroic past (the same reasons many of the American bourgeoisie of the time traveled to Europe). For many travelers there was nothing left on the continent to see as the "noble bygone days of Europe had been trampled upon by countless tourists."⁹⁷ Part of Hodgson's argument is that the majority of women who traveled eastward did so to "prove they were capable of managing their own lives." This may have been the case for the headstrong Alexine, or more so for her mother. As a wealthy widow the time was perfect for the baroness for exotic travel.⁹⁸

The voyage from Trieste, Italy to Alexandria, Egypt took 120 hours at sea and on December 17, 1855 the Tinne ladies settled into their hotel and soon hired a janissary as their local guide and protector. They then took the unusual route of attempting a walking tour of Alexandria instead

⁹⁷ Hodgson, *Dreaming of the East*, p 18-19.

⁹⁸ Gladstone, 21; 31-36. Willink, 44-45. Barbara Hodgson, *Dreaming of the East*, p. 3.

of taking the expected tourist-carriage tour. This was the start of many unorthodox behaviors in this phase of their journeys—though it was not surprising for women who had already stretched the boundaries of the traditional Grand Tour. The Tinnes, when compared to other Europeans in Africa, were clearly different from regular tourists. However, like other Europeans traveling in Africa, they quickly hired a carriage for further excursions out and about in Alexandria, began making inquiries for a visit to Cairo, and planned to take a Nile cruise.⁹⁹

In January 1856, the ladies took the train from Alexandria to Cairo to take up residence at Shepherd's Hotel. Opened in the early 1840s in the Frank, or European, quarter of Cairo, Shepherd's was the most popular lodging for Western travelers. It was a European style hotel and made travel to Egypt, or at least to Cairo, desirable, especially for those upper-class men and women who would not have cared for camping out or lodging in *cavanserei* or *khans*, the local inns of the greater Middle East.¹⁰⁰ Large numbers of Europeans resided at Shepherd's so, just as in The Hague, the women received invitations to many social occasions, parties, balls, and dinners, all held in the European manner. While in Cairo they often made social calls to the Princess's home - the sister of Said Pasha, the Khedive or Viceroy of Egypt. Tinne began studies in Arabic

⁹⁹ Gladstone, pp. 32-34.

¹⁰⁰ Hodgson, *No Place for a Lady*, p. 55; Hodgson, *Dreaming of East*, p 44-45.

and the women took part in the standard tours expected of Europeans when in Egypt. They toured The Citadel, the mosque of Mohammed Ali, and the Nilometre of Cairo on the southern tip of Roda Island, and of course the pyramids of Giza, which Tinne ascended.¹⁰¹ In *Egyptian Sepulchres and Syrian Shrines*, Englishwoman Emily Beaufort gives lady travelers some advice after her 1861 ascent:

The only right way to get through the ordeal is to be quietly passive in the hands of the three Arabs apportioned to each visitor... [T]hey know best how to tie up your garments so that they shall not impede your progress, and how to lift you with the least exertion or disagreeability to yourself, and the sole piece of advice I give to my countrywomen is, to *let* them lift you, and — to leave your crinoline in Cairo.¹⁰²

¹⁰¹ Gladstone, p. 36. The Nilometre is the ancient structure that measures the level of the Nile River and is used to predict the amount of the annual flood. It has been in existence since Pharonic times. For more on the Nilometre and its history see “The Nilometer in Cairo” on the website WaterHistory.org. Accessed Jan 25, 2015 at <http://waterhistory.org/histories/cairo/>.

¹⁰² Emily A. Beaufort, *Egyptian Sepulchres and Syrian Shrines*, 2 volumes. London: Longman, Green, Longman and Roberts, 1861. Vol. 1, p 114 – 115, as quoted in Hodgson, *No place for a lady*, P. 81

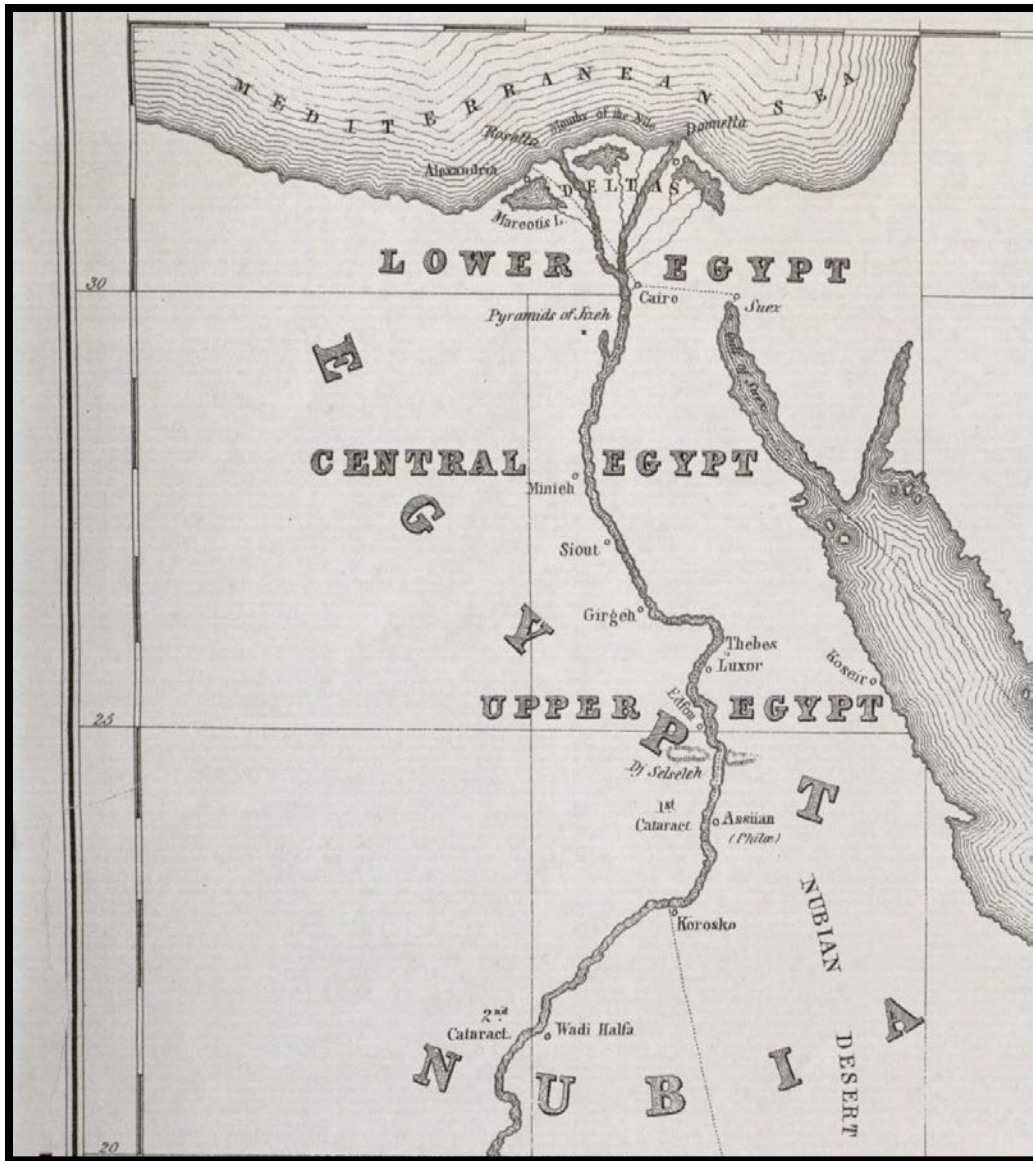


Figure 3-2 Map of Upper Egypt, 1865 ¹⁰³

¹⁰³ Fold-out map. John A. Tinné, Esq. FRGS, "Geographical Notes of Expeditions on Central Africa, by Three Dutch Ladies," *Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire* iv, Session 1863–64. Nationaal Archief, Den Haag, Collectie 066 De Constant Rebecque, (1925–66), 1802–1941, nummer toegang 2.21.008.01, No. 223.

The women spent their days between shore excursions reading, painting, and writing letters on their luxurious rented passenger boat. Once their dahabiah arrived at Luxor, the ladies took the letters of introduction they carried with them to the English consul, the Egyptian Mustafa Alpha. He arranged for two horses and five donkeys to take them to visit the Temple of Karnak and the Valley of the Kings. He also arranged for Alexine to visit Karnak again by moonlight, which was a favorite, and must-do, thing for Western tourists on the Nile. Of the requisite moonlit visit, Jane Anthony Eames, an American touring the Nile two years before the Tinnes described her experience thusly:

We set out on our moonlight excursion Thursday evening, with the smallest retinue we have had for a long time....The moonlight scene at Karnac was exquisite. For a while we sat still and enjoyed it, watching the moon as it came up behind a massive gateway, till the light fell full upon the tall obelisks, and played in and out the ruined colonades, and then we walked round the immense pile, and through the magnificent hall, picking our way daintily over the masses of stone which lay beneath our feet. We spoke but little. It was a scene where silence was more eloquent than words....¹⁰⁴

On February 16, 1856, the Tinne dahabiah reached Aswan. There they saw the ancient Nilometre on Elephantine Island at Aswan and visited the Temple of Philae. Upon returning to Luxor the two Dutchwomen decided to take a camel caravan to the Red Sea so they

¹⁰⁴ Jane Anthony Eames, "Letter XVIII: Thebes, Jan 21st, 1854," *Another Budget: Or, Things which I Saw in the East*, 2nd edition, (Boston: Ticknor & Fields) 1855, p163.

could experience desert travel. After a ten day cross-desert journey and another fortnight in a dahabiah, the women returned to the Shepherd's Hotel having spent 10 weeks away from Cairo. Since they had already experienced the most popular European tour items of the lower Nile - Alexandria and Cairo, Aswan and Luxor, Karnak and the Valley of the Kings – The Tinnes decided to spend the next six months touring the Holy Land.¹⁰⁵

Visiting the Holy Land

Middle East travel in the mid-nineteenth century, outside of Egypt, primarily meant travel by mule or horse. Lodging was difficult to obtain without advance planning or without a guide familiar with the areas of Syria, Palestine, Lebanon, and Turkey. On their initial steamer passage from Trieste to Alexandria in 1855, the Tinne women met Charles William Meredith Van de Velde, who had accompanied them on their recent Nile tour. Van de Velde offered to escort them and act as their guide in the Middle East as just two years prior, he had published a volume of his two year tour of the Near East, *Narrative of a Journey through Syria and Palestine in 1851 and 1852*. Tinne and the baroness considered him an expert and first-rate guide of the area and took him up on his generous

¹⁰⁵ Gladstone, pp. 37-49.

offer.¹⁰⁶ First they visited Jaffa with the Dutch consul and engaged a janissary before setting off for Jerusalem, the party on horseback, except for the baroness who traveled on a chair carried by two mules. In addition to the horses and mules, the women hired four camels to carry the party's belongings – which put to rest any ideas that women in this era could not travel because of all of their accoutrements.

From Jerusalem Van de Velde then guided them on a three-day journey to Jericho and the Dead Sea where they spent their nights in a Bedouin camp outside the city. Once back in Jerusalem they climbed the Mount of Olives, then on to Nazareth where they met the French Vice-Consul who thought it best to describe Tinne as a French princess while traveling to allow the party safe passage to Damascus. This was a trend that continued in the women's African voyages with Tinne proactively using or having the title "Daughter of the Sultan" bestowed upon her as she made her way to the upper reaches of the Nile and into other remote parts of Northern Africa. At the end of May 1856, the Tinne party entered Damascus where Alexine first adopted her custom of wearing the local costume of the places she visited. Damascus delighted Tinne and of this city in the Levant her mother wrote, "Alexine seems so rooted to this place

¹⁰⁶ Willink, p. 45-47; Van de Velde, C. *Narrative of a Journey through Syria and Palestine in 1851 and 1852*, Vol. 1, (Blackwood and Sons: London, 1854).

and as I do not know what filthy hole awaits me I don't like to force her to go."¹⁰⁷

Along the return to Beirut they visited the ruins of Baalbek, and then ascended 8400 feet up a mountain to see the Cedars of Lebanon and experience snow in June. In July they returned to the city, but as the summer heat made it unbearable, they made their accommodations at the nearby monastery of Sainte Roc outside. The pair remained cloistered there for several months and Mr. Edmund de Lesseps, the French Consul General in Beirut, arranged for all the things the ladies needed to make the sparse priory rooms to their liking. Baroness van Capellen wrote in her journal on July 28, 1856, that Lesseps

[S]ent up a cargo of things to amuse us: maps, books, photographs, Chinese puzzles, blow pipes, pearls, and whatnot. Also a quantity of old *Times* but new to us as we have not seen a paper since Damascus.... We still have our beds, stools and other articles of furniture belonging to our tents. Can't get nice stockings in Beirut, yet stockings I must have as all our trunks have not come. The town is really very handsome and one can find almost everything except baths, and we had a great difficulty in getting a piano A[lexine] wishes to have.¹⁰⁸

In November they moved into a hotel in Beirut until their return to Alexandria, Egypt the following month. The Tinne's spent Christmas of

¹⁰⁷ Gladstone, p52; Hodgson, *Dreaming of East*, pp 65-85. Hodgson indicates that regional dress for the areas visited by the Tinne women varied, but generally consisted of loose-fitting pants with a long-sleeved robe on top; a combination of veil, headdress, and cloak then covered this layer.

¹⁰⁸ Journal of Henriette Van Capellen, July 28, 1856, as quoted in Gladstone, p 57.

1856 at Shepherd's Hotel "enjoying turkey, roast beef, plum pudding, and minced pies" while beginning preparations for their second Nile voyage.¹⁰⁹

The Second Nile Voyage

The goal of this second voyage was to reach the Sudan. Alexine's "*beau rêve*," according to her mother, was to go to Khartoum at the confluence of the White and Blue Nile, but no steamships were available for this first venture off of the usual tourist route, so they planned to travel as far as Asyut and then turn west into the desert (also an unusual journey for tourists). In January 1857, they hired a large dahabiah and the baroness demanded control over the crew on this Nile journey. The party reached Wadi Halifa nearly eight weeks after its Cairo departure, but could travel no farther up the Nile because of the difficulties at the second cataract. This forced the boats to turn around, the Tinnes abandoning Khartoum for the moment, and make their way back downstream to their point of origin. The party arrived again in Cairo at the end of March.¹¹⁰

The following month, the women left Shepherd's Hotel for a trip back to Beirut spending seven months there before sailing to Turkey with stops in Cyprus and the Greek Isles. This trip amounted to another grand tour of sorts of the Mediterranean, with The Hague as a very distant final

¹⁰⁹ Gladstone, p 58.

¹¹⁰ Gladstone, pp. 58-65; Willink, pp. 46-47.

goal. While in Beirut they decided to visit Palmyra, just a five-day journey away, but only spent 24 hours there due to perceived dangers towards Europeans, returning to Beirut at the end of May 1857. Once back in Beirut both Alex-ne and Flore, her handmaiden, fell ill. Unsettling news also met them in Beirut when amongst their letters was one to the baroness from the Countess Königsmark. The letter indicated that her son Adolf was awaiting the Tinne ladies in Smyrna. The baroness made inquiries through the French Consul General de Lesseps to find out if this is indeed true as Alexine still wanted to avoid her former amour, even though two years had passed since the party in Dresden.¹¹¹

Once Alexine was well enough the party took an excursion to Tripoli in August and then finally left Beirut for good September 1857. Their circuitous journey back to The Hague continued with week-long stops in Cyprus, Rhodes, and Smyrna. They then traveled by boat to Istanbul where they decided to remain, becoming part of the European social scene, going to many parties and attending church regularly at the British Embassy. From Istanbul they traveled to Athens and back to Smyrna with plans to hire a cabin in a steamer to Trieste and then travel overland to their home on the Lange Voorhout.

¹¹¹Gladstone, p. 66.

At this point in their travels, their inclination to stretch the boundaries of *both* women and tourists came together. Alexine had refused to marry and her mother had gone along; her mother had proposed exotic travel beyond the realm of most women tourists, and they both had conspired to see and write about places and events that most women of their social rank did not even dream about. Despite the extensive and highly-visible efforts the women had gone to in order to demonstrate their disregard for customs of their class, that they had to face the return of Alexine's suitor in 1857 suggests just how difficult at least one man found it to accept their ability to do so.

A Return to The Hague

Adolf Königsmark, who had been sending a steady stream of letters to Tinne during the two years she was away from The Hague, once again informed the ladies that he would be waiting for their arrival in Smyrna. No indication is given either by Tinne or her mother as to what Königsmark did to lose her affections, why she did not want to see him or even as to why he was so persistent in his contact with her two years after their falling out at the home of his parents. Gladstone notes, "at all costs she and Alexine felt they must avoid him whatever the inconvenience to

themselves.”¹¹² Gladstone indicates that the women even slept on board their small boat outside of Smyrna until another steamship arrived for the journey to Trieste. She speculates that the women did this because Königsmark would look for them in the hotels in town. In fact when they did venture into Smyrna they only took brief walks. Upon returning from one such shore excursion, the captain of their vessel informed them that a gentleman had called and left his name. According to Gladstone, Königsmark “had come armed with a circular signed by the head of Lloyd’s shipping in Smyrna, allowing him access to every boat in the service” and the captain felt he could not deny him access to the vessel, even though, Gladstone notes, the baroness had explained who Königsmark was and why the ladies were avoiding him. (Gladstone, again, gives no details to her readers). The Baroness writes:

Having talked out every means of escape in vain we locked ourselves up, but Adolf contrived to find us and burst into our cabin. I need not repeat this scene he made, all his tears and his words. I told him I did not wish to travel with him and would leave him to choose where he would go and we would do the reverse. That was no use. Whatever we did he would do: wherever we went he would go, so as our plans were made we followed them.¹¹³

Once aboard the steamer bound for Trieste the mother and daughter sequestered themselves in their cabin. Tinne refused to leave

¹¹² Gladstone, p66.

¹¹³ Gladstone p 67

her quarters during the trip, as Königsmark was also aboard and trying desperately to talk to her, even cornering the women's Egyptian cook, Halib, and pleading his case to the man. Gladstone once again indicates Königsmark telling his side of the story, but does not tell us what happened. As the vessel began its approach into Trieste, a desperate Königsmark forced his way into the ladies' cabin as the baroness was opening the door to exit. She pled with Königsmark to let them be, to which he acquiesced with one condition, that they would see him one more time in Vienna. Baroness van Capellen indicated she had no choice but to accept his terms in order to get him to take leave of their compartment.¹¹⁴

From Trieste the women took the train to Vienna, with Königsmark following them, even to their hotel, begging with the baroness for access to her daughter. Gladstone indicates that the pair, even though they did get to see things in Vienna - the Hapsburg palaces of Schönbrun and Bevedere - tried to outwit and escape Königsmark, they even purposely "got up at five to catch the train to Prague, but on their arrival they found him at the station ready with a carriage." Königsmark had finally worn

¹¹⁴ *Ibid*, pp.67-68.

them down and the baroness noted, “He had ordered rooms and a nice dinner at the Blue Star Hotel. What could we do but what he pleased!”¹¹⁵

This whole stalking affair is indicative of the power of upper-class Victorian social customs. Baroness van Capellen repeatedly refused this man access to her daughter. Königsmark aggressively pursued the pair from Smyrna to Prague, and even violently trespassed into their ship’s cabin – twice – and yet she felt she could not turn down his prearranged dinner and accommodations in Vienna. This behavior is seemingly out of character for the baroness and no information is available as to why she feels powerless in this situation when she just was in command of a dahabiah reis and his crew on their most recent Nile voyage. Her actions are more likely an indication of the power of the nineteenth-century social customs of the European elite and the desire for the baroness to adhere to the expectations of the group once “back home” – another reason women like the Tinnes felt immense freedom when traveling abroad.

After three days in Prague the women traveled to Königsmark’s hometown of Dresden where he persisted in his advances towards Tinne, even offering to accompany them in the same carriage for the remainder of their journey to The Hague. On their last evening in Dresden, Baroness van Capellen acquiesced and permitted Königsmark to take dinner with

¹¹⁵ *Ibid*, pp.68.

her and her daughter. Gladstone notes that the baroness thought, “The parting was horrid, he seemed heartbroken.” Whatever Tinne said to Königsmark that night must have made her choice regarding their relationship both clear and final, as he apparently accepted Tinne’s decision as final as there is no indication in the historical record of any further contact with her. In March 1863, while the Tinne women were once again on a Nile excursion, Königsmark married Elisabeth von Kleist with whom he had four children.¹¹⁶

On November 6, 1857, after nearly three years away, the Dutchwomen finally returned to their home in The Hague, bringing with them their Egyptian cook, Halib, and an Arab servant woman, Matruga. The baroness noted in her diary the next day,

For dinner we were in The Hague. I never saw my nice house with so much pleasure. Alexine and I enjoyed everything, so comfortable, so clean, so our own.... There is truth in the old song, ‘There’s no place like home.’ I hope never to leave it again, not an unreasonable wish at my time of life.¹¹⁷

But the two would leave again and soon, first to Liverpool to settle financial items from their extended travels with John Abraham Tinne, then traveling to Germany and Poland in 1858, to the spas of Baden-Baden in 1859 and 1860, and several times to both England and France in-between

¹¹⁶ Gladstone 68.

¹¹⁷ Journal entry of the Baroness, 7 November 1857 as quoted in Gladstone p 69; Willink, p. 46.

their other travels, before setting out in the summer of 1861 for their third Nile voyage.

The Tinne women flew in the face of the four main nineteenth-century conventions of travel for women - they traveled 'unprotected', they traveled for extended periods of time, they traveled beyond the extent of what was socially acceptable for Victorian ladies of their stature, and the Tinne women had maximum exposure to foreign peoples and cultures. The Tinnies occupied both the traveler role by virtue of their wealth and class and the tourist role by virtue of their gender, but as in their challenge to the world of "separate spheres," they demonstrated the flexibility of these roles. Soon they would venture into new territory, literally and figuratively, adding the role of explorer to their categorization.

Chapter 4

Explorer (1860-1869)

terra incognita - These words stir the imagination. Through the ages, men have been drawn to unknown regions by Siren voices, echoes of which bring in our ears today when on modern maps we see spaces labeled 'unexplored,' Rivers shown by broken lines, islands marked 'existence doubtful.' - J. K. Wright¹¹⁸

One of the most well-known British explorers in the nineteenth century, along with Arctic explorer John Franklin and Antarctic explorer Robert Falcon Scott, was David Livingstone (1813-1873). Livingstone, a Scottish doctor and missionary became the most lauded, beloved, and sought after British explorer of Africa. It is no small thing, then, that he held Alexine Tinne in high regard and praised her as an explorer. In his diary from Bambara (currently in The Democratic Republic of the Congo) August 18, 1870, he writes:

A Dutch lady explorer deserves our sympathy more than any other for after the severest domestic afflictions...she nobly persevered until after she was assured by Speke and Grant that they had already discovered in Victoria Nyanza the sources she sought.... We great he donkeys say exploration was not becoming her sex – considering that more than sixteen hundred years have elapsed since Ptolemy put down the results of early explorers, and Emperors, Kings, Philosophers – all the great men of antiquity longed to know the fountains whence flowed the famous river – and longed in vain – exploration does not seem to have been very

¹¹⁸ J. K. Wright (1947) "Presidential Address: terra incognita: the place of the imagination in geography," *Annals of the Association of American geographers*, Vol. 37, issue 1, p 1.

becoming the other sex either – she came further up the river than the centurions sent by Nero Caesar and shewed such indomitable pluck as to reflect honour on her race.... I know nothing about her save what has appeared in the public papers but taking her exploration along with what was done by Lady Baker...for the modern rediscovery of the sources of the Nile should have been plucked by the ladies.¹¹⁹

Tinne's explorations in Africa occurred in a pre-imperial period of cosmopolitan research which led up to the age of high imperialism. This period of proto-imperialism (approximately 1795 – 1870) allowed for European nations, including Britain, to investigate sub-Saharan Africa, and its great rivers, in the name of science. Once explored, a nation could then claim the land as theirs – which then culminated in the Berlin Conference of 1884-1885, also known as the "Scramble for Africa." Several factors enabled this "scramble" - the 1878 ending of free trade for

¹¹⁹ David Livingstone, Diary page from Bambara, Africa dated August 10, 1870, BLL, Add. MS. 50184, f.169 – page III, (cf. *Last Journals* 2:51-52) courtesy of Adrian S. Wisnicki at The Livingstone Spectral Image Archive http://livingstone.library.ucla.edu/livingstone_archive/. Lady Florence Baker was the wife of Sir Samuel Baker. She accompanied him on his explorations of the Nile source. She was one of the few other European women on the Nile at the same time as the Tinne women, though was not conducting explorations in her own right. For more on Lady Baker see: Pat Shipman, *To the Heart of the Nile: Lady Florence Baker and the Exploration of Central Africa*, New York: Harper Collins, 2004. Though Livingstone does not refer to the papers in which he reads about Tinne's explorations, he was aware of the proceedings of the Royal geographical Society and kept up with news and newspapers from Britain while abroad.

Great Britain, custom tariffs, and the arrangement of exclusive economic zones.¹²⁰

Alexine Tinne's travels in this period must be understood within the context of proto-imperialism. Imperialism was possible because of exploration, but also because of a particular gender mindset. Tinne's experiences at this point clearly mark her as an explorer, but her femininity made that status problematic for the men of her time and for many of her interpreters in the present-day as well. That she achieved the status of "explorer"—in essence acknowledged as such by the Royal Geographic Society as well as Livingstone—was in large part a product of her great wealth and her (and her mother's) remarkable ability to challenge boundaries. Of course, it also depended upon the uniquely imperialistic time period in which she lived.

