In this chapter, I shall consider some of the literature of travel produced by colonial personnel who had been to India on various missions during the period 1750 – 1850, in the light of the arguments outlined in the preceding chapter. My basic premise for this study is as Bernard Train supposes:

[…] that metropole and colony have to be seen in a unitary field of analysis. In India the British entered a new world that they tried to comprehend using their own forms of knowing and thinking. There was widespread agreement that this society, like others they were governing, could be known and represented as a series of facts.272

Similarly, when the process of colonization is to be understood as attachment of space to the British metropole or as its extension, there is a need to explore the ideas of land, landscape, nature and environment which constitutes spatial representation, in this “unitary field of analysis”. In this respect, imperial travel literature dealing with the colonies, recast their own home-grown spatial notions in seeking to articulate from this basis, its territorial bounds. While culturally divided regions as that of England, Scotland, Wales and Ireland (to a certain extent) could be subordinated to a singular spatial organization of that of a nation, so too, various other locations spread around the globe could be manoeuvred and appropriated into the great spatial trajectory of the empire. In the present chapter, I shall study the writings of a few selected representative colonial authors on India from among a wide ranging array of such writing, in order to validate the foundational arguments put forward in the earlier chapters in which I see British landscape paintings, travel writings and maps as spatial architecture and their practice as ‘spatial architectonics’.

Travel literature together with being an effective means of acquiring and transmitting information about India for able governance, was also a calculated mechanism towards fulfilling another crucial political aim. From the eighteenth century, travels in various parts of an amorphous conceptual terrain came to be located within a single spatial frame called India interchangeable with the name, Hindostan. In other words travel literature, by offering

272 Train 1997, 4.
topographical and ethnographical details, was able to “subjugate space(s) by its transformation into place”. The boundaries of this amorphous region derived clearer definition through the travels of Europeans undertaken in the manner of surveys, thereby transcribed in the form of written dossiers carrying every possible cultural and geographical minutiae. It is interesting to see how the British colonial design, following an expansionist logic, was to continually shift and push the peripheries of its territory till it received stable frontiers which the British thought of as safe and maintainable. Together with this, travels into the interiors of the core domain meant consolidation of knowledge about them: the rationale of the endeavour being the translation of this knowledge for imperial administration and thus into power. While describing the flora, fauna, vegetation, physiology, land rights, social behaviour and religion of the people, routes of communication etc. of a specific location with increasing accuracy, such literature sought to detect certain overarching similarities pervading throughout and across South Asia. The Enlightenment rationality with its totalizing drive sought to create a certain unified homogeneous space while fixing its bounds and its identity at the same time.

Talking about the travel routes of the British travellers in India, Bernard Cohn points out that:

The questions that arise in examining this (travel) modality are related to the creation of a repertoire of images and typifications that determined what was significant to the European eye. It was a matter of finding themselves in a place that could be made to seem familiar by following predetermined itineraries and seeing the sights in predictable ways.

Therefore, Cohn specifies two or three predominant travel itineraries patronized by these travellers depending upon the routes and circumstances that brought them to India. The travel accounts of the seventeenth century British travellers emerging from their status as primarily merchants, followed the route which first brought them to Gujarat by sea and then proceeded along the west coast to Ceylon and finally up the Bay of Bengal. Later on, in the first half of the eighteenth century, British itinerary changed: British ships generally anchored either in Madras or Calcutta and travel inland usually began en-route these two. From the latter half of the eighteenth century, Calcutta was the primary port to be used; so the first-time British traveller first encountered the magnificence of the white town of 'City of Palaces' before they headed deeper into the terrain. The itinerary curiously replicated the

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273 Barrow 2005.
274 Cohn 1997. 6.
pattern of the conquest's movement inland, away from the original coastal trading areas. Similarly, natural history led Enlightenment travellers of the nineteenth century, in search of scientific knowledge, away from the coast and into the interior where science could exercise control over nature in the remotest areas inland. Routine tours involved the journey by boat up the River Ganges, covering essential and iconic sites of Banaras, Oudh, a visit to the palace of the Nawab of Oudh and then going on to Delhi and finally reaching its epitome with the visit to the Taj Mahal at Agra, and then either proceeding southwest through Rajasthan and Gujarat to Bombay, or moving up northwest to Punjab and Sind. Viewing and experiencing these sites was thought to be appropriate for reading and experiencing many other sites and generally the whole of what was to be demarcated as India. Moreover recounting the experience of being to these specific sites in the narratives of various European authors not only constructed a gaze but also cultivated and circulated place-myths around these sites which remained unaltered through centuries even when mediated by transient socio-historic intellectual and aesthetic traditions discussed in the preceding chapter. Conventions of viewing India had already been established by the nineteenth century through a long tradition of iconography and narratives.

The exploration narratives since the time of establishment of the East India Company in 1600, which subsequently started off trade missions often narrated travels to the Mughal Court. Numerous Portuguese and Italian travellers had been visiting parts of India during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. With the triumph over the Spanish Armada, the English spirit of competition was kindled and the prospect of a lucrative trade relation with the east came about as a legitimate temptation. The stories about the wealth and riches in the court of Akbar, whom the west romanticized as the 'Great Mogul', whose religious tolerance was phenomenal and the stories of his warm welcome to Christians, posited sufficient attraction for the British to resist. However, long before the foundation of the East India Company, there were Englishmen who visited parts of India. The first Englishman who is known to have set his feet on Indian soil was Thomas Stephens, who went to Goa in 1579, which was already a Portuguese stronghold, and became Rector of the Jesuits' College in Salsette. His correspondences back home stirred considerable enthusiasm in England and Purchas preserved one of his letters.

The first Englishman to have credited the appellation of a traveller, however, was 'Master Ralph Fitch, Merchant of London' as Purchas spoke of him. An outline of his itinerary shall serve to demonstrate the framing of the travel route for the British travellers.
who approached by sea for centuries to come. He started his voyage in 1583 and returned to England in 1591. With two other Englishmen called Newbery and Leedes, he travelled to Ormuz and from there crossed the Indian Ocean to Goa. On their way to Goa the three travellers visited Diu, from where no vessels could pass without a Portuguese permit. From thereon, the trio traveled down south to places like Bijapur, Golconda and after traversing a number of villages including Burhanpur finally reached “the country of Zelabdin Echebar” or Jalal-ud-din Akbar. Fitch noted the habits of the natives of the region and talked of practices like cow worship, child marriage and prevalence of sati as well as cremation of dead bodies. On reaching Agra, which Fitch describes as “a very great citie and populous, built with stone, having fair and large streets with a faire river running by it”, he moves to Fatepur, the residence of “the Great Mogor”. Here the three parted ways: Newbury started for Lahore and Leedes entered Akbar’s service as a jeweller, whereas Fitch himself set out on further perigrination. On his way to lower Bengal via Benaras and Patna, he makes several observations about the rites and customs of the people residing in the Gangetic plains. On completing a long itinerary through Satgaon, Hugli and several villages in Bengal, he took a twenty-five day journey to what he calls “Country of Conche,” “not far from Cochin China” and then on to Pegu, Macao, Malacca, Ceylon, finally returning to Cochin in March, 1590.\(^{275}\) The authenticity of the perspective through which cultural remarks are made may not be vouchsafed for. Many travelogues were in circulation and highly popular in Europe to have already constructed the gaze and informed the travellers about interesting things to look for in the region. He probably only emulated the experiences and adventures of former Portuguese and Italian travellers whose narratives created uproar and stirred curiosities in England.

There existed another alternative route from Europe to India: that of overland journey through Eastern Europe via Central Asia, Persia, Afghanistan. The itinerary of the second English traveller demonstrates this alternative. In 1599, John Mildenhall, who served Richard Stapers, one of the first members of the board of directors of the East India Company, made an overland journey to India “in some fiduciary capacity”. His objective for the travel was to negotiate with the “Great Mogul” in order to make inroads into Hindustan to establish diplomatic and commercial relations between the dominion of Akbar and that of Queen Elizabeth. He went by sea to Aleppo, and travelled overland through

\(^{275}\) Oaten 1909. 104-117.
Armenia, Kurdistan, Persia and Afghanistan and finally, after passing through Candahar and Lahore, reached Agra in 1603.\footnote{276}

The seventeenth century saw a rise not only of trade missions to India but also a number of English written accounts by sailors, merchants, diplomats or accompanying chaplains. Among these, the narratives of figures like William Hawkins, William Finch, Sir Thomas Roe and Edward Terry, were incorporated and published as part of \textit{Purchas his Pilgrimes} (1625). The narratives with a mercantile orientation often represented India as a land of enormous riches and as flowing with milk and honey and therefore bearing favorable prospects for trade. There is little reflection of the region's geography. Edward Terry's narrative for one, draws a paradisal image of the region of being full of fruit laden orchards and gardens bearing scented blossoms. However, his position as pastor forces him to implant numerous "venimous and pernicious Creatures", reptiles and insects or talk about fierce monsoons in this idyllic space in order to refute its quasi-arcadian status that he himself attributes. Kate Teltscher sees in Terry's attempt to 'moralize geography', allegorical and mythic dimensions popular in the Elizabethan and metaphysical literature like those of Spenser or Sydney, not bereft of an implicit intention of drawing comparison with his own homeland.\footnote{277} He can thereby be seen as crafting a technique of spatial othering on lines of religious principles and inherited dogma. The narratives of Hawkins and Sir Thomas Roe delineate Hindustan on similar lines as a land of "stupid idolatries" and irrationalities of both "Mahometans and Gentiles".\footnote{278}

According to Teltscher again, till this time English opinions about India were framed by earlier and contemporary European accounts both of civilians and missionaries, which were often translated or generally transmitted by hearsay or word of mouth. Therefore, according to her, an authentic and original British gaze towards India had not been formulated till the middle of the eighteenth century.\footnote{279} Some of the iconic European texts to have shaped the idea of Hindustan in the contemporary seventeenth century English society, were Francois Bernier's Mughal history translated in 1671-2 and Jean-Baptiste Tavernier's \textit{Six Voyages} translated in English as \textit{History of the Late Revolution of the Empire of the

\footnotesize{\textsuperscript{276} Once in Agra, Mildenhall went through many a trial and tribulation against Jesuits who maligned England as "a nation of thieves" before the Great Mogul so much so that his own interpreter deserted him in favour of the Jesuits who bribed all officials. Ultimately he was forced to learn Persian in order to communicate with Akbar and finally bagged the desired signed and sealed document. However, Oaten is doubtful about the story of the treaty as no effective trade relations were established during this time.}

\footnotesize{\textsuperscript{277} Teltscher 1997. 16-20.}

\footnotesize{\textsuperscript{278} Purchas, Samuel. \textit{Haklyyus Postumus or Purchas His Pilgrimes}, iii, 49. Quoted in Ibid. 17.}

\footnotesize{\textsuperscript{279} Teltscher 2002. 191.}
Great Mogol (1677). Even in the early eighteenth century, the missionary narratives usually of the Jesuits formed the main source of information about India. Together, these were able to consolidate as well as validate a perspective to view the Indian society as fundamentally different from the western civilization and as a spatial manifestation of heathenic abstractions. These oft repeated traits would then in the years to come, demarcate what constituted India.

