Women's Travel Writings in India 1777–1854

Volume III

Edited by
Éadaoin Agnew

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INTRODUCTION

Ann Deane (1770–1847) arrived in the subcontinent in 1799, and Julia Maitland (1808–1864) departed in 1839. During this forty-year period, Britain's relationship with India changed considerably; by 1818, almost the entirety of India, with the exception of the Punjab and Sindh, was under the direct or indirect control of the East India Company, with the Company's role now shifting from trade and the accumulation of wealth to what was in effect the imperial governance of its extensive territories. And yet, as Ashley L. Cohen states in her Introduction to *Lady Nugent's East India Journal* (2014), this is 'an era that is relatively underrepresented in British literature about colonial India'.[1] She explains that most travel accounts, in their various forms, focus either on the earlier decades of great territorial conquest (1770s and 1780s), or on the time around and after the First War of Indian Independence in 1857. Critical interest in the intervening period is similarly sparse, especially in relation to women's travel writing, despite the publication of a number of interesting texts.[2] To counter such absences, this volume brings together Deane's *A Tour through the Upper Provinces of Hindostan; Comprising a Period between the Years 1804 and 1814: with Remarks and Authentic Anecdotes* (1823) and Maitland's *Letters from Madras, During the Years 1836–1839* (first published in 1843 but reproduced here from the second edition of 1846). In doing so, it illustrates some important ideological shifts in Britain's imperial policies that took place at the start of the nineteenth century and that contributed to a later phase of colonial expansion; and it shows that women took part in contemporary debates and discourses relating to these issues. At the same time, by reading these two texts together, we can trace changes to the travel genre; in particular, we see here the transition from information-based travel books to the more personal and narrative forms of travel writing now familiar to modern readers. In women's writing, such developments were undoubtedly influenced by increasingly dominant gender discourses that separated the public and private spheres; however, they were also the result of broader generic expectations and Britain's changing attitude to India.

Ann Deane

Ann Deane was the eldest daughter of John Deane, Esq., of Hartley Court, Berkshire, a magistrate and receiver for the county, and Sarah Ann Deane (d. 1818). She married her cousin Captain Charles Meredith Deane (1762–1815) of the 24th Light Dragoons in 1786, and they had two sons Charles (1791–1853) and John Bathurst (1797–1887). In 1799 the family sailed to India, leaving young Charles at home in accordance with the custom at the time; children from the age of six or seven were often schooled in Britain while their parents were stationed in India. Accordingly, when John Deane turned eight, his mother travelled with him to England and placed him in Bath Grammar School. She returned to India in 1804, joining her husband in Calcutta, whereupon they departed for Kanpur almost immediately. They only returned to the 'City of Palaces' later that year, once the Second Anglo-Maratha War (1803–1805) had drawn to a close. It is at this point that Deane's travel narrative begins without any acknowledgement of previous events. This omission of biographical information is in keeping with the rest of the text and, as a result, we know little about Ann or Charles Deane.

Instead of disclosing personal information, Deane's account of India chiefly focuses on external elements. She adopts a style of writing that Carl Thompson refers to as the 'autoptic principle'.[3] At its most simple, this formal strategy employs first-person verb forms, such as 'I saw', 'I went', 'I did', and largely excludes sentimental or emotional engagement. In this way, Deane's narrative mode insists upon her value as a trustworthy eyewitness; it places her firmly at the scene and asserts her objectivity. The prefatory advertisement further emphasizes this position by stating that the travelogue was written by 'a lady, who has witnessed all that she describes, and whose chief aim on the indulgence of the reader is authenticity' (p. 21). It also explains: 'The scenes she has endeavoured to pourtray, occurred in the order wherein they are here related: the reader must not therefore expect a finished and elaborate performance; but a plain, simple narrative of facts' (p. 21). Yet even the most apparently impartial travel account requires selection and organization, and Deane's travels had a very particular focus, being largely determined by her husband's work as a District Collector in areas recently procured or protected by the East India Company.