In his book *British Imperial Century, 1815 – 1914*, historian Timothy H. Parsons defines imperialism in the nineteenth century as "the global expansion of the industrial economy and culture of Europe, resulting in Europe's discovery and exploiting the tropical world." By breaking down barriers to communication and trade and by unifying disparate areas

¹²⁰ For more on the Berlin Conference and the European powers' partitioning of Africa see Thomas Pakenham's *The Scramble for Africa*, George Weidenfeld & Nicolson: Great Britain (1991), A. Adu Bohahen's *African Perspectives on Colonialism*, Johns Hopkins University Press: Baltimore (1987), and Edward Berenson's *Heroes of Empire: Five Charismatic Men and the Conquest of Africa*, University of California Press: Berkley and Los Angeles, California (2011).

under one system of rule, Parsons argues “imperialism, served as a medium of cross-cultural contact that diffused people, wealth, technology, and culture between the Imperial European heartland (Metropole)... and the subject periphery.” He notes that during Great Britain’s era of imperialism, the nation added approximately 10,000,000 square miles of territory and roughly 400,000,000 people to its overseas empire.¹²¹ The bulk of the acquisitions came from Asia and sub-Saharan Africa – primarily in tropical regions which were difficult to colonize compared to the earlier acquired parts of the empire, that is, the former colonies of New England, the Caribbean island colonies, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa. European emigrants did not flock to these colonial holdings in the same numbers as they did to more temperate regions of Imperial Britain.

Professor Jon Heggund, in his essay “Empire’s Second Take,” sees cartography and mapping as the way the Great Britain displayed its global dominance to the rest of the world. By the end of the Victorian period, the sun, indeed, never set on the British Empire and Heggund points out that “the cartographic visibility of British dominance testifies to the characteristic space of British imperialism: the map both measured

¹²¹ Timothy H. Parson *British Imperial Century, 1815 - 1914*, Critical Issues in History Series, (1999), 2-3.

and represented the British Empire... [and] *produced* imperial space.”¹²²

After settling the “mystery” of Africa’s Niger River in the first third of the nineteenth century, discovering the source of the Nile River was the quest *ne plus ultra* of Western European geographical societies in the second third of the era. At the forefront of this exploration charge was the Royal Geographical Society (RGS) of Great Britain. The desire to find the ever-elusive source of this great world river was multi-faceted. Desire was rooted in the fascination with the concept of origins, in vogue at the time because of the Galapagos Islands work of Charles Darwin, and the publication of his work *On the Origin of the Species* (1859).

Another part of the draw, as mentioned by Livingstone in his 1871 diary, was that the explorers of antiquity looked unsuccessfully for the Nile’s origin and by the age of proto-imperialism it was still unknown to Europeans. It was also paramount to this dawning age of imperialism to discover what Africa held in the way of resources and raw materials, not to mention potential for all other colonial endeavors. And finally, exploration and discovery was necessary to overcome cartographic *horror vacuii* – the fear of blank spaces on the map, the interior of Africa was “undiscovered country” and a vast unknown to Europeans. The RGS coordinated several

¹²² Jon Heggland, “Empire’s Second Take,” in *Nineteenth-Century Geographies: The Transformation of Space from the Victorian Age to the American Century*, Helena Michie and Ronald R. Thomas, Eds, Rutgers University Press: New Jersey (2003), p 226.

exploring parties and expeditions to discover what was in the African interior and in turn these explorers sent back a wealth of information - cartographic, ethnographic, botanical, and scientific — to the London based society to fill in this vacuum of knowledge.

Alexine Tinne in Africa

In 1860 Alexine and her mother began the preparations for their longest Nile voyage to date, Cairo to Khartoum, amassing provisions and arranging the transfers of money to see them through the voyage.¹²³ They also convinced the baroness's sister, Adriana van Capellen (Aunt Addy), to join them. The three women departed Marseilles, France on August 10, 1861, via a small steam ship, of which they rented out the entire first-class section for their own usage. After journeying around the Mediterranean Sea, taking side trips touring Pisa, Italy and the island of Crete, they made their way to the Egyptian port of Alexandria by late August. The women then traveled overland to Cairo where they once again took up residence at Shepherd's Hotel for the remainder of the year.¹²⁴

¹²³ Though there are not specific bank transactions/arrangements mentioned in the archival materials, there are numerous notations in letters and in Gladstone's book that John Tinne, Alexine's half-brother in Liverpool, handled much of the finances in the women's absence from Europe. Their letters indicate the women traveled to Liverpool to settle their financial matters whenever they returned to Europe.

¹²⁴ Gladstone, p. 73-80.

On January 9, 1862, the three of them set off from Cairo with a party of three boats and provisions to last them a year.¹²⁵ In their own words, in a letter to family in England, they “were no longer tourists.” They solved the previous excursion’s problem of the Nile’s second cataracts by disembarking the entire party at Korosko and crossing overland by desert caravan for 15 days to Abu Hamad where they reunited with the boats, which 200 men had pulled over the cataracts.¹²⁶ In her anthology of women travelers, archivist and writer Marion Tinling details the makeup of the Tinne’s desert caravan thusly:

They crossed the desert by horse, donkey, and camel. There were 102 camels for the luggage and the dogs, who rode in panniers. Addy and [the baroness] found it very uncomfortable riding on camels, and [the baroness] changed to a donkey. Addy would gladly have quit the party, but there was no turning back.¹²⁷

They rejoined the Nile River, traveling on to Berber where 30 local chiefs greeted them, showing the perceived importance of these European

¹²⁵ Sources do not reveal by which means the Tinne women acquired porters and provisions, only that they did acquire many in their travels and explorations, even Gladstone’s work does little to shed light on the actual process of tour preparation.

¹²⁶ *Geographical notes* by John Tinne (1864), p4; Explorers and travelers alike both sent and received mail through an informal system of porters, couriers, vakeels, consuls, and other travelers. In many of the letters and diaries from this era, as well as in secondary source material, there is passing mention of the sending and receiving of letters via other traveling parties. Sir Samuel Baker sent mail downriver via the Tinnes when they met and they in turn sent letters for posting to The Hague from Khartoum when they met up with John and Katherine Petherick. In the Dutch National Archives there is a letter to Alexine from her aunt who addressed it to “Mlle Tinne – GOD KNOWS WHERE!” and it arrived to the addressee.

¹²⁷ Marion Tinling, *Women into the Unknown* _____: A Sourcebook on Women Explorers and Travelers, New York: Greenwood Press, 1989, p. 301.

women. There they engaged 3 boats to Khartoum, located at the confluence of the White and Blue Nile (city population of 40,000) — where consuls of several nations were housed, including those of Great Britain — reaching the city April 1, 1862.¹²⁸

Once in Khartoum, located at the confluence of the White and Blue Nile, Tinne heard the tales about a steady stream of expeditions going up both the Blue and the White Nile in search for the great river's ultimate beginnings and of the search for the missing party of British explorers John Hanning Speke and James Augustus Grant.¹²⁹ Tinne decided to take the White Nile course to Gondokoro, just shy of the soon to be discovered source lakes of the White Nile, to perhaps meet up with

¹²⁸ *Geographical Notes*, 6.

¹²⁹ The primary goal of many of the British expeditions in to Africa from 1854 -1864 was to locate the source of the River Nile. In 1856 under the pretense of looking for a large interior lake in eastern Africa, the Royal Geographical Society organized an expedition led by Captain Richard Burton and a fellow officer from the East India Company, Captain John Hanning Speke. Burton and Speke traveled into the interior of Africa mapping and recording their findings, including Lake Tanganyika. In August of 1858, while Burton was too ill to continue, Speke followed native guides to a lake north of Tanganyika that he named Lake Victoria and claimed it was the source of the Nile. Once public in Europe, this claim severed the friendship of Burton and Speke and set off subsequent expeditions to confirm Speke's findings at Lake Victoria. In 1864 he published his book, *Journal of the Discovery of the Source of the Nile* which placed the source of the Nile at Lake Victoria. For more on the Nile Source quest see, Edward Rice, *Captain Sir Richard Francis Burton*, Charles Schreiber's Sons: New York (1991), James L. Newman, *Paths Without Glory: Richard Francis Burton in Africa*, Potomac Books, Inc: Washington D.C. (2010), Guy Yeoman, *The Quest for the Secret Nile: Victorian Exploration in Equatorial Africa, 1857-1900*, Chaucer Press: London (2004), John Hanning Speke, *Journal of the Discovery of the Source of the Nile*, William Blackwood and Sons: London and Edinburgh (1864), Pat Shipman, *To the Heart of the Nile: Lady Florence Baker and the Exploration of Central Africa*, New York: Harper Collins, 2004, and John Humphries, *Search for the Nile's Source: The ruined reputation of John Petherick, nineteenth-century Welsh Explorer*. Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2013.

Captains Speke and Grant. The ladies rented the last available steamer in Khartoum from Prince Halim, the former governor of the Egyptian Sudan and relative of the current Viceroy.¹³⁰

They departed Khartoum on May 11, 1862 and decided to set up camp at Djebel Hemaya in the country of the Dinka tribe. While in camp during the rainy season, or *seriff* (which can last several months), the group collected specimens of panther, porcupine, crocodile, musk cat, and monkey. On July 7, 1862, they broke camp and headed upriver. Their first stop was in the village of Kok — the village of Chief Mahomet Cher — who received them with Royal honors proclaiming Tinne “Queen of Sudan.” On September 30, 1862, they arrived at Gondokoro. The women took several excursions from here, including a visit to the mountains of Belenia, about 20 miles south of Gondokoro and an excursion to visit the Bari tribe. The ladies decide to see the river above (South) of Gondokoro, but locals advised them it was unnavigable. Undaunted, the women chose to follow the river upstream as far as they could. They succeeded in traveling five hours past Gondokoro to the towns of Juba and Rejaf.¹³¹

According to Gladstone, Gondokoro was the farthest navigable point in the White Nile at this point. The women earned the distinction of being the first Europeans to have made it this far up the White Nile with a

¹³⁰ Willink, p. 65.

¹³¹ Geographical Notes, p. 9-15.

mechanical boat. They steamed past Gondokoro to the village of Rejaf before they had to turn back as the river did indeed become unnavigable.¹³² The Tinne women's determination afforded them the opportunity to become the very first, European or otherwise, to travel by a steamship this far up the River Nile. There is inference from John Tinne that his relatives would have made it to Speke and Grant had they continued, but word of violence and lawlessness made them turn around and go back to Gondokoro.¹³³ Severe sickness of the entire party in Gondokoro necessitated a return to Khartoum. The younger Tinne was very ill with fever, "also from exposure to the sun [she] was more seriously affected than the others." She took quinine, but remained ill for a full week. On October 22, 1862 the party departed Gondokoro for Khartoum, arriving back to the city November 20, 1862.¹³⁴

From November 1862 to February 1863 the Tinne ladies prepped for an expedition "of a far more formidable and important character" - an exploration of the Bahr-el-Ghazal, a western tributary of the White Nile. With this expedition Tinne actively joined the pursuit of the great waterway's source and ultimately wanted to reach the highlands of Central Africa, and perhaps even the Equator. Aunt Addy, tired of exploration,

¹³² Gladstone p. 102; 119.

¹³³ *Geographical Notes*, 15 – 16

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*

decided to remain in Khartoum and leave the exploring to Tinne and the Baroness for the time being. A fellow Dutchman, the Baron D'Ablaing, and two German explorers stranded in Khartoum also joined their party.¹³⁵

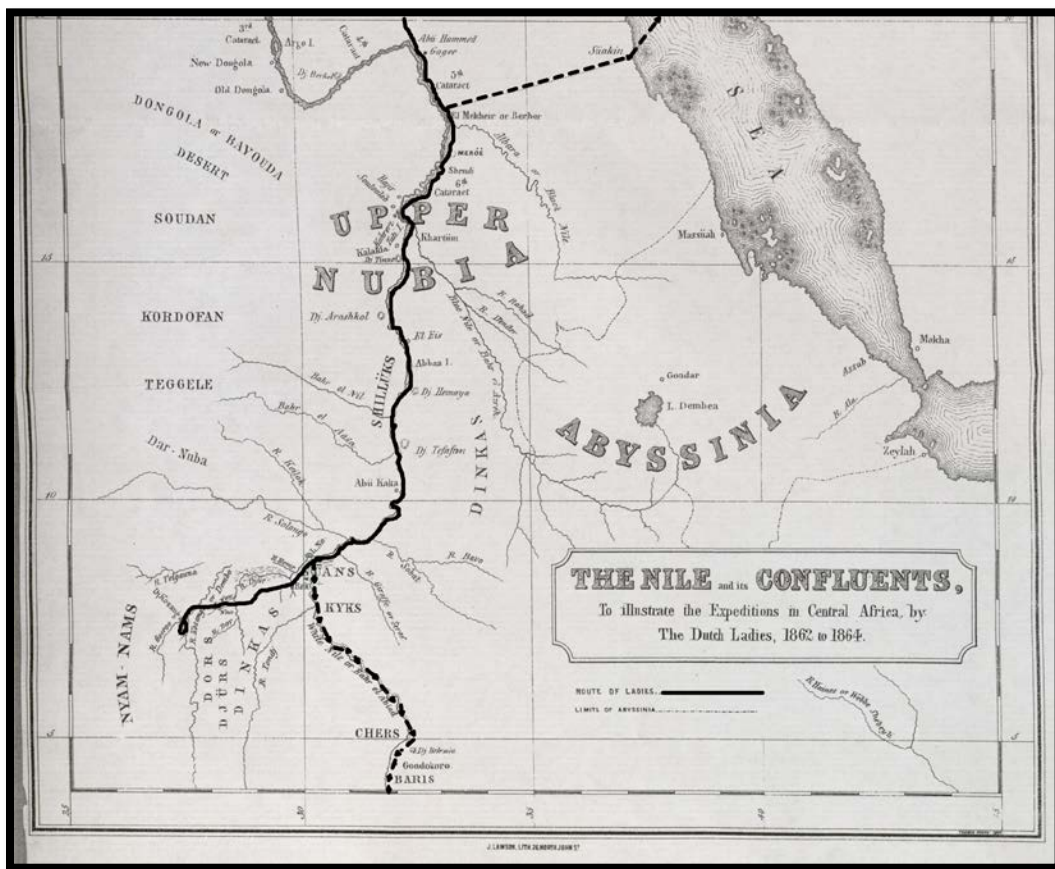


Figure 4-1 Map of the Dutch Ladies' journeys on the Nile River.¹³⁶

¹³⁵ Tinne, *Geographical Notes*, pp.17 – 18

¹³⁶ Original map shows the ladies' routes in red. Fold-out map. John A. Tinne, Esq. FRGS, "Geographical Notes of Expeditions on Central Africa, by Three Dutch Ladies," *Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire* iv, Session 1863–64. Nationaal Archief, Den Haag, Collectie 066 De Constant Rebecque, (1925–66), 1802–1941, nummer toegang 2.21.008.01, No. 223. The solid line indicates the majority of their river travels through 1864. The dashed line to the south indicates their 1862 route in the

In the minds of many explorers of her time, this expedition was more “legitimate” than the previous one to Gondokoro because Alexine had, for the first time, invited (male) scientists to join her group. In Khartoum she met Theodor von Heuglin, explorer and ornithologist and a former vice-consul of Austria in Khartoum, and Dr. Hermann Steudner, a botanist. These German gentlemen were scientific explorers without an expedition and more importantly they were without the funding to raise an expedition of their own. Both von Heuglin and Steudner had been part of an earlier expedition in Abyssinia in which members had parted ways after a disagreement over the expedition’s objectives. The men remained in Khartoum in the hopes of being party to new expeditions and explorations in Sudan.¹³⁷ The Tinnes invited the scientists to join them on the trip into the Bahr-el-Ghazal. The flotilla was very large, consisting of six boats to transport the people, luggage, and provisions including six servants, sixty-five Egyptian soldiers, six private guards, six months’ worth of provisions and ammunition, as well as camels, horses, donkeys, sheep, poultry, and Tinne’s pet dogs.¹³⁸

steamer past Gondokoro to Rejaf (Juba). The overland line marks the route Tinne and von Heuglin took from Berber to Sauakin in 1864.

¹³⁷ For more on von Heuglin and Steudner’s journeys in Africa see Willink, p. 53-59, p.75-80; Gladstone, p. 125-126.

¹³⁸ Gladstone, pp. 123-131; Willink, pp. 88-101.

The Bahr-el-Ghazal exploration began in earnest on January 25, 1863, with the departure of von Heuglin and Steudner as the advance guard up the river. The men arrived at Mishreq on February 25, 1863. The women and Baron D'Ablaing, who did not depart until February 2, 1863, arrived at the rendezvous point March 10. The Baroness reported, via letter, to her stepson that it was slow going on the Bahr-el-Ghazal as the passages were very windy and covered with "forests of rushes" some thirty feet high, which the boatmen had to cut with hatchets just so their flotilla could make passage.¹³⁹ When the latter party arrived at Mishreq they were

Received with all honours, being saluted from about 300 muskets, the complement [of about 25 different boats], being duly answered by the expedition, the Dutch national flag floating gloriously at the masthead of [their] six vessels.¹⁴⁰

Once reassembled, the group realized that they needed more provisions for the overland portion of their journey and more provisions meant more porters, but there were no porters for hire at Mishreq. Steudner and von Heuglin headed out overland on donkeys to scout out a place for the party to establish a camp and to try and to hire more porters to bring back to Mishreq. They arrived at the village of Wau April 2, 1863.

¹³⁹ Tinne, *Geographical Notes*, 21 – 22

¹⁴⁰ Tinne, *Geographical Notes*, 23 – 24

In Wau, both Heuglin and Steudner fell ill with fevers and Steudner quickly succumbed to his illness on April 10th, 1863.¹⁴¹ A week after burying his friend, von Heuglin left Wau to obtain 150 porters in the village of Bongo, returning to Mishreq on April 24. In the meantime D'Ablaing had gone back to Khartoum to obtain more supplies and soldiers and the Tinnes remained at the lake.

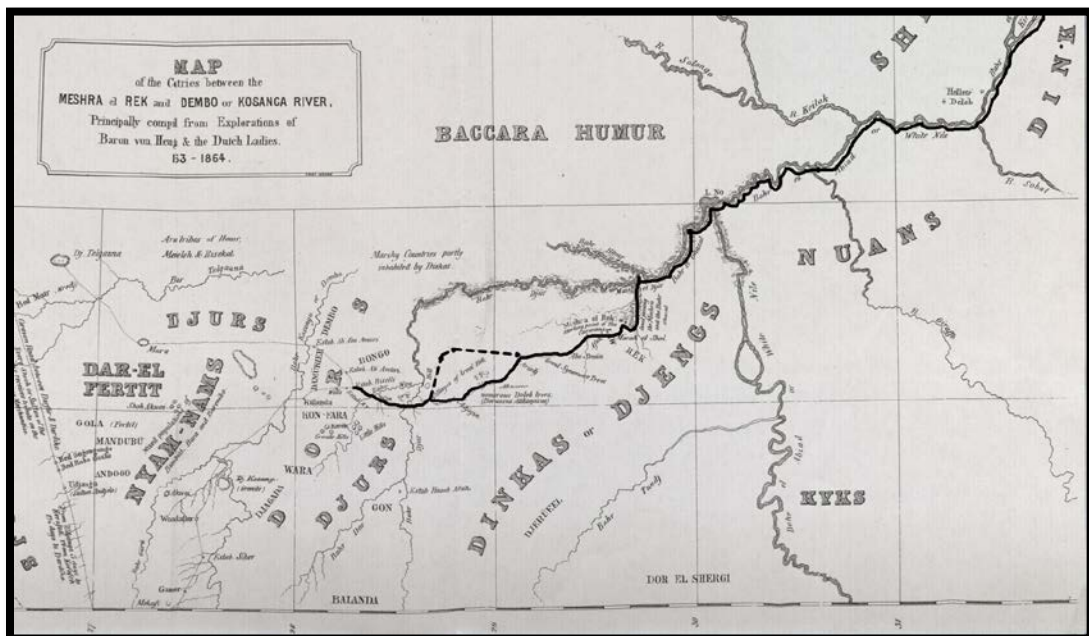


Figure 4-2 Map of the Tinne Expedition on the Bahr-el-Ghazal. The solid line indicates the majority of their river travels through 1864. The dashed line indicates their return route. Original map shows the ladies' routes in red.¹⁴²

¹⁴¹ Willink, p. 111; Gladstone, p. 130.

¹⁴² Fold-out map. John A. Tinne, Esq. FRGS, "Geographical Notes of Expeditions on Central Africa, by Three Dutch Ladies," *Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire* iv, Session 1863–64. Nationaal Archief, Den Haag, Collectie 066 De Constant Rebecque, (1925–66), 1802–1941, nummer toegang 2.21.008.01, No. 223.

Before departing for the overland journey to Wau on May 17, 1863, they received from the British Consul John Petherick and his wife Katherine, his vakeel and 130 porters.¹⁴³ After traveling for three days they reached the village of Abu Senoon. Once in camp the soldiers and porters staged a mutiny and demanded more provisions. Though ill with fever, Tinne took charge of the soldiers and insisted upon their obedience. She took command over her hired men, just as her male counterparts would have. Tinne's illness worsened and the group feared she would die. Fortunately, under the care of Dr. von Heuglin, who was also ill, she was well enough to travel in mid-June. When they left the village the ladies traveled by *ngerib* (a type of palanquin with an awning) so they could fully recover their health. Four porters each, with eight total relays of porters, carried both Tinne and the baroness so they would not tire so easily; the

¹⁴³ The Pethericks were in the same area of the Bahr-el-Ghazal as the Tinne party because they held trading stations in this region. Petherick fell into some disrepute (including charges of participating in the internal African slave trade) after this encounter with the Tinne's because the RGS tasked him to provide British explorers Speke and Grant with provisions, etc. and he was held up meeting them due to his own travel troubles. For more on the Pethericks time in Africa see their jointly authored and published *Travels in Africa* (London: Tinsley, 1869) and in a new work by John Humphries, *Search for the Nile's Source: The ruined reputation of John Petherick, nineteenth-century Welsh Explorer*. Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2013. Humphries central argument is that after accusations of taking part in slave trading on the Nile ruined Petherick's reputation Great Britain revoked his consular position and fellow explorer Samuel Baker seized upon the Welshman's misfortunes. Baker took advantage of Nile exploration opportunities granted by the Royal Geographical Society which Humphries suggest should have been awarded to Petherick. Adding insult to injury, both Baker and John Hanning Speke accused Petherick of failing to provide the Royal Geographical Society's contracted aid. Unable to prove his innocence of slave trading to the British Consulate General in Egypt and labeled a traitor by former business associates in Africa, Petherick had little choice but to remove himself to England to attempt to clear his name.

women's maidservants rode donkeys. At this point the party had swollen to a caravan of the aforementioned soldiers, servants and guards, but now included 38 donkeys for transport of people and goods. There were now a total of 500 indigenous porters in the party, 192 of who were there just to carry the luggage.¹⁴⁴

On June 21, 1863, the party made it to Wau and there had to negotiate with the local zeriba holder, Biselli, before they could set up their camp. Zeribas were stations, each about five-day journey from another, owned primarily by ivory and slave traders in the African interior. Traders left a vakeel (their agent) and armed soldiers in the zeribas year round. Zeriba owners fashioned themselves as a "protector" of surrounding villages who in turn paid a tax of grain, mostly durra, to feed the soldiers. The locals under zeriba protection were also required to provide porters from their villages for the tradesman to transport accumulated ivory and other goods on the overland trek to Mishreq, where the goods then went down river for sale in Khartoum. Biselli treated them as guests for 24 hours, even giving them two meals a day for their soldiers, porters, and animals. Then he began to change and charged them exorbitant rates for lease of a small zeribas, originally telling them it would be 30 thalers to

¹⁴⁴ Tinne, Geographical Notes, 27 – 31.

rent then changing his mind and demanding 200 thalers.¹⁴⁵ He eventually turned the party out of their rented dwellings when they refused to pay his exorbitant fees. Biselli retaliated by taking a shelter they had built for their men and took some of the Tinne's porters as his own.¹⁴⁶

At this point in the journey, almost every member of the party had fallen ill with fevers and diarrhea at some point during this expedition. Then July 22, 1863, the biggest and most life altering disaster for Tinne occurred, her beloved mother died of complications from her illness. Dr. von Heuglin gave the Baroness doses of quinine, but she had an unquenchable thirst and no appetite for a full week and soon succumbed to her fever as had so many European travelers and explorers of Africa before her. The deaths of Anna and Flore, the two Dutch servants who had been with Tinne her entire life, swiftly followed this catastrophe. The remaining members of the party, weakened with tropical fevers,

¹⁴⁵ The thaler, also known as the Maria Theresa Thaler, was a popular currency in both Africa in the Middle East the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Minted in the Austrian Empire and bearing the profile of Empress Maria Theresa, the coin, became an international trade currency in 1752 by the lifting of a ban prohibiting the removal of the currency from the Austrian Empire. Swiss financier Count Johan von Fries sent nearly 8 million thaler into the Ottoman Empire, where they became known as Levantine thalers or Levantiners. After the influx of the thaler into the Levant, many European countries used to them for purchases in the coffee trade, both in Arabia and in Africa. Although the Austro Hungarian Empire demonetized the coins in 1858, the thaler remained valuable for its silver content and continued in wide use in Africa throughout the nineteenth century - 5Th was the equivalent of one pound sterling. For more in depth information on the history of the Maria Theresa Thaler see Clare Semple, *The silver legend: the story of the Maria Theresa Thaler*, Barzan Publishing Ltd: Manchester, 2005.

¹⁴⁶ Tinne, Geographical Notes, 34-36.

abandoned their exploration of the Bahr-el-Ghazal and returned to Khartoum defeated.¹⁴⁷

The death of the baroness took the adventuring spirit out of Tinne for a time. Her mother was her constant companion, her only parent, and her lifeline to The Hague. Of her mother's death Tinne wrote to her Tante Jemima in The Hague:

It is too crushing too awful to speak of yet_and I am so stupefied and...I hardly know what I am saying_I cannot believe it yet_it is only at times I can realize it_if Mama had known she was going to die, I don't think I would have stood the parting_but she had no idea of it, and I only knew there was [illegible] when she was gone_she was so beautiful after!_I dreaded to look at her, but she had such a calm holy expression, that it did me good_¹⁴⁸

I was so sick of horror that I laid for days on my bed, trying only not to think.__There was something too monstrous and unearthly in such a crush of sorrows_and then I got very ill_Aunt Addy, who had been well for a hold year, dying at my return!__Your [illegible] will be dreadful, but I think even you cannot imagine the unspeakable horror it was for me__it was all the sadder that I could not realize it, and in my very sorrow mixing the new unhappiness with the old one, forgot its curse, and caught myself every moment expecting her were thinking of telling her something, then the truth came on me each time fresh, She is gone too_ They are all gone!__It was too horrid_and those awful details of death that I have now four times gone through!¹⁴⁹

¹⁴⁷ Gladstone, pp. 149-153; Willink pp 132-133, Tinne, *Geographical Notes*, 37.