From the mid-eighteenth century onwards, there came about a more identifiable British rhetoric in the travel narratives produced by visitors to India. They were marked by clear intellectual and aesthetic principles followed for home tours as well as for European travels outside Britain. To be more precise, the change was effected with the British accession to Diwani in 1765 and henceforth the East India company's altered status as not merely a commercial player, but a controller of the land. This was also the year when Robert Clive assigned James Rennell, a naval officer turned surveyor, the task of making a general survey of the newly acquired Bengal territories. Rennell's Map of Hindostan, in framing India's new boundaries, reflected and reinforced the Company's ambitions to extend its power beyond coastal entrepots to operate throughout India. When Warren Hastings became the governor general of Bengal from 1772-1875, he modelled the civil administration on governmental practices in Great Britain. According to him successful administration required drawing up a kind of Domesday Book of the Company's territories. From then on, distinct features of 'survey modality' as well as 'surveillance modality' became pre-eminent in travel documents which began to involve an aspect of keen examination and observation in the process of travel and its representation in literature.

Even when following the same routes as their predecessors, as have been discussed earlier in the chapter, the narratives of travellers from the latter half of the eighteenth century reflected a discernible British territorial ambition which persisted right through the nineteenth century. Also, travel writers often followed in the wake of conquering armies capturing details of the topography, people, flora and fauna in their writings. The same hold true in the narratives of personnels as varied in profession as artist, missionary, military or mere civilian, all being British by nationality. The element of superiority pervades in their literature as they write from a decisive position of power.

Many of these journals functioned as intelligence dossiers. In the wake of nineteenth century, Alexander Hamilton had complained that “the gleanings of information which

280 The Mughal grant to collect land revenues and administer civil justice in Bengal.
281 Cohn 1997. 7-11.
[most Englishmen] may have collected respecting [India], are reposed in their minds, rather like exotic rarities in a museum, than as merchantable wares intended for use and circulation”. The project of representing India was riven with internal debates in the imperial metropolis. Where on the one hand, the ‘survey modality’ was an accepted norm for the men of science, on the other, there was a constant demand for expressions of first hand sensory impressions. The latter camp was heavily critical of the Company men, who merely offered disinterested and objective descriptions of India, of having “lost the European eyes on which its picturesque features stamp the most vivid impressions”. Travel literature in the nineteenth century, therefore had to straddle a precarious path in trying to satisfy both sides. The narratives of the travellers discussed below, strike a mean between the two camps.

William Hodges: an artist’s 'first impressions' of India

In a publishing formula that was only becoming popular in Europe, William Hodges, a painter by profession, combined graphic art with literary narrative in his Travels in India, during the years 1780, 1781, 1782 and 1783 (1790). William Hodges was not only one of the pioneers in painting Indian scenes, but also one of the first few to write a travelogue since the ascension to diwani of the East India Company and after the range of cartographic activities of James Rennell. Though there were several other British travellers who wrote about their experiences in India, Hodges, being an artist by profession, definitely was the one to stabilize the vision of India according to the aesthetic norms of his time. The format of combining text and image would also soon be adopted as the most viable medium for representing travel and conveying spatial characteristics. Moreover, the story about the fortunes Hodges made overseas, made India a suitably lucrative field to be explored and exploited by generations of British travellers and artists later on. He is believed to have been trained by no less than the master landscape painter of Britain, Richard Wilson, who noticed his talent while he was enrolled in the Shipley's Drawing School, and took him apprentice. During the seven years that Hodges spent as Wilson's apprentice, he was not only trained in techniques of drawing and painting, but was also taught the principles of classical landscape tradition in the Royal Academy.

282 ER, 6 (1805), 462. Quoted in Leask 2002, 163.
284 In the 1780s, there emerged a number of travel texts which carried illustrations by artists and were generally called Voyage pittoresque. See Greppi, Claudio. '“On the Spot”: Travelling Artists and the Iconographic Inventory of the World, 1769-1859'. in Driver and Martins 2005, 24-39.
285 Jemima Kindersley's Letters from the Island of Teneriffe, Brasil, the Cape of Good Hope, and the East Indies (1777) is an important memoir written during this period.
Having finished his training, Hodges embarked on projects of painting landscape scenes and architectural sites in both Britain and the Continent. However, the most important of his projects which launched his career and ripened him for the Indian journey was his trip to the South Seas as a draftsman of Captain Cook in the latter's second expedition on board the *Resolution* to the South Pacific in 1772. Hodges had to adopt a new set of ideals and reinvent traditional modes of landscape depiction to suit the meteorological phenomena and the physiognomy of the tropics. Hodges had been working in close contact with naturalists and meteorologists located in the South Seas which finally earned him the accolade from none less than Cook himself: “Mr. Hodges has made a very accurate view of the North and the South entrances, as well as of the other parts of the bay, and in these drawings he has represented the mood of the country with such a skill, that they will, without any doubt, give a much better idea than it is possible with words”.  

Although from then on the task of describing all that was impossible to deal with in words, passed on to the expedition artist, Hodges himself never doubted the ability of written words. As he wrote in the Preface of his *Travels in India*, his immediate objective in writing a journal was “To supply in some slight degree, this hiatus in the topographical department in literature”. [p. iv] According to him, “It is only matter of surprize, that, of a country so nearly allied to us, so little should be known”. For him, it was a matter of great regret that though a lot had been written and known about the “Laws and the Religion of the Hindoo tribes”, or “the transactions of the Mogul government” little had yet been said about “the face of the country, its arts, and natural productions”. Therefore Hodges' energies were directed to convey “the idea of the first impression which that very curious country makes upon an entire stranger”, and which, the British gentlemen staying long in India, lose. As a travelling artist who came to do a series on India, he claims not to have let his “observations” be subsumed by “reasoning” or his “traveller” identity be usurped by that of the “philosopher”. [p. iv] Likewise, he informs the readers that his journal:

consist(s) of a few plain representations of what I observed on the spot, expressed in the simple garb of truth, without the smallest embellishment from fiction or from fancy. They were chiefly intended for my own amusement, and to enable me to explain to my friends a number of drawings which I made during my residence in India. [p. v]

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287 Hodges 1794.
Hodges received the necessary permission on the 18th of October, 1788 from the Directors of the East India Company for passage to India as a professional artist with a mission to record, as the letter of introduction from John Macpherson to Warren Hastings mentioned, "the most curious appearances of nature and art in Asia".  

Hodges' narrative is closely linked with his artistic vision and is synchronized with his graphic art. It revolves around the various drafts he makes of places and sites. His paintings, form demonstrative tableaux, as it were, of the places he visits and describes in the text. Rather, if we are to think of Hodges' narrative as Paul Carter sees Clark's historical narrative about discovery of Australia, the "syntax creates the sense of diverse activities converging towards the single goal..." with the "choice of events itself contribut(ing) to the illusion of growing purpose"; for Clark, the goal is of forging a space for settlement, whereas for Hodges, it is to reveal a space for picturesque viewing. Therefore, like Clarke, Hodges' descriptions do no simply reproduce events. He "narrates them, clarifies and orders them" in consonance with classic conventions formulated in distant Great Britain.  

The spatial distance had to be transcended through aesthetic configuration. If the diction of the picturesque was what qualified domestic scenery, the colonised space "nearly allied to us" too had to receive similar appreciation. He resizes scenes as stage scenery as it were, for the theatrical unfolding of colonial action and 'advancement'. (As has been discussed before in Chapter 4, some of his paintings in fact, were utilised as backdrop to theatrical performances.)

His route of travel from Calcutta along the Ganges plains tracing significant architectural sites soon became, most certainly, the staple itinerary for numerous travellers and painters who followed. In fact, sketches and paintings of Indian religious sites along with expository historical supplements, itself became a part of the necessary inventory of travel diaries and sketchbooks of most British travellers in India. He was definitely the first to extend the aesthetic ideas revolving around European ruins to Indian architecture, garbed in the language of the 'sublime' and the 'picturesque'. Historians of art have often characterised Hodges' paintings as impressionist in nature, these impressions arising out of the prescient understanding of difference in climate and meteorology. On first arriving at the shore of Madras, he is already made aware of the existing polarity in climate:

*The clear, blue, cloudless sky, the polished white buildings, the bright sandy beach, and the dark green sea, present a combination totally new to the eye of an Englishman, just*

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arrived from London, who, accustomed to the sight of rolling masses of clouds floating in a damp atmosphere, cannot but contemplate the difference with delight: and the eye being thus gratified, the mind soon assumes a gay and tranquil habit, analogous to the pleasing objects with which it is surrounded. [p. 2]

The first encounter with India is expressed through a combination of sensory registers, visual and aural:

Some time before the ship arrives at her anchoring ground, she is hailed by the boats of the country filled with people of business, who come in crowds on board. This is the moment in which an European feels the great distinction between Asia and his own country. The rustling of fine linen, and the general hum of unusual conversation, presents to his mind for a moment the idea of an assembly of females. [p. 2]

The stimuli make the writer conscious of an unknown nebulous space which gradually solidifies as a cerebral image with the amorphous mob steadily gaining black faces, and the vague drone amplifying and manifesting into identifiable gestures:

When he ascends upon the deck, he is struck with the long muslin dresses, and black faces adorned with very large gold ear-rings and white turbans. The first salutation he receives from these strangers is by bending their bodies very low, touching the deck with the back of the hand, and the forehead three times. [p. 3]

Steadily, he is introduced to various cultural practices of the region which surprise him. The delicately framed Hindoo, “the original inhabitants of the peninsula”, with hands like women, of men variedly clad, women carried on the shoulders of men, the native boats and boatmen “excite the strongest emotion of surprise”. [p. 5] All that he saw was so unexpected and so different from what he had ever heard of the country that he needed to explore it by himself and therefore venture further into the country. The war which broke out between Haider Ali and the British, upset Hodges’ plans in the south and therefore he had to sail eastward to the newly developed presidency of Calcutta to proceed on his mission. On reaching Calcutta, he is overwhelmed by the architectural wonder that the British had constructed. What the place actually was and what it had been transformed to by the British is succinctly contrasted in celebrating the beauty of the sight:

The appearance of the country on the entrance of the Ganges, or Houghly River [...] is rather unpromising; a few bushes at the water’s edge, forming a dark line, just marking the distinction between sky and water are the only objects to be seen. As the ship approaches Calcutta the river narrows; that which is called Garden Reach, presents a view of handsome buildings, on a flat surrounded by gardens. The vessel has no
sooner gained one other reach on the river than the whole city of Calcutta bursts upon the eye ... superior to any in India. [p. 14]

He was as overwhelmed by the plethora of white sparkling Palladian architecture as with the hospitality of people and “freedom of admission” not in the least making him uncomfortable with the foreign place. He already imagines the scene as a beautiful prospect in a picture neatly dividing the foreground from the background and pointing the angular perspective in the style of Canaletti, thus rearranging the optical space into a geometrical one:

On the foreground of the picture is the water-gate of the fort, which reflects great honour on the talents of the engineer – the ingenious Colonel Polier. The glacis and esplanade are seen in perspective, bounded by a range of beautiful and regular buildings; and a considerable reach of the river, with vessels of various classes and sizes from the largest Indiamen to the smallest boat of the country, closes the scene. [p. 14]

With subsidy from the Company, Hodges painted several landscapes and architectural sites in Bengal and through North India that caught his fancy many of which were commissioned by Warren Hastings himself, his fervent patron. He eventually submitted three volumes of ninety pencil and wash drawings to Hastings. By now, the British trade settlement was increasingly involving itself in the affairs of some of the regional states, pushing their trade further inland, seeking the right to collect taxes from territories around their settlements and making alliance with princes who would favour them. Travelling at a time when the Company Raj was gradually expanding its territorial hold and steadily taking over several kingdoms, Hodges was witness to certain strategic military and civil operations. It is interesting to see how the spatial reordering under colonisation gets represented in Hodges' narrative.