In March 1805, the Deanes set out from Calcutta travelling north-west through Patna, Buxar, Benares, Kanpur, and Agra in the modern state of Uttar Pradesh. Historically a major administrative centre for the Mughal Empire and the site of architectural wonders such as the Taj Mahal, Agra had recently come under Company control as a result of the British victory over the Marathas. The Deanes settled just outside the city in Sikandra in July 1805, and this became their base for several years although Deane's narrative gives no account of this period of residence, with the exception of some information regarding the tourist

sites. Deane then resumes her narrative when she embarks on her next journey on 1 December 1808. She travels north to the Mughal capital Delhi, which had, like Agra, fallen to the British during the Second Anglo-Maratha War, and follows a circular route through other notable sites of recent acquisition, such as Meerut, Moradabad, Bareilly, and Fateghar, and back to the residence at Sikandra. Approximately six months later, in September 1809, Deane travels along the Ganges from Fateghar to Pusa near Patna and returns by land to Meerut in January 1810. After this, there is another narrative gap until April 1811 when she sets out on her final tour of the Bareilly district, previously Rohilkhand, which Nawab Saadat Ali Khan (c. 1752–1814) had ceded to the British in 1801 as payment for debts accrued during the Rohilla War (1773–1774). The Deanes spent two months in Jehanabad, near Pilibhit, and a month in Bareilly before arriving in Meerut in July 1811.

At this point, Deane closes the travelogue rather abruptly, giving no explanation and providing no narrative closure, although it would be another three years before she left India in 1814; her husband remained in India and died there a year later. Deane's departure was possibly due to escalating tensions between the British and the Maratha Empire, which culminated in the Third Anglo-Maratha War a few years later (1817–1818). Arguably this ongoing conflict and the complex political situation, together with Deane's personal loss, prevented the completion of her narrative, which was not published until 1823. By waiting until after the War, when there was a period of relative stability in the upper provinces, she perhaps felt more able to produce a reliable and useful account of British territories. And Deane undoubtedly intended for her text to be helpful, not least because she travelled through areas relatively unfamiliar to Western travellers. To this end she provides information about modes of transport and the viability of roads, as well as accounts of military stations, historical ruins, and royal residences. Deane also outlines the recent political history of the area, discussing conflicts such as the battles of Plassey (1757) and Buxar (1764), and often focusing on the despotic and capricious nature of the indigenous leaders who challenged Company rule, such as Mir Qasim (*d*.1777).[4]

In addition to the main narrative, the text includes two glossaries, one for the tour and one for the voyage out, and a 'Guide' intended for any 'young man' (p. 145) travelling to India, especially those employed by the King's troops or the East India Company. Here Deane sets out 'the correct distances of every station, and what their [sic] produce' (p. 143) without the broader historical, cultural, and political material. The separation of such factual information from the more descriptive elements of a travel account was not uncommon. It was also used, for example, by Anne Elwood in her *Narrative of a Journey Overland from England by the Continent of Europe, Egypt, and the Red Sea to India* (1830). This formal arrangement allowed for the inclusion of personal and literary modes of writing travel while maintaining a strong commitment to utility. Thus, while Deane maintains a largely impersonal and generally informative tone throughout, she

occasionally digresses, in her main narrative, into subjective and what were at this date more typically feminine points of interest, such as information about domestic life on the road and in the camps, the types of servants required, the different forms of accommodation available, and the necessary arrangements for carrying food and for cooking. Deane also expresses considerable interest in the lives of Indian women, especially those in the upper echelons of society such as the renowned Begum Sumroo (c. 1753–1836) whom she met in Delhi in 1808. Begum Sumroo had risen from inauspicious beginnings to become the ruler of Sardhana and Deane recognizes this authority in gendered terms, writing: 'This woman has an uncommon share of natural abilities, with a strength of mind rarely met with, particularly in a female' (p. 94). She praises the Begum's military prowess and political position and eagerly accepts an invitation to accompany her to the Mughal Court at Delhi. Deane is undoubtedly interested in the Mughal Emperor Akbar II, but she takes advantage of her privileged access to the women's quarters and largely focuses her attention on the women of the court: the Queen, the Dowager Begum, and the princes' wives. In doing so, Deane caters to the persistent Western fascination with these secluded spaces, providing insight and information that was unavailable to her male peers.[5]

Deane's time among India's elites is short as her itinerary is subject to her husband's work in some of India's richest and most fertile areas. However, Deane also uses this to her advantage and writes extensively about the natural landscape. Information about India's flora and fauna was particularly valuable at this time. The recent wars had been costly and in the early decades of the nineteenth century India faced economic depression.[6] In light of this, both the Company and the British Government perceived the land as a probable source of development. To this end a Trigonometrical Survey of the subcontinent had been launched in 1802 and Colin Mackenzie (1754–1821) appointed as Surveyor General of India in 1815;[7] these endeavours were further extended by a network of investigators responsible for cataloguing every aspect of India's natural resources. Deane and her husband travel for a time with two such surveyors:

> These provinces having been newly conquered by the British army, had as yet paid no revenue to Government, who accordingly appointed two commissioners to survey them, and form an estimate of what they were capable of furnishing. I consider myself particularly fortunate in being of their party, since it afforded me a more perfect view of the manners and customs of the natives, and a better opportunity of seeing the country than was likely to occur again; indeed we visited some parts of it where Europeans had never been before.
>
> (p. 90)

This opportunity enabled Deane to pass on to a general readership valuable information about raw materials, plants, and trees, as well as the condition of the roads, the climates, and the landscape in the upper provinces, which she generally

perceives in relation to productivity and utility. In doing so, she usually avoids the aestheticizing eye associated with later women travel writers in India such as Fanny Parks (1794–1875) and Emma Roberts (1794–1840).[8] Deane occasionally refers to picturesque or sublime scenes, but it is surely notable that the word 'cultivation', or some derivative of it, appears 35 times in *A Tour*; for example:

> [W]e struck across the country, driving through groves of mango and tamarind trees alternately, enlivened by cultivation of grain, through which meandered a deep pellucid stream called the *Rewah*, bounded by banks of the liveliest verdure.
>
> (p. 51)

In this way, her representations of India's landscape contribute to an 'imperial archive', to use Thomas Richards' term, even though she could not work directly for the East India Company or British Government.[9]

While Deane focuses largely on material aspects of the Indian landscape, she acknowledges an interest in British governance beyond its ability to generate increased revenue. Deane tells her readers that Charles, during his time as Collector, cleared the jungle around Bodgepoore and put the lands into a state of cultivation. She writes that now 'Indigo flourishes particularly well in this part of India' (p. 60). She also notes that this action freed the area from banditti who were too afraid to carry out their depredations in the open space. Her mention of the blue dye alongside assurances of new-found stability and safety was surely deliberate. Indigo was a highly profitable natural resource in great demand, and her comment indicates the economic potential of this recently secured area. But she also attends to an encroaching paternalism that found the desire for pure profit unpalatable and so sought to emphasize the benefits for the local community.

Deane predominantly perceives the Indian people in stereotypically religious terms. Muslims are apparently brave, while being treacherous and tyrannical; Hindus are caste-ridden, superstitious, and indolent, as manifested by sensationalized accounts of *sati* and the notorious hook ceremony. Nonetheless, she appears to support the East India Company's position on religious non-interference:

> It is a system of policy on the part of the English to protect, as far as is in their power, the religious ceremonies of both; since it is chiefly owing to these means that we keep our possessions in the country.
>
> (p. 62)

Deane is clearly aware of current debates around religious conversion, which were brought into focus by the East India Act of 1813, and its removal of the ban on missionary activity. But unlike Maitland some 20 years later, Deane sees conversion work as rather fruitless and maintains an illusion of British co-operation with, rather than coercion of, Indian customs and traditions.

In this regard, Deane's account reveals an enduring Orientalist admiration of India's upper echelons (understanding 'Orientalist' here in the sense outlined in the General Introduction: see Volume I, p. xiv). She delights in the pomp and circumstance of the Royal Palace at Delhi and is particularly impressed by the opulent adornments of the Empress. The Indians who receive her highest praise, however, have also willingly engaged with European culture. Deane takes care to mention that the Begum Sumroo only follows Muslim traditions with regard to food, and that she frequently entertained notable British figures, such as Lord Lake. Similarly, Deane celebrates the Nawab of Lucknow's adoption of Western ideas and compares him to an English nobleman.

Britain's persistent fascination with India's ruling classes is reflected in the largely positive reviews of Deane's text, which keenly point out her elite interactions. For example, *La Belle Assemblée or Bell's Court and Fashionable Magazine* especially enjoyed Deane's tales of the Nawab's lavish lifestyle.[10] In contrast, the *Gentleman's Magazine* preferred to mock the Nawab's erroneous assumption of British customs and his misuse of imported crockery.[11] Such disdain possibly reflects the decline of indigenous power and authority during this period; it is also indicative of the growing dominance, among many British commentators by the 1820s, of Anglicist over Orientalist attitudes. Both of the latter tendencies – the declining power of native elites and an increasingly dismissive attitude to Indians among the British – are even more emphatically on show in Julia Maitland's *Letters from Madras*, published over 20 years later. Somewhat paradoxically, however, Maitland seems both to evince yet also to lament and critique these developments.