¹⁴⁸ Undated letter to Tante Jemima (also referred to as Tante Jim), Dutch National Archives.

¹⁴⁹ Letter to Tante Jemima (also referred to as Tante Jim) from Alexine Tinne, 4 Aug 1864, Dutch National Archives.

The four deaths she refers to are those of her mother, two of the Dutch maids who were their constant travel companions since Tinne's childhood and finally also the unexpected death of her Aunt Adriana. Aunt Addy, who had remained in Khartoum, died upon Tinne's return to the city and the magnitude of all her loss was at times too much for Tinne to bear. In a letter her Uncle Jules in The Hague, Tinne wrote about her last encounter with her Aunt Addy:

She looked quite young yet, the only change I found in her the great augmentation of that certain distraction she always had, you'll remember, and that made her sometimes not answer when spoken to, it was so strong now, that she would often stop in a phrase, forgetting the beginning, and ask the same question over again often, and forget names and words_otherwise I say she looked better than when I left her, and her hair had increased wonderfully_afterwards people told me that sort of mental weakness was since she had heard the news [of her sister's death], and it seems since that time she had the [thought] that she must die to and that killed her....¹⁵⁰

While a catastrophe in terms of the losses suffered by the Tinnés, the trip into the Bahr-el-Ghazal, from a scientific point of view, was not a complete loss as all along the river Tinne collected, preserved, pressed and rendered useful drawings of the plants, flowers, and seeds she and the baroness encountered in the region. Tinne sent these botanical specimens and drawings to the Imperial Herbarium of Vienna where the famed botanist Theodore Kotschy published a book of their findings. He

¹⁵⁰ Letter to Uncle Jules from Alexine Tinne, 4 Aug 1864, Dutch National Archives.

dedicated the volume, *Plantae Tinneanae: sive descriptio plantarum in expeditione tinneana ad flumen Bahr-el-Ghasal eiusque affluentias in septentrionali interioris Africae parte collectarum*, in honor of the late Baroness van Capellen.¹⁵¹ The massive book contains twenty-seven plates of hand-painted flowering plants compiled not only from the specimens, but also from the “systematic notes as to the development of many plants” that Tinne provided.¹⁵²

In fact, all along their journey the baroness provided scientific and geographic information to her step-son in Liverpool, John A. Tinne. John was Alexine’s older half-brother, and lifeline for funding, support, and representation to the Royal Geographical Society. In a letter to John dated 21st March 1863, Baroness Van Capellen writes:

Here we are, come to a stop again...as far as we can go in the steamer on the Bahr-el-Ghazal.... We are near to an island...the natives call it Misr of Reg. [Mishreq] Its (*sic*) longitude is 26° 45'E. of Greenwich. The Bahr-el-Ghazal is more like a very narrow canal.... This is a very difficult place to come to... Our learned friends have found 60 curious new birds, and an unknown fish, as well as several new flowers and plants. Mr. Von Heuglin and the Doctor have made

¹⁵¹ Karl Georg Theodor Kotschy and Johann Joseph Peyritsch, *Plantae Tinneanae: sive descriptio plantarum in expeditione tinneana ad flumen Bahr-el-Ghasal eiusque affluentias in septentrionali interioris Africae parte collectarum*, Vindobonae (Vienna) : Typis Caroli Gerold Filii, 1867.

¹⁵² Tinling p. 303; Milbury Polk and Mary Tiegreen, *Women of Discovery: A Celebration of Intrepid Women Who Explored the World*, New York: Clarkson Potter, 2001, pp. 54-55; Gladstone, p. 171.

some valuable observations. No one the least scientific seems ever to have been here before us.¹⁵³

The fact that the baroness was reporting scientific data back to her relations in Liverpool indicates that the 'Dutch Ladies' had morphed from mere tourists on the edge of civilization into explorers in their own right, having undertaken this scientific expedition on the White Nile, and that they knew it. Tinne wrote to her Aunt Jemima in The Hague:

...and so I send you a little map Mr. Heuglin made of the country we were in, the only map it exists of course, and on which I have marked the spots at which it all happened_the orange stripe is the Mishra where we waited in our boat so long_the red line is our route, as he came and went_the blue is the Abuu Sennon, where I was so ill after the rebellion of the soldiers and we remained a long time; I think Mama calls it Afeg in her letters dated from there_ the green is Wau where Anna died, the yellow Buselli's Establishment and the scarlet Where I went afterwards and where poor Flore died_Mr. Heuglin says someone must put in latitudes and longitudes to make it clearly. He could not, not having proper books or instruments.¹⁵⁴

Both women plainly related that they were in uncharted lands. John Tinne made it known that because of his adventurous relatives and the information they have sent to England:

¹⁵³ Letter from Harriett Tinne to John Tinne dated 21st March, 1863 in Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society of London, Vol. 7, No. 5 (1862-1863), pp 204.

¹⁵⁴ Letter to Tante Jemima from Alexine Tinne, 4 Aug 1864, Dutch National Archives. At this time the whereabouts of this map is unknown as it was not in the archives nor is it mentioned in other sources.

[F]uture travelers, who may direct their attention to the unexplored or imperfectly known lands of Equatorial Africa, may find their path smoothed and reap some of benefit, resulting from the visit of the “Dutch Ladies’ Expedition ...[which would be] more fully and scientifically treated in the “Mittheilungen” of Dr. A. Petermann of Gotha, from the notes and maps...by... Heuglin, which taken in connection with the information recently afforded by the travels of Speke, Petherick, and all others, cannot fail to be welcome to and valued by the geographical world.”¹⁵⁵

Alexine Tinne and the Royal Geographical Society

The Royal Geographical Society, founded in 1788 to explore and classify the uncharted regions of the world, sponsored British adventurers to explore the unknown areas of the globe. Their primary expeditions designed to collect knowledge about the African interior. According to historian Timothy H. Parson, the interior was of particular interest to the British, who hoped to bypass the powerful African coastal societies that had long been the dominant factor in Africa’s trade with the rest of the world. If Great Britain could “claim” the interior then they could have the monopoly on the African trade from there.¹⁵⁶ The Royal Geographical Society concentrated much of their explorations in Africa on mapping the

¹⁵⁵ John A. Tinne, *Geographical Notes of Expeditions in Central Africa by Three Dutch Ladies* (T. Brakell, 1864), 89.

¹⁵⁶ *British Imperial Century, 1815 - 1914*, Critical Issues in History Series, Timothy H. Parson (1999), p64.

major African rivers, which would then become important thoroughfares to transport commercial goods to international waters.¹⁵⁷

As the Tinnes' journeys confirm, travel in Africa in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries was a dangerous thing; not only were there powerful indigenous societies and commercial networks already in place, many unknown to Europe at this time, but there was also a grave risk to Europeans from fevers and other tropical diseases they had no previous exposure to. By the mid-nineteenth century, travel and exploration to the tropical interior of Africa was definitely not easy, but it was no longer imminently fatal. On traveling to Africa in 1863, Murchison notes:

As great prejudices...existed against [Exploration in Africa]...on account of the supposed inevitable loss of life to any Europeans who should sojourn there, the more have we to thank those of our associates, who advocated a line of research... and eventually to the actual discovery of the source of the true White Nile.¹⁵⁸

From early on in her time on the Nile, Tinne and her companions were a topic of conversation at the meetings of the RGS. The Fellows of the Society were most interested in what she discovered and how this could benefit England's interests in Africa. Her few detractors in the

¹⁵⁷ For more on the foundations of the Royal Geographical Society and its earlier incarnations, see Philip J. Stern's "'Rescuing the age from a charge of ignorance': gentility, knowledge, and the British exploration of Africa in the later eighteenth century," in *A New Imperial History: Culture, Identity and Modernity in Britain and the Empire, 1660-1840*, Kathleen Wilson, Ed, Cambridge University Press: Cambridge (2004), pp 115-135.

¹⁵⁸ 25 May 1863 — Murchison's presidential address to the RGS, p196.

Society, however, did not like that these women were partaking in exploration and discovery on their own, “unescorted.” It was also a sticking point with some explorers that she was immensely wealthy and did not require funding or Society sponsorship to undertake her travels. Many saw her as playing explorer or thought her “mad” for attempting uncharted travels in Africa. Some of the explorers believed that her actions outside of her ascribed gender role amounted to encroaching onto their turf, literally. Tinne made no indications in her writings that she was trying to be like a man or perform masculinity in any way. Her goals were merely to join in the search for the source of the Nile, assist in finding Speke and Grant in any way she could, and uncover new areas of Africa. Nevertheless, as a female explorer, she met numerous challenges and controversies.

Tinne’s most influential supporter at the RGS was its President Sir Roderick Impey Murchison. Murchison often spoke about Tinne and her companions at the Society's Evening Meetings and in his annual presidential address to the Fellows. Murchison emphasized Tinne’s English connections as well as her Dutch Naval ancestry. He found the former helpful for the purposes of declaring her (and all she discovered) for England, the latter also linked her to British endeavors of valor and

explained the descendants of Vice-Admiral Sir Theodorus Van Capellen's desires to travel to exotic locales in the service of Britannia.¹⁵⁹

The fact that both John Tinne and Murchison championed Alexine Tinne at the Royal Geographic Society was especially important. It established her as an explorer in the minds of the men of science who determined such things in her time. Her contemporaries of exploration valued what she was doing and the Society looked at it as having value for them. In this time, expansion of knowledge was paramount and the subsequent acquisition of areas rich in natural resources, especially in Africa, gained by claims based solely on "discoveries," took on nationalistic tendencies. To that end the Society was willing to overlook the fact that Tinne was a Dutchwoman and claim her as their "British daughter" (her father was Dutch, but a naturalized Englishman, her half-brother English) to stake claim to whatever lands/areas she "discovered" in Africa. Murchison emphasized again and again her Britishness, her being a "daughter of Britain," and often separated her along national lines

¹⁵⁹As discussed in chapter one, Tinne's maternal grandfather, Dutch Vice-admiral Jonkheer Theodorus Frederik van Capellen (1762-1864) served alongside the British Royal Navy in the Bombardment of Algiers (1816). The King of England made him an honorary knight-commander of the Order of the Bath by the British government. He also received a knighthood from his own monarch.

from her traveling companions with phrases in his addresses such as “the Dutch ladies and Miss Tinne” to show her difference by nationality.¹⁶⁰

Murchison’s insistence on her being English was important, for colonial stakes in Africa gained significance in the 1860s and naming was claiming, on maps and *terra firma* alike. Murchison was a believer in the Tinne women and what they were doing for the Society and in April 1863 “begged the Fellows to return their best thanks [to the ladies], for he was sure there were few persons more entitled to be honorary members of the Royal Geographical Society than those adventurous ladies.”¹⁶¹ Murchison portrayed Tinne variously as a lady tourist, a brave traveler, and reporter of the unknown. He saw her as an expedition leader, and as doing service to geography. Murchison reiterated his desire for the Society to acknowledge the Tinne women for their African explorations by asking his Fellows again the following month to recognize them “with an honour in an especial manner by the Royal geographical society.”¹⁶²

It was also to the Society’s benefit that Tinne was incredibly wealthy. There was no risk that the Tinne women would ask the RGS to fund their travels and yet they still learned of their findings, as the women sent letters home to John Tinne regularly to present at the Society’s

¹⁶⁰ Murchison, Address to the RGS, Proceedings, Vol 9, No 5 (1864-5), pp248.

¹⁶¹ Murchison, RGS *proceedings*, April 27, 1863, p103-4.

¹⁶² 25 may 1863 — Murchison’s presidential address to the RGS, 197.

meetings. In an address to the Society November 23, 1863, Murchison marveled at “these adventurous ladies, who had explored farther to the westward of the White Nile than probably any European.” At the same evening’s meeting John Tinne read letters from the ladies and Dr. v. Heuglin. He stressed, after reading the letters, that

We should acquire some most interesting scientific information... [conducive] to geographical knowledge... [and] if these sources [of water accession to the Nile] are found in the regions visited by these ladies, the discovery would...elucidate the geography of Central Africa.¹⁶³

President Murchison agreed with John Tinne suggesting that “the ladies were on the right track to obtain this knowledge” and if they were to succeed in reaching the mountains from which the Bahr-al-Ghazal came, “and discover that its waters are thrown off to the Nile on one side and to Lake Tchad and the other great lakes westward on the other, it would be a most important geographical result.”¹⁶⁴

Murchison further championed the Tinne ladies in June 1864 when he addressed the Society stating, “We are now awaiting the ultimate issue

¹⁶³ Murchison and J. Tinne address to the Royal Geographical Society, “A Communication from Mr. Tinné Relative to the Dutch Ladies' Expedition from Khartùm on the River Bahr-el-Ghazal,"Commencing 26th February, at a Point on the White Nile,” *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society of London*, Vol. 8, No. 1 (1863-1864), pp 16-17

¹⁶⁴ Murchison and J. Tinne address to the Royal Geographical Society, “A Communication from Mr. Tinné Relative to the Dutch Ladies' Expedition from Khartùm on the River Bahr-el-Ghazal,"Commencing 26th February, at a Point on the White Nile,” *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society of London*, Vol. 8, No. 1 (1863-1864), pp 16-17

of the journey made by the adventurous Dutch lady and their scientific companion Baron von Heuglin, and their exploration of the Great Western affluent of the white Nile.” Murchison validated the women’s *expedition*, but not the women as explorers yet. He also mentioned that von Heuglin was sending a map of the Bahr-al-Ghazal to Augustus Petermann in Gotha, Germany, for publication, verifying John Tinne’s earlier information on the forthcoming map in Petermann’s “Mittheilungen” of the area they explored. The postscript to Murchison’s speech announced the death of the baroness and the return of the remainder of the party to Khartoum. It also stated that von Heuglin reported new discoveries of flora and fauna to the Society in the course of his attachment to the Tinne Expedition. In a letter dated October 1863, but not presented to the Society until June of 1864, Heuglin told the Fellows that:

[O]n the banks of the Kosanga [River], he had discovered many isolated mountains, and one rather considerable range lying to the west and north-west in the country of the Quola... [and that] the flora and fauna differ much from those of the White Nile.¹⁶⁵

¹⁶⁵ Roderick Impey Murchison, “Address to the Royal Geographical Society,” *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society of London* 34 (January 1, 1864): clxxxix – cxc; W. V Heuglin, “Letter from the Baron von Heuglin to Captain Speke,” *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society of London* 8, no. 6 (January 1, 1863): 264.

Heuglin was able to make a “tolerably correct map of the Bahr-el-Ghazal, and determined a few points by astronomical observation.”¹⁶⁶

Murchison did give the Tinne women credit where credit was due, noting that “between Khartoum, the present southern boundary of Egypt, and Gondokoro no obstacle on the river navigation exists, as recently proved, indeed, by the voyage of the enterprising and intelligent Dutch ladies....”¹⁶⁷ Murchison again mentioned them opening up the Nile and doing their part of Europe’s civilizing mission in Africa:

Thus, every Geographer desired to see this vast river, which, for a distance of 1600 miles above the cataracts, as now, thanks to the Dutch ladies and Miss Tinne, been proved to be open to steam-navigation, rendered available in the improvement of the people, and the advancement of civilisation and commerce.¹⁶⁸

Continuing the theme of exploration as civilizing and commercial enterprise and based on the reports from the Tinne women on their treatment at the hands of the trader Biselli, Murchison blamed the disorder and uncivilized manner of the upper Nile natives to the slave trade and the introduction of guns by non-natives (read: Arabs). He noted,

Now, if the miserable natives were rescued from disorders occasioned by such enormities, legitimate commerce would eventually arise between the equatorial Kings and the merchants of

¹⁶⁶ Letter from Baron von Heuglin to Captain Speke dated October 1863, read at a meeting of the Royal Geographical Society in London, June 1864. *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society of London*, Vol. 8, No. 6 (1863-1864), pp 264.

¹⁶⁷ Murchison’s presidential address to the RGS 1864. p. clxxxix.

¹⁶⁸ Murchison’s presidential address may 22nd 1865. P 248.

Cairo and the Mediterranean; and the great Nile... Would eventually become a highway of intercourse with Europe, which might largely attend to the civilization of central Africa... [And then] may render the White Nile, for the 1st time in history, of real use to commerce and civilizations”¹⁶⁹

Murchison’s quote speaks volumes about the way white male Europeans — especially Victorian Britons — felt about that part of Africa. There are at least 3000 years of Egyptian dynastic history that would be a good counterclaim to the Nile only being rendered “of real use to commerce and civilizations” in the mid-nineteenth century!

Despite the support of Murchison at the RGS, the idea that these *Ladies* were undertaking scientific explorations in Africa ruffled more than a few feathers in the male-dominated world of African exploration.

According to historical geographer Felix Driver, “most of...the famous explorers of the second half of the nineteenth century portrayed geography as a manly science, dedicated to the mastery of the earth.”¹⁷⁰

English explorer Samuel W. Baker, who was also conducting explorations in the upper Nile region, considered the women’s explorations folly and complained, “The White Nile is becoming quite a fashionable tour. There should be a public house built on the Equator, where travelers could stop for a glass of beer.... They must be mad!” It seems Baker was rather

¹⁶⁹ Murchison’s presidential address to the RGS 1864. P. cxc.

¹⁷⁰ Driver, Felix, “David Livingstone and the Culture of Exploration in Mid-Victorian Britain,” in Joanna Skipwith and John M. MacKenzie, *David Livingstone and the Victorian Encounter with Africa* (National Portrait Gallery, 1996), 122.

upset that the Tinnes, with their immense wealth, were able to hire the last available steamer out of Khartoum, complaining

There are Dutch ladies traveling without any gentlemen... They are very rich and have hired the only steamer here for £1,000. They must be demented! A young lady alone with the Dinka tribe... They really must be mad. All the natives are as naked as the day they were born.¹⁷¹

Writing in his diary January 2, 1863 Baker notes:

Said adieu to the charming Dutch ladies – the Baronne de Capellan – sister – and daughter. They are going up the Bahr Gazal_ Mdlle Tinne and her Aunt both suffering from fever. Dangerous climate for ladies to travel through. ... Khartoum is the grave of the Europeans.... The usual horrid murky uninteresting country –What on earth can induce the Dutch ladies to visit the White Nile a second time?!!! beastly naked savages; and marshes teeming with mosquitoes – without anything of common interest or beauty.¹⁷²

He shows his distaste for the Tinne women traveling on the Nile in demonstrating his understanding of how they violated traditional gender roles. Women, in his mind, were naturally open only to things of “interest and beauty.” Moreover, he too implied their sexual vulnerability, in suggesting that the dress of African men (or lack thereof) carried a universal sexual meaning, a meaning that was by nature repulsive to true

¹⁷¹ Sir Samuel W. Baker quoted in Penelope Gladstone, *Travels of Alexine: Alexine Tinne, 1835-1869*, 1970, 106–107.

¹⁷² Sir Samuel W. Baker, Diaries of expeditions to the Upper Nile, Samuel Baker Collection, SWB/1 and SWB/2, Royal Geographic Society, London. Entries for Wednesday, December 17th, 1862 and Friday January 2, 1863.

women. These Dutch “ladies” could not fulfill in Baker’s mind what an explorer *should* be: British and male. Driver explains the Victorian male adventurer mindset thusly,

[The] figure of explorer seemed to draw together the most cherished of national ideals in an age of supreme confidence about the virtues of the British: a fearless sense of adventure, selfless dedication, heroic valor, and technological mastery.¹⁷³

It was not just Baker who was upset that there were “ladies traveling” into the realm of male-dominated exploration. In a paper presentation to the Royal Geographic Society in London in June 1863, famed explorer Captain John Hanning Speke (the “discoverer” of the source of the Nile River in 1863), mentioned

Another remarkable fact was that there were 3 ladies came up to meet me, but one having been taken ill, Mlle. Tinne and her mother went up the river [Bahr-el-Ghazal] satisfying their desire for geographical knowledge. I endeavoured to persuade them to return, and subsequently wrote them a letter, entreating them to give up their journey, with what result remains to be seen.¹⁷⁴

Revealing a bit about how it piqued the explorer to have a mere girl conducting explorations and receiving praise from Fellows of the Society, Speke added, “If the remaining branch [of the White Nile] is not explored

¹⁷³ Driver, Felix, “David Livingstone and the Culture of Exploration in Mid-Victorian Britain,” in Skipwith and MacKenzie, *David Livingstone and the Victorian Encounter with Africa*, 112.

¹⁷⁴ Paper by Capt. Speke to the Royal Geographical Society, June 1863, *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society of London*, Vol. 7, No. 5 (1862-1863), pp 223;

by these parties, why, I shall have to do the work myself.” What Speke failed to reveal in his presentation to the Society is that the letter he wrote was *for Addy van Capellen* (Tinne’s Aunt) and written at her insistence. Addy feared for the safety of the baroness and her daughter. She felt if her relatives received a stern warning of the dangers of the interior of Africa from such a well-known explorer as Speke, they would return immediately to Khartoum. Of course, they did not.¹⁷⁵

Speke’s letter on behalf of Aunt Addy is revealing in other ways too. He referred to the Tinne’s travels in both the framework of pleasure travel and that of scientific discovery. He alluded to the fact that there was nothing in the way of “sight-seeing” on the Bahr-el-Ghazal and then provided the women with a more suitable location where they could see the “beauties of Central Africa.” The letter continued though, emphasizing that “If... Scientific Expedition was the object...every sacrifice, even life, must be risked for its accomplishment.” Speke then belittled their expedition further stating, “There is nothing of any material importance in a geographical point of view to be gained.” He closed his letter in a gentlemanly fashion hoping that the party may be “the means of discovering the source of the Congo” and apologizes for his “abruptness of style...in writing.” He then used paternalistic and ominous tones by

175 Letter from Speke to Adriana Van Capellen quoted in Gladstone, 134-135.

writing “What I have said, I mean, and I should be sorry to see any ladies attempt an exploring journey when failure would inevitably be the result.” What Speke reveals in this letter is his cultural attitude towards women as explorers (they should be sight-seeing) as well as the desire to keep an “inferior” exploration party from claiming geographic glory that could be his. If the region explored by Tinne and her expedition was actually so unimportant geographically why would such a lauded explorer such as Speke offer to the Society to do the work himself should they fail?¹⁷⁶

Two things bothered Baker and Speke more than anything else about the Tinne women – their class and their gender. Had they been men none of their travels or expenditures would have been an issue. While their class afforded them many opportunities and was a plus to the RGS to get information on Equatorial Africa from the Tinnes *gratis*, their gender could also be used to the advantage of the RGS. In his 1862-63 presidential address to the Royal Geographical Society, Murchison alluded to the fact that anyone could travel in Africa quite easily if the Dutch Ladies could do it. If women can travel through Darkest Africa unscathed, certainly British Explorers could. Murchison informs the Fellows,

¹⁷⁶ Speke to Van Cappellen, quoted in Gladstone 134-135.

The introduction of a small steam-vessel on the waters of the White Nile has enabled a party of lady-tourists to effect its navigation, with an ease that astonishes those who had experienced the grievances of the usual means of transport.... At the same time that Mr. [Samuel] Baker, warned by the universal experience of the ivory-traders and previous travelers, had pointed out the necessity of a powerful escort to secure ordinary safety, the three ladies, Madame Tinne and her daughter, and her sister Madame van Capellen, steamed in their little vessel to Gondokoro, and beyond it, with scarcely more numerous attendance than would have assured their personal comfort in the most civilized parts of Egypt.¹⁷⁷

By implying that the women, whom he called lady-tourists this time to drive his point, were traveling unassisted and unescorted by soldiers, he emasculated Baker. Or at least he insinuated that Baker should not need a full complement of soldiers, if unprotected women were traveling in the same area unmolested.

When Murchison told Baker that he was not really a man if he needed the protection of soldiers, he further irritated the frustrated explorer. Baker was already irritated with the Tinne ladies for renting the last available mechanized boat in Khartoum, so to then be ridiculed thusly by the President of the Royal Geographical Society, whom he desperately wanted to sponsor his travels, and for whom he wanted to make a big discovery, was a blow to his ego. The language in Murchison's comment is belittling all the way around. He emphasized that the women were in a

¹⁷⁷Murchison, Address to the RGS, Proceedings, Vol 7, No 4 (1862-3), pp196.

small boat and that it was surprising how far they had traveled. Of course, by the women's own admission, their party was rather large for their trip to Khartoum; we know less about the size of the entourage to Juba and Rejaf. Murchison used Tinne, her mother, and her aunt to publicly shame Baker because they are women. And by calling them lady-tourists he took an extra jab at Baker.¹⁷⁸ To an explorer like Baker it is far worse for a woman to show him up, than it would to be shown up by a peer. The questioning of Baker's masculinity in a very public manner explains much of Baker's antagonism towards the women.

So, why could the RGS use the women in this way? Why did Baker refer to a member of the Dutch lower nobility as 'demented' and 'mad'? Historians Lenore Davidoff and Cynthia Hall in their work on the English middle class, *Family Fortunes*, put forth that identity is gendered and the organization of sexual difference is central to the social world. They argue, "violations of accepted gender boundaries by either men or women were...subject to sanctions ranging from ridicule to violence"¹⁷⁹ By stepping outside her gender defined social role and expressing independent action – conducting explorations on the Nile River - Tinne was an easy target for those jealous of her accomplishments and her

¹⁷⁸ See chapter 2 for a discussion on tourists vs. travelers and for more on women as travelers in the nineteenth century.

¹⁷⁹ Davidoff, *Family Fortunes*, 28–29.

abilities. It also explains the ease with which both Baker and Speke brushed off her expeditions, belittled her, and even cruelly predicted her death. Tinne was trespassing more than geographical boundaries.