In 1781, Hastings asked Hodges to join him in his entourage for a diplomatic visit to Cheyt Sing (Chait Singh), the zamindar of Benaras, to collect his dues to the Company. However, with the outbreak of war as a result of Chait Singh’s arrest, the entire troupe took shelter in the fort of Chunar which the Company had usurped. These incidents gave Hodges the opportunity to write about the war as a first hand witness, and also observe Asian warfare, and native forts from close quarters:

Here I enjoyed an opportunity which falls to the lot of but few professional men in my line; I mean that of observing the military operations of the siege. [p. 85]
The paintings of the forts of Chunar and Vijaigarh which had been central scenes of the campaign, were the outcome of this episode.

After the successful suppression of Chait Singh's troupes, Hastings returned back to Calcutta, but Hodges accepted the invitation from Augustus Cleveland, then collector of Rajmahal and Bhagalpur, to travel interior “through a part of the country called the Jungle Terry, to the westward of Bauglepoor”. [p. 86] On visiting the tribal region, Hodges describes the geographical terrain and gives an exposition of the inhabitants of the region who he heard were the aboriginal natives of the place. In his view, of course, it is otherwise:

I could not help suspecting that these may have been formerly no other than the outcasts from the Hindoo tribes, who after having been driven out, formed themselves into society, and taking post in the more mountainous parts, to prevent being surprized, have occasionally issued to commit depredations on the defenceless peoples on the plains. [p. 88]

Hodges describes a little later a savage ritual, to which they were invited to: of an animal sacrifice which was demonstrative of the violent nature of the tribes residing in the area. The policing of these tribes had become a necessity for the “Hindoo, the Moorish, and afterwards the English governments”. [p. 88] Cleveland’s mission here of course was two-pronged: of disciplining the errant tribes and to bring them under the Company’s revenue regime:

It was the humanity of that gentleman, added to the desire of improving the revenue of this part of his district for the Company’s benefit, that induced him to venture into the hills, alone and unarmed .... [p. 89]

With the utter failure of chastising strategies, Cleveland adopts artifice in winning over the tribes:

After the fullest assurance of his most peaceable intentions and good-will towards them, he invited them to visit him at his residence at Bauglepoor. The confidence which he manifested in their honour, by trusting to it for his personal safety, effectually gained their esteem, and some time after a deputation of their Chiefs waited on him. [p. 89]

Moreover, he sent gifts for their wives, caressed their children and presented them with beads, and more importantly, to the Chiefs themselves, he gifted medals “as a mark of friendship, and as a reward for their improving civilization”. [p. 89] Once he found them ‘civilized’ enough, “when he found them prepared for the accomplishment of his plan”, he ordered clothes for some, “like those of the Sepoys in the Company’s service ... furnished
them with fire-locks and they became regularly drill’d.” [p. 90] As the ultimate effect of the regimentation:

Vain of their newly acquired knowledge, these new soldiers soon imparted the enthusiasm to the rest of the nation, who earnestly petitioned for the same distinction.

[p.90]

Here, Hodges spent several months, making sketches of the desolate, rugged Jungleterry, and its adjacent plains, which, according to him, was once a flourishing farm land but had been deserted after the famine of 1770, which cast a mood of gloom over the terrain. The silence and the desolation “spreads a melancholy over the mind of the traveller, and for miles together, nothing is heard but the screams of the cormorant, nor is the trace of any footsteps found but those of the wild elephant.” [p. 95]

Hodges’ topographical descriptions, which was his original intention to portray through his writing, are not far removed from scientific discourse and the geological understanding of the times. The composition of the soil or vegetation is expressed in precise terms. In this, he was surely dictated by emerging European Enlightenment consciousness. For example, he describes the way to ‘Mootejema’, a cataract on the hills in a precise language of science and mensuration:

... the falls of Mootejema in the hills, about four coss, or eight English miles inland from the river. From the height of the hills, these cascades are clearly seen, in the time of the rains, the river being then near thirty feet higher then in the dry season, and the falls considerably increased. [...] when rain has fallen in the hills, the noise of the cataract is distinctly heard at the distance of two English miles. It consists of two falls, [...] the perpendicular height measures one hundred and five feet. [...] In the interior of the cave, which may be thirty feet from the front of the rock, the base appears to be a mixture of rock and charcoal ... [p. 24]

He even collects two large pieces of this rock to show in Calcutta for further study and satisfaction of his curiosity. It should also be pointed out here, that the extensive region bounded by the Ganges, the Sone, Mahanadi and the Bay of Bengal and drained by the Damodar and other distributaries of the Ganges, had received very close investigation on its northern side. Here the mineral deposits of the Rajmahal Hills had long attracted attention in the colonial era.290 Hodges’ narrative, and his subjection of the area to a picturesque gaze, (for he also paints several scenes of the Rajmahal Hill), is only a precursor

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290 Other noteworthy geographical researches dealing with the area are R.E. Sherwill’s ‘Notes upon a tour through the Rajmahal hills’ in his Geological Memoirs and Hooker’s Journal and his paper in the J.A.S.B. See Markham 1871. 262.
to the geological and topographical survey and mapping which took place in the later years of colonial rule. This is in Edney's language “the geographical traveller engaged in reasoned observation”. Reason, here dictated the selection of phenomena in situ of each phenomenon, as exemplified by the practices of natural historians. The place which held religious significance for the local people, is first transformed and rationalized in a language of scientific discourse and later redrafted in accordance with the aesthetic principles of the picturesque into a painting, finally exhibited in the Royal Academy in 1787.

In 1783, he made a fresh journey from Calcutta, where he had returned after the Bhagalpur trip, via Benaras and Lucknow to Etawah. Here, he was joined by Major Browne and his troupes who were on their way to Agra, which provided a promising field for Hodges' artistic enterprises. In tune with his mission of painting architectural sites, he sketched the Taj Mahal, the forts and ruins of Agra and Akbar's tomb at Sikandra. All of these harmonised with his artistic vision of the picturesque ruins already popular in the European landscape tradition. They fell in place with the general view of decadence of the land. Many of the subjects selected either for his drafts or finished paintings achieved iconic status with later artists trying their hands at their representation or travellers making it a point to talk about them in their narratives. Some such sites were the Ghats of Varanasi, the fort of Chunar, the ruins of Rajmahal, the Taj Mahal and forts of Agra, or practices like the Sati, and more general and natural specimen like the banyan tree. Together, these are able to recreate the varied physiognomy of an antique land.

Bishop Heber's moral geography

In the special valedictory address of the Society for Promoting of Christian Knowledge delivered by the Bishop of Bristol on June 13, 1823, he conferred upon Reginald Heber the sacred duty of “communicating the blessings of Christianity to the nations of Hindostan” (my italics). To the above, in acceptance of the position of the episcopal see of Calcutta, Heber remembers that it was “this society which administered the wants, and directed the energies of the first Protestant missionaries to Hindostan; that, under its auspices, at a later period, Shwartz and Gericke, and Kolhoff, went forth to sow the seeds of light and happiness in that benighted country, and that, still more recently, within these sacred walls, [...], Bishop Middleton made adieu to that country which he loved ...”. It was in this country that Heber would “conduce to, and accelerate the triumph of the Gospel

291 Edney 1999. 177.
292 Heber 1829. xxii.
among the Heathen” (my italics). While the Bishop of Bristol refers to an amorphous conglomerate of multiple regionalities with his use of the phrase, “nations of Hindostan”, especially when he talks later about the practical difficulty of “procuring translations into the dialects of Hindostan”, Heber reveals a more unambiguous understanding of Hindostan as a unified terrain, a “country” of the Heathen, an absolute space endowed with absolute (negative) connotations. Biblical meanings are superimposed onto a geography charging it with religious and moral significances. As Harvey expounds, the Christian notion of geographical space is teleological and acts as the “revolving stage of a temporal drama”, till it is symbolically incorporated into Christendom through “a progressive annexation of the inner space of the human soul”. In Bishop Reginald Heber’s travel journal, Narrative of a Journey through the Upper Provinces of India, from Calcutta to Bombay, 1824-1825, with Notes upon Ceylon, an Account of a Journey to Madras and the Southern Provinces, 1826, and Letters Written in India (1828), one finds a duality: the interesting admixture of representations of space which existed “outside and before experience” and that which was experienced by him while he existed in it. India, in his view, was a Stygian space with sublime possibilities.

The first few poems in Heber's collection, spring out of a spatial understanding which is morally charged. The first poem in the collection, which he is said to have recited in the theatre of Oxford and had been honoured for, titled 'Palestine', as well as the two next in the sequence, called 'Europe' and 'The Passage of the Red Sea', are consanguineous to the same consciousness of the moral universe in which he places Hindustan. 'Palestine', an elegy mourning the fall of 'Judea' attaches notions of death, decay and darkness to the spatial body captured by Islam:

Reft of thy sons, amid thy foes forlorn,
Mourn, widowed queen, forgotten Sion mourn.
Is this thy place, sad city, this thy throne,
Where the wild desert rears its craggy stone?
While suns unblest their angry lustre fling,
And way-worn pilgrims seek the scanty spring?
Where now thy pomp, which kings with envy view'd?
Where now thy might, which all those kings subdued?
No martial myriads muster in thy gate;

293 Ibid. xxxi-xxxii.
294 Ibid. xxviii.
295 Harvey 1996. 214-5.
296 Ibid. 214.
No suppliant nations in thy temple wait;
No prophet bards, thy glittering courts among,
Wake the full lyre, and swell the tide of song:
But lawless Force, and meagre Want is there,
And the quick-darting eye of restless Fear;
While cold Oblivion, 'mid thy ruins laid,
Folds his dank wing beneath the ivy shade.  37

The images invoked in the quoted paragraph is much akin to the antiquarian perspective through which many colonial painters and British romantic poets defined India.

The idea generated in his poems is that of an upright yet isolated and vulnerable continent (Europe) circumscribed by morally debased and violent bands:

The manliest firmness in the fairest form -
Save, Europe, save the remnant. - Yet remains
One glorious path to free the world from chains.