Julia Maitland

Julia Maitland (*née* Barrett) was born in London to Henry Barrett (1756–1843) and his wife Charlotte, *née* Francis (1786–1870), the niece of the novelist Frances Burney. In 1836, Julia met and married James Thomas, a widower with three daughters and a judge in the Madras Presidency in India. They left for India almost immediately and arrived in Madras in December 1836 where they stayed for seven months before James Thomas was appointed Judge at Rajahmundry. They spent the next 18 months in this 'up country' station, with the exception of seasonal sojourns in Samuldavee by the coast. In 1839, Thomas received two new postings; the first took him to Cuddapah and Bellary, the second to Bangalore. At this time, Julia Thomas was advised to return home with their daughter Henrietta, who was sick, and their newborn son. Not long after she left, her husband died in India. Two years later, in 1842, Julia married the author and curate Charles Maitland (1815–1866).

Like Deane then, Maitland's journey was not undertaken independently; both women accompanied their husbands to India. However, unlike Deane, Maitland did not embark on further interior travels. Her experiences were limited to a few south Indian locations, and her published narrative largely describes her own

daily life in these areas. As such, it is one of the earliest examples of a domesticating 'travel' account in India, a genre that developed as increasing numbers of British women journeyed to the subcontinent in order to facilitate the wider policies of racial difference and distance instigated by Lord Cornwallis's reforms of 1793. Subsequently, an upsurge in Protestant evangelicalism, a rise in utilitarian and reformist politics, and a pronounced sense of imperial superiority in the victorious aftermath of the Napoleonic Wars (1803–1815) produced an overarching ideal of 'Anglicizing' India through moral and social change. To help achieve this, English women were asked to fulfil their colonial duty by marrying English men, living in English bungalows, producing English children, and generally enacting the virtues of Victorian femininity in India.[12]

Like many British wives in the subcontinent, Maitland spends her days managing her home, attending social engagements, supporting her husband, learning languages, and pursuing various hobbies, such as entomology. These are largely recorded as leisurely pastimes, apparently entertaining rather than instructive; but such seemingly trivial pursuits also contributed to the broader sphere of imperial knowledge that underpinned British commercial and political interests in Indian.[13] Of particular note are the insect specimens Maitland collected and sent to the British Museum, which included five new species.[14] In addition to these activities, Maitland became involved in various philanthropic projects, which brought her into contact with local people. Her narrative focuses on these individuals, their social and religious differences, and her commitment to the 'improvement' of India through the civilizing properties of an English education, Christian morality, and British governance as propagated by imperial individuals.

This heightened sense of personal responsibility for empire is arguably reflected in the more subjective tone of Maitland's narrative, which allots far more space than Deane's journal to incidental or personal impressions and to amusing or whimsical reflections. Such subjectivism would become strongly associated with female travellers in the latter half of the nineteenth century; this stylistic shift has in turn often encouraged later readers to gloss over women's contribution to imperial projects, since their accounts seem so resolutely focused on personal and domestic details. Maitland's more personalized and entertaining style on the one hand reflects a broader generic tendency in travel writing in the 1830s and 1840s. These decades saw a dramatic upsurge in the publication of guidebooks in a recognizably modern form, produced by publishers like John Murray and Baedeker; and as guidebooks did away with the need to provide straightforward practical and historical information for travellers, more literary modes of travel writing began to prioritize the presentation in print of a distinctive authorial sensibility and style.[15] In the colonial setting of India, however, we may perhaps also read this stylistic tendency as reflective of the ostensibly reformed, and reformist, imperial attitudes emerging in this period. Arguably it signals a more benevolent narrator, who privileges personal engagement and responsibility over political and economic concerns.

With regard to this aspect of Maitland's narrative, we should also keep in mind Sara Mills's observation that such seemingly 'subjective' narrative forms and reflections were often discursive negotiations that did not necessarily preclude the pursuit and provision of authoritative knowledge.[16] In the early decades of the nineteenth century, for example, both men and women often used letters or journals (usually edited at some later date) to emphasize the authenticity and immediacy of their writing and to position the narrative self as an accurate and truthful observer.[17] Indeed Maitland is keen to assert the authoritative nature of her text, declaring that her narrative letters were 'printed verbatim from the originals' (p. 181) with the necessary omission of family details, such as full or correct names. For Claire Broome Saunders such claims to truthfulness often had a dual function: 'Truth in travel writing appears, paradoxically, as both an assertion of "masculine" objective rhetoric, and the apparently "authentic" utterance of such "feminine", domestic, private literature'.[18] Arguably then, Maitland's more personal style seeks to inscribe, rather than disguise, a certain authority. This is certainly the case when she writes about educational reform.

