



‘Her’ Story in the ‘History of Nationalism: Re-Reading Women’s Travel Narratives

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Abstract

The colonial encounter brought about a new understanding of the concept of ‘travel’ in the nineteenth century Indian mind and imagination. Travel which had thus far been associated with only pilgrimage, now came to be regarded as an important secular practice essential for development and progress. Hence western educated men, as a mark of their liberal and progressive outlook, ‘allowed’ their womenfolk to cross the threshold of their domesticity. Though it was a restricted emancipation customized by patriarchal benevolence, travel nevertheless provided the scope and space necessary for women to assert themselves. The paper will look into some of the travelogues written by the ‘gendered subaltern’ in colonial India and attempt to show how these accounts are much more than mere descriptions of places and/or physical journeys from one geographical location to another. It will attempt to explore how, transgressing strict gender norms, women like Prasannamoyee Devi, Krishnabhabini Das and Pandita Ramabai, through the trope of travel writing, participated in the discourse of ‘nationalism’ - a discourse pre-eminently male. Prasannamoyee’s *Aryabarto*, Krishnabhabini’s *England e Bangamahila* and Pandita Ramabai’s *The Peoples of the United States* defy the historical/patriarchal narrative of India’s struggle for freedom that relegated women to the zones of silence and invisibility. This paper will attempt to trace not only the role of these women and their writings in the discourse of nationalism, but also explore how these travelogues become part of the wider and contemporary spectrum of Gender Studies and Indian English Literature.

Keywords: *nationalism, discourse, gender, travel, narratives*

“The nationalist discourse ... is a discourse about women; women do not speak here.”¹

I

The position of women in pre-independence India becomes amply clear in this observation that contains a subtext of patriarchal control that relegated women to a zone of muted inconspicuousness. It was a social order which believed that there could “be no doubt as to man’s



superiority over woman, not only in sheer physical strength, but also in mental vigour.”² Thus, living in a colonized country and subdued by a stern patriarchal society, Indian women of the times were in a double bind of colonization. Thrust in this position of inferiority and restriction, women interestingly, found the nationalist discourse of social reform that focused on the ‘Woman Question’, as an opportunity to cross the threshold of silence and invisibility. It is against this backdrop that this paper will attempt to try and locate the ‘voice’ of the ‘weaker vessel’ as women emerged from their cloistered *antahpur*, and crossed the *lakshmanrekha* of domesticity. The paper will attempt to explore how, transgressing strict gender norms, women like Prasannamoyee Devi³, Krishnabhabini Das⁴ and Pandita Ramabai⁵, through the trope of travel writing, participated in the discourse of ‘nationalism’ - a discourse pre-eminently male - to weave ‘her’ story in the ‘his’story of nationalism.

II

In her remarkable work on the significance of the ‘threshold’ in the laws governing woman’s position in India, Malashri Lal draws our attention to the restrictive ideology at work in the construction of such Indian concepts as the *lakshmanrekha* and *grihalakshmi*. She points out the “cunning juxtaposition of woman’s deification and her confinement in domestic space.”⁶ She argues that a woman’s movement “beyond the courtyard” was cleverly identified with moral and religious aberration. It was an ingenious means of regulating a woman’s sphere of activity, compelling her to not to tread the external or public world of exclusive male hegemony. Interestingly, the anti-colonial nationalist discourse of the spiritually superior: East versus the materially superior West found an apt alliance in this inner/outer dichotomy. The essentially patriarchal invention of the inner domain became all the more relevant in the context of the growing nationalist discourse of nineteenth century India which, through the image of the ‘pure’ and ‘untarnished’ woman and the use of the Bharat Mata paradigm, projected woman as the signifier of a morally superior Indian identity. Thus burdened with and ensnared in this position where confinement became synonymous with moral virtue, woman’s remoteness from the male



domain of the outer world was reinforced as was her invisibility in the historical narrative. She remained protected from the ‘menace’ of the unknown, suffering in the process, spatial and psychological isolation.