Clear ideas of Europe and its other are evoked where the Euro-Christian self is endowed with the sacred duty of wrestling space from its other, to enlighten the “benighted” world. However, where Christianity in general, deploys metaphors of spatial liberation, “free the world from chains”, Christianity under imperialism, with its connotation of conquest, becomes complex. The Bishop’s journal especially adhering to a romanticist framework, juggles with the two competing notions, but in the end conciliates imperialism as divine providence.

Heber’s acceptance of the bishopric of Calcutta came after numerous deliberations and apprehensions. When he was offered the position for the first time in 1822 after the death of Bishop Middleton, in spite of his eagerness to accept it, he had to decline it, based on various personal considerations. He was also discouraged by the opinion of an eminent physician who had recently arrived in England after a stint in Bengal who thought that the weather of India could affect his daughter’s health adversely. It was his wife, who shared his missionary zeal, (and after his death had put together his journal for publication), ultimately persuaded him into taking up the position. He finally accepted the post believing “that he should be doing God more acceptable service by going to India than by staying at Hodnet.” 298

297 Heber 1830. 11.
298 Chambers 1846. 101.

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Hailing from an old Yorkshire family, and after having a distinguished career as a student in Oxford, he had, by this time, already preached at two places, Hodnet, a parish in Shropshire and at Lincoln's Inn. His position as a priest did not tarnish his literary genius. As J.G. Lockhart, his contemporary and fellow litterateur, described him as an extraordinary churchman with the “eye of a painter, and the pen of a poet ... mind stored with the literature of Europe, both ancient and modern.”\(^{299}\) His literature was not merely personal and private in nature. He was very much a part of the British literary circuit, frequently publishing reviews of poetry or travelogues in the *Quarterly Review*, including the travelogues of Robert Ker Porter, E.D. Clarke and also that of Abu Taleb Khan, the first writer to have written about his travels in Europe. He was well read in the romantic poetry and had been especially influenced by Southey, to whom he was also acquainted. His personality has been aptly summed by his twentieth century editor, M.A. Laird as “one imbued with the central traditions of Anglican Christianity together with the spirit of the early nineteenth century Romantic and missionary movements.”\(^{300}\) His reflection of India too, as captured in his journal, is imbued in this tradition. According to K.K. Dyson, with “Bishop Heber's report on India we move into a period when Romanticism becomes a prominent feature of the Indian journal.”\(^{301}\) With his *Narrative*, the travel genre definitely leaves the Wellesleyan era of survey narratives, and enters a more ornate realm of the 'literary picturesque'.

Not only did Heber review travel literature, but he was also acquainted with the activity of travel. In 1805, following the cult of the Grand Tour, he set out as a young man on a tour of north Europe which extended to the distant Russia and included Norway, Sweden, Finland, Crimea, Ukraine, Hungary, Austria, Prussia, and Germany. In Dyson's view, Heber's Eurasian travels foreshadow his later ones undertaken in India. His encounter with Byzantine and Indo-Saracenic architecture in the East European and Russian regions made him put its Indian counterpart in a comparative format. He seemed to have traced regions into a cultural schema and thereby could conclude in his memoir, despite William Jones's endeavours, that the Hindus “had made no great progress in art, and took all their notions of magnificence from ... Mahommedan conquerors.” [p. 392]. Heber belonged to a time when travel and exploration literature was at its peak of popularity. He was aware of India before he actually visited it. It is very evident that Heber was as aware of travels in


\(^{301}\) Ibid. 225.
India, as with James Rennell's map, or as with Captain Cook's diaries. One of his biographers writes about his enthusiasm in carrying out missionary activities in India:

Looking over the map of India, with his wife, as Heber did occasionally, while tracing there the provinces which he afterwards visited, ... he has often avowed that had he no one's interest but his own to study, he would immediately devote himself to the missionary work.  

On reaching India, he felt the need for touring the entire Indian diocese in his capacity as the bishop in order to bring it under a manageable compass. Heber's tour encompassed almost the whole circumference of the Indian subcontinent, demarcating through his trail, the Company's realm. Under the patronage of Governor-General Lord Amherst, he followed roughly the oft-taken route that Cohn talks about. He took his journey in two parts. From Calcutta he proceeded to Dacca, then on through what was called the Upper Provinces, to the Himalayan foothills, descending to the plains to visit Delhi and Agra, moving southward via Rajasthan and Gujarat to Bombay. From here he went to Ceylon by sea, from where, after a brief stay, he returned to make a tour of the southern region of the peninsula, where he finally breathed his last.

On 15th of June, 1824, he began his journey from Calcutta by river escorted by his chaplain, Mr. Stowe and some native servants. He described the onset of the journey in a quaint boat in a letter to his wife, Amelia Heber:

We set out, attended by two smaller boats of very rude construction, with thatched cabins, and huge masts and yards of bamboo, something like the canoes of the Friendly Islands, as Cook has presented them. [p. 62]

Clearly, Heber was no exception to the British enthusiasm for exploration narratives especially as that of Cook. Heber had not only gorged the iconic text, but was even able to recall passages at the correct instances, identifying similarities, to remind him of “the drawings of Otaheite and the Friendly Islands”. [p. 86] Similarly, Rennell's map too was as firmly inscribed in his memory. After touring a few villages in Bengal, he headed towards Dhaka, “the first station of (his) visitation”, [p. 62] of the route of which he says:

Our way was through the heart of Lower Bengal, by the Matabunga, the Chundna, and those other branches of the Ganges, which make so tortuous a labyrinth in Rennell's map. The Sunderbunds would have been a nearer course, but this was pleasanter, and showed us more of the country which along the whole line of the river was fertile, well cultivated, and verdant to a great degree, and sometimes really beautiful ... [p. 65]
He seems to be asking for the greatest possible exposure to the natural scenery of the region. Moreover, he needs to accustom and train his British eye to the foreign scenery for a duration before he can appreciate and develop a suitable aesthetics to map the tropics. Often, he exhibits a keen awareness of the existing iconography about specific places he visits, produced by professional and amateur British painters undertaken before his visit, as that of William Hodges, George Chinnery [p. 96] or Sir Charles D'Oyly [p. 99]. Heber's seems to be an initiative to superscribe onto Rennell's factual map a piquant pictographic trait, which not only talks of natural scenery he encounters, but simultaneously gives a large amount of ethnographic and naturalistic information:

The banks are generally covered with indigo, and beyond are wide fields of rice or pasture, with villages each under a thicket of glorious trees, banyans, palms and pandanis, and bamboos, and though we here and there passed woods of a wilder character, their extent did not seem to be more than in one of our English counties. The villages are all mud and bamboos. [p. 65]

While he often tries to stimulate imagination in the reader by providing a touch of the artist's palate to the narrative, he also points out flaws in Rennell's map, thereby contributing to the growing archive of knowledge resources about India. In the entry dated June 18, he writes:

Our course from Ranaghat was up a wider and deeper stream, and chiefly to the N.W. - a circumstance irreconcilable (sic) with Rennell's map, unless the discrepancy can be accounted for by an extraordinary alteration of the river's channel. [p. 66]

Again, a little while later:

About half-past five we brought-to for the night, at a place which our crew called Sibnibashi, but so differently situated (being further to the south, and on a different side of the river) from the Sibnibas of Rennell, that I first thought they must be mistaken. [p. 66]

The strength of his narrative are the passages which reflect a sentimental vein and romanticist view of nature which pervaded the age of which he was a child. Such passages occur through the narrative depicting the change of scenery throughout the progress of his journey, differentiating a locality with another and thus representing a dynamic space:

The river continues a noble one, and the country bordering on it is now of a fertility and tranquil beauty, such as I never saw before. Beauty it certainly has, though it has neither mountain, nor waterfall, nor rock, which all enter into our notions of beautiful scenery in England. But the broad river, with a very rapid current, swarming with small picturesque canoes, and no less picturesque fishermen, winding through fields of green
corn, natural meadows covered with cattle, successive plantations of cotton, sugar, and pawn, studded with villages and masts in every creek and angle and backed continually (though not in a continuous and heavy line like the shores of the Hoogly) with magnificent peepul, banian, bamboo, betel, and coco trees, afford a succession of pictures the most radiant that I have seen, and infinitely beyond anything which I ever expected to see in Bengal. [p. 83]

A resounding nostalgia of double exile continues through his narrative of first from his home in England and secondly, of the separation from his wife and daughter who could not take the journey with him and had to remain behind in Calcutta (as represented in the poem 'An Evening Walk in Bengal'). The haunting sentimental strain resurges in his narrative over and over again through the infinite comparisons and references he makes with his own native land. Since most of the narrative is also a correspondence with his wife, the descriptions are posed in a way as to make them vivid and amenable to his wife, who, as was the case with him so far, was only familiar to European registers. In talking about the alien geography, therefore, he selects in the manner of most British travel writers, European images which bear the greatest structural, organic and naturalistic similitude. He records in his journey after Cawnpur (Kanpur):

The country, as we advanced, became exceedingly beautiful and romantic. It reminded me most of Norway. [...] It would have been like some part of Wales, [...] We saw some interesting plants and animals, black and purple pheasants, a jungle hen, some beautiful little white monkeys gambolling on the trees; and what pleased me most, we heard the notes of an English thrush. I also saw some very large nettles and some magnificent creepers, which hung their wild cordage as thick as a ship's cable, and covered with broad, bright leaves from tree to tree, over our heads. After about an hour and a half's ascent, we saw some dog-roses, a good many cherry trees of the common wild English sort in full blossom, some pear trees with fruit, and a wild thicket of raspberry and bilberry-bushes on either side of the road... [p. 118]

Benaras, the epicentre of Hindu faith and practices, is an old town with narrow streets, which, "like those of Chester, are considerably lower than the ground-floor of the houses, which have mostly arched rows in front, with little shops behind them". [p. 162] Curiously, Heber, in his review in 1809 of Abu Taleb Khan's Travels, (the first travelogue written by a non European on his travels in Europe), had commented on Taleb's overt references to his homeland when citing from Taleb's book: "He noticed, on his way from Holyhead, Conway [Castle], with its ancient walls resembling Allahabad; and Chester, with the verandahs
which line the principle streets”. The parallelism between the two passages, the contiguity of the regions compared (Benaras and Allahabad, both cites of religious significance) and their comparison to Chester, is remarkably significant. Is Heber adopting the Indian perspective to view and analyze native places? The view of Benaras might have recalled to his mind the passage from Taleb’s Narrative that he himself had commented on earlier. Where he usually would cite the source of his associations and recollections to canonical authors, he significantly fails to name the Indian Abu Taleb.