When Maitland arrives in Madras, she is immediately keen to engage with the local people. She expresses a desire to 'get into one of their native houses' (p. 206), and she frequently laments her British companions' – and indeed, her husband's! – lack of curiosity about the local people and criticizes their condescending attitude. She disparages the pervasive ennui and arrogance of Anglo-Indian society in Madras, stating a preference for Rajahmundry because she feels it is the 'real India' (p. 227). This is, of course, a problematic assertion but Maitland did have the opportunity to engage with many Indian people from various walks of life during her time there. For Maitland, these interactions were much more interesting than the obligations of a growing colonial society.

Over the course of Maitland's published narrative, one senses the author becoming more sharply critical of particular governing policies. The later letters include some angry denunciations of the East India Company's taxation system and its role in causing famines, and also of the flow of indentured labourers from India to Mauritius – something Maitland regards as slavery in all but name. Such attacks on contemporary colonialism, however, do not seem to have diminished Maitland's belief in Britain's 'civilizing' role in India. Nor did they encourage greater receptivity and understanding of Indian culture. She remained critical of many indigenous beliefs, traditions, and cultures. The Indian people's apparent ignorance and their seemingly stubborn attachment to traditional ideas about religion and science frustrate her, and she refers frequently to this as evidence of their uncivilized and unenlightened nature. As Indira Ghose explains, by the 1830s, 'evangelical notions that equated Indian culture with depravity had gained widespread currency'.[19] On occasion, Maitland also deploys a racialized – and racist – terminology, referring to 'brownies', 'blackies', and a 'nigger-looking child' (p. 223). This vocabulary arguably reflects the growing influence of contemporary race science, which postulated essential moral and intellectual differences between the races. Nonetheless, like many of her contemporaries, Maitland evidently believed that such racial

characteristics could be overcome through education and reform. In thus seeking to transform Indian society, however, she was at odds with official Company policy. There was considerable discussion about the extent to which Britain could and should intervene in indigenous practices, especially given the long history of non-interference. But ultimately the Company, wary of alienating local communities, maintained that Indian religions must be respected, and insisted upon the continued presence of British officials at local religious events, a dictate that infuriated Maitland. She records in scathing and sarcastic tones several instances when colonial officers were required to facilitate religious feasts and celebrations, such as the festival at Trichinopoly where the troops had to stay in the sun for nine hours, 'firing salutes, and "showing respect" to Mohammed' (p. 254).

In 1837, such obligations prompted 203 East India Company employees to submit a request for exemption from compulsory attendance at indigenous religious events. The official Government response, as quoted by Maitland, stated: *'no salutes to idols be discontinued*, but all respect be paid to the native religions as heretofore' (p. 254). For Maitland, this policy went beyond mere respect and toleration and actively encouraged what she regarded as idolatrous and barbaric practices:

> I believe that if idolatry were merely tolerated and protected, the idol services would fall almost to nothing, from the indifference of the mass of the people; but our Christian Government not only support and encourage it, but force it down the people's throats.
>
> (p. 255)

Maitland was by no means alone in her outrage. She sympathetically notes that Sir Peregrine Maitland resigned from his position as Commander-in-Chief at Madras because he too disagreed with the current directives.

Despite Maitland's clear opposition to the government's policy of non-interference, she did not engage in explicit efforts to convert the Indian people to Christianity. Instead, she devoted her energy to educational projects, believing these would pave the way for religious change. She established a local school with her husband for male students of different castes and provided them with a predominantly English education. She then set up a reading room in the bazaar, stocked with reading material in a variety of languages: Gentoo, Hindi, Tamil, and English.[20] The success of this endeavour further encouraged her, and Maitland began to circulate endorsed reading materials in nearby villages. Eventually she also publicly called on her peers and the government to put in place a national schooling system as outlined in her open letter on 'Native Education'.