Hegemonic masculinity

By stepping off the guided path of lady-tourist and onto the untraveled road of explorer, Tinne was transgressing the hegemonic masculinity of the nineteenth century. First conceptualized by Australian sociologist R. W. Connell,

Hegemonic masculinity was distinguished from other masculinities, especially subordinated masculinities.... It embodied the currently most honored way of being a man, it required all other men to position themselves in relation to it, and it ideologically legitimated the global subordination of women to men.¹⁸⁰

Sociologist Cliff Cheng describes hegemonic masculinity's attributes as ones of domination, competition, stoicism, and control and regards it as the "defining gender performance of Euro-American males; in addition to being white and male, important demographic characteristics include being able-bodied, heterosexual, Christian, first world, and ranging in age

¹⁸⁰ R. W. Connell and James W. Messerschmidt, "Hegemonic Masculinity: Rethinking the Concept," *Gender and Society*, Vol. 19, No. 6 (Dec., 2005), pp. 832; For Connell's original conceptualization of hegemonic masculinity see: Connell, R. W., *Gender and power: Society, the person and sexual politics* Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1987.

from 20 to 40.”¹⁸¹ Alexine Tinne, though she fits a few of these categories, can never be the hegemon. Connell argues,

Hegemonic masculinity need not be the commonest pattern in the everyday lives of boys and men. Rather, hegemony works in part through the production of exemplars of masculinity, symbols that have authority despite the fact that most men and boys do not fully live up to them.¹⁸²

In the nineteenth century, the popular heroes of such masculinity for Great Britain were the explorers, colonial frontiersmen, and transatlantic hunter-writers; in the United States it was figures such as President Theodore Roosevelt and showman Buffalo Bill Cody. Tinne’s recognition by some Fellows in the RGS as an explorer made problematic the image of the ideal Victorian male.

But in his 2005 rethinking of his concept of hegemonic masculinity, after criticisms that it excluded too many other types of experienced masculinity, Connell defends “The idea that a dominant pattern of masculinity was open to challenge - from women's resistance to patriarchy, and from men as bearers of alternative masculinities - has very

¹⁸¹ Cheng, Cliff. "Marginalized Masculinities and Hegemonic Masculinity: An Introduction." *Journal Of Men's Studies* 7, no. 3 (Spring 1999): 295-315. *Academic Search Complete*, EBSCOhost (accessed January 5, 2015).
<http://search.ebscohost.com.ezproxy.uta.edu/login.aspx?direct=true&db=a9h&AN=1963075&site=ehost-live>

¹⁸² R. W. Connell and James W. Messerschmidt, “Hegemonic Masculinity: Rethinking the Concept,” *Gender and Society*, Vol. 19, No. 6 (Dec., 2005), pp.846.

fully confirmed the idea of the historical construction and reconstruction of hegemonic masculinities.”¹⁸³

Recent works on masculinity are trying to move away from the hegemonic model. In her work on masculinity in early modern England, Historian Alexandra Shepard deemphasizes patriarchal masculinity and demonstrates how young men had access “a range of manly identities that did not all aspire to the supposedly ‘hegemonic’ form.”¹⁸⁴ Likewise, cultural historian Karen Harvey examines the ways in which encounters produce different types of masculinities. She says, “[One] can see both the dynamism of masculine identity and the importance of the local specifics of place and occasion to its construction.”¹⁸⁵ For explorers of the Victorian era, the location of their excursions was harrowing and surviving was part of the trials faced as a man. To have a woman, a quite young one at that, Tinne was in her mid-twenties when she was on the Nile, in the same location, having the same experiences was unsettling and a question to the nature of what makes a man a man in the nineteenth century. The presence of this model of masculinity is what caused Tinne difficulty among her would-be peers of exploration.

¹⁸³ R. W. Connell and James W. Messerschmidt, “Hegemonic Masculinity: Rethinking the Concept,” *Gender and Society*, Vol. 19, No. 6 (Dec., 2005), p. 846.

¹⁸⁴ Alexandra Shepard, *Meanings of Manhood in Early Modern England* (Oxford, 2003), p.

¹⁸⁵ Karen Harvey, “RITUAL ENCOUNTERS: PUNCH PARTIES AND MASCULINITY IN THE EIGHTEENTHCENTURY,” *Past and Present*, no. 214 (Feb. 2012), 170.

In that era, masculinity focused on individualism and mastery of the people around you was a prerogative of the elite. For Kelly Boyd, the English

[v]irtues of manliness combined the patriotic love of country, the ability to achieve one's goals in the face of opposition, and the innate ability to always know what must be done. For this reason, there is an arrogance about the Victorian hero in his attitude towards the rest of the world and towards anyone he does not consider is equal.¹⁸⁶

This is exactly the type of attitude Tinne encountered on her expeditions from the explorers and other men, including her traveling companion von Heuglin. She, though elite, could not in their eyes – by virtue of her gender – command others around her or lead expeditions, and yet she did, still she was not their equal. In his work on masculinity and the West, historian Christopher Forth sees the experience of being “civilized” as a gendered, bodily fact. He argues that

Much masculinity is approached as the straightforward expression of male anatomy, the accomplishment of masculinity is usually likened to the result of a *process*, typically one that involved some degree of physical or symbolic violence.¹⁸⁷

This symbolic violence is often represented as taking part in the strenuous life, defined by cultural historian Monica Rico as “a Darwinian

¹⁸⁶ Kelly Boyd, *Manliness and the Boys' Story Paper: a Cultural History, 1855 – 1940*, (2003), 45-46.

¹⁸⁷ *Masculinity in the Modern West: a cultural history of the male body since 1700*, Christopher Forth (2008), 1-2. In this work Forth argues the body offers a useful perspective on the paradoxes of the representation of Western manhood.

struggle in which men had to test themselves against nature and other men; in so doing, they advanced not merely their individual interests, but also those of civilization itself."¹⁸⁸ These virtues of manliness, including symbolic violence, are learned concepts and socially constructed. The nineteenth century elites maintained hegemonic masculinity through mass publication of adventure stories. In his 1997 work on Victorian adventure stories, *Mapping Men and Empire: a Geography of Adventure*, Richard Phillips contends,

European empires and European masculinity were imagined in geographies of adventure....[W]hile writers and readers of adventure stories dream of the world they might find, and the kinds of men and women they might become, they sometimes reproduce, but sometimes transgress dominant ideologies.¹⁸⁹

This is true in Tinne's case. She was able (because of her class status) to transgress the dominant social ideologies of her time. She did so even without media support, though such support existed for males. Adventure stories – published in items such as the *Boys' Own Paper* - were wildly popular. Mass juvenile literacy was a new phenomenon in the Victorian era, a product of higher birth rates, general life improvements, and widespread comprehensive primary education. Men, women, and girls on both sides of the Atlantic read these stories though addressed and

¹⁸⁸ *Natures Noblemen: Transatlantic Masculinities and the Nineteenth Century American West*, Monica Rico, Yale University press, 2013, 3-4.

¹⁸⁹ *Mapping Men and Empire: a Geography of Adventure*, Richard Phillips, 1997, p 3-5.

marketed primarily to boys. Women and girls read boys' stories, partly because tales of girls and women adventurers are rare. It wasn't until the early twentieth century that the girls' adventure stories became a broader share of the market.¹⁹⁰

In her work on these popular stories, Kelly Boyd notes the *Boys' Story Paper* is the primary mass-published material read from the mid-nineteenth century through the Second World War. Boyd's work "examines the texts "as windows into the ideologies of masculinity, which informed readers' lives and to relate them to everyday life." The publication was not only entertainment but also provided readers, especially boys, a worldview and gave context to the ideas and ideals of what it meant to be a man in the British Empire.¹⁹¹ The stories focused on heroes who arose from the upper middle classes and provided directions on how to proceed from English lad to English man. The stories, she says, "were roadmaps to manliness, helping a reader to understand his manly, his British, and sometimes, its imperial role in the world."¹⁹² It is within these stories, Phillips notes, that:

¹⁹⁰ *Ibid*, p 51-53.

¹⁹¹ Kelly Boyd, *Manliness and the Boys' Story Paper: a Cultural History, 1855 – 1940*, (2003), 1-3. The audience of the *Boys' Story Paper* was the average boy — state school educated and from the working classes.

¹⁹² *Ibid*. 8. Much like the girls' books of the period educated for on their role as proper and upper middle-class wives. See section on the *Awkward Age*

Colonial spaces [accommodate] the colonial dreams of white men; conventionally masculine figures, these men embody a...nineteenth-century variation on the theme of Christian manliness. Boys and men, in the exclusive company of boys and men, they are muscular, fun-loving, and motivated at least partly by the love of adventure and excitement. They are anti-intellectual, while knowledgeable [about life in the wilderness]. They are sometimes ambivalent about their Christian faith, but never about their racial superiority....¹⁹³

These stories were often about a young man who leaves the comfort of his European home and strikes out into the unknown to make his way into full manhood. Phillips notes, "While one might have adventure and might become manly in Britain, one was more likely to do so in an exotic location...overseas. British masculinity is constituted in the geography of adventure."¹⁹⁴ This adventure story then plays a role in the ideological construction of masculinity in the nineteenth century and makes it possible to construct the explorer, frontiersman, or soldier as the ultimate specimen of the ideal male in the Victorian era, keeping masculinity hegemonic. This was problematic for Tinne, who was also leaving the comfort of her European home striking out into the unknown.

Transatlantic and Frontier Masculinities

Why did men in the nineteenth century (especially elites on both sides of the Atlantic) seek to be seen as explorers and frontiersmen?

¹⁹³ Mapping Men and Empire: a Geography of Adventure, Richard Phillips, 1997, p76.

¹⁹⁴ Phillips, page 55

Cultural historian Monica Rico notes in the nineteenth and early twentieth-centuries

“Formal political relationships turned out to be less significant... than the conviction, shared across the Atlantic, that elite manhood needed constant renewal through contact with nature. Nature’s nobleman turned to the West because they believed that wilderness would confirm their superiority and prove their dominance over others was no mere social artifact.¹⁹⁵

The mid-Victorian idea of manliness was, according to frontier historian Robert Hogg, simultaneously

...a discourse, a code of behavior and aspirational standard. Founded on Christian principles, it valued manly vigor and self-control. Manliness encompassed the virtues of Christianity, honesty and integrity, and the practice of perseverance, temperance, diligence and self-restraint.¹⁹⁶

The hegemonic masculinity of the nineteenth century was an ideology, just like that of true womanhood. There was a paradox in the Victorian ideal of manliness in that it encompassed or allowed for seemingly contradictory behaviors, structures, and attitudes: Christian piety and the potential for violence; heterosexuality and the possibility of homoeroticism; family man and adventurer. Yet it was this hegemonic model of masculinity that gave white men the power, legally, politically, socially, and economically to marginalize, not only women, but also men that they encountered while

¹⁹⁵ Natures Noblemen: Transatlantic Masculinities and the Nineteenth Century American West, Monica Rico, Yale University press, 2013, 210-211.

¹⁹⁶ Robert Hogg, Men and manliness on the frontier: Queensland and British Columbia in the mid-19th century. [2012], 2

abroad. Part of this paradox was maintaining the civility of the drawing room whilst exploring Equatorial Africa or perpetuating the manners of the country estate in a frontier colony.

What constitutes a frontier? According to the Turner thesis, first put forth by historian Frederick Jackson Turner in 1893, frontiers are tangible, physical entities that advance across the landscape, a space where there is a rebirth of society, a process which determines national character, especially in the case of the United States; space of transformation and an unexplored space where a new life begins and the spirit of adventure lives on.¹⁹⁷ But historians such as Robert Hogg note that

Recently frontiers have been reconceptualized, not as merely geographic spaces, but also as intellectual and psychological constructs.... The frontier is a 'cultural membrane' or 'contact zone' where dissimilar cultures discover each other, resulting in ongoing relations, which usually involve coercion, inequality and racial conflict."¹⁹⁸

Frontiers, like transatlantic journeys, are liminal spaces in which changes can occur.

Frontiers whether they are in colonial holdings such as Australia, or in zones or sites of exploration like Equatorial Africa, are cultural membranes because the actors are independent from their home culture and yet intrinsically tied to it. They bring with them all of their values,

¹⁹⁷ Frederick Jackson Turner, *The Frontier in American History*, Henry Holt and Company: New York (1921).

¹⁹⁸ Hogg, p 6 – 7

religion, gender ideologies, and other cultural constructs and apply them as needed at the frontier, often changing them to suit situations they encounter. One can apply Daniel T. Rogers' idea of nations lying enmeshed in each other's history to frontiers. As a cultural membrane, frontiers allow for two cultures to wash over one another (for better or worse) both above and beyond the confines nation-state. They allow for exchange (both positive and negative) on the individual level.¹⁹⁹ But for all of its semi-permeability, the frontier was not a gender-neutral space.

Christopher Forth notes that

Frontier narratives of possession and conquest commonly gendered the physical environment as female. The frontier is metaphorically rendered feminine becoming a feminine. Other against which frontier men are constructed as heroes. The frontier may also be a 'femme fatale', which entices men to their doom."²⁰⁰

This theory, explains the reaction Tinne received. It is more or less proved true because it demonstrates why her presence was so problematic, even unnatural to the men who saw her and her mother there. How can these women be conducting explorations in this masculine space, one defined against the female Other? Tinne, by being in this space is challenging hegemonic masculinity, something the elite men of her era were desperate to hold on to.

¹⁹⁹ Atlantic Crossings: Social Politics in a Progressive Age – Daniel T. Rodgers .

²⁰⁰ Christopher Forth, Masculinity in the Modern West: a cultural history of the male body since 1700 (2008), 8.

Nineteenth-century men went to Africa, to Australia, Canada, and to the North American West not always for imperial gain, but for personal satisfaction. British men, most notably, traveled to these places to encompass both the world of an upper-class Englishman, and that of a masculine frontiersman. Much like the grand tour of the sixteenth through nineteenth centuries brought men an air of sophistication and worldliness, the “tour” of the wild American West brought them an air of “manliness.” This manliness, like the others, is a construct perpetuated by wild Bill Cody and his Wild West show. Monica Rico describes Cody as one who lingered “between ruffian and gentlemen; his image shifted between the categories of the authentic and the fraudulent, calling the very stability of those categories into question.”²⁰¹ She notes that the idea of Western masculinity was no longer bound to the American West and could occur anywhere. When Cody’s show arrived in England in the late nineteenth century, it validated the masculinity and claims of manliness of elite Englishmen who had been to the American West (or other frontiers of Empire) and brought back trophies (furs of animals they hunted and other ethnographic items) and stories to their lavish English homes.

For economic and cultural historian Gregory Kosciuszko transatlantic hunter-writers of the American West had success because they were able

²⁰¹ Monica Rico, *Natures Noblemen: Transatlantic Masculinities and the nineteenth century American West*, Yale University Press, 2013, p158

to reconcile middle-class values and aristocratic values in a transatlantic society which was experiencing a melding of the top tiers into a more generalized elite class. The hunter-writers in Kosc's work, and the explorers in my own, portray an ideal image of hegemonic masculinity that appealed to this new transatlantic upper-class.²⁰² Kosc argues "The American West became an important psychic sphere for members of the British...upper class, who sought to validate their manliness, racial fitness, social rank, as well as national supremacy in hunting accounts."²⁰³ But it was not just British men going to the American West and Africa to reclaim their manliness. North Americans of the upper classes, based on wealth not noble rank, flocked to the far reaches of the British Empire for the same reason. Rico contends the presence of Americans in the East marks

The power of the members of the American upper class to pass along the same routes of power and privilege that the British elite traveled. The British Empire made... exotic sojourn in the Orient possible. Items brought home [in both directions East and West] "spoke of [the travelers] cosmopolitanism and their familiarity with Empire."²⁰⁴

²⁰² Gregory Kosc, "Performing Masculinity and Reconciling Class in the American West: British Gentlemen Hunters and Their Travel Accounts, 1865-1914," 2010, PhD Dissertation, University of Texas at Arlington, p 2. In this dissertation, Kosc analyzed twenty-six different hunter-writers' accounts of the American West and argues that hunting accounts set in the American West "allowed these hunters to reconcile themselves to the increasing democratization, professionalization, and commercialization of Britain... by crafting an upper-class identity that reaffirmed British supremacy and class values," which had at its core the construction of the hunters' masculinity.

²⁰³ *Ibid*, 288.

²⁰⁴ Monica Rico, *Natures Noblemen: Transatlantic Masculinities and the nineteenth century American West*, Yale University Press: New Haven (2013), pp181.

The trans-nationalism/transatlanticism of the upper-class hunting narrative helps to cement nineteenth-century transatlantic upper class formation.

Another element in this formation was U. S. President Theodore Roosevelt who linked both sides of the Atlantic together. Roosevelt was also the embodiment of the hegemonic masculinity of the nineteenth century. He was a member of the American upper class and proponent of “manly renewal through violence and contact with primitive nature.” Roosevelt “saw bodily weakness as the weak point in the man’s defense against vice.”²⁰⁵ For Roosevelt, strength of body equated to strength of character and religious and moral values all needed to lead the lesser of the world – the women, the children, and the savage races – and build empires. Rico argues,

Roosevelt produces his manly self by consuming Africa... He appropriates the labor of his trackers and guide... He has to stop and evaluate whether or not the animal is a suitable candidate to be incorporated into the stories of American science: is it male? Is it large? Are its tusks undamaged and acceptably massive? To produce the hunter’s triumph, the animal’s body has to fit the script.²⁰⁶

Just like travel as ritual, the hunter’s triumph needs to fit specific expectations. The hunter, and his prey, must conform to preset ideals in

²⁰⁵ *Ibid*, pp166-169. For more on Theodore Roosevelt and his “strenuous life” see Theodore Roosevelt, *The Adventures of Theodore Roosevelt*, Anthony Brandt, editor, National Geographic Adventure Classics Series, National Geographic Society: Washington D.C. (2005).

²⁰⁶ Rico, *Natures Noblemen*, p. 209

order to be valid. Hunting on the frontiers of the West or in central Africa is as ritualistic to the nineteenth-century transatlantic upper class as traveling to sites of group importance.

Rituals are important because they help to maintain status and hegemonic relationships. For women like Tinne and the baroness to be traveling and exploring, even hunting, along these transatlantic routes of masculinity is problematic – for the men. Tinne’s ability to not only go where they have gone, but to access all levels of society once there due to her class, was particularly vexing to the men she encountered. She blazed a trail, quite successfully, for other women to follow. Of course it did come at a great price. The experience on the Bahr-el-Ghazal robbed Tinne not only of her mother and life-long servants, but also of her desire to explore the great river further. After the deaths of her mother, her Aunt, Flore, and Anna, Tinne could not bear additional river voyages. In a letter to her aunt in The Hague Tinne wrote,

I am now at Barber _ I am waiting for camels, and for corn which is scarce at this moment, and then will set off for Sauakin_all the camels of the Korosko road being taken for the soldiers, besides my not wishing to travel again on that Nile so full of souvenirs_²⁰⁷

She set out with von Heuglin to cross the land between the Nile at Berber and the Red Sea port city of Sawakin. The trip took two months to

²⁰⁷ Letter from Alexine to Tante Jim, 4 August 1864. Dutch National Archives.

complete, as they not only had the remnants of the expedition, but the
coffined body of her mother, as well as all of her belongings. This 250
mile journey overland proved very productive in a geographical sense -
von Heuglin took measurements and charted their entire journey. In 1866
Petermann's Geographische Mitteilungen published the resulting map of
the area "Originalkarteder Strasse Zwischen Berber & Sauakin in Nubien
nach den Aufnahmen und einer Manuskriptkarte Theodor von Heuglin's,"
with von Heuglin and Tinne's route traced in red and labeled Die
Tinné'sche Expeditione.²⁰⁸ It is important to note that this map is labeled
as an expedition and it is named for Tinne in one of the most prominent
geographical publications of the nineteenth century. At last Tinne was
given the recognition David Livingstone thought she so deserved.

²⁰⁸ Gladstone, *Travels of Alexine*, 152-168; Tinling, *Women Into the Unknown*, 303.

Chapter 5

Imperial Mother 1869-1915

After the desert excursion with Theodore van Heuglin, Tinne never returned to The Hague. Speculation at the time was that she felt such guilt for her mother's death that she was afraid to face relatives at home. Other sources mention that she had grown so accustomed to living in the East that Europe no longer held any interest for her. Tinne enjoyed the freedom of living in Africa and if she were to return to Europe she would have been required resume the role of European aristocrat and most likely have been pressured to marry.²¹⁰ She spent several years following her mother's death living in Cairo, sailing the Mediterranean Sea on her yacht *The Seagull*, and finally settling in Algiers before undertaking her final, fatal journey into the Sahara. News of Tinne's murder in August 1869, traveled across Africa, Europe, and to the Americas. Reports of her death cropped up in newspapers in large metropolitan areas like London, Paris, Berlin, Boston, and New York as well as smaller towns like Galveston, Texas.²¹¹ Shortly after her death, German artist Wilhelm Gentz published

²¹⁰ According to Gladstone, Tinne "became persecuted with guilt.... It was Alexine's wish that she should be left alone [in Egypt]." P 170-171; Willink, 245-246

²¹¹ "Personal and News-Notes," *Galveston Tri-Weekly News*, August 27, 1869; "The Murder of Miss Tinne, the Explorer," *Boston Journal*, August 21, 1869; "Reported Murder of the African "Exploress,"" *New York Evening Post*, August 28, 1869.

an article in the German periodical *Die Gartenlaube - Illustriertes Familienblatt* about his time in Cairo with her a few years previous.²¹²

Gentz recalled that Tinne's residence was difficult to find and in a quarter of the city not frequented by Europeans. Although he had met Tinne on previous visits to Cairo, and von Heuglin had taken him once before to her home, Gentz could not locate her door. One of the young donkey-boys of Cairo, seeing Gentz was lost, inquired of him. "Effendi, are you looking for the Dutch Countess?" Gentz, surprised that this street boy knew her, was equally surprised to discover that the majority of youth in this quarter knew Tinne and, in fact, it was to her they brought their sick and wounded donkeys for tending.²¹³ In this quarter of the city, they knew her as the Dutch Countess, the donkey healer, and her home as veritable animal hospital. The boy led the artist to Tinne's door and what he found there surprised him:

The house of Miss Tinne was from the outside quite a crumbling ruin. In freestanding stone steps that led to a dilapidated outhouse, monkeys sunned; little negro slaves, boys and girls, lay in the warm sunshine on the ground; large negresses from Soudan inquisitively stuck out of broken window-panes their wooly heads, with brilliant eyes and teeth. Longhaired Nubian greyhounds... jumped out at me; an old white-haired Berber, such as is usually found tending

²¹² *Die Gartenlaube* was Germany's most popular periodical at the time and had a wide readership.

²¹³ Wilhelm Gentz, *Die Gartenlaube* (no. 38). Leipzig: Ernst Keil, 1869, p 602. Translation is mine.

the doors in Egyptian houses, received my card, to announce me to the mistress of the strange establishment....

He led me into a second court, where I passed by large open rooms where the disordered ethnographic collections were, which were brought here on fifty camels from the interior of Africa. Strange weapons, stuffed birds, antlers of all kinds of antelopes and rhinoceroses, [and] implements of Sudanese tribes are there heaped together.....²¹⁴

Gentz described Tinne as being dressed in Arabian mourning clothes and her home devoid of any European furniture.

The two visited, with Tinne seated on the floor “in the Arabian style,” recounting her tales of travel and exploration on the White Nile. However, far more fascinating to Gentz than this European aristocratic woman “gone Oriental,” and it seems an accurate guess that the true reason for his visit that day, was her entourage. Tinne’s home was full of a great variety of people whom she had “collected” since her time in the Egyptian Soudan. Gentz self-servingly wrote, “For me as an artist this visit to Miss Tinne was of the greatest interest, because it afforded me an opportunity to take sketches of the many slaves of every tribe from the most inaccessible regions of Africa.”²¹⁵ Of Tinne’s unusual family arrangement, he says

These eighteen remarkable specimens of the black and brown races Miss Tinne informed me had voluntarily followed her, because in their wild native land they were

²¹⁴ Gentz, 602.

²¹⁵ *Ibid.*

continually exposed to the fearful cruelties of the never-ceasing slave trade. From a missionary who had seen her in the interior of Africa, I learned that she had often taken a severely wounded slave on her own beast, and herself waded for hours in the deepest mire. She certainly had a most sympathizing heart.²¹⁶



Figure 5-1 Wilhelm Gentz, *Nègres du Soudan*²¹⁷

²¹⁶ *Ibid.*

²¹⁷ *Nègres du Soudan, de la suite de M^{lle} Alexine Tinne, dessines au Caire, d'après nature, par M. W. Gentz, in L'univers Illustré, 8^e année – No. 495, Mercredi 20 Décembre 1865.* The sketch has a legend to the people depicted, their names and the region of Sudan they originated from: I. Ptah, négresse du Fertit; - II. Bérilla, Abyssinienne; - III. Tolba, négresse gallas; - IV. Joll, indigène du Denka; - V. Nègre du Dar-Nouba; - VI. Nègre Niam-Niam; - VII. Dongedoko, indigène de Gondar – VIII. Nègre du Darfour. It is important for me to note that despite the fact that Gentz refers to Tinne's African family as slaves, they were not. Many were former slaves and all lived freely in her care until her death. There is no evidence that the Tinne women ever owned slaves during their time in Africa.

Tinne's transatlantic legacy begins almost immediately after her death, as she becomes the subject of countless articles in publications in the United States beginning in 1870. Stories of "Alexina of the Nile," and "Alexine the Explorer" showed up in local newspapers and in more widely circulated publications such as *The Ladies' repository*, *The Illustrated American*, and *Leslie's popular monthly*. William Wells' book, *The heroine of the White Nile; or, What a woman did and dared. A sketch of the remarkable travels and experiences of Miss Alexandrine Tinné*, is a Sunday School reader. The majority of the stories tell of a mythic and beautiful, white, Christian lady traveling through "Darkest Africa" bravely facing savages and slave-traders alike to fill in the blank spaces on the map and to help end the slave trade only to be martyred at the hands of Arabs at the end of her tale.²¹⁸ Gentz's article about Tinne was one of the first circulated after her death and was reprinted in newspapers around the Atlantic World in a number of languages.²¹⁹ For the readers of *Die Gartenlaube*, and its translated copies, Gentz's story made clear that

²¹⁸ Methodist Episcopal Church. General Conference, *The Ladies' Repository* (L. Swormstedt and J.H. Power, 1870); *The Illustrated American*; Frank Leslie, *Frank Leslie's Popular Monthly* (Frank Leslie Pub. House, 1881); William. Wells, *The Heroine of the White Nile; Or, What a Woman Did and Dared. A Sketch of the Remarkable Travels and Experiences of Miss Alexandrine Tinné*. (New York; San Francisco: Carlton & Lanahan; E. Thomas; [etc., 1871).