The absolute terms of segregation between the inner and outer worlds rendered the presence of a woman in a public space an aberration. Thus when Prasannamoyee Devi, probably the first Indian woman writer of travelogue, begins her travel account *Aryabarto* with “I cannot undertake to say how a travel narrative by a Bengali lady will seem to all”⁷, there is an unmistakable sense of apprehension that indicates a transgression. Indeed, for women, travel and writing were both transgressions of the borders drawn by the patriarchal society of the times. It was an appropriation of male space. Thus Krishnabhabini Das’ innocuous declaration in her travel narrative *England e Bangamahila*, “Discarding the veil, I boarded the carriage”⁸ becomes loaded with deeper and wider ramifications. It was a firm and audacious step taken by a woman who was acutely conscious of having destabilized gender-specific roles. Significantly, a significant part of her target readers are the majority of Indian women who remained reconciled to their fates in the *antahpur*:

My female readers! I was also cloistered in a house like you; I had no relationship with my country or the world. I would be enticed to know in detail about things happening in the country, and if I ever heard someone going to England or returning from there, my heart would leap with joy.⁹

It was not surprising, when she did accompany her husband to England she was deeply impressed by the kind of life led by the English ladies:

As there is no segregation of the ‘outer’ and ‘inner’ worlds in English homes, women are free to move about the house while performing their household chores, neither are they constrained from entertaining guests who may come calling.¹⁰



She could locate the English woman's comparative liberty and superior status to the advantages of widespread female literacy, and regret its lack in India. The male-constructed invisibility and forced silence found resistance in women like her, whose travel and their account of it not only negated the perception of the "trivial domestic discourse [characteristic] of women"¹¹ but became, wittingly or unwittingly, actions and articulations of assertion, struggle and dissent. The *interiorizing* and *inferiorizing* of women were critiqued and challenged albeit from the peripheries, as the margins slowly began to blur with their defiance of the responsibilities and checks that the society of the times bestowed on every woman –those of a caring mother, a dutiful daughter-in-law, a compliant wife and on the whole, a submissive member of the *antahpur*.

The hypocrisy of the nationalist agenda on the 'Woman Question' was understood, questioned and revealed by ladies like her who were growing conscious of their deprivation and subaltern position. Thus we have for instance, a discerning Prasannamoyee Devi, deploring "the clamour set up by our leaders, without sparing any effort to improve the lot of their deprived and ignorant women-folk."¹² Using the trope of travel, as she journeyed from one historical city of India to another, she is scathing in her criticism of the condition of women and unrelenting in urging the need for social reform. She writes,

It is far more important to seriously strive for the spread of women's education than indulge in the politics of nationalism with which the Indian male seems to be preoccupied.¹³

It is significant that she refers to the "politics of nationalism" of the "Indian male" for it reveals an understanding of how "the hegemonic construct of the new nationalist patriarchy"¹⁴ was working. Prasannamoyee realized that caught in the double bind of being colonized by gender and by race, the true liberation or empowerment of the Indian woman was still a distant dream.

The ground reality was that for the nationalists the encounter with the West had resulted in the acknowledgement of the need for improvement and modernization, a requirement essential for



resisting the colonial onslaught. Thus along with endowing the Indian woman with ‘traditional’ feminine qualities, the English educated middle class male now ‘wanted’ her to fulfill the desired model of the ‘modern’ woman of Victorian England. Though it was once more a path demarcated by patriarchy that women were expected to navigate, but it did provide them with the opportunity to education and to experience a cautious and controlled liberation. It was a crossing of the threshold nonetheless, though customized by patriarchal benevolence.

The colonial encounter also brought about a new understanding of the concept of ‘travel’ to the Indian mind and imagination. The notion of travel that was primarily associated with pilgrimage now came to be regarded as a supremely important secular practice necessary for progress. Hence as proof of his progressive and liberal outlook, the western-influenced and educated Indian *bhadralok* ‘allowed’ his spouse to cross the threshold of her familiar world. But a woman’s journey, from the secluded *antahpur* to the outside world, into a new experience, could only be as a compliant companion, catering to *his* needs untiringly, and still remaining metaphorically confined to the domain of silence and invisibility.

It is significant that though patriarchy changed its stance with the emergence of nationalist consciousness, not all women capitulated passively to its revised contingencies. Even as ‘educated’ women were considered to be realizing and upholding the high spiritual and ethical traits of the nation, their presence and articulation within the nationalist discourse problematized and created new tensions in the texture of gender relationships. This was due to the emerging subjectivity of women that seemed to find great scope in the liberating potential of travel. The sense of release that travel entailed though brought about a sub-conscious clash with the dominant rhetoric and created a tension, sometimes unconscious and at times agonizingly conscious, which remained present as a sub-text in women’s travelogues of the times. On the one hand, therefore, there were many who used pseudonyms to avoid denigration by the majority of the orthodox Indian male *and* female, while on the other, an “anxiety about the impropriety of female invention”¹⁵ is perceptible in majority of the accounts where the female identity of the author is not concealed. It is implicit,