Maitland first published this short treatise in *The Spectator*, a daily newspaper in Madras, and subsequently included it in *Letters*. Here she set out – in a public forum – a clear model for the public funding of European schools throughout the subcontinent, providing costings and organizational structures, as well as ideological justifications for including religious education in the curriculum. She engaged

directly with specific debates around religious conversion and India's anglicization, as outlined by the likes of Thomas Babington Macaulay in his oft-quoted *Minute on Indian Education* (1835), and it is possible to read Maitland's paper as a direct engagement with this earlier proposal. Macaulay had argued for the creation of an English-educated middle class of Indian men who would then act as civilizing forces by disseminating colonial cultural values in their local societies. Like Macaulay, Maitland believed that an English education would eventually displace indigenous beliefs; she writes: 'I fully believe that, if schools were set up all over the country, it would go far towards shaking their Heathenism, by putting truth into their heads, at any rate, instead of falsehood' (p. 232). It was a popular idea and there was much support for this model of education in the early decades of the nineteenth century. It was expressed in travelogues, such as that by Marianne Postans.[21] And it was documented in official papers by the likes of Alexander Ross and Sir Thomas Munro, the Governor of Madras, who had devised a comprehensive plan for governmental education in south India but died before he could implement it.[22] Consequently, as Maitland explains, there existed various independent projects, such as Andrew Bell's school, but there was no organized or standardized structure. She hoped to rectify this with her proposal, written at a timely moment.

Letters from Madras was published anonymously in 1843. Maitland's firsthand experiences of colonial policy meant that her narrative was received as a useful contribution to knowledge about India, especially by those who also opposed the East India Company's policies on religious toleration. *The Churchman's Companion*, for example, stated that Maitland gave 'a fearful picture of the Infidelity of the Indian Government' and included extracts from her narrative as proof of this problem.[23] Other reviewers flagged up the volume's entertaining style, praising Maitland for what one review termed 'her natural vivacity and smartness'.[24] Yet for most of these reviewers, it seems these literary or belle-lettristic qualities did not prevent Maitland's narrative also being regarded as a source of useful information. Thus the *Gentleman's Magazine* highlighted Maitland's 'very lively style' and 'dash of satirical observation' but also judged the book 'a good, and evidently a genuine account of the manners and society of India'.[25] Similarly, Elizabeth Eastlake writing anonymously in the *Quarterly Review* praised 'the sound domesticity that pervades this book', and described it as 'the very lightest work that has ever appeared from India' – but then immediately appended to the last comment, 'yet it tells us more of what everybody cares to know than any other'.[26] Apparently, a travelogue could be both diverting and educational, and Eastlake did not perceive these properties in terms of gender.

In the early decades of the nineteenth century, women like Deane and Maitland usually travelled and worked alongside their husbands. Their journeys and subsequent travel narratives thus usually arose from specific imperial purposes and roles, rather than individual whim or aspiration. In that sense, their subjectivities,

and to some extent their gender, remained secondary to an overarching ideal: the provision of information about India. By the 1830s, however, changing literary tastes and an increasing sense of individual duty and colonial responsibility encouraged some imperial travellers to include a greater quotient of personal information. There was a greater demand for individual engagement and private lives, and the female traveller had a sufficiently strong sense of her own imperial duty to inscribe her experiences in the travel narrative. Maitland does not extend to the emotional reflections of other contemporary writers, such as Emily Eden or Lady Nugent, but she does move significantly beyond the far more objectivist reporting of Deane's narrative.[27] We see here a generic progression that is not entirely related to gender.