²¹⁹ Examples of Gentz's story making the rounds of the Atlantic World see: "Mademoiselle Tinné," *Pall Mall Budget*, November 12, 1869, p. 15; "Alexandrina Tinne," *Het Nederlandsch Magazijn*, Volume 5, (1870) pp330-331; "A Romantic Story. The Strange Life and Tragic Death of Mlle. Tinne," *Arthur's Illustrated Home Magazine*, Volume 36, August 1870, pp. 88;

Tinne took in and cared for the poor and unfortunate, even if it brought her own discomfort. She gave homes to the homeless, freedom to the oppressed, and shelter and care to the wounded, even of the four-legged variety. She was a mother to her unique family and a provider of care and uplift to those of the lesser races.

In the decades following her murder, religious groups and others interpreted Tinne's life story as needed to encourage women of means to:

[S]hake themselves free from the gilded fetters of empty social customs and unsatisfying pleasures, and to spend their time, wealth, and talents in some honourable and praiseworthy pursuit...emancipate their minds and souls from the curse of an empty and wasted life... [and] set the down-trodden peoples of the earth free from tyranny and oppression.²²⁰

This portrayal of her as role model was especially useful for convincing, or encouraging, upper-class women to go into missionary service, to lift up the "down-trodden" of colonial Africa, and to help bring about an end to the internal slave trade on that continent. It was the moral duty of the West, and a growing mission in the late nineteenth century, to "civilize" the "uncivilized" parts of the globe. In *The heroine of the White Nile* Wells romanticizes Tinne as a woman who was a tragic figure who had no one to tell her tale, and did not want anyone to talk about her adventures and

²²⁰ Rev. W. Skinner, "Alexandrine Tinne: A Romantic Life," *The Christian World Magazine (and Family Visitor)*, August, 1882, p591.

deeds. Therefore, he takes it upon himself to tell her saga and to give her the praise he feels she deserves.²²¹

Wells comments on the nature of her death and that it only happened mere months before his publication before proceeding to enlighten the audience as to why he is writing about her.

“She was a Holland lady, and therefore not at all known on this side of the ocean; but we felt that the rich materials that have by chance come into our hands, would enable us to leave a plain unvarnished tale of truth, more attractive than many that are painted by fiction, and this week is, to the use of our Sunday-schools, especially, this brief account of the life and career of Alexandrine Tinne. When they had finished it, they will say with us, but she was a Heroine of Africa, but we shall feel that we have related her wonderful history in vain.²²²

With this paragraph, Wells establishes the fact that this is a transatlantic story. He lets us know that this is someone you may have never heard of before, that this is a woman who's story *needs* to be told, that this is a chronicle of exemplary nature for children in Sunday school, and that when you are finished, he will have you convinced that she truly is a Heroine of Africa.

The Sunday school reader, after opening with why we should call her a heroine, follows Tinne's life chronologically from her birth to her death, giving details (without references) of her exploits and her

²²¹ Wells, *The heroine of the White Nile*, 14.

²²² Wells, 14-15.

explorations.²²³ This publication is the first of its kind that not only tells Tinne's story to an American audience, and to Sunday school children at that, but also is the first to paint her in the light of an Imperial mother and abolitionist. Published in 1870, in New York, San Francisco, and Cincinnati, the book came at a time in the nineteenth century, when the roles of women, especially white middle and upper class women were changing.

In the period after her death, Tinne is placed into two very distinct categories, "Imperial Mother", and/or "New Woman". Proponents of differently oriented movements use her, or rather the perception of her and her story, as an example of how a woman should or could be. The first group, those who champion imperial motherhood strove to keep the era's fading ideology of true womanhood in place, but let women expand their domestic sphere, and their pious influences to the (perceived) less fortunate and uncivilized parts of the globe. The latter group saw Tinne as the first of their kind. She was an early Explorer, a proto-feminist [at least in their eyes], and everything a woman could do on her own if she wanted to.

²²³ Though he does not note it in the chapter titles, the last four chapters describe the desert explorations done by German, Gerhard Rholfs and Gustav Nachtigal, which are related only tangentially to Tinne. Wells argument is that their desert explorations are the type Tinne would have done had she lived, as Rholfs and Nachtigal were the only two Europeans doing any type of explorations in the same region as Tinne at this time.

This chapter addresses the first of the two categories into which Alexine was put after her death. Wells flip-flops between the two categories and perhaps his work was the inspiration for both groups. He refers to Tinne and her mother as delicate, tender, for example, while at the same time working Tinne as fearless and brave. According to Wells, it is during the Tinnes' first foray to Khartoum, where she

Clearly perceived an opportunity to do good to the African race in endeavoring to suppress this domestic slave trade, and was delighted to have a new field for her efforts sides and that of simple exploration.²²⁴

In a later chapter, Wells strays from Tinne and her civilizing mission to discuss her strength, fortitude and her ability to organize

Here is a young lady, but twenty-two years of age, organizing an extensive expedition like a military commander, gathering men and camels by the hundreds, and crossing the desert at a point so dangerous that the governor had forbidden the undertaking.²²⁵

This type of descriptive writing would have definitely been appealing to women in the late nineteenth century looking for examples of independent women traveling and working abroad. Wells tells us

The stories of her immense wealth had, and told again and again, and endless were the accounts about her boats and camels and caravan, and the triumphant journey she was taking up the Nile. And when she landed, her beauty and gentleness made her a great favorite; and, above all, they declared her to be the daughter of the great Turk in

²²⁴ Wells, 39.

²²⁵ *Ibid*, 42.

Stamboul (Constantinople). This notion spread far and wide, over all the eastern and northern part of Africa. This carried by the caravans into the distant oases of Sahara, and ever increased as a traveled onward.... She was a beautiful white daughter of the Sultan of all the Sultans... And she was wandering all over Africa, dispensing her gifts with generous hands, and winning all hearts — coming to visit, as a friend, the wide extended regions of the Sultan’s grand domain in Africa.²²⁶

Here is a “beautiful” and rich white woman providing uplift to the natives she meets as she travels - poor African natives who live in fear of their “Mohammedan chiefs.” Therefore, for Wells, Tinne is not only a loving, generous, and caring woman but she is exemplifying the peace and gentility that the Europeans (and by extension, Americans) bring to Africa.²²⁷ In a show of the superiority of the white over the nonwhite, and an example of Tinnes supposed power, Wells relates the story of a notorious slave trader, a powerful Turkish chief named Mohammed-Cher, who received her with royal honors, and even bowed before her upon her arrival. Wells tells us,

And as she was revered by the slave hunters... So do the ignorant Negroes with strange astonishment stand before the dazzlingly white lady, and worship her as of royal birth. Every paleface that had hitherto visited the shores of the White Nile had been that of a slave dealer... But here, on the

²²⁶ *Ibid* 44-45.

²²⁷ In contrast to the harsh slave system in this area of Central and North-Eastern Africa controlled at the time by Arabs.

contrary, was the face of a white lady who came to them with loving hearts, and full of generous hands.²²⁸

According to Wells, it was this experience in Africa that turned Tinne into an Imperial Mother (my words, not his). He shows a version of Tinne that is saddened by the plight of the people she encounters and wanting to do more for the poor creatures. It was Well's own opinion that the people of Africa needed Tinne (and other Christians) to help them. In Africa, he says

It is almost impossible to discover any ideas of a God, or what is called natural religion, in these poor creatures. They believe in nothing but wizards and evil spirits, who make rain or sunshine, and cause disease and death. They seem like crafty, overgrown children, ready to receive any and every impression.²²⁹

It was therefore the moral duty of the reader of his Sunday school tome to take up where Tinne left off, to gain knowledge of her and the lessons she learned in Africa.

Of her second great Nile expedition, he opines, "The partial failure of her first one had taught her many lessons by which she hoped to profit, and had shown her how much might be done to alleviate the sad condition of the poor Negroes."²³⁰ Wells paints a picture of Tinne, the explorer whose interests were less geographical than maternal. Not only does he

²²⁸ Wells, 46.

²²⁹ Wells, 54.

²³⁰ Wells, 70-71.

emphasize that von Heuglin was performing his job as surveyor and ornithologist while on the Nile, but deemphasizes Tinne's role as explorer by noting, "Wherever she found peculiarly formed individuals, who were evidently the representative of another branch of the race, she captured them by kindness, and brought them along. They were, indeed, glad to come with her."²³¹ Tinne, along with saving poor natives wherever she went, was, in her genteel manner, able to bring about moral change in an immoral land, according to Wells,

The greatest result of this expedition was, doubtless, the moral blow it struck at the internal slave-trade. Before her visit to these regions little else was done in them; just now the Viceroy is sustaining a great expedition, whose main object is to suppress the slave-trade and introduce the blessings of civilization. Who, therefore, shall say that her efforts, trials, and sufferings were in vain?²³²

However, why was Wells, an American, so interested in Tinne, and why was he so adamant that she was more interested in cultural uplift and abolition of slavery in Africa than in the exploration of the continent? The answer lies in the nineteenth-century ideas of womanhood and the perception of what constituted proper social roles of upper and middle class white women. Originating in the United Kingdom, the view of women as inherently maternal, pious, and morally upright by nature became the transatlantic model of womanly nature. In the United States, this model

²³¹ Wells, 104-105.

²³² Wells, 105-106.

transformed and according to Professor A. C. Carlson, women were “given the heavy responsibilities of guiding the morality of the nation.”²³³ Well’s story of Tinne as savior to slaves and model abolitionist was the perfect example of this American form of True Womanhood.

Sexual Science and Nineteenth Century True Womanhood

In the Victorian era, there was a conflation of scientific fact with scientific and social theories. Scientists of the day allowed the cultural ideas of (white) man’s superiority over all others of the human race to permeate their notions of science as fact. While long held as standard and common knowledge that the Western European male was at the top of the human pyramid over women, children, and “lesser races,” in the late eighteenth century this knowledge began to manifest itself as scientific fact. Once claimed as science, men used it to illustrate reasons why women were not able to participate in arenas exclusively held by them. The hard and soft (social) sciences coterminously developed methods of categorizing male and female nature thus highlighting the differences between man and woman, subsequently using these perceived

²³³ A. Cheree Carlson *The Crimes of Womanhood*, University of Illinois Press: Urbana and Chicago (2009), p5.

differences to justify the exclusion of (primarily upper class) women from education, independence, and the workplace.

Considering females inferior was not a novel notion to the Victorians. Reaching as far back as antiquity one can find writings on the “deformity” of women (Aristotle), their classification as a lower being due to their weaker nature (Galen), and even the lack of transmission of a soul to a child (Descartes).²³⁴ The idea of the separation of social spheres based on sex and gender was not new to the nineteenth century.

According to historians Marilyn J. Boxer and Jean H. Quataert

Women were relegated to the realm of daily routine, to the domestic functions prescribed for them by priests and philosophers, physicians and politicians, patriarchs of all callings who followed Aristotle, Aquinas...[and others] in defining women as imperfect men.²³⁵

The two note that male scholars, throughout the centuries carried on the tradition of the ancients who took the “biological male as the model for human beings.”²³⁶ Perpetuation of these ancient beliefs about women, that they were inferior to men and were to remain within the home, continued through the Renaissance, despite all other manifestations of change, in the arts, sciences, and intellectual work. Boxer and Quataert

²³⁴ Sexual Science, p. 3.

²³⁵ Marilyn J. Boxer and Jean H. Quataert, Eds., “Introduction to Second Edition,” *Connecting Spheres: European Women in a Globalizing World, 1500 to the Present*, Second Edition, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), p. 7

²³⁶ Ibid.

give two reasons for the perpetuation of the old beliefs: firstly, they offered justification for biblical assertions about women, and secondly they supported the philosophically conservative bias of Renaissance scholars. Even though the same scholars had turned against Aristotle's system of the principle of duality (in which the males took the superior position and females the inferior) they still did not understand female physiology as it stands today, and felt comfortable mixing ideas of science with religious beliefs, subjects in our own day that are more commonly understood to be diametrically opposed.

A dominant thought at the time was that women were weak, both physically and mentally, and under the control of their uterus, which rendered them unable to perform tasks equally to men.²³⁷ Because this organ is unique to women, the uterus was the cornerstone of proof of the inferiority of women to men. Medical writer Lana Thompson provides a cultural history of the thoughts and beliefs about the inner workings of women's reproductive systems in her book *The Wandering Womb*. She notes that during the Renaissance scholars and doctors thought that both males and females produced semen. This became problematic because then women might be able to conceive without men, which would threaten the current sex-based hierarchy. Doctors thought that the unused female

²³⁷ *Ibid*,p.24-25.

seed, and even menstrual blood, if not expelled from the body, would cause disease, hysteria, or could even poison the woman. The various treatments approved by doctors generally led to some form of penetration or manual manipulation of the female genitalia in order to “provoke voluntary pollution and guard against hysterical symptoms.”²³⁸ The uterus was fearsome because it was an organ solely held by women. Francois Rabelais, a French physician and satirist wrote:

[I]n a secret and intestinal place, a certain animal or member which is not in man, in which are engendered, frequently, certain humours, brackish, nitrous, voracious, acrid, mordant, shooting, and bitterly tickling, by the painful prickling and wriggling of which — for this member is extremely nervous and sensitive — the entire feminine body is shaken, all of the senses, ravished, all the passions carried to a point of repletion, and all through thrown into confusion. To such a degree that, if Nature had not rouged their foreheads with a tint a shame, you would see them running the streets like mad women... and this, for the reason that this terrible animal I am telling you about is still very intimately associated with all the principal parts of the body, as anatomy teaches us.²³⁹

In the eighteenth century, social science based itself on the principles of the Enlightenment and the writings of the *philosophes* with a stress on the commonalities of man; woman was different from man. The

²³⁸ Lana Thompson, *The Wandering Womb: A Cultural History of Outrageous Beliefs About Women*, (Amherst, New York: Prometheus Books, 1999), p. 67-71.

²³⁹ François Rabelais, *Tiers Livres* 1546 ch 32 p 232, accessed from Les Bibliothèques Virtuelles Humanistes 17May2014 http://www.bvh.univ-tours.fr:8080/xtf/view?docId=tei/B372616101_3537/B372616101_3537_tei.xml;brand=default

writing of this Age of Reason ushered in the concept of natural rights of man (read humanity) and carried within this concept was the natural equality of man. The ideology of eighteenth century brought secular thought, declarations of independence from oppressive political rule, and the formalizing of the rights of man and citizen (excluding women and non-whites of both genders) to Western Europe and across the Atlantic to the European colonies in the Americas. The goal of the Enlightenment thinkers was to show their opposition to any form of hierarchical rule and to align the laws of state and society to those of nature. Natural law was God-given and unending and therefore superseded artificial rule by monarch or clergy. This line of thought carried through the Age of Atlantic (and some argue global) Revolutions to ultimately bring emancipation to most classes of men.²⁴⁰ Tinne would have had access to these works through her home library and her access to the Dutch Royal Library next to her house on the Lange Voorhout. It would not have been unusual for her to have knowledge of the writings of the European philosophers.

What about the women of this age? The *philosophes* were divided on their rights and place even though it was women who supported them by holding salons, enabling these men to meet, discuss, and formulate the ideas of the Enlightenment. Unfortunately, for these *salonieres*, they did

²⁴⁰ Connecting Spheres, pp 121-124.

not have the majority of the men on their side and the *philosophes* continued the line of thinking that women were inferior. Chief in this line of thought was Jean Jacques Rousseau, who romanticized the notion of the “natural woman” whose position he defined as one of domesticity and of childbearing and rearing. The philosophes relegated women of the Enlightenment to the home, not the Revolution.²⁴¹

The social and hard sciences of the nineteenth century stressed not the commonality of man of the previous century, but that of man’s differences and hierarchy. Race and gender are the two great themes of science in this era. According to historian Cynthia Eagle Russett, this scientific interest in gender, which she terms sexual science, was distinctive to the nineteenth century in three ways. First, it was more precise and empirical than any science previously. Second, it drew from developments in the new life and social sciences (namely anthropology, sociology, and psychology), and third, in the nineteenth century sexual science claimed decisive authority in both social and scientific matters.²⁴² In this way, science of the Victorian era turned away from the natural law of the Enlightenment and focused instead on individual (gender) and group (race) differences. Russett explains that under this new focus, “categories hardened and became more permanent... [individuals were]

²⁴¹ Connecting Spheres. p125.

²⁴² Sexual Science, pp3-4.

classified according to type with sharply differing constitutions and aptitudes.” The hardening of the lines of demarcation fostered and engendered the nineteenth-century racial, social, and political ideologies, which Russert says:

Fractured the assumptions of human unity, thereby encouraging invidious comparisons among groups; because it fostered typology at the expense of individual particularity...the new stress on measureable dimensions gave priority to just those physical attributes least amenable to change.²⁴³

In other words, in this age you could know everything you needed to know about a person and their character by their physical appearance. The Second Age of Discovery propelled this line of thought as Western Europeans encountered peoples who had appearances and customs that differed from their own. As the push for exploration (and exploitation) of these new lands and peoples came to dominate the nineteenth century, European colonizers used science to disenfranchise non-white races and women.

At the same time that exploration and discovery was reaching its height, the women’s suffrage movements were beginning to take shape and cause waves on both sides of the Atlantic. Women were entering the public sphere in larger numbers and contradicting the notion of “True Womanhood.” This feminist challenge to the status quo, according to

²⁴³ Sexual Science, pp 6-7.

Russett, “was more unsettling than the racial threat because it was more intimate and immediate: few white men lived with [non-whites], but most lived with women.” Tinne, because of who she was, was perfectly poised to venture out into the public sphere and the world at large. Scientists responded to this challenge with sexual science – an examination of the differences between the sexes used to justify the inferior role of white women, especially in the upper classes, and molded scientific fact to aid in defining the social customs and constructs of Western Europeans and white North Americans.²⁴⁴

Leading this scientific charge to prove women were inferior creatures were Patrick Geddes and J. Arthur Thomson. Russett notes it was their postulation, based on Charles Darwin’s theories of sexual selection, that women were “inherently different from men in anatomy, physiology, temperament, and intellect. In the evolutionary development of the [human] race women had lagged behind men, much as “primitive people” lagged behind Europeans.” The two equated women with the “inferior” races of man. Geddes and Thomson also proposed that women

²⁴⁴ *Sexual Science* pp 10-12. Most of the science and the idea of the inferiority of white women only pertained to the upper classes. It was just that upper class women “couldn’t handle the same things as men” – obviously, women in the lower classes were working outside the home, but a blind eye is turned to those in the lower rungs. The upper and middle-class women were causing a stir by leaving their homes to pursue work in the public arena. By finding fault with women’s constitution, her physical being, men could claim her as inferior.

were perpetual children and remained in a state of inferiority so they could better preserve their energy reserved for their primary function: reproduction. Russett asserts, "Nature had decreed a secondary role for women. The great principle of division of labor was here brought to bear: men produced, women reproduced." This complementarity reinforced the traditional stereotypes and gave scientific validity to the separate social spheres for men and women.²⁴⁵ Tinne is once again unorthodox here as she neither produced, in the traditional sense of work, nor reproduced.

Social theorists and scientists took their cues from nature/the natural world to establish the "natural roles" of humanity. Males of the species were bigger, stronger, and provided for the females and offspring. Females were smaller and less capable of work outside of childrearing. In the nineteenth century, many thought that the "lesser races" enslaved their women and forced them to toil alongside their mates. It was a hallmark of "civilized" society that upper-class white women did not work outside the home; they fulfilled their complementary role to their husbands by reproducing the race instead of producing material goods. Russett claims:

Science can be seen as a weapon used by men to rationalize the perpetuation of traditional sex roles and men's continued dominance of women... a response to a threatened loss of power and authority... [and a way to] stop

²⁴⁵ Sexual Science, pp 10-12.

the infiltration of women into new intellectual and occupational arenas.²⁴⁶

Scientific theories bent to conform to existing social constructs instead of following the processes of scientific discovery through experimentation of a hypothesis. Scientific proof of women's inferior status was easily determined and therefore placed them with the other inferiors of the human race: children and savages.

Physically the adult female form overall is smaller than that of a male. This era's measurements of brain weight, and therefore capacity, indicated that the female brain was less capable and infantile compared to a male's. Psychologically females were seen as weak-willed, timid, and naturally dependent upon males. The nineteenth-century recapitulation theory

[P]rovided a program for greater anthropological understanding of all those groups outside...of Caucasian male adulthood – children, women, and the lower races...it became the thematic core of anthropology, psychology, and of child study.²⁴⁷

Sexual scientists saw women as undeveloped or immature men, because their reproductive organs were internal, as opposed to the descended

²⁴⁶ *Sexual Science*, p. 191. The irony here, of course, is that women of all classes worked in one sense or another – they either were managing a household or working in one, were factory workers, teachers, nurses, etc., and in rural areas worked the fields.

²⁴⁷ *Sexual Science*, pp. 51-54. Recapitulation theory, also known as biogenetic law, is a largely discredited biological hypothesis that states that in developing from embryo to adult animals go through stages resembling/representing successive stages in the evolution of their remote ancestors – ontogeny recapitulated phylogeny.

external male genitalia.²⁴⁸ John Hopkins zoologist and genetics teacher W. K. Brooks, in his book *The Law of Heredity* (1883), quotes the following from the *Cyclopaedia of Anatomy and Physiology*:

The male evidently passes into a higher degree of development than the female... physiologically at least, we ought to consider the male type of organization to be more perfect as respects to the individual, and the female as respects to the species....[without the full characteristics of the male, the female is]...an arrested male...[For humans] the possession of a beard must be regarded as a general characteristic of our race...when a female, from disease or mutilation, or old age assumes a resemblance to the male, the change is an advance.²⁴⁹

American Paleontologist Edward Drinker Cope expressed his belief in recapitulation theory when positing that men go through a “phase of feminine emotionality” in their youth, marked by their submission to their emotions and phases of shyness and hero-worship. As they mature into adults, men shed their “woman stage” of evolution and grasp fully the reins of logic, reason, and strength.²⁵⁰

The most glaring biological difference between men and women, aside from observable physical characteristics, is menstruation. Menstruation, along with child bearing, is the one natural function afforded only to the females of the species. Because men did not receive the gift of

²⁴⁸ Jane H. Hunter, *How Young Ladies Became Girls: The Victorian Origins of American Girlhood*, (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 2002), p. 133.

²⁴⁹ W.K. Brooks quoted in *Sexual Science*, p. 75.

²⁵⁰ Edward Drinker Cope as quoted in *Sexual Science*, p. 55.

this natural occurrence, they deemed it a sure marker of women's inferiority. Nineteenth-century scientists wrote about menses as the curse women must endure monthly, placing women closer to animals than man in the order of the species of Earth. In his *Elements of Social Science* (1886, 5th ed.), George R. Drysdale explained, "Menstruation in woman corresponds exactly with the period of heat in female animals, and differs only in the unessential particular, that in women there is an external sanguineous discharge."²⁵¹ His conclusions furthered the association of woman as an animal and therefore lesser than man. French historian Jules Michelet defined woman as a perpetual invalid compared to man because of menses. He noted that each month woman must "suffer under a languour and depression which disqualifies them for thought or action, and render it extremely doubtful how far they can be considered responsible beings while the crisis lasts." As Russett shows, "the phenomenon of menstruation was alone fully sufficient to explain why women could never hope to stand on a level of social and professional equality with men."²⁵²

In the nineteenth century, science took over from religion in justifying the social role of women. Women were no longer inferior because they were morally weak, but were inferior because they were

²⁵¹ George R. Drysdale, *Elements of Social Science*, 5th edition, 1886, p. 69.

²⁵² Jules Michelet quoted in *Sexual Science*, p 30. Russett, *Sexual Science*, p 30.

biologically, physiologically, psychologically, and intellectually weak. In this era science transformed women from the weak link in the chain of morality to being the moral standard-bearers for the entire race. As holders of such an important task, women were to be above reproach. They were to be feminine, family oriented, rigorously religious, keep an impeccable home, and project passionless purity.

In her landmark essay on 'The Cult of True Womanhood,' Barbara Welter explores the religious aspect of "True Womanhood." She explains that in the nineteenth century it was thought, and taught, that the divine right of religion belonged to woman and it was up to upper and middle-class womanhood to redeem the world through their actions and suffering, "woman's purifying passionless love [would bring] an erring man back to Christ." Religious devotion was paramount and eased the path of piety, purity, and submission expected of a True Woman. Welter notes that religion was "a kind of tranquilizer for the many undefined longings which swept away even the most pious girl, and about which it was better to pray than to think." Religious practice also kept women firmly in their social sphere; in fact, it enhanced their domestic duties and reinforced their femininity. A pious woman was a beautiful woman. An irreligious woman

was not a woman at all, but an unfeminine “member of some lower order.”²⁵³

A key indication of a Victorian woman’s piety was her passionlessness. Lack of passion was an indicator of a True Woman’s religious fervor, her purity, and her submissiveness. The passionless woman, however, was not a nineteenth-century construction but an eighteenth-century one. Historian Sally O’Driscoll discusses the paradigm shift from woman of passion to passionless woman as part of the

[N]ew constructions of femininity, which...posits women as essentially different from men in both their biology and their sexual nature: after about 1700, the new model of womanhood was believed to have little or no erotic desire.²⁵⁴

The basis for this new model came out of the scientific theory of the “two-sex body.” Earlier scientific thought was a one-sex body model, which was exclusively male. Males transferred the embryo to the female for gestation; females were merely the vessel in which the child (a product of the male semen, which also provided the milk during lactation) would grow. The discovery in the eighteenth century that it took both a male and a female to generate life was the scientific proof that men and woman were biologically different. O’Driscoll argues

²⁵³ Barbara Welter, “The Cult of True Womanhood,” pp152-154.

²⁵⁴ Sally O’Driscoll, “The Lesbian and the Passionless Woman: Femininity and Sexuality in Eighteenth-Century England,” *The Eighteenth Century*, Vol. 44, No. 2/3, Preposterous Pleasure: Homoeroticism and the Eighteenth Century, (Summer/Fall 2003), p103.

If men and women were fundamentally different in their bodies, then it could be argued that they had different sexual tempers and characteristics... [science] could claim that the proper nature of women was to have little sexual desire.²⁵⁵

Despite a long historical record of females experiencing sexual pleasure, scientists in the eighteenth century determined that conception took place without the female orgasm. From this scientific basis was born the idea of the passionless woman.