His nostalgia nearly transports him to a realm of imagination where he seems to see and hear British images and notes. In Gour, he seems to see gravel passing a little brook, a phenomenon which he did not see in India yet, [p. 118] and in Bengal, he seems to hear songs from the boatmen and children in the villages which reminds him of the Scottish melodies [p. 356]. To prevent repetitions and stasis in his writing descriptions, he often takes recourse to poetry as a literary strategy. As Nigel Leask points out, Heber occasionally adopts literary associations which provide the scene with an incremental interest. He evokes the British literary canon and frequently quotes romantic poetry to overcome the narrative stasis. The flooded villages by the Delaserry river in Dacca makes him think of Gray’s poetic representation of the Egyptian Delta:

On their frail boats to their neighbouring cities glide,  
Which rise and glitter o’er the ambient tide.

A practice of scaring away birds from the corn fields, Heber expresses by citing Southey’s oriental romance The Curse of the Kehama (1810). [p. 123] But the most significant of these is perhaps his breaking into a rupture at the first glimpse of the Himalayas with the famous lines from Coleridge’s ‘Kubla Khan’:

But oh! that wild romantic chasm which slanted  
Down the green hill athwart a cedarn cover!  
A savage place! As holy and enchanted  
As e’er beneath a waning moon was haunted  
By woman wailing for her demon lover!

The awe inspiring inscrutable Himalayan landscape exudes connotation of the primitive atavism that the poem associates with the great oriental despot, Kubla Khan. The significant reference to the poem imbues the sublime picturesque of the snowy ranges with a moral paradox: of a darkness beneath the white peaks: “a savage place”. It is a place fraught with

303 Quarterly Review. 4 (August 1810), 87. Quoted in Leask 2002. 188.
dualities in which resides both the sacred and the profane. Heber's mysticism regarding the towering mountain ranges springs from what has been referred earlier as 'moral geography'.

For all his efforts to believe and convey to the British public the similarity between Britain and Hindustan, there is always the lurking anxiety about the depravity clouding the space. At places where he "could have fancied (himself) inside in England", the "dark, naked limbs, and the weapons of (his) companions" jolt the evangelist into realization "that (he) was in a far distant land", as "forlorn" as Keats finds himself at the end of his ecstatic reverie in the poem 'Ode to the Nightingale'. The landscape itself was inscribed with signs of heathen superstitions which recalled back the establishment evangelist to his mission. A ramble amidst nature which could evoke the highest spiritual uplift, suddenly turns into a space conquered by monstrous abominations:

A noble grove ... succeeded to the pawn rows at our village this evening, enbosoming the cottages together with their little gardens, ... in greater perfection ... their little green meadows and homesteads. We rambled among these till darkness warned us to return. We saw a large eagle seated on a peepul tree near to us. On the peepul an earthen pot was hanging, which Abdallah said was brought thither by some person whose father was dead, that the the ghost might drink. [p. 107]

The ritualized space and the lived landscape of its native inhabitants are interpreted by its European observer as symptomatic of its being possessed by evil and ignorance. The same is most obscenely obvious in the native part of Calcutta, 'the City of Palaces' which obtrudes reason and defies logic in its haphazard, sloppy construction, devoid of any civic sense or discipline. The Black Town is a space which epitomizes heathenism at its worst. The clamour of voices, thumping and jingling of drums and cymbals emerging from nearby temples of monstrous deities, the villainous smell of garlic and rancid coconut oil, sour butter, stagnant and dirty ditches, the breeding ground for malaria carrying mosquitoes are constant reminders of the lurking depravity at the backyards of magnificent and grand White Town. The visceral registers of sounds, sights and smells penned down in language, could recreate the horrific and chaotic topography of the Black Town. The innumerable venomous creatures ranging from serpents to vermin which infest the geography, are manifestations of the same moral degradation:

Within these few days all the vermin part of Noah's household seem to have taken a fancy to my little ark. To the scorpions, the cockroaches, the ants, and the snake, were added this morning two of the largest spiders I ever saw, and such as I regretted
afterwards I did not preserve in spirits. In a bottle they would have made monsters fit for the shelf of any conjurer of Christendom. [p. 181]

However, Heber holds himself from complying completely with Rousseauvian views. The equatorial heat, the putrid miasma or the torrential monsoon were not decisive factors in shaping indolent natives. All that was bad about the place and its inhabitants seemed to be external to their otherwise innately gentle character:

All that is bad about them appears to arise either from the defective motives which their religion supplies, or the wicked actions which it records of their gods, or encourages in their own practice.

Any good Hindu, who may exist and that he is aware of, are, “in no instance ... , connected with, or arising out of, their religion, since it is in no instance to good deeds or virtuous habits of life that the future rewards in which they believe are promised”. [p. 231] In a letter to his friend R.J. Wilmot Horton, he is blatant in his disapproval to Hinduism which he finds “the worst” among “all the idolatries” he has “ever read or heard of”. Among the reasons he provides for his antipathy are the system of caste: “a system which tends, more than any thing else the Devil has yet invented, to destroy the feelings of general benevolence, and to make nine tenths of mankind the hopeless slaves of the remainder”, and generally “the total absence of any popular system of morals, or any single lesson which the people at large ever hear to live virtuously and do good to each other”. 304 Dyson notes that Heber’s intolerance is more obvious and rabid in his letters to friends and relatives in his clerical circuit than in his own travelogue. For example, in one of his letters to his friend Watkin Williams Wynn, who helped him acquire the position of Bishop of Calcutta, he writes:

Of the people, so far as their natural character is concerned, I have ... a very favourable opinion. They have, unhappily, many of the vices arising from slavery, from an unsettled state of society, and immoral and erroneous systems of religion. But they are men of high and gallant courage, courteous, intelligent, and most eager after knowledge and improvements, with a remarkable aptitude for the abstract sciences, geometry, astronomy etc. and for the imitative arts, painting and sculpture. They are sober, industrious, dutiful to their parents, and affectionate to their children, of tempers almost uniformly gentle and patient, and more easily affected by kindness and attention ... Their faults seem to arise from the hateful superstitions to which they are subject, and the infavourable state of society in which they are placed. But if should please God

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304 Quoted in Dyson 1978. 230.
to make any considerable portion of them Christians, they would, I can well believe, put
the best of European Christian to shame.\(^{305}\)

The British government could only give the region its much required stability and Christian
missionary endeavours under its aegis could guarantee a moral transformation. Together, the
two could reform the fallen state of the land. The onus is as much on the colonial
government to herald and put in place an advanced system of learning at the core level; for
to uproot Hinduism from the society would also mean the induction of an enlightened
scholastic structure. He is severely critical of the existing government aided schools which
impair Hindu training to its students as the Vidalaya he inspects in Benaras:

The astronomical lecturer produced a terrestrial globe, divided according to their
system, and elevated to the meridian of Benaras. Mount Meru he identified with the
north pole, and under the southern pole, he supposed the tortoise, 'Chukwa', to stand, on
which the earth rests. The southern hemisphere he imagines to be uninhabitable; but on its concave surface, in the interior of the globe, he placed Padalon. He then showed me how the sun went round the earth once every day, and how, by a different, but equally continuous motion, he also visited the signs of the zodiac. The whole system is precisely that of Ptolemy; and the contrast was very striking between the rubbish which these young men were learning in a government establishment, and the rudiments of real knowledge, which those whom I had previously visited, in another school in the very same city .... \[p. 169\]

The existing sense of space and cosmology of the inmates is discarded as Hindu chicanery.
The same needed to be overhauled through the inception of enlightenment foundations of
scientific learning at the pedagogic level to tap impressionable young minds before they fall
prey to Hinduism's irrational and immoral machinations. European spatial models and
'scientific' ideology were not only at the heart of British economic and political conquest
but was a crucial element in its drive to rationalize and modernize the native mind. Heber
repeatedly talks of Christian missions degenerating to Sisyphean hopelessness, especially in
Ceylon and southern India, in its failure to intervene into a convert's private life and daily
practices, who often continued to perform the same rituals as earlier. Therefore
indoctrination of European rationality was crucial to Christian proselytism's success in
India. Interestingly, Christian evangelism took recourse to science as an apparatus to
promote and establish faith in itself and in the Christian godhead. Later in the nineteenth
century, numerous schools and colleges were founded in India with this very objective. It is
the voice of the establishment evangelist which speaks of the moral responsibility of the

\(^{305}\) Quoted in Dyson 1978. 231.
British in its colony which through its maxim of science, rationality and progress, would be an agent of transformation of the space itself. The two ideologies completely synchronized with each other and spoke in perfect unison the mutually accepted language of the 'white man's burden': Christianity would bloom, holding hands with the imperial order and imperialism would thrive through Christianity's unstoppable missionary zeal. Evidently, by Bishop Heber's time, British evangelism and colonialism in India had both come a long way since its troubled history in the eighteenth century, when the East India Company, then, mainly a mercantile concern, resisted the mission's entry citing it as unpopular with the natives and thus potentially detrimental to trade.⁹⁶

What is interesting is the blending of the *Narrative* unobtrusively into the general discourse about India as a space fraught with danger, desultoriness and moral decadence. Simultaneously, it also reaffirms the bounds of the Company's territory and the regions under the supervision of the Church of Calcutta. Despite Heber's attempt to maintain a face of a liberal and a tolerant cleric, his journal formed a crucial text to justify expansion in Christian missionary activities in the nineteenth century. A sonnet by G.A. Vetch represents Bishop Heber during his travels through India:

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Bright with the dews of pure Castalian springs,
See Heber gladdens now our sultry plains;
[... ] Hail, then, and Heaven speed thee on thy way,
Illustrious pilgrim of our distant shore:
Rous'd by thy call, enraptur'd by thy lay,
May nations learn their saviour to adore.
For thee the fairest garland shall be twin'd,
The Christian's palm and poet's wreath combin'd.⁹⁷
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The spatial metaphors are typecast with certain qualifying adjectives signifying remoteness of the place and the spatio-temporal distance and difference. The brightness of the "Castalian spring", or European Enlightenment would light up "our sultry plains" of "our distant shore": the physical touch or the benign presence of the godly figure of Heber would illuminate the dark recesses now owned by the imperial state. The white man's penetration into the land would reveal to light, the otherwise obscure space.

Although Heber tried his best to maintain a liberal and tolerant face in his *Narrative*, his work consolidates the discursive construction of India as a space ridden with primitive

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⁹⁶ Teltscher 1997. 76.
⁹⁷ Taylor 1835. 282.
and savage practices justifying British (missionary) intervention into the region. Numerous works on India which surfaced after the publication of Heber's *Narrative* distilled out a totalizing image of India as absolute and undiluted barbarism. The sylvan landscape that Heber celebrates, mutates into a synoptic space essentially denoting evil. For example, James Chambers' *Bishop Heber and Indian Missions* (1846) before dealing with Bishop Heber's biography and works, provides an introductory chapter which focuses the view of its readers onto signs of Satanic practices inscribed on its picturesque landscape: the "gnawed corpses" gushing down a mighty river with "the black vulture settled on them", the scarecrow-like figure of the "fanatic fakir" in a "wild mountain glen", the "frantic yell of demoniacal worship" tearing the deep blue sky, and the "fitful glare" in which a widow is "food to flames". First fixing the territorial expanse of the region into a numeric grid and then within defining natural boundaries, the chapter goes on to specify essences through the rhetorics derived from Christian myths and allegories:

It is in such an hour, and in a scene of so fair a beauty, that the contrast between the moral and physical aspect of Hindoostan forces itself most strongly on the thoughtful mind. All external nature is rich in so surpassing a grandeur and loveliness, that the fond fancy might well deem it some long lost relic of Eden's bowers where sin and sorrow had found no place, and on which the primeval curse had not descended.