Notes

1 A. L. Cohen, 'Introduction', in *Lady Nugent's East India Journal: A Critical Edition* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), p. xxxi.
2 See for example: Maria Graham, *Journal of a Residence in India* (1812); Harriet Ashmore, *Narrative of a Three Months' March in India, and a Residence in the Dooab* (1841); Eliza Fay, *Original Letters from India, Containing a Narrative of a Journey through Egypt and the Author's Imprisonment at Calicut by Hyder Ally* (1817); Marianne Postans, *Western India, in 1838* (1839); A. L. Cohen (ed.), *Lady Nugent's East India Journal: A Critical Edition* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2014).
3 C. Thompson, *Travel Writing* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2011), p. 65.
4 Deane relates various stories about Mir Qasim, see for example p. 55.
5 See J. Nair, 'Uncovering the Zenana: Visions of Indian Womanhood in Englishwomen's Writing, 1813–1940', *Journal of Women's History* 2:1 (1990), pp. 8–34; I. Ghose, *Women Travellers in Colonial India: The Power of the Female Gaze* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), Chapter 3: 'The Female Gaze: Encounters in the Zenana'.
6 B. D. Metcalf and T. R. Metcalf, *A Concise History of Modern India* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, [2001] 2013), p. 77.
7 For more on the surveying of India, see M. Edney, *Mapping an Empire: The Geographical Construction of British India, 1765–1843* (Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press, 1997).
8 See for example, Fanny Parks' *Wanderings of a Pilgrim in search of the Picturesque, During four and twenty years in the East; With Revelations of Life in the Zenana* (1850) and Emma Roberts' *Scenes and Characteristics of Hindostan, with Sketches of Anglo-Indian Society* (1835).
9 See T. Richards, *The Imperial Archive: Knowledge and the Fantasy of Empire* (London: Verso Books, 1993).
10 'Review', *La Belle Assemblée or Bell's Court and Fashionable Magazine* 29 (February 1824), pp. 77–8.
11 'Review of Tour through Hindostan', *Gentleman's Magazine: and Historical Chronicle* 94:1 (February 1824), pp. 144–5.
12 See É. Agnew, *Imperial Women Writers in Victorian India*: *Representing Colonial Life 1850–1910* (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017).
13 Agnew, *Imperial Women Writers*, pp. 105–35.

14 Maitland mentions that she sent new specimens to the British Museum, and she notes that there were five new species; see *Letters*, p. 289. The Natural History Museum in London has a record of the donation but no record of the specific specimens.
15 See C. Thompson, 'Nineteenth-Century Travel Writing', in N. Das and T. Youngs (eds), *The Cambridge History of Travel Writing* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019), pp. 108–24, especially pp. 119–22.
16 S. Mills, *Discourses of Difference: An Analysis of Women's Travel Writing* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1991), p. 63.
17 See for example, M. Park, *The Life and Travels of Mungo Park* (London: J. W. Parker, 1838) which was based on his journal, and R. Heber, *Narrative of a Journey through the Upper Provinces of India* (London: J. Murray, 1828), which used the epistolary form.
18 C. Broome Saunders, 'Introduction', in *Women, Travel Writing, and Truth* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2014), p. 3.
19 I. Ghose, *Memsahibs Abroad: Writings by Women Travellers in Nineteenth-Century India* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1998), p. 77.
20 J. Wang, 'Entry on Julia Maitland', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, available at www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.kingston.ac.uk/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-48645?rskey=b1xReC&result=1. Last accessed September 2018.
21 See M. Postans, *Western India, in 1838* (London: Saunders and Otley, 1839), p. 307.
22 See R. E. Frykenberg, 'Modern Education in South India 1784–1854: Its Roots and Its Role as a Vehicle of Integration under Company Raj', *The American Historical Review* 91:1 (1986), p. 42.
23 'Infidelity of the Indian Government' in *Churchman's Companion*, 30:2 (August 1847), p. 63.
24 *Monthly Review* 1 (New Series, 1843), p. 101.
25 *Gentleman's Magazine* (1843), p. 58.
26 E. Eastlake, 'Lady Travellers', *Quarterly Review* 76 (June 1845), pp. 53–74; these quotations, p. 60.
27 See E. Eden, *Up the Country* (London: Virago Press, [1866] 1983), p. 396, and Nugent, *East India Journal*, p. 333.

ANN DEANE, *A TOUR THROUGH THE UPPER PROVINCES OF HINDOSTAN* (1823)

Ann Deane (1770–1847) travelled to India in 1799, accompanying her husband, Captain Charles Meredith Deane of the 24th Light Dragoons. The couple left behind their eldest son, Charles, so that he could be educated in England but took with them a younger child, John Bathurst Deane. Little is known of the first period of the Deanes' residence in India; however, in 1804 Ann returned to England to place John in school, then sailed back to India with Charles, now aged 14. She rejoined her husband at Calcutta, and then resided in India for another ten years. During this time she accompanied her husband – now employed by the East India Company as a District Collector – on several long tours of the Company's recently acquired northern provinces in Bengal, Bihar, and Uttar Pradesh. These tours subsequently became the focus of her published narrative, which elides the family's periods of more settled residence and instead records four main journeys taking in Patna, Buxar, Benares, Kanpur, and Agra (in 1805); Delhi, Meerut, Moradabad, Bareilly, and Fateghar (in 1808–1809); to Pusa along the Ganges and then back to Meerut by road (in late 1809); and finally through the Bareilly district (in 1811). Deane then remained in India a further three years, finally quitting the subcontinent in 1814; her departure was possibly due to escalating tensions between the East India Company and the Maratha Confederacy, which culminated in the Third Anglo-Maratha War of 1817–18. Charles Meredith Deane remained behind and died in India in 1815.