for example, in the introductions to the narratives of both Prasannamoyee and Krishnabhabini, of a feeling of having intruded into a territory that was meant exclusively for men. Nevertheless, a subtle, almost imperceptible resistance was beginning to develop through women's travel and travelogues that vent their aspiration towards a more benign ethics of alterity. Mostly these were in the form of a regret or a wish, but at times well-articulated resentment against discrimination and subordination also appeared. It is noteworthy that in their very act of travel women were experiencing a power so far unknown and denied, for they were now appearing in the public domain reserved exclusively for men and encountering the challenges of life. Moreover, women who had crossed the sea or the dreaded *kalapani*, like Krishnabhabini Das and Pandita Ramabai, were also challenging the very foundations of a society that regarded this enterprise as blasphemy, and castigated the 'offender' with social ostracism. The purpose for which they travelled varied. Pandita Ramabai, for example, widowed at a very young age, went along with her daughter, first to England and then to the U.S. to study and practice medicine. Unlike Krishnabhabini or Prasannamoyee who had been married off in their childhood in accordance with the societal norms, Ramabai had already defied and upset the rhythm of society by marrying outside her caste and her state. Her personal narrative is a continuous subversion of a social order that made her a victim of its severe critical gaze that refused to accept the bold acts of a confident female Self. Disregarding the censure of the society, Ramabai went ahead with her mission, articulating in her travel narrative *The Peoples of the United States*, not only her own sense of liberation but also admiration of, among other things, the U.S's liberal and feminist thinking. Like Ramabai, Krishnabhabini too, records her appreciation of Englishwomen with the aim to gain and disseminate knowledge of the Other, which she hoped would help in the emerging identity of the 'New Woman' of India. She writes:

Women form the bedrock of society, thus had the average English woman been indolent by nature, English society and England as a whole could never have made such spectacular progress.¹⁶



Appreciating English women studying in colleges and universities and successfully competing with male peers in various walks of life, she puts forward a spirited critique of the patriarchal restrictions imposed upon Indian women who lived a life of perpetual deprivation. The meta-narrative of the nationalist movement that informs the texts of Krishnabhabini and Ramabai, provides them with the scope of emphasizing the importance of women's education and liberation by portraying the dissemination of education and its effects they witnessed among English and American women respectively. The 'Woman Question' was an important issue to both, and the importance of women's emancipation, their role in society and nation-building underscore the accounts. The same is true of Prasannamoyee's narrative. On her visit to Etwah, for example, she is severely critical of the prevalence of child marriage and lack of education among women that she saw there. However she does not fail to appreciate the hard-working nature of the people of this part of the country. She candidly disapproves of the Bengali 'Babus' who would rather work for a *sahib* like a slave than do any laborious work that is self-sufficing and self-dependent.¹⁷ Her journey through northern India becomes a retracing of the path of India's glorious sons and daughters of the past and she considers this as a sacred pilgrimage. As asserted by Prasannamoyee herself, her travelogue *Aryabarto* embodies the quintessence of *her* love for her country. Her aim was to spiritually uplift a servile present through the exploration of a magnificent and heroic past. Similarly with Krishnabhabini and Pandita Ramabai, we notice in their travelogues almost a crusading zeal for the freedom and uplift of India. In fact their very urge to produce travelogues points to a "historic sense of becoming modern as well as national."¹⁸

We notice in Krishnabhabini's experience of an alien land and its people, not only wonder as she observes the huge and growing metropolis of London, its houses, shops, theatres and the 'riches', but also a searching mind, eager to learn for the benefit of a powerful, independent and dynamic India. Hence she upholds the values of discipline, education, (importantly of women), diligence, hard work, national pride and self-respect that she detected in the English character, as some of the qualities worthy of emulation. She lauds, for example, the habit of



newspaper reading that she observed to be common to all – a habit that enabled everyone, from the commonest grocer to the most erudite scholar, to participate in the social and political life of the nation. Her observations subvert the notion of the stereotyped emotional and irrational woman. Her confident use of words like *parjyalochana* (assessment) and *pariksha* (examination) reflects her intellect at work that gives us a glimpse of the ‘rational mind’, a quality believed to be the sole possession of men. Prof. Jayati Gupta notes,

In the process of discovering strategies for liberating her nation from colonial authority she tries to probe the rationale behind the life, customs, institutions that she encounters in London.¹⁹

If Krishnabhabini was impressed by these qualities that she noticed in the British, Pandita Ramabai found the US, with its colonial past and a free and prosperous present as the model for the new India of her aspirations. Their rapidly growing economy, mechanized agriculture, urbanization, improved transportation and the position of women, particularly women’s entry into the public sphere through various occupations, deeply impressed her. She lauds, for instance,

The federal system of government in the United States, which has led to great happiness among the people of these States and made this nation the wealthiest and most advanced among all nations on earth.²⁰