Alas! Over this land, so abounding in the choicest beauties and blessings of nature, there broods a moral gloom of almost impenetrable obscurity. [...] Even on the fairest works of creation, sin and error have impressed their foul marks, and when the excitement of imagination has passed away, hill and dale, wood and water, alike teem with signs of man's fall from his first estate.

**The Himalayan Journals of Fraser, Skinner and Hooker: fixing boundaries**

After the Gurkha War of 1814-16, a spate of Himalayan travel narratives appeared, as a passage from the *Edinburgh Review* proclaims:

The Gorkha War subjected to us a large extent of these mountains; and the smaller Seikh chieftains on the south of the Sutlej having placed themselves under the British protection, the range of our influence has been widely enlarged; the farthest western boundary of our dominions now corresponding with the farthest eastern advance of Alexander the Great - a striking proof of the superiority maintained by the nations of Europe at an interval of two thousand years.
The Himalayas provided a vast stage where Europeans, explored, measured, sought and acquired scientific renown. The first of these was James Baillie Fraser's (1783-1856) *Journal of a Tour through Part of the Snowy Range of the Himala Mountains and to the Sources of the Rivers Jumna and Ganges* (1820). Only a year before this, in 1819, was published Buchanan's highly systematic, survey account of Nepal. As a result of this war, a “belt of low, wooded, and marshy, but rich land, known by the name of the Turrāee or Turreeānā” [p. 3] first fell into the notice of the British, and:

The conduct of this war, with its consequences, offered to us sources of information regarding Nepal and the countries contained in the mountainous belt that confines Hindostan, of which heretofore there was but little known.  

The Gurkha encroachment of the Tarai, which was a region thought to “chiefly belong(s) to the British government, or to those under its protection” [p. 3], required a rebuttal. Further, having already conquered “Jeesta to the Gograh”, the Nepalese ambitions to proceed westward “to gain possession of even the rich and beautiful valley of Cashmeer” [p. 30], posited definite threat and insult to the British and needed to be crushed mercilessly through a military campaign. While the topography of the space thus accidentally exposed, had to be studied in order to be controlled, anxiety about other rebellion prone tribes residing in adjacent hills, required the British to take adequate measures to pacify them. Taking precautionary measures against them would also involve gathering sufficient information about their society, ethos, livelihood and polity as a first step. Most importantly, these peripheral spaces were thought to contain the British empire in the subcontinent, with the Himalayas posing as natural frontiers. Restlessness at the fringes could not be permitted for the sake of stability of the colony.

Fraser was an enthusiastic traveller and painter who built his career upon the strength and reputation of his travels in India and especially those undertaken in the Himalayan region. He hailed from a Scottish family of land owning branch of the Fraser clan who had been lairds since the fifteenth century and also held cotton and sugar plantations in Berbice in Guyana. Born in Edinburgh in 1783, he had a perfect colonial upbringing. His father, Edward Satchwell Fraser had been an officer in the Grenadier Guards and in the American War of Independence while his paternal grandfather had spent

311 Fraser 1820.  
312 The British were certainly taken aback by the valour and might with which the Gurkhas fought. The later incorporation of the Gurkha regiment in the British Army is a proof of the appreciation they commanded as well as their much required co-option into the main stream of the empire.
seventeen years in India as an East India Company personnel and was a Persian Oriental enthusiast who wrote the *History of Nadir Shah*, and collected Persian manuscripts but never made it to Persia. (This was probably under Warren Hastings' policy of granting handsome incentives to those officials willing to study Indian languages and culture). With the patronage and help of Charles Grant (1746-1823), all of James' four brothers too were employed with the East India Company in India. Interestingly, Kapil Raj points out that Scottish education was much more broad based than that in England, covering disciplines like geography, history, navigation, mensuration and natural and moral philosophy apart from classical languages like Greek and Latin. In fact, Scotland had a tradition of survey and cartographic activities even before England had its first map. However, the lack of adequate opportunities in Scotland itself forced the youth to spill over to England or Britain's ever expanding empire in search of suitable occupations. This kind of curriculum and ethos made them tailor made for colonial services. In fact, it was predominantly the Scots, who manned the highly successful operational, scientific and technological aspects of British activity in India. The survey mode initiated by Wellesley after 1793 also drew heavily on the statistical method pioneered in Sir John Sinclair's *Statistical Account of Scotland* (1791-8). In a letter to Lord Montagu on 1st July, 1821, James Scott talks of the Indian colony as "the Corn Chest for Scotland, where we poor gentry must send our younger sons as we send our black cattle to the south".

In 1799, as a lad of sixteen, James Fraser visited Berbice to manage his family's sugar and cotton plantations. The venture however, was a failure and was sold off later in 1817. Having returned to Scotland from Berbice in 1811, he set out on extensive tours of the Western Highlands and Skye with a cousin. Unable to find suitable occupation in Britain, India, where all his brothers had gone, seemed to promise him a better prospect. It was Charles Grant who once again helped him find passage on board *Daedalus* to India at the end of January, 1813. After having five months at sea and having narrowly missed ship wreck, he finally landed in Madras in July the same year. He spent a short while travelling in and around south India aimlessly before heading for Calcutta. In Calcutta, he tried his luck in business (probably in indigo) in partnership with a Mr Beecher without seeing much

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313 His grandfather's work was to have a lasting impact on his own work later on in his career. See foot note 18.
314 Wright 1994. 125-134.
316 Leask 2002. 163.
317 Quoted in Leask, Nigel. 176.
luck. Even though he suffered losses in the business, when the partnership was finally dissolved, he received Rs. 35000, with which he could pursue his own personal interests.

In January, 1815, James Baillie Fraser left Calcutta for Delhi to join his third brother Alexander, who was employed there. From Delhi, Fraser travelled north to Nahan in the hilly tracts of Punjab where he was joined by another brother of his, called William who was the Political Officer with the East India Company's forces and was, at the time, engaged in the British-Nepalese War. While he initiated sketching in India with scenes of Nahan, he was also at the same time a first hand witness of the siege of nearby Jytock of which he writes about in his journal. Soon William being appointed the commissioner of Garhwal, the duo embarked on a three month tour of the lower Himalayan provinces. It was not merely travel for pleasure or out of curiosity, but had a serious political motivation. Escorted by about six hundred irregulars, it was meant to be a spectacle of sorts, a “military movement” [p. 6], a demonstration of British strength and invincibility among the rebellious hill people in order to subjugate and pacify them as preventive measure against further insurrections like that of the Gurkhas. The travels thus undertaken during the three months in the so long unknown terrains of the Himalayan foothills are the subject of Fraser's travelogue, which according to its author, as written in the Preface, was induced “chiefly by a desire to add his mite to the general stock of geographical knowledge; the more so, as any information respecting a tract of country so very little known, promised to be somewhat interesting, however imperfectly conveyed” [p. v].

Though Fraser is somewhat apologetic in his preface (written in third person) due to “the consciousness of a fatal deficiency of information of every branch of physics, which deprived him entirely of the power of adding to science in those branches; which are now so interesting as geology, mineralogy, botany etc”,[p. vi, my italics] he nevertheless compensates for that loss of “power” with a:

secret feeling of satisfaction, at being recognized as the first European, who had penetrated to several of the scenes described, as well as by that universal and powerful tendency of our nature to gratify its vanity by relating the strange, the uncommon, or dangerous enterprises in which we have engaged. [p. v]

Though he was “by no means insensible to his own want of talent”, nevertheless he:

enjoyed the means of procuring a tolerably accurate survey of the country, and of amassing materials for a map, in the general accuracy of which, as far as relates to its greater lines, and a considerable portion of its detail, he places great confidence. [p. vi]
Underneath his facade of perfect modesty about his capabilities, clearly enough, Fraser realises that the dissemination of scientific information is a control over the knowledge archive which translated to “power” in a modern Enlightenment world order and on which the fate of colonialism ultimately depended. The same logic makes him draw a detailed treatise about the physiological and topographical character of the region. In the other passage, that which he outlines as a “universal tendency” is no more than a Eurocentric colonial impulse to fan its pride by narrating extraordinary feats in exotic geographical locations, a well established popular formula in travel narratives of the nineteenth century. There is also an individualist romantic urge to immortalise one's own name, or becoming a contender to the status of a national hero (of the likes of Captain Cook), by citing the importance of the task performed. His endeavour to visit the sources the rivers Ganga and Yamuna are manifestations of the same desire. For Fraser, the strength of his achievement lied in his ability:

- to exhibit a picture of its inhabitants, as they appeared before an intercourse with Europeans had in any degree changed them, or even before they had mixed much with the inhabitants of the plains. [p. v]

This too is an oft repeated familiar colonial trope which Cohn calls the 'museological mode' which sought to museumize people and places as specimens thought to be primordial and primitive in nature. It was an urge to capture people and places in their pristine pre-modern state before corruptive influences of modernity caused them to disappear forever.^[See Cohn 1997. 9-10; and Pinney 1997.]

Under these circumstances, the production of the information and its transmission had to be perfectly timed before “interest lately created by circumstances ... subsided, and curiosity ... ceased”. [p. viii] Since time was at a premium, therefore he required to expedite the publication of the knowledge that he gathered before it was rendered redundant. He was already aware of highly specialised survey activities being undertaken in the region during the interim period between the completion of his travel and the publication of his work. For this reason, he “judged it best no longer to delay the publication of his work” [p. viii] for his own endeavour would have fallen futile once information about this area, aided by advanced technological equipments, was made public.