A Tour through the Upper Provinces of Hindostan; Comprising a Period between the Years 1804 and 1814: with Remarks and Authentic Anecdotes was published anonymously in 1823, nine years after Deane's return to Britain: it is not known why there was such a time lag between her return and the volume's appearance. The book was widely reviewed and generally received favourable – albeit clearly gendered – notices. Thus the *Literary Chronicle* rather neglected her political discussions but praised her instead for 'observations and occurrences as might be expected to be noticed by an intelligent female'.[1] Similarly, *The Gentleman's Magazine* praised Deane's prose, citing her adherence to the 'lively brilliance of prattlement, a subtle tact and delicacy which often distinguishes the sentiment of women'.[2] Indeed, despite Deane's inclusion of glossaries, maps, and

a Guide designated for male travellers, the text was principally seen as amusing rather than instructive. *The Gentleman's Magazine* concluded:

> To invite women to read heavy books, would be like asking them to drag a garden-roller, or trundle a loaded wheelbarrow; but we fearlessly placed this interesting Tour before some of our female acquaintance; and they declared that they had found it as entertaining as a novel, and had skipped only the maps and letter-press guide. In truth, it is an uncommonly pleasing book.[3]

Perhaps due to this feminization which depoliticized Deane's text, there were no subsequent editions, and this is the first reissue of the volume.

Little is known of Deane's life back in Britain, and she did not publish any further books. She died in Bath in 1847.

Notes

1 'Review of *Tour through the Upper Provinces* by A. D.', *Literary Chronicle* 52 (1823), p. 819.
2 'Review of *Tour through the Upper Provinces* by A. D.', *Gentleman's Magazine: and Historical Chronicle* 135 (1824), p. 144.
3 Ibid., p. 145.

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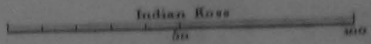
Himaleh Mountains
NEPAUL
OUDE
ALLAHABAD
BUNDELCUND
Kimoor Hills
Sireenugur
Almora
Meerat
DELHI
Husseingore
Anopshehor
Bareily
Pilibeet
Shadabad
Khyrabad
Furukhabad
Agra
Belah
CAWNPORE
Lucknow
Oude
Fuzabad
Jangemow
Korah
Allahabad
Juanpore
Bandah
Jansy
Mahobah
Chatterpore
Punnah
Singhorn
Seronge
Nagend
Kallin Ghur
Reewah
Sassuram
Rotah
Manjeau
Ootna
Cuttoly
Palamow
Oonkree
Gorkha
Gulmi
Palpa
Ghendy
Lotun
Gerruckpore
Bulkiah
Azimghur
Mow
Berayich
Ratula
Gohund
Matra
Burtpoor
Jumatra Peak
R. Goomty
R. Gogra
Chumbull R.
Betwah R.
R. Soane

COURSE OF THE GANGES
AND ITS TRIBUTARY STREAMS
shewing
the STATIONS from
CALCUTTA TO MEERAT.



A

TOUR

THROUGH

THE UPPER PROVINCES

OF

Hindostan:

COMPRISING A PERIOD BETWEEN THE YEARS

1804 AND 1814:

WITH

REMARKS AND AUTHENTIC ANECDOTES.

TO WHICH IS ANNEXED,

A GUIDE UP THE RIVER GANGES,

WITH

A MAP FROM THE SOURCE TO THE MOUTH.

BY A. D.

LONDON:
PRINTED FOR C. & J. RIVINGTON,
ST. PAUL'S CHURCH-YARD,
AND WATERLOO-PLACE, PALL-MALL.
1823.

ADVERTISEMENT.

THE following pages were not originally intended for the public eye, nor may they perhaps be deemed worthy public attention. They are neither the production of a philosopher, nor of a man of genius; but of a lady, who has witnessed all that she describes, and whose chief claim on the indulgence of her reader is authenticity.

The scenes she has endeavoured to pourtray, occurred in the order wherein they are here related: the reader must not therefore expect a finished and elaborate performance; but a plain, simple narrative of facts, committed to writing while their impression was yet fresh on the mind of the author.

It may be objected, that this work has too much the manner of a mere journal; but the writer begs to state, that it was composed during her tour, and designed only for the future amusement of her friends.

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