O'Driscoll also argues that the creation of the passionless woman leads to discussions of what do women do with all of their unbridled passions, outside of the approved outlets of church, family, and charity work. The conclusion reached in the eighteenth and carried on through the nineteenth century was that these passionless women were turning to masturbation as an outlet, and then, when the church took issue with that, the natural conclusion made was women turned to lesbianism to satisfy their pent up passions. Religious, medical, and even popular literature was flooded with anti-masturbatory tracts and tales of doom and disaster for women who could not find the proper outlet (heterosexual marriage) for their urges. She notes that "masturbation was bad because it turned people inward instead of outward: the boundary between natural and

²⁵⁵ O'Driscoll, pp 106-107.

unnatural sexuality was defined according to which activities produced good outcomes for the community.”²⁵⁶

O’Driscoll’s argument that the construction of the passionless woman creating fears about eighteenth-century women’s sexuality is supported by the widespread contemporary ideas that women who were not masturbating must be finding an alternative outlet for their sexual desires, lesbianism. The anti-masturbatory tracts, labeling the act a form of sexual deviancy, became a self-fulfilling prophecy (pun intended). The fear was that women firstly, had sexual desires, and secondly that because they are to project passionlessness in public they must be finding release of these desires in the private feminine spaces of the home. The domestic sphere becomes a paradox. Its cultural construction confines women to the home where a True Woman is happiest. A key component of this happiness is her piety, purity, and passionlessness, but it is this very notion of the passionless True Woman confined to the home that creates the idea of woman as a sexual deviant. Nineteenth-century science, medicine, and religion caused their own problems by the insistence that True Women be passionless. O’Driscoll states:

The invention of the passionless woman may have been made possible by a new medical discourse, but paradoxically the development of that discourse almost

²⁵⁶ O’Driscoll, p.109.

immediately negated the concept of passionlessness. This suggests that female passionlessness was a concept that served an important social function in the new ordering of eighteenth-century gender roles, and was maintained despite and because of scientific discovery.²⁵⁷

The medical, religious, and popular literature of the eighteenth century bolstered the social construct of the passionless woman and carried it into the nineteenth century as a cultural ideal. Women like Tinne were not supposed to have passions, especially ones that took them away from the home.

Passionlessness was a double-edged sword for Victorian women. It elevated their social standing while simultaneously removing their sexual agency. Historian Nancy F. Cott sees its cultural ideal as metaphorical rather than literal. She argues, "By the mid-nineteenth century, "Christian" values and virtues and "female" values and virtues were almost identical... [and] the ideology of passionlessness was tied to the rise of evangelical religion between the 1790s and the 1830s."²⁵⁸ Cott explores passionlessness as a way for Victorian women to claim a moral high ground over men and at the same time, its construction facilitated nineteenth-century transatlantic class construction. Beginning in Britain and traveling across the Atlantic to North America, the prescriptions for the

²⁵⁷ O'Driscoll, p. 107.

²⁵⁸ Nancy F. Cott, "Passionlessness: An Interpretation of Victorian Sexual Ideology, 1790-1850," *Signs*, Vol. 4, No. 2 (Winter, 1978), pp. 221.

role of women took place in three phases, first, sexual promiscuity harkened back to the excesses of Western Europe's old regime aristocracy. Passionlessness was the bourgeois opposite of the overtly sexual relationships of the nobility. Cott notes, "By elevating sexual control highest among human virtues the middle-class moralists made female chastity the archetype for human morality."²⁵⁹ As Davidoff and Hall note in their joint work on the English middle class of the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries, middle class homes were built in moral opposition to the frivolity of the nobility and the vices and excesses of the aristocracy.²⁶⁰ The second prescription came in the form of etiquette manuals that espoused passionlessness as "an extension of the ideal of chastity needed to protect men's property rights in women." The third and most influential phase was that of the Protestant Evangelicals. Evangelical leaders, both in Britain and in the United States, saw pious women as the vessels through which morals and religious virtues could spread to men and children. Cott explains, "The Evangelicals linked moral agency to female character with a supporting link to passionlessness."²⁶¹

In becoming the moral mothers of humanity, Victorian women were elevated above the status of men by religion. By placing women on a

²⁵⁹ Cott, p. 223.

²⁶⁰ Davidoff and Hall, pp 22-23.

²⁶¹ Cott, p. 224-225.

pedestal of morality, it lifted them away from their base animal natures and they in turn could uplift men from theirs. Women played a part in emphasizing passionlessness because it gave them an answer to the animalistic charge, and rationalized their involvement in public and social spheres. Cott argues that this separation of women from men into a sanctified moral sphere “enhanced women’s status and [widened] their opportunities in the nineteenth century.” It is also Cott’s assertion that this elevated moral status enabled women to bond together and ultimately led to the early woman’s rights movement. Nineteenth-century women used passionlessness in other positive ways, according to Cott, as “domestic feminism” to exert power within the home and family, and as a means of birth control and a way to control their sexual encounters within marriage. This ability to exert some sort of power over their own lives, she argues, is what made the idea of passionlessness appealing to upper and middle-class women. It was only when Victorian scientists determined that passionlessness was an indicator of women’s inherent physiological weakness, not of their spiritual superiority, that women began to challenge the construct and regain their passions.²⁶² This idea of the passionless woman bolsters Wells’ idea of Tinne as passionless because she never

²⁶² Cott, pp. 233-236.

married, she never took lovers (that we know of), and she was seemingly in a maternal role in Cairo.

Imperial Motherhood

Imperial Motherhood, an offshoot of the True Womanhood ideology of the nineteenth-century, had different meanings on opposite sides of the Atlantic. For upper- and middle-class women in the United States, motherhood was the empire of women; in the United Kingdom, and its empire, the upper- and middle-class women fashioned mothers of empire. The rise of imperial motherhood in the United States, according to Nancy M. Theriot in her study of generational women's writing of the Victorian era, *Mothers and Daughters in Nineteenth-Century America: The Biosocial Construction of Femininity*, "defined the home as the "empire of the mother" and praised domesticity and child-centered motherhood as the apex of womanly fulfillment." She argues that motherhood became the symbol of true womanhood in North America in this period and unlike the earlier colonial ideal of husband and wife as helpmeets, they were now two separate creatures with different emotions, skill-sets, and places in society based on sex.²⁶³

²⁶³ Nancy M. Theriot, *Mothers and Daughters in Nineteenth-Century America: The Biosocial Construction of Femininity*, University of Kentucky Press: Lexington, KY, 1996, pp 17-18.

This “empire of the mother” blurred the female body with the female role and made morality and femininity one and the same. Scripted in domestic fiction and advice columns in women’s magazines, imperial motherhood coincided with a new definition of childhood as “a distinct period of life and the child as more or less malleable.” For Theriot, this meant the nineteenth-century mother surrendered everything to her children, her body, her time, and her dedication to the well-being of the child’s soul.²⁶⁴ It was the duty of the mother to prepare the next generation of moral citizens. Wells transposes this mother’s giving of her entire self to the welfare of her children onto Tinne and her entourage of African and Arab indigenes – also tying in this epoch’s notion of the “lesser races” as childlike and in need of maternal guidance and spiritual uplift.

The second form of Imperial Motherhood is an extension of the notion of woman as the main provider of moral and spiritual instruction. In this form, it is the desire by the Victorian era societies and religious groups of Europe to send women of a certain quality to their colonies and frontiers to bring a sense of civilization and uplift to both the indigenes and the existing colonists. An excellent example of this in the Atlantic World is the British attempt to maximize their control of the former Boer dominated South African state of Transvaal with British citizens after the end of the

²⁶⁴ Theriot, pp 20-28.

Anglo-Boer War (1899-1902). This attempt to Anglicize the former Afrikaner state was carried out by the importation of the redundant, or surplus, women of marrying age from the British Isles. Under the guise of providing domestic servants to the colony, a joint effort by the South African Colonial Administration and various British women's emigration groups attempted to bring two hundred women a week into South Africa from 1900-1910 to marry and start families with British men living and working in the colony.²⁶⁵

The idea to send British women to overseas colonies *en masse* stemmed from an 1869 publication by William Rathbone Greg titled *Why Are Women Redundant?* In his writing, Greg argues, "an enormous and increasing number of single women in the nation...is indicative of an unwholesome social state." His complaint was not with the poor and working class women but rather with

...the most numerous in the middle and upper classes, who have to earn their own living, instead of spending and husbanding the earnings of men; who not having the natural duties and labours of wives and mothers, have to carve out artificial...occupations for themselves; who, in place of completing, sweetening, and embellishing the existence of

²⁶⁵ Great Britain was not the only empire doing this in this time period, the Germans were doing the same in neighboring German South-west Africa in order to prevent racial mixing with the natives, and women were involved in the *mission civilatrice* that France had in place for their colonies.

others, are compelled to lead an independent and incomplete existence of their own.²⁶⁶

For Greg, the problem was that these 'redundant' women were not filling their proper place in Victorian society. Labeling the redundancy a myth, historian Cecille Swaisland argues, however, that the idea put forth by Greg and his study of the 1851 British census "acquired a life of its own which no analyses of the figures could dispel."²⁶⁷ Greg's solution for this 'surplus' of middle-class women was emigration. He claimed that a balancing of the sexes was the only way to remedy this disturbing increase in unmarried women stating

We must restore by emigration of women that natural proportion between the sexes in the old country and the new ones, which was disturbed by an emigration of men, and the disturbance of which has wrought so much mischief in both lands.²⁶⁸

This popular belief in 1.2 million redundant middle-class women inspired the philanthropic Victorian upper-class women of London to form a flurry of women's emigration societies, in what Swaisland terms an "energetic espousal of emigration," as a solution to the "social problem" in England.²⁶⁹

²⁶⁶ William Rathbone Greg, *Why Are Women Redundant?* (N.Trübner and Co., 1869), 5.

²⁶⁷ Cecillie Swaisland, *Servants & Gentlewomen to the Golden Land: The Emigration of Single Women from Britain to S. Africa, 1820-1939* (Berg, 1993), 5.

²⁶⁸ Greg, *Why Are Women Redundant?*, 15.

²⁶⁹ Focusing solely on South Africa, though there were women's emigration societies to all of Britain's colonies, Swaisland breaks the women's emigration movement into four periods. The first period, from 1820 to 1860, focused on unskilled workers for the home

Invigorated by her involvement in the women's work movement, the Greg theory of one million redundant middle-class women, and the work of earlier colonial emigration societies, Maria Susan Rye became involved in the women's emigration movement. She, and fellow upper class Anglicans, launched the Female Middle Class Emigration Society (FMCES) in May 1862. Rye served as FMCES's first secretary as well as its public face. The aim of the FMCES was to "subsidize the emigration of suitable educated women" to British colonies. The Society lent women selected for expatriation to the colonies the money for their second-class passage abroad and once they secured work in the colony, they were to repay FMCES for their passage over a twenty-eight month period; a relative or a close friend in Britain guaranteed the loans for each woman.²⁷⁰

Rye's focus on sending middle-class educated women to the colonies ties in with the larger push to include women in the civilizing

and for farm laborers. This period was prior to Greg's publication and the majority of women's emigration was precipitated by poverty. The women who emigrated in this period did so largely on their own and at great personal risk. Swaisland defines the second period of women's emigration to South Africa as 1860 to 1885. This period, overseen by the Female Middle Class Emigration Society (FMCES), delineates the shift to the middle-class surplus as the ideal women for emigration. From 1885 until 1900, there was a desire in South Africa for educated, skilled, professional women emigrants as well as for the continued need for domestics. The final stage of out-migration to South Africa was from 1900 until the British involvement in World War II in 1939. For more see Swaisland, *Servants & Gentlewomen to the Golden Land*, pp. 7-8.

²⁷⁰ Marion Diamond, *Emigration and Empire: The Life of Maria S. Rye* (Taylor & Francis, 1999), 75-78.

missions of nineteenth-century empires. According to historian A. James Hammerton, Rye saw the promotion of emigrating educated middle-class women as “a basic solution to the problem of distressed gentlewomen.” Hammerton claims that Rye “expected that the colonies would benefit equally from their civilizing influence.”²⁷¹ The elevation of colonial society, the prospects for female émigrés work, marriage, and moral standings were the basis for what was termed in 1903 “imperious maternity.” Imperious maternity, according to Julia Bush in her 1994 article “The Right Sort of Woman’: female emigrators and emigration to the British Empire, 1890-1910,” was a “destiny for which [women’s] gender uniquely suited them; to care not only for husbands and children, but for all those whose lesser race and lower morals marked them...as in need.” Bush argues that it was the task of the upper-class women who organized and ran the emigration societies to “prepare the “right sort of woman” to emigrate.” It was the society’s job to ensure that the émigré “arrived at her

²⁷¹ A. James Hammerton, *Emigrant Gentlewomen: Genteel Poverty and Female Emigration, 1830-1914* (Rowman and Littlefield, 1979), 127. The FMCES turned its attention primarily to Australia and New Zealand in late 1862 and came to focus later on the placing of governesses, nurses, and orphaned children in the Antipodes, although it did send some domestic servants to South Africa early on. By the 1880s, the organization was in decline and new societies emerged with a focus more on Christian philanthropy and Empire-building, Swaisland, *Servants & Gentlewomen to the Golden Land*, 22–23. For more on the origins on the civilizing missions in the nineteenth-century see Alice L. Conklin, *A Mission to Civilize: The Republican Idea of Empire in France and West Africa, 1895-1930*, Stanford University Press: Stanford, California, 1997.

destination with virtue intact and strove to enhance British and colonial appreciation of her Empire-building qualities.”²⁷²

The premier society for the late nineteenth and early twentieth century was the British Women’s Emigration Association (BWEA). Founded in 1884 as the United British Women’s Emigration Association, the BWEA had a strong idea that good Anglo-Saxon stock would populate the Empire and British virtues would dominate. The premier women’s emigration society for over thirty-five years, the BWEA honed its predecessor’s techniques and added ‘protected emigration’ to their agenda. Run by the Hon. Mrs. Ellen Joyce, who, according to Swaisland saw women’s emigration as “a sacred duty in the interests of ‘true religion’ and Empire settlement,” the BWEA became the society to people the Empire with “the best of British womanhood as wives and mothers.”²⁷³ This imperial maternity fostered by the BWEA gave women a central role in imperialism, a place usually reserved for men. Julia Bush reveals,

In the far-flung territories of the Empire Victorian feminine ideals of home and family took on a new, inspiring significance, which drew women into the essence of Britain’s imperial adventure whilst sustaining reassuring links with familiar domestic ideology.²⁷⁴

²⁷² Julia Bush, “‘The Right Sort of Woman’: female emigrators and emigration to the British Empire, 1890-1910,” *Women’s History Review* 3, no. 3 (9, 1994): 385-386.

²⁷³ Swaisland, *Servants & Gentlewomen to the Golden Land*, 24.

²⁷⁴ Bush, “‘The right sort of woman’,” 399.

The scientific beliefs of the nineteenth-century aided in the move of women into the role of Imperial Mother. Geographer Morag Bell asserts that

Within the Darwinian frame [of evolutionary theory],...the well-developed emotional and aesthetic skills of women (which had evolved at the expense of their intellectual growth) derived from the maternal instinct. These skills could be put to good use in the service of the Empire, notably in the biological and social reproduction of British civilization overseas.²⁷⁵

Because the expansion of Empire now rested on the maternal and moral virtues of white British women, the BWEA took great pains to ensure that only the cream of the middle-class crop went abroad.

In a process Bush calls “moral sifting,” the BWEA tested applicants in individual interviews to determine not only their character, but also their motivation for emigrating. Applicants were excluded if they had borne an illegitimate child, had no “blameless employer’s references,” or were morally suspect. Dominated by church patrons and led by a clergyman’s widow, the BWEA selected for emigration, “only such women and girls of good character and capacity.” Bush, in her book *Edwardian Ladies and Imperial Power* (2000), notes that once selected “an emigrant’s virtue was preserved intact by chaperonage throughout the journey, followed by

²⁷⁵ Bush, “‘The right sort of woman’,” 399; Morag Bell, “‘The Pestilence That Walketh in Darkness’. Imperial Health, Gender and Images of South Africa c. 1880-1910,” *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 18, no. 3, New Series (1993): 327.

further guidance and protection at the place of arrival.” Complete parties of gentlewomen emigrants were housed pre-departure in BWEA hostels in London or Liverpool and there received journey information, instructions, and an inspirational speech about the duties for the Empire they were about to perform. Once safely on board the ship to the colony, the women remained segregated from other passengers, (so their virtue could not be compromised onboard ship) and they remained ever under the careful eye of the matron assigned to the voyage. Once they disembarked at the port of arrival, BWEA representatives and/or clergy were there to greet and take the women to another society run hostel until their employment dispersal.²⁷⁶ The emigration of British women of the middle-class to South Africa under the guise of maternal imperialism fed many patriarchal ideologies about gender and race and the formation of empires.

Tinne fits both molds of imperial maternity, motherhood as woman’s empire, and as a mother to civilize the” lesser races,” in the 1884 Routledge and Sons publication, *School Girls All The World Over*. This volume is a collection of stories told from the viewpoint of seven non-white school age girls scattered around the globe. In the chapter “Lory – The Little Negress” Tinne appears as the protagonist’s savior, purchasing the orphaned child from a cruel one-eyed Arab slaver who had pillaged her

²⁷⁶ Bush, “The Right Sort of Woman,” 396; Julia Bush, *Edwardian Ladies and Imperial Power* (Leicester University, 2000), 162–163.

village and taken the Central African princess as slave. After her arrival to the Tinne home in Khartoum, Lory takes a luxurious bath and dresses in fine clothes, an older African woman tells her in her own tongue:

“Miss Tinne, our beloved mistress, wishes me to tell you that she knows how great the grief is you have suffered, and that she feels deeply for you. In order to save you from further misery she has bought you, and she is going to do everything in her power to make you happy. . . .she will take care of you, and you shall stay with her, not as a slave or a servant, but as her *protégée* and friend. . . . She wishes me to tell you also that if your poor mother had not perished so sadly during the journey, she would have redeemed her as well as you. She would have protected you both, and would have arranged that you should never be parted.”

"What," I cried, "this white lady, who is so good, would have bought my mother too and would never have separated us?"

Miss Tinne could not understand what I said, but she guessed, and stretched out her arms to me. I threw myself upon her, weeping, for I was melted.²⁷⁷

Lory continues her tale with the mention of Tinne sending her to boarding school in Cairo and her good fortune not to have been with her benefactor on her trek through the desert.

The tale of Lory, and Tinne as her savior-mother, places Tinne in the role of imperial mother in the American sense as the anonymous author(s) transforms Tinne from an explorer of the Nile into a woman driven by her maternal instinct to care for a child who has no mother of her

²⁷⁷ *School Girls All The World Over*, George Routledge and Sons: London and New York, 1884, pp247-248.

own. Not only does Tinne rescue this royal African child from a life of slavery, but as it is her natural inclination and duty, Tinne provides basic care for the child, enrolls her in schools, takes her on grand travels as her own mother had, and bequeaths Lory enough money “to put me above the reach of want in most civilized countries.”²⁷⁸ The *School Girls* tale also places Tinne in the role of mother of empire in the European sense because the writer(s) cast Tinne as the bringer of civilization, cleanliness, culture, and education to the poor and misfortunate natives she encounters.

Alexine Tinne, True Woman and Imperial Mother

Wells' and the anonymous writers of *School Girls*', version of Tinne fall into the position of Victorian True Woman and both definitions of nineteenth-century Imperial Mother. Tinne is a white, Western, Christian, woman performing her feminine role in an acceptable arena. Though unmarried, and her class status placing her well above Greg's definition of “redundant woman,” this Tinne is carrying out her socially constructed function appropriately. However, this adaptation of Tinne glosses over and at times even downplays her role as an adventurer and explorer and makes little mention of her accomplishments in those arenas. What allows

²⁷⁸ *Schoolgirls*, p 249.

these authors to utilize Tinne this way is not that True Womanhood was the normal reality of the era in which the authors, and Tinne, lived, but because, as women's historian Nancy A. Hewitt asserts

Through the notion of maternal instinct, [doctors, scientists, et al]...regulated not only women's behavior, but also an entire system of cultural practices, not the least of which were the sexual division of labor and the sexual double standard.²⁷⁹

This construction of True Womanhood on both sides of the Atlantic allows Wells to refashion a posthumous Tinne as an exemplary model for what a woman of means in the Victorian era *should* do.

In addition, the transatlantic gendering of religion in this epoch assists in Well's reconstruction of Tinne and gives wings to her legacy as an Imperial Mother. Religious studies professor Tracy Fessenden mirrors Hewitt's assessment of True Womanhood as a form of social control noting that True Womanhood,

Emerges as the site of multiple and conflicting hierarchies, in which "womanhood" means very differently for different categories of women, even if gender is the primary rubric through which their subjection, under the broad condition of patriarchy, is maintained.²⁸⁰

²⁷⁹ Nancy A. Hewitt, "True Womanhood Revisited," in "Women's History in the New Millennium: A Retrospective Analysis of Barbara Welter's "The Cult of True Womanhood, 1820-1860," *Journal of Women's History*, Vol. 14, No. 1, (Spring 2002), p 151.

²⁸⁰ Tracy Fessenden, "Gendering Religion," in "Women's History in the New Millennium: A Retrospective Analysis of Barbara Welter's "The Cult of True Womanhood, 1820-1860," *Journal of Women's History*, Vol. 14, No. 1, (Spring 2002), p 164.

For Fessenden, the nineteenth-century shift to religion as the indicator of True Womanhood, not class, is important. She argues that the white, Anglo-American evangelical churches, formerly the home to the working classes and minorities, were, in this period, respectable middle-class establishments. This respectable turn then fueled the ideas of imperial maternity by

Charging the domestic sphere with the task of redeeming the world from injustice [and] the discourse of true womanhood further muted the socially disruptive potential of revivals by figuring populations outside of the white middle class no longer as agents but solely as beneficiaries of evangelical reforms.²⁸¹

This idea of the pious and domestic woman as the redeemer of the souls of Africa is available to Wells as a reader and writer of religious manuscripts and helps to form his construction of Tinne as imperial mother, despite her actual lack of the key components of traditional Atlantic World Victorian domesticity.

However, for all of his praise of Tinne, at the end of his volume Wells takes his martyr to task, well, for behaving like an indulgent mother and a woman. He blames her fate on the fact that she took no men of science with her, that she surrounded herself with “Negroes from Central Africa” and not European scientists and explorers. He warns his readers that the African and Arab men she had with her had been indulged and

²⁸¹ Fessenden, 167-168.

allowed to live a lazy and luxurious life, so were unfit for travel and unable to provide proper protection. Wells spends 140 pages talking about Tinne being an independent woman of means and a savior of Africans imperiled, but reduces her to a silly woman who dies because of a list of should-have-dones. She should have had white men of science with her, to lead and organize her large party of Africans and Arabs, which is contradictory to how he had already described her as able to take command of military-type expeditions in dangerous terrain. She should have been less conspicuous about her wealth. Now when he illustrates her travels to North Africa and the locals herald her as the “daughter of the King,” Wells sees it as an opportunity for thieves and bandits to eye her as a target and criticizes the same displays of wealth he earlier praised as generous and gracious in the Egyptian Sudan. She should have been more careful and she would still be alive. Yet, he eulogizes her

As a bold traveler, no woman has surpassed her; in this sphere she towers high above all her sisters. Human knowledge has been greatly enriched by her investigations.... But her greatest honor, and the highest claim to the esteem of the world, and the black race in particular, she gained in her restless efforts to unvail (*sic*) the horrors of the slave-trade, and expose and punish those who live by this nefarious traffic.... the world has lost a remarkable woman, and Africa one of the boldest of her pioneers. She has left behind her a history strongly illuminated by the halo of romance.²⁸²

²⁸² Wells, pp155-156.

He concludes his transformation of Tinne from explorer to Imperial Mother with a call to his readers to take up where Tinne fell and go forth and Christianize and civilize the natives of Africa:

Steamers on its surface will soon plow over its waters, and open up...its shores to the light of civilization and the blessings of Christianity...now these dark, savage, and cruel men...are to be suddenly awakened out of their long sleep, not by degrees, but by the sudden flashes of the brightest light, and the noblest triumphs of civilization. See these poor, wild, untutored men as they view with astonishment all the enticing productions of our skill, of the use of which they can have no possible conception!²⁸³

Readers were to go forth, to “do and dare” like Tinne, and to their duty to their god and their race.

²⁸³ Wells, 206.



Figure 5-2 Tinne and her mother leading Lory away from the Arab slave traders to a better life.²⁸⁴

²⁸⁴ Image from "Lory – The Little Negress," in *School Girls All The World Over*, p244.

Chapter 6

New Woman 1869-1915

In 1865, once settled in Cairo, Tinne contacted her half-brother John A. Tinne to arrange for the purchase of a yacht. She wished to travel around the Mediterranean Sea under her own power. She insisted the vessel fly the Dutch colors and be staffed by an all Dutch crew; sailors who would fall under her command – including the Captain. Her cook, housemaids, and eclectic entourage all joined her once the *Meeuw* (Dutch for seagull) outfitting was complete. Tinne spent several years in Cairo, with interspersed sea ventures, stopping in at various ports of call along the coasts of France, Greece, and Italy.²⁸⁵ In a letter written home from an early voyage, she reported:

I have had a very pleasant time in Naples, but I cannot say I admire it, indeed I am at a loss to see what on earth people can see admirable in it.... I have thought after having been so long in wilderness to have been struck if not pleased by the first civilized place I went to, but I was not at all.... And the brigands what a shame to civilization! I am so afraid of them that when I take a long walk, I take all my Arabs, and all my negroes with me, even the cook! With revolvers and tomahawks. You may fancy what a procession we make.

²⁸⁵ News of Tinne's captaincy of the *Meeuw* even reached the United States. In a section of the *Memphis Daily Avalanche* titled "News from Abroad" there was a post: A young lady, Miss Tinne, is the Captain of a Dutch yacht...which sails the Mediterranean. *Memphis Daily Avalanche*, March 3rd, 1867. For more on her travels around the Mediterranean see Gladstone, pp 175-185; Willink p. 177-178.