- though the country may now be visited with little risk or difficulty, and though gentlemen of science have been appointed to survey it from the Sardah to the Sutlej, [...], to make their observations, together with far greater ability to take advantage of them, and talent to describe their result, still the physical difficulties of the country are
so great, and the obstacles to making such results available to the public are so numerous that a very long time will, in all probability, elapse before any description of it can appear, and till then, even so unsatisfactory an attempt as the present may be received with indulgence. [p. vii]

While at the end of the preface, Fraser is hopeful of an ensuing long tradition of colonial enterprises in the region, he however puts himself at the forefront for having revealed the space as a rich field of investigation. He claims 'intellectual property right' as it were, for the knowledge resource of the space exposed by him to the western world:

...the author will be gratified and proud if the effort at all succeed in satisfying or in awakening curiosity and inducing those who are better qualified than himself, to explore the field on which he has barely gazed from a distance. [p. ix]

The preface to the Journal, though written in the third person, resounds with a voice of individual achievement, the tone in the journal proper orchestrates seamlessly with the British collective imagination of India. Kapil Raj points out that colonialism was an interface between and among varied groups from the British Isles and different segments of people in the subcontinent.319 Being Scottish by birth and having travelled in the highlands inadvertently, James Baillie Fraser’s modes of deriving essences and of drawing comparisons remain restricted to his Scottish sensibilities, while making him suitable for the meandering journey. In an attempt to explicate the general structure of polity among the hill tribes, he cannot restrain himself from drawing references to Scotland:

On the whole, there seems at least a strong resemblance to be traceable between the state of this country and that condition of things which existed in the highlands of Scotland during the height of the feudal [sic] system, where each possessor of a landed estate exercised the functions of a sovereign, and made wars and incursions on his neighbours, as a restless spirit of ambition or avarice impelled him. [p. 4]

The region was still clasped within petty rivalries and disputes among small time feudal lords, a state which Scotland had long overcome and therefore managed to see its natural spatial apotheosis through a 'modern' spatial reorganization, namely that of a nation state. Therefore, the lack of an overarching political unity among these tribal societies, to which all of them would bow down, was the main difference with Scottish structure:

Indeed, the chief political dissimilarity between this country and those in which the feudal system obtained seems to have been in this – that there did not exist even a
nominal sovereign in this mountainous district to whom these independent barons acknowledged a feodal subjection. [p. 4]

An overlord was what was required, to whom all would bow down, to maintain peace in the region. By subordinating themselves to the British, the region could see its natural culmination.

The region was otherwise comparable to European landscapes worthy of capturing in a picture of no less than the master-painter. The cultural diversity and the antiquity of the people in their ethnic costumes would make the painting suitably picturesque:

Around us the fantastic forms of the old trees, their rich masses of foliage contrasting with the gray bare crags, and the blasted pines and withered oaks, formed a foreground for a picture worthy the pencil of a Salvator. Nor would our attendants, the Ghoorkhas, the hill-men, and the Patans, formed into groups reclined around, or loitering on the rocks and cliffs, have disgraced the composition. [p. 158]

Once back in Delhi, he and William commissioned Indian artists to paint Indians of all classes in their infinite varieties of dresses. The people he met here were only collectibles for him which could be enumerative in the rich and expanding field of study called 'statistics'. During his travels, he himself often made native men or women stand before him in order to obtain their sketches in order to maintain records of their physiognomy and outfits. It was part of the Enlightenment worldview, of which Fraser obviously was a child, to celebrate the variety of the human genus on the surface of the globe as long as their 'place' in the spatial order was unambiguously known. A certain conception of otherness flourished in enumerating taxonomic categories simultaneously with hierarchizing spaces.320

His own artistic temperament, which was as yet raw and untrained, processed natural scenery in terms of painterly subjects of the Gilpinesque kind. Such ideas reverberate throughout his voluminous work. For example, at another place, he says:

The day was clear, and only here and there a black cloud rested on the highest peaks. The scene was majestic, and if the epithet can justly be applied to any thing on earth, truly sublime. [p. 159]

The version of the 'sublime' and the 'picturesque' that developed based on travels in the Celtic fringes played its part in articulating and appropriating the Indian highlands in similar terms. For a Scotsman, comparison with his native place was a means "of an associative ligature which mapped the exotic scene onto a nostalgic landscape of childhood and of

320 Harvey 1989, 250.
This became a popular and established idiom especially with artists so much so that when Fanny Parks tours the Himalayan region 'in search of the picturesque', she initially finds her not having travelled to the Scottish Highlands a definite handicap in appreciating the great mountain belt of India:

when we arrive at the hills, I hear we are to be carried back, in imagination, to the Highlands of Scotland. I have never been there; n'impote, I can fancy as well as others.222

An avid reader of Scott, her power of imagination soon makes her overcome her deficiency. For example, Borderer Dr. John Leyden, discovers in Coorg "the grotesque and savage scenery, the sudden peeps in romantic ridges of mountains bursting through the bamboo bushes, all contributed strongly to recall to memory some very romantic scenes in the Scottish Highlands";223 while for Bishop Heber, the Himalayan landscape constantly brings back memories of Wales. Along with the Journal, twenty aquatints of Fraser's water colours done from 'on the spot' sketches, were published in a folio edition entitled Views in the Himalayan Mountains the same year. For these, he took special training from renowned Indian artists like William Havell and George Chinnery in Calcutta during the interim four years until he felt fully confident to publish them.224

There is a constant search for familiar signs amidst the unfamiliar:

Here we found a birch-tree for the first time, precisely similar to that of Scotland in all respects. The bark, leaf, twig, and buds were quite the same; the leaf was somewhat larger, but seemed to possess no fragrance; yet we had been struck at a scent exactly like that of the birch after a shower, [...] we did not pluck even a bough, although ancient recollection almost tempted us to do so. We found sweet briar in great plenty, and giving a perfume perfectly the same as that from the home plant. [p. 158]

The sensory ecstasy of the revelation of familiar characteristics, that Fraser delineates, is the reason behind the establishment of numerous hill stations on the foothills of the Himalayas, to make the Britons feel at home in an otherwise alien land.

Though parts of the natural surroundings might have seemed familiar and even sublime, it was sooner or later realised as essentially 'other'. Fraser adopts the trope of 'terror (as talked about earlier), to outline a negative character that lies beneath the illusory

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221 Leask, 2002, 176.
222 Parks, Fanny, Wanderings of a Pilgrim in Search of the Picturesque. Quoted in Ibid. 176.
223 Quoted in Leask Ibid. 176.
224 He also made some excellent drawings on Calcutta, twenty four of them being published in eight parts between 1824-26.
exalted visual landscape. The idea of the Arcadian space he inadvertently generated had to be morally maligned to restrain it from attaining a utopian status. Through his travels "throughout those regions now fallen, or likely to fall into the British power", [p. 167] he unravels a dominant moral landscape which unifies and binds spaces as varied as the plains and the hills:

Such was the conduct of the hill people on this occasion, on this occasion, and it will probably be found of a piece with the whole tenor of that uncertain, vacillating, mean, and narrow policy, which marks and stains the Asiatic character. From such men no steady or good course of conduct can be looked for, on them no reliance can be placed. Even the tie of interest seems unsteady when viewed through so uncertain a medium. [p. 129]

On the whole, these people were not different from the people to be encountered in the rest of the known regions of Hindustan. Also, an abundance of superstitions, heathen mythologies, idol worship, cast system, Brahmin priests, temples and numerous other practices in the region (all familiar Eurocentric distinguishing tropes to view the primordial society of India with), are evidences enough to relate and unify spaces across a topographically varied area.

Despite Fraser's shamefacedness at not having received proper training in the field sciences, his work nevertheless aspired to the textual status of a geographical narrative - an encyclopedic digest about the Himalayan region. He sent specimens of minerals, insects and ethnographical curiosities, collected during his Himalayan travels to the Geological Society in London, together with notes about them. These were subsequently published first in the *Transactions of the Geological Society* (1819) and in many other issues later on.\[325\] He was soon elected a Fellow of the Society on the merit of his Himalayan travel, the first among many others he undertook later especially in the Central Asian belt (another strategic area for the British about which little or nothing was yet known).\[326\]

Mary Louise Pratt traces the prevalence of the scientific scrutiny in travel narratives as being a part of the emergent 'planetary consciousness' during the time period, 1750-1800. However, the same trend can be seen as continuing all through the nineteenth century in British narratives about its empire. These attempted to systematise, catalogue, and classify

325 Wright 1994. 126.
326 James Baillie Fraser wrote *An Historical and Descriptive Account of Persia* published in 1834 as Volume XV in the Edinburgh Cabinet Library. Apart from this he was the author of numerous romances set in Central Asia and often based on his grandfather's tract *History of Nadir Shah*. Some of these are *The Khuzzilbash, A Tale of Khorasan* (1828), and its sequel, *The Persian Adventurer* (1830), *The Highland Smugglers* (1832), *The Tales of the Caravanserai*, *The Khan's Tale* (1833).
all existing species occupying the surface of the earth, “into sequence of a descriptive language”.\textsuperscript{327} In being engaged in discovering the so-long hidden system of nature, the natural historians, as it were, led to a new field of visibility being constituted in all its density”.\textsuperscript{328}

In fact, from the 1790s onwards, a new optic emerges, which is focused entirely on foregrounds based on a new practice of botany.\textsuperscript{329} Roots, tussocks, mosses, lichens, ferns, rocks, soil strata, trailing plants, pot herbs, bird nests, and bee-hives came to be inspected and studied in all their profusion and diversity, as parts of the local ecology. In Britain at this time, a commitment to agriculture and forestry merged with specialized interests in horticulture and botany. An interest in horticulture spread over to varied public and private spaces. Well managed orchards, kitchen gardens, fields and plantations were linked not only to a national aesthetics (as discussed in chapter 2) but also to a larger spectrum of twin ideas of profit and patriotism, for a well managed plot semiotically referred to a well managed nation.

Joseph Dalton Hooker (1817-1911), surgeon, naturalist and traveller embodied in himself this scientific spirit of the nineteenth century. He imbibed the Lennaean taxonomic impulse, as well as an Humboldtian vision, producing numerous works on natural sciences in his lifetime. He was born into an English family of scientists. His grandfather was a fervent enthusiast in cultivating rare plants, whereas his maternal grandfather, Dawson Turner had published works on Irish and English ferns and mosses. His father, William Jackson Hooker, was a professor of botany at Glasgow University and later became the Director of the Botanical Gardens of Kew. Hooker himself was educated in the Glasgow High School and University. He completed his medical studies successfully but his passion remained the natural sciences and specially botany. He joined the medical department of the Royal Navy. Hooker's first major opportunity came with his appointment as assistant surgeon aboard H.M.S. \textit{Erebus} in the Antarctic expedition commanded by James Ross during 1839-43. The voyage gave him scope to study vegetation in places of which he had read in Cook's journals: New Zealand, Australia, Tasmania or the Falkland Islands. A huge number of specimens of plants was collected from these places which went to consolidate a scientific archive about these places.

\textsuperscript{327} Foucault, Michel. \textit{The Order of Things}. Quoted in Pratt 1992. 28.
\textsuperscript{328} Pratt, Mary Louise. 29.
\textsuperscript{329} Daniels, Seymour and Watkins 1999. 348.
Returning from the expedition, Hooker travelled throughout the Continent to collect and exchange specimens for Kew, for by now his father was the director of the Gardens. After lecturing on botany for a few intervening years, he was appointed botanist to the Geological Survey of Great Britain in 1846, his work being in the field of palaeobotany, searching for plant fossils in the coal-beds of Wales. It seems to have been an archaeological enterprise to unravel, typify and categorise land and vegetation of the temperate zone of Europe. His conceptualization of the tropics would in turn emerge from such an understanding. In the meantime, Hooker had become acquainted with Charles Darwin, and had become profoundly interested in Darwin's early ideas of 'transmutation of species' and 'natural selection'. Later on, he also read the manuscript of his *Origin of Species*. In the same vein with Darwin's theory of 'survival of species', Hooker was to proclaim:

Plants, in a state of nature, are always warring with one another, contending for the monopoly of the soil, - the stronger ejecting the weaker, - the more vigorous overgrowing and killing the more delicate. Every modification of climate, every disturbance of the soil, every interference with the existing vegetation of an area, favours some species at the expense of others.330

His theory is as much based on the hierarchy of species and genus as is Darwin's own. Curiously, his proposition held true in the nineteenth century world order in terms of the land grab initiated by European colonialism for systematic exploitation of lands across the globe. The existing vegetation of an area in turn would be a stable indicator to a whole host of factors: climate, soil and meteorological conditions, by tabulation of which, conceptual and academic spatial categories could be configured and formulated.

In 1847, his father noting his keenness and fervour in botanical research, nominated him to travel to India to collect botanical specimens for the Kew, as he states in the Preface to his journal:

On hearing about the kind interest taken by Baron Humboldt in my proposed travels, and at the request of my father (Sir William Hooker), the Earl of Carlisle (then Chief Commissioner of Woods and Forests) undertook to represent to her Majesty's Government the expediency of securing my collections for the Royal Gardens at Kew. [p. i]

On 11th November, 1847, Hooker left for his three year long Himalayan travels, of which his *Himalayan Journals: or Notes of a Naturalist in Bengal, the Sikkim and Nepal*

330 Hooker and Thomson 1844. 41.
Himalayas, the Khasia Mountains etc (1854) was the outcome. He dedicated this journal to his friend, Darwin.

In the Preface to his Himalayan Journals, he elaborates upon his choice of India as a suitable field for his pursuits in natural sciences:

Having accompanied Sir James Ross on his voyage of discovery to the Antarctic regions, where botany was my chief pursuit, on my return I earnestly desired to add to my acquaintance with the natural history of the temperate zones, more knowledge of that of the tropics than I had hitherto had the opportunity of acquiring. [p. i]

While his choice for field research laid “between India and the Andes”, he chose the former on the premises of logistic support promised by Dr. Falconer, then Superintendent of the Botanic Garden at Calcutta. Falconer also:

... drew my (Hooker’s) attention to the fact that we were ignorant of the geography of the central and eastern parts of these mountains, while all to the north was involved in a mystery equally attractive to a traveller and the naturalist. [p. i]

In fact, he was so preoccupied and overwhelmed by his Indian travel, that he even denounced a proposed trip to Borneo to report capabilities of Lebuan with reference to cultivation of cotton, tobacco, sugar, indigo, spices, gutta-percha etc., and extended the Himalayan tour for a third year. Sikkim was recommended by both Lord Auckland and Dr. Falconer as “the portion of Himalayas best worth exploring, ... as being ground untrodden by traveller or naturalist” and also because its ruler was a British dependent. [p. ii]

Moreover, no scientific exploration had been till then undertaken “of the snowy Himalaya eastward of the northwest extremity of the British possessions”. He would be the first European to visit these parts since Turner’s embassy to Tibet in 1789. His own ideas regarding these regions were shaped by the works of two travellers, that of Cook and Turner, which incited in him fantasies about Lama worship, Chumulari and Kerguelen’s Land, talked about in those texts.

On reaching Calcutta, he “acquainted (himself) with the vegetation of the plains and hills of Western Bengal, south of the Ganges, by a journey across the mountains of Birbhum and Behar to the Soane valley, and thence over the Vindhya range to the Ganges, at Mirzapore ... to Bhagalpore”, from where he proceeded north to Sikkim Himalayas. The proceedings of his meteorological observations during this tour are published in the London Journal of Botany. Much influenced by Brian Houghton Hodgson, who had accumulated a number of native informants of varied races and tongues as translators, collectors, artists,
shooters and stuffers to assist him establish a knowledge resource on the Himalayan east, Hooker too outfitted his expedition in the same fashion as polyglot troupe. “My party”, wrote Hooker:

mustered fifty six persons. These consisted of myself and one personal servant, a Portuguese half caste, who undertook all offices and spared me the usual train of Hindu and Mahomedan servants. My tent and equipment, instruments, bed, box of clothes, books and papers required a man for each. Seven more carried my papers for drying plants and other scientific stores. The Nepalese guard had two coolies of their own. My interpreter, the coolie sirdar (a headsman) and my chief collector (a Lepcha) had a man each. Mr. Hodgson's bird and animal shooter, collector and stuffer with their ammunition and indespensables [sic] had four more. There were, besides, three Lepcha lads to climb trees and change the plant papers, and the party was completed by fourteen Bhutan coolies laden with food ... . [Vol. I, 179]

Hooker admired Hodgson's scholarly rigour in building up a consolidated archive with his ethnological and zoological enterprise in “unveiling the mysteries of Boodhist religion, chronicled the affinities, languages and customs, and faiths of the Himalayan tribes, ... and natural history of birds and animals of this region.”. [p. ii] Similarly, Hooker incorporated in his naturalist inspection, multi facets of geology, geodesy, meteorology, botany, zoology and anthropology to architect a discursive space called the Indian tropics. However, Hooker packaged his scientific revelations in a language akin to the 'literary picturesque' as that of Bishop Heber, his scientist!C Latin diction adding to the poesis in his descriptions:

It is difficult to conceive a grander mass of vegetation:- the straight shafts of the timber-trees shooting aloft, some naked and clean, with grey, pale, or brown bark; others literally clothed for yards with a continuous garment of epiphytes, one mass of blossoms, especially the white Orchids Caelogynes, which bloom in a profuse manner, whitening their trunks like snow. More bulky trunks were masses of interlacing climbers, Araliaceae, Leguminosae, Vines, Menispermeae, Hydrangea and Peppers, enclosing a hollow, once filled by the now strangled supporting tree, which has long ago decayed away. From the sides and summit of these, supply branches hung forth, either leafy or naked; the latter resembling cables flung from one tree to another, swinging in the breeze, their rocking motion increased by the weight of great bunches of ferns or Orchids, which were perched aloft in the loops. Perpetual moisture nourishes this dripping forest: and pendulous mosses and lichens are met with in profusion. [p. 110-1]

His scenic descriptions celebrate the beauty of natural diversity and paint a picture of the rich vegetation in its profusion. The region as constituted by the naturalist's eye would
According to Hooker, be translatable through an artist's eye, as he expressed in a letter to Darwin of the Himalayan scenery in a letter to Darwin:

From above the forest region, amongst grand rocks and such a torrent as you see in Salavator Rosa's paintings vegetation all a scrub of rhodods, with pines below me as thick and bad to get through as our Fuegian Fagi on the hill tops, and except the towering peaks of P.S. (perpetual snow) that, here shoot up on all hands; there is little difference in mt. scenery – here however the blaze of Rhod. flowers and various cultured jungle proclaimed a differently constituted region in a naturalist's eye and twenty species here, to one there, always are asking me the vexed question, where do we come from? 233

However, it is the naturalist's eye which scores over the artist's as it is through the former, that the space is made accessible and amenable to the European scopic order. His initiative was to chalk out differential realms within the Himalayan tropics, a recurring idea in all his works, which gets reflected as well in his *Flora Indica: being a systematic account of the plants of British India*, co-authored with Thomas Thomson:

An attempt to divide the area embraced in the Flora Indica into physico-geographical or geographico-botanical districts. This is intended to serve the double purpose of giving a sight sketch of the physical characters and vegetation of these provinces, and of adopting such a carefully-selected system of nomenclature, as shall be available for assigning intelligible localities to the species in the body of the Flora and such as may be easily committed to memory, or found with little trouble on any map. [p. 2]

The mission is to articulate conceptual and identifiable terrains by locating and segregating species and genus in the plant kingdom.

His heteroglot companions were as much under his scrutiny, as the plant kingdom. As racial types, they became the link to frame associative features as racial characteristics of the multiple hill tribes he encountered. The Lepchas, he found “rude but not savage, ignorant yet intelligent” and could make loyal and diligent attendants. [p. 175] The Gurkhas were also faithful as servants as they were used to work under an overruling power and had no pretensions of landowners. The khasias, however could not derive his appreciation and a show of their insubordination resulted in an incident of bitter clash and the ruthless killing of the Khasia natives.

Hooker's practice and examination of regional botany was fundamentally connected to the academic cult of local ecology. There was a practical dimension to this stream of [327] H. L. Hooker. 1839. Quoted in Burkhardt and Smith 1985. 242.
academics. An understanding and management of an ecological part of a whole was an esteemed model generally believed to lead to a good governance of a country as a whole.

The scientific code underlining most of the narratives designed to produce and establish what they represented. Encouraged by scientific institutions, the language of science immediately ratified the document's veracity. Apart from the purely scientific documentation, as has been seen in the course of the present chapter, the narratives are punctuated by several cultural discourses, which work in complicity with the dominant Enlightenment gaze of scientism. It is ultimately the voice of the narrator-author which unifies the imperial gaze in all its multifarious dimensions such as that of the aesthetic, visceral and the scientific to construct the space of the subject's location. The 'T' of the narrator merges seamlessly and becomes the eye of imperialism which uses European frames of reference to translate and re-present a space which by this process is opened up for prospects of invasion and occupation. In providing a cohesive sense of geography and history of the land, the colonial travel narratives orchestrated an image of the British empire's imagined geo-body.
CARTOGRAPHIC IMAGINATION
In the last of the sections, it is the turn to examine the final and most concrete of the apparatus whereby a land orientation is made existent. With the post colonial scholarship as the backdrop, it is essential to see the functional dimension of cartographic endeavours in scheming the metropolis, the colony and the empire in general. Whereas the oppositional binary of the home state and the empire stands unaltered, it is essential to view the emergence of both the geographies as constructions of the same gaze. The fashioning of both the geographies happened to be acts born out of an identical cartographic impulse that shaped both the nation state of Great Britain and the British empire. In the chapters in this section, the first is an account of the process of cartographic formulation of the British Isles, and the second deals with the extension of those ideas implemented on the Indian colony: the act involving a translation of sorts devised to appropriate complexities and peculiarities under a totalitarian all encompassing gaze.

As has been said earlier, my work is a study of worldviews, of philosophies and viewpoints which constructed Europe and the world in the age of Enlightenment. The practice of cartography in this period was representative of those ideologies which envisioned the globe and all extra-European space as open to conquest and occupancy. The two chapters in this section deal with the practice of cartography as a methodology to materialize and naturalize an expansive vision of the home territory and the colony. What is interesting is that, the method concerned an admixture of aesthetic principles with scientific accuracy. With the long eighteenth century moving towards an end, the aesthetic principles dislocated and cartography veered towards scientific reasoning and computation. That which once held a respected status in the world of art, gradually became accommodated and assimilated in the methods and language of science. The steady transition matched and
corresponded with the gradual permeation of scientism in fields of cultural production of the age, particularly the spatial representations.

As has been mentioned earlier, there is a need to look at the process and progress of the construction of spatial identity of the two geographies and rethink the scheme of hierarchies of space. Maps, both in the west and in British South Asia have served as an effective instrument in playing out the imperial ideology in subordinating spaces. What emerged as 'India' was in effect, the name of a steadfastly expanding colonial territory.