If Naples has not struck me much I may say without vanity that we have Naples. I am so accustomed to Arabs and Negroes, but I quite forgot they could be found extraordinary but my first walk in Naples acquainted me with that. They were so mobbed that I have been obliged to dress them in European clothes: but the Neapolitans are good natured people and any observations they make seem to be a pleasant one, for they were everywhere admired and made much of, and the photographers of the place asked to do their pictures.²⁸⁶

Recent scholarship on the evolution of gender roles in the nineteenth century provides valuable resources for looking at how women's roles changed on both sides of the Atlantic in the first few decades immediately following Tinne's death. Works on the availability of higher education options for women, and the admission of women into "men's" professions provide context for why Tinne becomes relevant as a role model and/or pioneer in the late nineteenth century. Her decision not to return to Europe after the death of her mother marked her as guilty for the loss of her mother and her aunt. Tinne's decision to adopt "Oriental dress" and live "like an Arab" cast her as an outsider and further marked her unconventionality. Her murder in the Sahara at the hands of her Tuareg camel drivers propelled her into international fame and made her a precursor to, and inspiration for, the New Women of the turn of the century.

²⁸⁶ Letter from Tinne to relative, 16 November, 1865. Naples, Italy. Dutch National Archives.

Tinne was accustomed to her eclectic family, but she caused a sensation each time the party disembarked in a new “civilized” port of call. She realized that her entourage caused such a stir everywhere they went and she often dressed them in European fashions to minimize the fuss of the crowds they drew. From her own experiences being a stranger in a strange land, Tinne knew that adopting local dress could help with, or even change, the opinions of the locals.

Tinne was not interested in returning to northern Europe and though she considered Naples the first “civilized” place she had come to in ten years, she preferred the “uncivilized” world of North Africa. Indeed, even her unproblematic use of the term “civilized” in describing Naples, implying that her own long-term home was *not* civilized, speaks to her presence in two worlds at once. For Tinne, and other western women who traveled at this time, being away from the West gave them a freedom they did not have at home. Living in both the worlds of the known (Victorian class structure — in the colonial context) and in the unknown (exploration and encounters with the indigenous people) allowed both men and women the ability to transgress their expected roles and identities.

As travel historian Monica Rico argues, “The stationary self at home and the traveling self who went away were different, but these two

selves defined and sharpened one another.”²⁸⁷ The Baroness van Capellen dealing with Königsmark in Smyrna versus how she handled him in Vienna is a perfect example of this. Van Capellen repeatedly refused this man access to her daughter until they were on “home soil.” Rico’s argument applies here; the baroness fell back into her “home” self once in Europe. This idea of the home and the traveling self is a good indicator of why Tinne never returned to The Hague — not because of guilt over the deaths of her family members and housemaids while on the Bahr-el-Ghazal, but because she did not want to go back to being the “home” self — which would have been required of her had she returned to The Hague and aristocratic society.

In an 1867 piece for *Die Gartenlaube* titled “Frauenleben in der Kaliefenstadt,” on the lives of the women living in Cairo, illustrator and writer Wilhelm Gentz recounted a visit he had with Tinne and included her thoughts on the lives of women in the Orient versus those in the Occident. In it Gentz provided a glimpse into Tinne’s mindset and the reason she preferred Africa. He reported:

It is also Miss Tinne's opinion that the Oriental women are far from trembling under their masters and lords... The Oriental ladies share the honorable position of their husbands; their lives, their fortunes, their homes are sacred and safe, even if the husband is subject to political risks;

²⁸⁷ Rico, *Natures Noblemen*, p 85.

they enjoy the same education as men.... Her assets are not the property of the husband; ...her wealth is not liable for the debts of her husband. After the death it remains in her possession, and as a widow [women] enjoy highly respectful treatment. All these are facts, which in many ways the women of the Orient appear as good or maybe better situated than that of the Occident.²⁸⁸

Here she revealed much of what she found unbearable about women's place in Victorian society: their financial position depended upon often undependable men, they usually received substandard educations, and women without men were considered redundant. Gentz also reported that Tinne's home, which overlooked the Nile island of Rhoda was "a little paradise with its beautiful gardens full of tropical vegetation," and another reason for her to remain in the East.²⁸⁹

Western Women in the East

Upper- and professional middle-class women traveled, especially to the East, to enjoy a kind of freedom not known to them at home. In her two works on women and their travels to the East in the nineteenth century, *No Place for a Lady*, and *Dreaming of East: Western Women and the Exotic Allure of the Orient*, writer Barbara Hodgson investigates the reasons an area of the globe known for its seclusion of women was such a

²⁸⁸ Wilhelm Gentz, "Frauenleben in der Kaliefenstadt," *Die Gartenlaube*, Vol 41, p. 654.

²⁸⁹ *Ibid.*

draw to women of the West. Her main argument is that in going to the East women from the West “formed a new category of gender, a being with the learning of a man and the appearance of a woman, to be treated with near equality.”²⁹⁰ For white women in the East, the color of their skin trumped their gender. They were treated the same as the Western men and enjoyed freedoms not afforded them at home. Hodgson notes that these traveling women

Were able, through comparison and distance, to assess who they were and who they thought they should be.... They compared their own relative independence with the sequestered lives of Eastern women [and felt further independence].²⁹¹

In *No Place for a Lady*, Hodgson discusses places that are *only* for women – harems, the secluded apartments of the wives of wealthy Eastern men. Access to the harems of the East was a prime draw for women travelers from the West. The appeal was two-fold: it was an exotic and unknown space, and men could not access it. This made descriptions of harems one of the top items women reported home about in their Eastern travels. Harems were spaces that were exclusively the domain of women and a place where women resided outside the control and gaze of

²⁹⁰ Barbara Hodgson, *Dreaming of East: Western Women and the Exotic Allure of the Orient*, First Trade Paper Edition (Greystone Books, 2006). p. 3

²⁹¹ *Ibid.*

men.²⁹² Hodgson argues that women enjoyed both visiting and writing about the harems because, “it was a society of women for themselves, complete and secure.”²⁹³ The first Western woman to bring a real description of the harem to the eyes of the West was Lady Mary Wortley Montagu (1689-1762), who traveled in Turkey with her ambassador husband in the early eighteenth century.²⁹⁴ Published after her death, her letters from her time in Turkey were a sensation across Europe. Among her descriptions of the food, culture, customs, and architecture she experienced, Montagu interspersed lively descriptions of the sumptuous surroundings of the harem, women who inhabited them whose beauty surpassed any she had witnessed in Europe, and decorative finery unknown in the West. For Montagu and the droves of women who read her published letters and followed suit to experience the East, life in a harem was the epitome of freedom. Montagu even noted, “Upon the whole, I look upon the Turkish women as the only free people in the Empire.”²⁹⁵

²⁹² Barbara Hodgson, *No Place for a Lady*, pp. 55-60.

²⁹³ Barbara Hodgson, *Dreaming of East: Western Women and the Exotic Allure of the Orient*, First Trade Paper Edition (Greystone Books, 2006), p. 112.

²⁹⁴ Prior to the circulation of Montagu’s letters in the late 1720s, the only descriptions of harems came from men who had only heard about them.

²⁹⁵ Mary Wortley Montagu (lady.), *Letters of the Right Honourable Lady M--Y W---Y M----E: Written during Her Travels in Europe, Asia and Africa*, 1763, 3535.

For Montagu and those after her, much of the freedom in the East came in the form of “Oriental dress.” For ease of travel, to blend in to their surroundings, and not to mention pure comfort, many women travelers opted to shed their confining and impractical corsetry, bustles, and petticoats in favor of the loose-fitting ensembles of the East. Montagu, writing home to her sister, described her lavish Turkish costume thusly:

The first part of my dress is a pair of drawers, very full, that reach to my shoes, and conceal the legs more modestly than your petticoats. They are of a thin rose-coloured damask, brocaded with silver flowers. My shoes are of white kid leather, embroidered with gold. Over this hangs my smock, of a fine white silk gauze, edged with embroidery. This smock has wide sleeves, hanging half-way down the arm, and is closed at the neck with a diamond button; waistcoat, made close to the shape, of white and gold damask, with very long sleeves falling back, and fringed with deep gold fringe, and should have diamond or pearl buttons.

My *Caftan*, of the same stuff with my drawers, is a robe exactly fitted to my shape and reaching to my feet, with very long strait falling sleeves. Over this is the girdle, of about four fingers broad, which, all that can afford it, have entirely of diamonds or other precious stones ; those, who will not be at that expense, have it of exquisite embroidery on satin; but it must be fastened before with a clasp of diamonds.²⁹⁶

²⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 28–29.



Figure 6-1 Lady Montagu in Turkish dress by Jean-Étienne Liotard, ca. 1756

Although the clothes Montagu describes are sumptuous and in many layers, they are still less restrictive than the European fashion at the time. In a letter to her sister dated April 1, 1718, from Adrianople, Turkey, Montagu shared her observations of the relative freedom Turkish women possessed as related to their dress. She opined,

'Tis very easy to see, they have in reality more liberty than we have. No woman, of what rank so ever, is permitted to go into the streets without two *Murlins*, one that covers her face, all but her eyes; and another, that hides the whole dress of her head, and hangs half way down her back. Their shapes are also wholly concealed, by a thing they call a *Ferigee*, which no woman of any sort appears without; this has strait

(sic) sleeves, that reach to their fingers ends.... This perpetual masquerade gives them entire liberty of following their inclinations without danger of discovery.²⁹⁷

Like Montagu, a century and a half before her, Tinne shed her Western wear early on in her travels eastward. She adopted the local style while in Beirut and often wore versions of local garments throughout her time in Africa. In his article on women living in the Arab world, Wilhelm Gentz recalled an encounter with Tinne as he was walking through the streets of Cairo with a friend,

An elegant carriage rolled over, inside a veiled lady sitting in Turkish clothing; she nods to me, she waves at me with her hand. "What," asks surprised my companion, "you've harem acquaintances despite your brief presence [in the city]?" I'm surprised for a moment, in the highest degree, but standing on the back of the carriage the sons of Sudan quickly solve the riddle for me. I recognize them as the servants of the world renowned geographic Dutch traveler Miss Alexine Tinne whose acquaintance I made a few weeks ago.²⁹⁸

Tinne's habit of dressing like a local may not have fazed the well-traveled German, but it won her no favors with the European officials with whom she had to do business. Gentz recorded that upon her arrival in Tunis, Tinne contacted the Dutch Consul and requested an audience. He reported Tinne, "had long ago discarded all European fashions, and adopted the beautiful and flowing robes of the Arabian ladies." It was in

²⁹⁷ (lady.), *Letters of the Right Honourable Lady M--Y W---Y M----E*. p 33.

²⁹⁸ Wilhelm Gentz, "Frauenleben in der Kaliefenstadt," *Die Gartenlaube* (no. 41, 1867), pp. 652-654.

this garb that she appeared to meet her countryman. The Dutch official refused to see her.²⁹⁹ Wells explains the Dutch Consul's actions thusly,

He sent word that it was not his custom to receive Arabian ladies, and refused to see her. What he meant was simply this, that no Arabian lady would ever be seen traveling through the country or the city in that manner, and especially calling on government officers; and as she had chosen to present herself as an Arabian lady, he was bound to regard her as he would have regarded one of them under the circumstances, not worthy of his attention.³⁰⁰

Undaunted, as she had dealt with European consuls during all of her travels, Tinne requested a second audience. When she arrived for her appointment in her usual manner of dress the Dutch Consul exclaimed, "Mademoiselle, when the Dutch government recommended you to me, I thought I could expect a decent lady, and now what must I see? A *Bedouin!*" The consul refused to be her guide and protector in Tunis unless she dressed herself like a "proper European woman." Tinne refused and instead left the city for Tripoli.³⁰¹

Tinne's reaction to the shocked consul is in line with her character, she would not return to the "home" self he thought she should. She maintained the appearance of her "traveling" self which in reality had been her "home" self for nearly twenty years. The official is right— Eastern women had freedom in the harem, but were restricted in their movements

²⁹⁹ Wilhelm Gentz, "Das Bild der Gemordeten," *Die Gartenlaube*, No. 44 (1869), p. 696.

³⁰⁰ Wells, p.139.

³⁰¹ Gentz, "Das Bild der Gemordeten," p. 696. Wells, p. 140.

outside of its sanctuary. Western women were not so restricted in their movements but had to police their behaviors, including dress expectations, and ideas. Tinne is picking items from the best of both of the worlds that she experienced, to create a New Woman.



Figure 6-2 Alexine Tinne, age 30, self-portrait, North Africa, ca. 1867³⁰²

Another aspect of dress as freedom for Western women in the East in the nineteenth century was their ability to dress in European men's clothing without fear of censure. The wearing of men's clothing back home was for the fringes of female society - the actresses and the

³⁰² Tinne devised a way to run a cable to her camera and often took self-portraits with a device connected to the camera held in her hand.

lesbians. Traveling women chose to wear trousers, shirts, and waistcoats for a variety of reasons. Some took to menswear to disguise themselves for safety reasons, some for ease of riding astride a horse, donkey, or camel. Tinne, though she often wore the billowy trousers similar to the ones described by Montagu a century earlier, was never described as adopting menswear in her travels.³⁰³

The New Women

Dress was only part of the significant transitions for women that occurred in the United States and Europe at the end of the nineteenth-century. Clothing, travel, education and attitudes were shifting, creating a new, though controversial role for middle- and upper-class women, the “New Woman.” Literature professor Frances B. Cogan defines a New Woman as one whom

Insisted on her right to a career, irrespective of the financial needs of her family or her marital status. . . . The New Woman’s primary distinguishing characteristics included both an independent spirit and commitment to a lifetime career.³⁰⁴

Tinne’s life once again provided the raw material for another gender construct. Bicycles were just one part of this new potential role. As

³⁰³ Hodgson, *Dreaming of East*, pp. 73-80.

³⁰⁴ Frances B. Cogan, *All-American Girl: The Ideal of Real Womanhood in Mid-Nineteenth-Century America*, Athens: University of Georgia Press (1989), p. 258.

European women traveling in the East in the late nineteenth-century were giving up corsetry and petticoats for split skirts, local costumes, and menswear, some women in the United States and Europe were experimenting with their fashion for a new type of travel. Since the mid-century, women had been riding the various incarnations of the bicycle and the tricycle with criticism aimed at their wardrobe, their partaking in exercise, and their newfound ability to ride in the countryside with the opposite sex unchaperoned.³⁰⁵ With the 1885 invention of the “safety bicycle,” its addition of pneumatic tires in 1888, and its enclosed gears and coaster brake, women became a big part of the so-called bicycle craze of the 1890s. In her work on women and machinery, English professor and art historian Julie Wosk devotes an entire chapter to women and the bicycle at the turn of the twentieth century. Wosk notes that the notion of women riding the new safety bicycle met with mixed reviews. Cycling advocates saw this as an opportunity for women to get out into the fresh air and exercise and a way for women to explore the world around them. Riding a bicycle gave women (middle-class and those of the leisure class)

³⁰⁵ Tinne was not immune to the wonders of the bicycle and several newspapers reported the same story of her importation of one to the Sahara. “The velocipede has reached Africa! An exchange says: -- ‘Miss Tinne, of Holland, the famous African explorer, has reached Mourzouk in safety, and waiting the chief of the Tarouks to escort her to the starting post of the annual caravan for Soudan. Miss Tinne recently imported into the Barbary States a velocipede, but finding it not adapted to the sand of the Great Desert, she presented it to the Pasha of Tripoli, who is very much pleased with the bicycle.’” *Alexandria Gazette*, July 7, 1869 and the *Cincinnati Daily Gazette*, July 5, 1869.

the opportunity to get out of the house and forget temporarily about their harried home life before returning home in time rejuvenated and ready to care for their families.³⁰⁶

Opponents to these cycling women generally came from the same realms as the one who opposed women transgressing other socially constructed boundaries. Concerns about propriety were second only to concerns about health. The theory that women's bodies were unable to withstand the speed of cycling nor the nervous excitement it would invariably bring was tied to conservative science's notions of women's bodies and their perceived frailty due to their monthly reproductive functions. Cycling, of course, was a threat to Victorian women's propriety and as Wosc explains, "straddling bicycle saddles was often seen as leading to masturbation and excitation, posing a great threat to women's sexual innocence and purity."³⁰⁷

Cycling was also the domain of the New Woman. With images both positive and negative of the New Woman on her bicycle. The most famous and most over-idealized and romanticized of the New Women were those of the "Gibson girl." Created by American artist Charles Dana Gibson (1867–1944), these women were the embodiment of the American

³⁰⁶ Julie Wosc, *Women and the Machine: Representations from the Spinning Wheel to the Electronic Age*, Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press (2001), pp. 97-99.

³⁰⁷ Wosc, p. 103.

New Women in the late nineteenth century. As noted in the Library of Congress' 2013 exhibit of Gibson's work, *The Gibson Girl's America: Drawings by Charles Dana Gibson*, "Through depictions of young women bicycling, playing tennis and golf, horseback riding, swimming, and the like, Gibson and fellow illustrators helped promote the idea of the athletic girl as fashionable and socially acceptable."³⁰⁸ For writer Percival Pollard Gibson's girls were the epitome of what all American girls should be. In his article on the artist's take on the nineteenth-century girl he states,

What a classic creature she is, this girl of Gibson's! Of what poise, what tact, what perfect balance she seems the embodiment! How well she hints at all that is finest, noblest in the real, living flower, the American girl!³⁰⁹



Figure 6-3 Charles Dana Gibson, Scribner's for June, 1895³¹⁰

³⁰⁸ "The Gibson Girl as the "New Woman," *The Gibson Girl's America: Drawings by Charles Dana Gibson*, Library of Congress website, <http://www.loc.gov/exhibits/gibson-girls-america/the-gibson-girl-as-the-new-woman.html>. Accessed April 5, 2015.

³⁰⁹ Percival Pollard, "Sundry 'American Girls' in Black-and-White," *The Book Buyer*, Vol. XIV. No. 5, June 1897, p.475.

³¹⁰ Charles Dana Gibson, *Scribner's for June*, 1895. Lithograph and letterpress poster. Gift of Mrs. Grant Foreman, 1945. Prints and Photographs Division, Library of Congress (004.00.00) [LC-DIG-ppmsca-34349]

The satirical images of the New Woman and her bicycle aimed
barbs at these

Women of affluence and sensitivity, who despite or perhaps because of their wealth exhibited an independent spirit and were accustomed to acting on their own. The term New Woman always referred to women who exercised control over their own lives be it personal, social, or economic.³¹¹

In these images, the New Woman is literally the person “who wears the pants in the family,” and is upending traditional gender roles. These women depicted are large, overbearing, and abandoning their husbands, leaving them at home to do the household chores while riding off for a day of leisure on a bicycle. The men in these satires are small, submissive, and often portrayed as sullen and child-like or emasculated by wearing aprons and performing chores usually done by their wives.³¹²

<http://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/2002720198/> Accessed April 5, 2015

³¹¹ Ruth Birgitta Anderson Bordin, *Alice Freeman Palmer: The Evolution of a New Woman*. University of Michigan Press, (1993). . p. 2. According to Bordin, the term New Woman “was intended [by author Henry James in] to characterize American expatriates living in Europe” but came to signify a growing number of educated and independent women on both sides of the Atlantic.

³¹² Wosk, pp 104-107.



Figure 6-4 S.D. Ehrhart, *The New Woman Takes Her Husband Out for a Ride*³¹³

One of the keys to the New Woman was her education. In the mid-nineteenth century there was a push on both sides of the Atlantic, for institutions of higher learning to be opened to women. Beginning in England, in the 1840s, with the opening of two schools for the instruction of governesses, the women's higher education movement championed intellectual equality and access for both sexes. Professor of English Laura Morgan Green, in her work on Victorian literature argues

The women's education movement intersected with larger Victorian cultural conflicts over gender and identity, in

³¹³ S.D. Ehrhart, "The New Woman Takes Her Husband Out for a Ride," *Puck*, December 1895, as shown in Wosk, p. 104.

particular a conflict between the values of domestic ideology and those of an emergent liberal individualism.³¹⁴

By 1868, Emily Davies, the leader of the movement in the United Kingdom for the higher education of women, raised enough money to form what was to become Girton College, Cambridge – the first institution of higher learning in England to offer female undergraduates the same education the males received. In 1869, the Endowed Schools Act passed and opened up funding for girls' education. Following the model of female colleges in the United States, Davies' goal was to bring women, who were responsible for the education of their children – both secular and parochial – out of the home and into the universities where they could have access to knowledge and would acquire the skill sets to transmit it. Thus notions of women's domesticity were put to work at contrary purposes, actually shoring up their claim to formal education. As Green puts it, "the rhetoric of the women's higher education movement drew on, grappled with, and reappropriated the domestic ideological tradition that assigned to women the responsibility for the maintenance of home, family, and the private virtues of religion and morality."³¹⁵

In his 1859 address to the faculty and students of Susquehanna Female College in Selingsgrove, Pennsylvania, the Reverend E. W. Hutter

³¹⁴ Laura Morgan Green, *Educating Women: Cultural Conflict and Victorian Literature*, Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Press, (2001), p. ix.

³¹⁵ Green, p. 3.

outlined the importance of female education and discussed both its helps and its hindrances to humanity. For Hutter women in America were “now, as they have never been before, educated for pre-eminent usefulness here, and pre-eminent glory and happiness hereafter.”³¹⁶ Hutter’s address kept within the traditional roles expected of women and girls and placed emphasis on the need for women to be educated to prepare them “for the duties of earth and the rewards of heaven.” With an education, girls would become better wives and mothers and would better serve all humanity.³¹⁷

Hutter warned the assembled women that there were three obstacles to overcome when getting an education. His first hindrance to a woman’s education he termed Mental Dissipation – a wandering of the mind away from the lessons at hand. He warned the women not to engage in “a course of reading, not prescribed by her teacher, and thereby sadly retard her education.”³¹⁸ The Reverend issued a warning to those girls who took pleasure in reading romances and other non-educational materials, that their young minds could be destroyed by such frivolity. The second obstacle to a woman earning her education was what he termed “the ‘dissipation’ incident to the toilette.” Here Hutter cautioned the

³¹⁶ E.W. Hutter, Rev., *Femal Education: Its Importance – the Helps and the Hinderances. Address delivered before the faculty and students of the Susquehanna Female College, at Selingsgrove, PA. On Tuesday Evening, November 8th, 1859*, Baltimore: T. Newton Kurtz (1859), p. 6.

³¹⁷ Hutter, p. 8.

³¹⁸ *Ibid*, p. 9.

students of the distraction of their appearance and that they should “avoid ostentatious display and prodigal expense.”³¹⁹ For Hutter, the girl who spent too much time and energy fretting over her looks squandered the time she could be learning. The third, and final, hindrance to a girls’ education was what he referred to as “premature and absorbing alliances,” in other words, romantic attachments. He advised the students “it is Lindley Murray’s *Grammar* they are to be in love with, and not Lindley himself – that it is Pike’s *Arithmetic*, upon which their thoughts are to be centered, and not upon Pike.”³²⁰ He reassured them that there is “a time for everything under the sun,” and their time for relationships would come after successful completion of their education.

The keys to avoiding the three obstacles to their obtaining higher learning were what Hutter termed “the helps.” First and foremost the student must be pious, all other “helps” fall under this and he told the young women “by consecrating your hearts to Christ, you will hereby acquire a knowledge of Geography, Botany, Chemistry, or Astronomy – but will still have to read and study the books....”³²¹ Additional things important to the students’ success he listed as exercise, “since terrible enemies to successful study are dyspepsia and *ennui*,” a regular pattern

³¹⁹ Hutter, pp. 10-14.

³²⁰ *Ibid*, 14-15.

³²¹ *Ibid*, 16.

of sleeping and eating, good, yet studious friends, a respect for their professors, punctuality, cleanliness, the “sanctification of the Lord’s Day,” and honor to their parents.³²² With all these “helps” at her disposal, Hutter assured each young woman

you are to be educated, as well as we of the sterner sex, for the great mission of *practical life*. Your future arena is to be *in the family*, that earliest and best of institutions.... Of both parlor and kitchen you are to be the future High Priestesses, ministering with intelligent efficiency at these hallowed altars.³²³

Tinne’s Narrative as Adventure Story

William Wells lays out Tinne’s story as a romantic adventure in the opening chapter of his Sunday school reader *Heroine of the White Nile OR What a Woman Did and Dared: A Sketch of the Remarkable Travels and Experiences of Miss Alexandrine Tinné (1871)*. In “Why We Call Her a Heroine,” he set up everything he wanted the reader to know about his female protagonist:

The story of Alexandrine Tinné (pronounced Tinnay) is full of romance, courage, and self-sacrifice. She has done what many strong men feared to undertake, and all her remarkable labors seemed to be performed solely out of love to the cause that she espoused so early in life; namely, that of exploring Africa, and carrying intelligence to the poor

³²² *Ibid*, 17.

³²³ *Ibid*, 19.

negro, and doing what lay in her power to abolish that most terrible scourge of Africa, the internal slave-trade.³²⁴

Wells' Tinne is an explorer and an abolitionist, a woman working to right the wrongs in a hostile land. Wells labeled her as the first of her kind, the first to undertake such a mission and to face dangers only men had before. Tinne is a pioneer, an adventuress, and a martyr.³²⁵ For Wells, the goal was to tell her story as a recruiting tool for missionary work and the West's civilizing missions in Africa. Yet at this point, because of the increasingly popular image of an educated young woman who could travel, read science, and even ride a bicycle, he could not do so simply by making her an "Imperial Mother." To achieve this he also portrayed her as a strong, independent woman in command of male soldiers and porters, sailors, and European men of science – he placed her in the dual roles of Imperial Mother *and* New Woman.

Of the Tinne women's travels up the Nile past Gondokoro in a steamship he wrote,

They extended their journey to within a few degrees of the equator, and visited many of the wild regions that had scarcely ever known the presence of white man, to say nothing of delicate and tender European ladies. This tour made them famous for their astonishing endurance and the courage with which they met and overcame the difficulties that rose up against them, and which were enough to frighten strong men, and induce them to turn back. But

³²⁴ Wells, *Heroine of the White Nile*, p. 9-10.

³²⁵ Wells, 10.

Alexandrine Tinne knew no fear. She braved all the fatigues and dangers of an African climate, and all the inconveniences and exposures which must meet a lady on such a journey, without being for a moment turned from her determined purpose.³²⁶

Like a Marchant heroine after her, Wells' Tinne bravely faced the challenges at hand with the dignity of her station and an unmistakable sense of intention. Of her 1861 journey up the Nile he set Tinne up as superhuman, as

This notorious region has been the death of many a noble explorer and missionary, for its fearful morasses and endless swamps bear on their bosoms the seeds of the rankest poison. If the white man breathes this air it is almost certain death.³²⁷

Yet our sturdy adventuress, undaunted by such things, pressed on, breathing the air and surviving to reach new geographic goals and outwit Arab slave-traders and Turkish Pashas. Wealthy sheiks and tribal leaders offered her queenships and marriages too, but Tinne refused these honors because she was compelled to continue her independent quests. Wells assured his reader that being married, no matter the wealth and power was not in the cards for our protagonist. She had other tasks to accomplish and these powerful men could neither tame nor control her.

Alexandrine Tinne was born to be a commander, and never hesitated in the presence of difficulties. Indeed the more of these the better, seemed to be her doctrine. And the wilder

³²⁶ *Ibid*, pp.27-28.

³²⁷ Wells, p. 32.

and more dismal the country, And the more distant from civilization, the better she seemed to enjoy it. Here, in the morasses along the shores of the White Nile, that are more dangerous than the burning sands of the desert, was to be found the true test of her character. Here was the spot where was to be decided the question whether she was equal to the task she had undertaken or had mistaken her vocation. She stood the test.³²⁸

The task for Wells' Tinne was not exploration, but the eradication of the internal slave trade.

Wells set up the depravity of the activities in the regions his heroine chose to uplift in his seventh chapter "A Nest of Villians." In this part of the reader he described Khartoum as "the Gomorrah of the Upper Nile," and befitting of the same fate as that biblical town.³²⁹ Wells emphasized that the city was so far from Cairo, that the Turkish law did not reach there and this terrible trade went on under the eyes of substandard officials. Though the concerned (northern) Europeans begged for intervention from Egypt,

The Egyptian government affirms that there is no slave-trade carried on in that region, and does not know what other governments mean by making such a complaint; and yet it remains a party to the infamous business, and draws a profit from it, for the very army of Egypt is recruited by these negro hunts.³³⁰

³²⁸ *Ibid*, p. 50-51.

³²⁹ Wells, p. 63.

³³⁰ *Ibid*, p. 64. Wells is correct here in his statement that the army of Egypt comes from the slave raids in Sudan. The Pasha in Cairo conscripted these Sudanese men as life-long soldier-slaves. In 1863, the Pasha gave an entire battalion of these soldiers to the French army of Napoleon III. Loaded onto foreign ships in the middle of the night, the troops arrived in Mexico to fight during the French intervention in Mexico and the subsequent installation of Emperor Maximilian and his wife Empress Carlotta. The

Wells assured his young readers that Tinne did not choose Khartoum as the base for her explorations because

There were no great attractions for her there among these villains, whose crimes she had become well acquainted with by experience, whose vices she had seen with her own eyes, and whose wickedness she was determined to thwart by all the means in her power.³³¹

It was, at least for Wells' version of Tinne, her wish to make herself useful and for her exploration to "bring positive usefulness to the world."³³² Wells listed Tinne's expedition as providing information on

[The]...tribes living in the southern country of Niam-Niam. The position of the station of Meshra, on the Nile, was definitely settled, as well as the course of the Djaur and Kosanga rivers. In short, all of the confused water-courses to the west of the White Nile were made much more intelligible.³³³

During this time this mysterious and barbarous land had become to her as a home, notwithstanding all the terrors of

Sudanese battalion, initially acquired because contemporary science reported Africans would have a better chance at surviving the yellow fever outbreaks in Vera Cruz, died at the same rate of the disease as the Europeans, but outperformed their white counterparts in battle. Several of the unit were part of a special guard for Empress Carlotta and all of the Sudanese that survived their time in Mexico received commendations and medals from Napoleon III in Paris before they were returned to Cairo. For more on the French acquisition of Sudanese soldiers see Richard Hill and Peter Hogg, *A Black Corps d'Elite: An Egyptian Sudanese Conscript Battalion with the French Army in Mexico, 1863-1867, and Its Survivors in Subsequent African History*, East Lansing, MI:Michigan State University Press, 1995; Douglas H. Johnson, "The Structure of a Legacy: Military Slavery in Northeast Africa," *Ethnohistory*, Vol. 36, No. 1, Ethnohistory and Africa. (Winter, 1989), pp. 72-88; John Dunn, "Africa Invades the New World: Egypt's Mexican Adventure, 1863-1867," *War in History*, Vol. 4. No. 1, (1997) pp. 27-34; and for a firsthand account of one of the surviving Sudanese soldiers see Ali Effendi Gifoon, 'Memoirs of a Sudanese Soldier', *Cornhill Magazine* XI (July 1896), pp. 30-40; xii (Aug. 1896), pp. 175-87; XIII (Sept. 1896), pp. 326-38; XIV (Oct. 1896), pp. 484-92

³³¹ Wells, p. 72.

³³² *Ibid.* p. 74.

³³³ *Ibid.*, p. 98.

its climate and the cruelty and degradation of its people. She had become better acquainted with it than any other explorer, and had definitely settled a great many geographical points.³³⁴

Wells did give Tinne her due as an explorer before turning her back into the forerunner of the push to end the slave trade in Central Africa. He noted that “although she seemed to do but little, she certainly laid the foundation of new efforts that will, probably, regenerate the land,” and described the new efforts happening in the region to continue her brave efforts. Wells credited Tinne as opening up the eyes of the West to this horror and for that he asked his reader “Who, therefore, shall say that her efforts, trials, and sufferings were in vain?”³³⁵

Tinne’s exploration narrative, as told by Wells, provided the children (and adults) who read the book with the tale of a young, educated woman, one with a strong moral code and a sense of fearless adventure. She was sturdy in body and character, and a new type of woman his young readers could strive to be like. Tinne was, in this iteration, a heroine, a savior, an adventuress, and a martyr. Wells’ tale of this “Heroine of the White Nile” served as an early adventure story for girls, reminiscent of the ones already in circulation for boys.

³³⁴ *Ibid*, p. 102.

³³⁵ *Ibid*, pp. 105-106.

Girl's adventure stories

In his work on geographies of adventure, Richard Phillips investigates exploration narratives, works not conventionally labeled adventure stories. He defines them as texts “which geographers and historians traditionally regard as non-literary, documentary sources, [which] have been reinterpreted as quest narratives, in which heroes encounter the unknown – adventures.” Phillips explains that exploration narratives read like the serialized adventure stories of the Victorian and Edwardian eras - “the story of a man — who leaves Europe and ventures into the unknown. Solitary, romantic, brave, impractical, antisocial, masculine, white, and European — an archetypical adventure hero.”³³⁶ Read by both boys and girls on both sides of the Atlantic Ocean, these male-penned tales of the colonial adventurer for boys had no female counterparts. In the last decade of the nineteenth century, a swath of adventure stories for girls appeared on the market.

English author Bessie Marchant (1864-1941) was a pioneer of girls' adventure stories, about and for girls and a champion of female emigration to British colonies and White dominions. Marchant's stories took place in isolated areas and frontiers all across the British Empire as well as in outlying areas of South and Central America and Siberia. Writing more

³³⁶ *Mapping Men and Empire: a Geography of Adventure*, Richard Phillips, 1997, p. 8.

than 130 novels from 1894 until her death in 1941, Marchant created worlds where brave British, or colonial British, girls faced challenges and dangers with intelligence, grace, and grit. The heroines in her tales had many similarities, they were white, and usually English, had some sort of education, fell into hardship on the frontier or in an isolated area of a colony, and prevailed through their own force and determination. The girls and young women protagonists do not engage with the natives of their locales and the majority of them remain unmarried.

In her work on the pre-World War I novels by Marchant, children's literature professor Michelle Smith points out that critics of Marchant's sagas of girlhood colonial adventures likened them to cheap romance novels, as opposed to the seemingly educational and instructive "boys' Henty."³³⁷ Smith does find positive contemporary reviews of Marchant's works described as "offering admirable characterization of girlhood" and providing examples of "excellent types of normal, healthy-minded girls." Smith also shows Marchant's novels as stories both reflecting and foreshadowing the late nineteenth-century gender shifts in the Atlantic World, noting, "no longer content to simply be backers-up of male empire

³³⁷ Boys' Henty were so named because of the plethora of boys' adventure stories written by Englishman G. H. Henty from 1865 – 1906. Marchant's stories became known as "girls' Henty."

builders, girls were seeking new worlds of their own to conquer.”³³⁸

Richard Phillips concurs observing that Marchant stories, which included maps, provided female readers departure points from their everyday world.

Heroines proceed to transgress some of the boundaries on the maps. They cross literal boundaries, between home and away, and metaphysical boundaries, between constructions of femininity and masculinity. [The maps] challenge, as well as confirm dominant ideologies of gender, imperialism, and geography.”³³⁹

Phillips notes that Marchant’s tales were conservative and conventional in many ways, but were also departures from the traditional narrative — “un-mapping rather than mapping the traditional colonial masculine narrative.... Her heroines undermine or un-map some aspects of the predominantly masculinist geography of adventure.” The stories Marchant created placed her heroines in situations Smith calls “inescapable because of location or situation and therefore do not function as challenges to female domestic responsibilities.” Through her novels, Victorian and Edwardian girls came to know models of imperial behavior

³³⁸ Michelle Smith, “Adventurous girls of the British Empire” *The Pre-War Novels of Bessie Marchant*, *The Lion and the Unicorn*, Volume 33, Number 1, January 2009, pp1-

4.

³³⁹ Phillips, *Maps and Mappings*, p 19.

that were new to them and representative of another kind of life they could actually lead.³⁴⁰

Coming out in force since the middle of the era, women's travel narratives fed the genre of girls' adventure stories. As Phillips notes,

British Victorian writers such as Mary Kingsley and Isabella Bird, whose travel and adventure narratives gave girls and women the opportunity to go where few [of their generation] had been before — to far-off lands and seas, in the company of heroines, rather than heroes.³⁴¹

This burst of writing both about and by women makes Tinne's story valuable and appreciated to this same generation of readers. Rather than a character created in the minds of writers like Marchant, Tinne was a real-life adventurer and explorer — one who began her travels as a young girl. Tinne's life read like a Marchant tale, she was young, educated, refused to marry though she had suitable offers, faced trials unknown in the comfort of her home in the West, and gave everything — including her life — in her pursuit of a life of adventure.

Tinne as New Woman

Publications portrayed Tinne as a precursor to the adventurous traveling women of the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth century.

Tinne's image as a daring woman who traveled "unprotected" in savage

³⁴⁰ *Ibid*, 20; Smith, p 5.

³⁴¹ Phillips, p. 91.

lands, led expeditions in wild and uncharted backcountries, and commanded the men who served as her soldiers, servants, and guides was useful for the burgeoning feminist movement of the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth-centuries. She was a woman who exemplified all of the traits a “modern” woman could have. They held Tinne up as an example of what a woman on her own could be and do. The retelling of Alexine’s story celebrates the British Empire and the American New Woman at the same time. She, or her story, encapsulates the height of British exploration, discovery, imperialism, and colonialism, while simultaneously exemplifying the transatlantic ideals of a New Woman adventurer.

Chapter 7

Epilogue – Historical Figure (1869 -)

From the moment word of her assassination in the desert reached Liverpool, nearly three weeks after the deed; Tinne became a figure of history. No longer among the living, no body to repatriate, no grave at which her mourners could grieve, Tinne became a figure of the imagination. Her half-brother John A. Tinne traveled to The Hague to settle her final affairs and sell her home on the Lange Voorhout. He sent his two sons to Tripoli to gather whatever things Tinne had left behind at her home there. According to Penelope Gladstone, Tinne's family built a new building for the English Episcopal Church in The Hague in her memory and in Algiers the local church she had attended put up a memorial brass plaque and a window for her.³⁴² Her family on both sides of the English Channel divided her things among themselves and much of her ethnographic collection from her time in Sudan they donated to museums.³⁴³

Her murder made news around the globe, much in the fashion her exploits, her explorations, and her entourage had. Tinne became a fiction,

³⁴² Gladstone, 224-225.

³⁴³ The book by Robert Joost Willink, *The Fateful Journey*, is partly a history of Tinne's time on the Nile and partly a record of Willink's four years spent in England and across Europe attempting to reassemble Tinne's Sudanese item collection in one place.

a story to be told, and retold over time. Because she was no longer alive to counter the claims made about her, or the stories told about her life, magazine writers, newspaper columnists, authors of Sunday school readers, and novelists were free to take liberties with her actual life and reinterpret it as they saw fit. In the late nineteenth century there was even a brief time when reports surfaced that Tinne was indeed alive. In July 1895, an item ran in *The Daily Telegraph* with the claim that Tinne was alive and well, living in the desert with a man who had purchased her and was the father of her three children. When questioned by some of Tinne's surviving relatives, the author, a man named Djebari, only would say that he had in fact seen her tomb, which Gladstone reports him as seeing "in the mosque of a little oasis."³⁴⁴

The amount of source material (both primary and secondary) for the post-Tinne period in the Atlantic is rich, of the nearly 100 items published between 1870 and 1970 roughly one-third are American publications, one-third are from the United Kingdom, and the remaining third are from various continental European countries, most notably France, Germany, and The Netherlands. The sources are divided among books, geographical society proceedings and journals, magazines, monographs, and literature reviews. After 1970, there is no shortage of

³⁴⁴ *Ibid*, p. 225.

Tinne sightings either. Alexine appears in books on such diverse subjects as slavery and travel writing, as well as histories of the Sahara and of the Nile, and surprisingly she appears briefly in *Stripping in Time: a History of Erotic Dancing* (1997) as a woman who witnesses dancing taking place in Middle Eastern harems. Children's books and works of historical fiction transform Tinne into a semi-fictional character; her story told in myriad languages, French, Italian, and Spanish, as well as English, German, and her native Dutch.³⁴⁵

Through an investigation of the writings about her life and her transatlantic legacy once can piece together six separate "lives" attributed to Tinne. She was born into a wealthy aristocratic family very much a product of the eighteenth-century world from which her parents came. Because of her class she was afforded every opportunity to travel and obtain an education. Taking Grand Tours and spending time abroad in Norway, Denmark, France, Italy, Spain, and other European destinations she became a traveler.

As Tinne moved further afield and to more exotic locales with her mother, and later her aunt, Tinne, because of her gender is labeled a tourist. She traveled to places to which one of her class must go. She saw what she was expected to see when she got there and when she returned

³⁴⁵ Lucinda Jarrett, "Introduction," *Stripping in Time: a History of Erotic Dancing*, London: Pandora, 1997, p.4.

home she reports back to her social group exactly what she is anticipated to, thereby confirming her status among her peers. Travel emboldens Tinne, and her mother, and begins to harden their idea of self as a function of “home” and “away.” Travel, especially once she began additional trips on the Nile and she rejects Adolf Königsmark’s offer of marriage once and for all, sets her apart as unconventional for both her gender and her class.

Tinne’s unconventionality is cemented when she outfits a trip up the Nile to Khartoum and then on past Rejaf to the city of Juba, where there is a monument to her still today. Traveling off of the beaten paths of traditional tours and into the wilds of “undiscovered” Central Africa, conducting expeditions on the same river ways as famous British explorers John Hanning Speke, James Augustus Grant, Samuel Baker, John Petherick, David Livingstone, and others mark her as one of them – a nineteenth-century explorer. The untimely death of her mother, her maids, and then upon her return to Khartoum, her Aunt Addy squash her adventuresome spirit for a time. Once she moves north to Cairo, then on to Tripoli she once again takes on the mantle of explorer as she arranges an expedition to cross the Sahara. This journey was her last as it cost Tinne her life.

Extraordinary as she was in life, one cannot be surprised that she would, like the fabled phoenix, rise up from the ashes and begin anew. Death did not stop the life of Tinne from growing, changing, and continuing. She was transformed and held up as an example, first by Professor William Wells in his Sunday School reader *The Heroine of The White Nile, or What a Woman Did and Dared* as two sides of the same coin: Imperial Mother and New Woman. Wells' fashions a Tinne that is both tender mother and independent explorer. For him Tinne was a transporter of civilization and Christianity to the peoples of Central Africa and took as her life-long career the quest to suppress the internal slave trade of Africa. At the turn of the twentieth century Tinne is the embodiment of the American New Woman – educated, independent, and mobile. She is an example of what a woman could do and could be.

In the twentieth century, positive writings on Tinne are much harder to find. Lauded in her own time and for almost forty years posthumously, Tinne as an historical figure takes a down turn in the second half of this period. In Penelope Gladstone's 1970 biography of Tinne, which I use heavily in my own work, there is an undercurrent of dislike for her subject. The diaries by Baroness Van Capellen, used by Gladstone as the basis of the Tinne biography, are lost to history and one can only go by what the modern author conveyed. Gladstone often gives the Baroness's opinions

about her daughter, usually in terms of her selfishness, or she portrays the Baroness as constantly sacrificing her comfort for the whims of her child. It is hard to decipher if these are Van Capellen's feelings or Gladstone's, my intuition says it is the latter.³⁴⁶

In twentieth-century anthologies of women travelers and other books about women traveling through nineteenth-century Africa she is either left out completely or is summed up best as an eccentric rich woman who was foolish and got herself killed. Tinne, though labeled an explorer, is described in Marion Tinling's *Women into the Unknown: A Sourcebook on Women Explorers and Travelers* (1989) as "the most colorful, as well as the most tragic, of the Nile explorers."³⁴⁷ Though discussed in both of Barbara Hodgson's books about women traveling in the East, Tinne is glossed over and much is made of her spending habits and her eccentricity. In Jane Robinson's 1990 title, *Wayward Women: A Guide to Women Travelers*, Tinne is not even included. In her follow-up book in 1994 *Unsuitable for Ladies: An Anthology of Women Travelers*,

³⁴⁶ Interesting to note, Gladstone's great-grandfather, British Prime Minister The Right Honourable William E. Gladstone (1809-1898) had business dealings with the Sandbach Tinne Company as part of the "coolie trade" in the mid nineteenth century. For more on Gladstone's lineage see Mosley, Charles, editor. *Burke's Peerage, Baronetage & Knightage, 107th edition, Vol 2.* Wilmington, Delaware, U.S.A.: Burke's Peerage (Genealogical Books) Ltd, 2003, p. 1559.

³⁴⁷ Marion Tinling, *Women into the Unknown: A Sourcebook on Women Explorers and Travelers*, Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, Inc. (1989), p. 299.

Tinne is again omitted. The pattern is the same in most of the books covering women travelers published since the 1970s.

A look at the 1960 book *De merkwaardige reizen van Henriëtte en Alexandrine Tinne* by Dutch poet and writer Clara Eggink about the Tinne women and their travels sheds some light onto why, in the post-feminist era, Tinne is excluded from volumes about women travelers. Eggink takes the women to task for their lavish lifestyle, for their expenditure, and for Tinne's fatalism. Eggink's version of Tinne is one of obstinacy and recklessness and the cause of her family members' deaths. Eggink's work, though not based on archival sources or even family held papers, changed people's perceptions of Tinne from national treasure to dilettante.

What it boils down to is class. Tinne was of the leisure class. She was a non-productive member of her society. Eggink takes her to task for not doing more to support the burgeoning women's suffrage movement of the mid-nineteenth century, but Tinne would not have cared about being part of the suffrage movement. Tinne was above the need to vote, and she did not take part in European political affairs anyway. There is only one incident I could find in the archives with any mention of the women's movement. It was a letter from John Tinne, dated July 13, 1869, to his sister relaying a message that English suffragist Lydia Becker (1827-1890)

had been following her journeys in the papers and was most interested to meet her to see if she would be interested in their cause. John Tinne refers to Becker as one “who has made herself very conspicuous of late in advocating what is called ‘women’s rights.’” He continues on saying, “I wonder if she will write to you: She seems wonderfully smitten and charmed with you and speaks of your courage and enterprising character.”³⁴⁸ There is no documented reply to John that I have found to this date, so no proof of what his sister thought of these women and their desire for the vote, or if she had any interest in their cause.

In the twenty-first century there is a mixed bag of historical work on Tinne. She receives, in my opinion, a semi-fair shake in Milbry Polk and Mary Tiegreen’s 2001 book, *Women of Discovery: A Celebration of Intrepid Women Who Explored the World*. The two flesh out Tinne’s life but do fall into the trap of earlier works who label her as selfish and foolish. Ray Howgego mentions her favorably in his 2009 lushly illustrated cartography book *The Book of Exploration*. In Robert Willink’s 2012 publication of *A Fateful Journey*, Tinne is portrayed as a self-centered dilettante. She frustrated her family, especially her brother John, she irritated her travel companion, Theodor von Heuglin, and she upset European consuls and Egyptian pashas and viceroys alike. She was

³⁴⁸ Letter from John A. Tinne to Alexine Tinne, July 13, 1869. Dutch National Archives.

demanding and difficult and she was unhappy when she did not get her way. She was a rich, spoiled brat.

So how did this woman, a celebrated and loved figure in her own time, end up in the new millennium as an *enfant terrible*? In this twenty-first century culture of celebrity worship and of reality stars dominating the news, it is easy to see how looking back through a modern lens at Tinne she becomes a vapid dilettante. In the era of reality TV and celebrity culture it is not difficult to look at Tinne through that same filter and see her as a rich young woman who travels to exotic locales, uses the indigenous peoples as props, appropriating culture and costume for her own use, shocking the friends and family (her viewers) at home with her exploits which are reported upon in the local newspapers and magazines.

However, Tinne's history is on the road to recovery through recent publications by Willink she has been brought back to prominence in her native Netherlands. She has been the subject of two exhibitions at the Hague Historical Museum, one in 2011 as part of a celebration of famous women of The Hague. The other and most recent, a specially curated exhibit by Willink *Alexine Tinne – Afrikasnse avonturen van een Haagse dame* – which not only showcased Tinne's travels, but featured items previously unseen by the public, including some of Tinne's clothing from North Africa and a book of watercolors she painted while on the Nile. In

2013, the Dutch postal service, PostNL, issued the first in a series of stamps honoring Dutch women of historical note – *1001 Vrouwen uit de nederlandse geschiedenis*. Tinne is the first stamp on the sheet featuring four women and her stamp appears twice.



Figure 7-1 - 1001 Vrouwen uit de Nederlandse Geschiedenis, stamp series issued by the Dutch postal service in 2013 honoring Dutch women of historical importance. Tinne is the first women depicted.

This account provides the first historical look at Alexandrine Tinne in a transatlantic context. By placing Tinne in this framework it challenges analyses in both the contemporary perception of her by Victorians and the image of her, and more specifically its usage, in both the United States and Europe after her death. By illustrating her “six lives,” one, for the very first time, gets a fuller picture of the woman, the image, and the legacy. In the course of sifting through the archives of the Dutch National archives one gets a sense of Tinne’s place at the top of The Hague’s social ladder, her closeness to the royal family and her ability to move around Europe freely in the most exclusive circles.

Investigations into the diaries and papers of nineteenth-century male explorers of Africa and the proceedings and journals of the Royal Geographical Society in London, England illuminate Tinne’s role as an explorer. The items she found on the Bahr-al-Ghazal expedition not only filled the pages of the botanical volume *Plantae Tinneanea*, but the ethnographic pieces collected still sit in European museums today just like the items brought back by her male peers. The labeling of Tinne as explorer also rightfully elevates her back to the status she held in her own time. Biographical treatments of her in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries have glossed over this aspect of her life.

Tinne's afterlife, or her legacy, is a transatlantic one. The idea of her, transferred interculturally from Europe by William Wells was the first time Tinne's story and image was put to specific use. His posthumous reinvention of Tinne simultaneously assigns to her the role of Imperial Mother and New Woman of the late nineteenth century. By using Tinne in these ways, or at least using her story in these ways, Wells created a new Tinne who functioned very differently than the real woman. Wells' creation gives birth to the transatlantic legacy of Tinne and places her in the position to be the vehicle through which gender and cultural shifts in the Victorian Atlantic may be analyzed.

My work brings to light her image, both in her lifetime and after. In my investigation of her transatlantic legacy I open a new chapter to her story and bring her into the nineteenth-century gender shifts in the Atlantic world as well as illuminating her influence in the United States. By digging deeper and exploring her life and legacy as objectively as is possible, I hope to bring balance to the versions of Tinne that have been around since her death in the desert. By peeling away the layers of descriptions applied to Tinne and showing as true a representation of this woman as research allows she can continue to fill the imagination of generations to come as truly 'what a woman did and dared.'

Appendix A

Timeline of Alexine Tinne's Life

- October 17, 1835 – Birth of Alexandrine Petronella Francisca Tinne
- July 1845 – Death of Philip Tinne
- July 1854 – Six month Grand Tour of Scandinavia
- May 1855 – End of relationship with Adolph Königsmark
- May 1855 – Six month tour of Europe ending with the decision to go to Egypt
- December 1855 – Arrival in Africa for the first time
- January 1856 – First Nile Voyage
- April 1856 – Six month tour of the Holy Land
- January 1857 – Second Nile Voyage
- November, 1857 – Return to The Hague
- August, 1861 – Depart for Egypt, Adriana van Capellen (Aunt Addy) joins them
- January 1862 – Third Nile Voyage
- April 1862 – Arrival at Khartoum
- May 1862 – Voyage on the Upper Nile
- September 1862 – Arrival in Gondokoro – First people to take a mechanical boat this far up the Nile
- November 1862 – Two month stay in Khartoum planning next voyage – met von Heuglin and Steudner
- January 25, 1863 – Launch of the expedition on the Bahr-al-Ghazal
- April 10th, 1863 – Death of Steudner at Wau
- June 21, 1863 – Beginning of stay at Biselli's zeriba
- July 22, 1863 – The death of Tinne's mother, Baroness Henriette van Capellen
- July 1863 – Expedition cannot continue and must wait out rainy season before a return to Khartoum
- March 29, 1864 – Arrival back in Khartoum
- July 9, 1864 – Arrival in Berber for overland desert journey to Sawakin and then to Cairo via Suez
- November 22, 1864 – Arrival back in Cairo
- 1865 – 1868 – Travels around the Mediterranean Sea aboard the *Meeuw*, homes in Cairo and Algiers
- October, 1868 – Arrival in Tripoli – begins planning Sahara Desert crossing
- January, 1869 – Desert caravan departs Tripoli

- March 27, 1869 – Arrives in Murzuq
- June 5, 1869 – Tinne departs Murzuq for her meeting with the Tuareg chieftan Ichnuchen
- August 1, 1869 – Murder of Tinne and two Dutch sailors in their camp at Wadi Berdjong

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