To her England was an oppressive imperial power and the US an ideal liberating force and she makes repeated references to America’s success in overthrowing the British. Meera Kosambi reads Ramabai’s travelogue as

A celebration of a land of progress, equality, and opportunity of collective action and citizen’s rights. But underneath all this, it serves as Ramabai’s nationalistic and anti-British attempt... to install the USA as an acceptable Western model for India’s independence and many-sided progress.²¹



Both women, direct their gaze to the West, to the civilizational and racial Other for a better India. The gaze, however, is not of admiration only. Though the texts of both Krishnabhabini and Ramabai are situated in the prevailing colonial discourse of the ‘backward East’ and the ‘progressive West’, yet the significant aspect is that their encounter with the West is tempered by maintaining a rational distance. Thus though deeply impressed by women’s entry into the public sphere in America through various occupations, yet Ramabai derides their lack of legal rights. Krishnabhabini’s penetrative gaze unravelled not only an expanding and bustling city of London but also the urban squalor and sub-human living conditions that were the darker aspects of industrialization. She deplores the poor living in the London slums and observes that the lower classes here are “uncivilised” and “savage”, a view shared and endorsed by Ramabai who, too, was able to perceive Britain’s rigid class hierarchy:

The people of the numerous good families are highly cultured and polished. At the same time, the people of the lower classes are uncouth beyond limit.²²

Thus, if the British found the Indians to be ‘uncivilized’, prompting their civilizing mission, both Krishnabhabini and Ramabai found their ‘civilized’ and ‘progressive’ imperial rulers with their social and economic disparities, to be no better than the people upon whom they were imposing their supremacy. In fact, Krishnabhabini finds her own country’s caste-ridden society better than the dark facets of a highly stratified British class system. She writes: “Seeing the intensity of the hatred for the poor by the rich makes me feel that even our caste system is perhaps better than this.”²³ It is striking that it is the West that is being portrayed as lack, an attribute hitherto conferred on everything Eastern/Indian.

Krishnabhabini and Ramabai tried to reassess the civilizations that they witnessed and experienced — England in India and England in England (Krishnabhabini) and the USA (Ramabai). The gaze of both these ladies is defined by the need they felt to reform the retrograde



social customs, endured and suffered mostly by women, and their desire to see an independent India. They considered themselves to be part of the nationalist discourse and cast themselves in the mould of interpreter and critic. We may note that the very act of interpretation becomes an act of power, indicating the adoption of a strategy to undermine accepted norms of gender construction as also to carve one's own identity. They adopt the position of the panoptical viewer, aiming to give lessons to Indians back home on the socio-cultural and political life of the English and the Americans respectively.

Krishnabhabini and Ramabai thus subvert Edward Said's premise that "There is a source of information (the Oriental) and a source of knowledge (the Orientalist)"²⁴ as they are representatives of the rare non-western traveller who return the gaze of the colonizer, and it is the Occident that becomes a source of information, the object of the Other's study. If the Western nations created an 'Other', as Said has argued, Indian women's travel writing created the 'Self' vis-a-vis not only the colonizer but also the Indian male. Consequently, in their accounts we have the portrayal of a Self that is politically and socially colonized, looking up to a civilizationally and conventionally acknowledged *superior* Other in order to establish the Self and the nation as strong presences in the domain of power, both social and political. It is a resistance of the colonial perception of the Self as commodified inferior and this is part of what may be called 'decolonization'; and it is the Self that becomes salient through encounters with difference.

It is in the discourse of *difference* that the binaries of freedom and slavery, domination and subjugation, progress and stasis become palpable. Krishnabhabini, categorically states,

If anyone asks me which one of the several differences between India and England struck me most, I will only say that while England is the land of freedom, India is one of servility.²⁵

Having broken her own social fetters, Krishnabhabini saw England as the paradigm of independence and progress, necessary for her own country and society to be regenerated.



Prasannamoyee, who never went abroad, but travelled within the country, is also struck by the courage, zest and free spirit that she sees in British children on her visit to the Agra fort and finds in their courageous and unrestrained games, echoes of India's glorious heroes of the past:

In the courtyard, healthy, lively and independent-spirited English children were happily playing – as if Shakuntala's son was playing fearlessly with a lion cub – such was their free and vivacious nature.²⁶

It is noteworthy that to both ladies, it is the unfettered, emancipated character and disposition of their rulers that is of such value and relevance; for this is what the India of the times, and predominantly her women, lacked.

In the binaries of freedom and subjugation

... tropes of gender power get intertwined with tropes of colonial power. The desire to be liberated from the sense of degradation associated with the colonized status becomes a metaphor of the idea of independence from patriarchal oppression.²⁷

If the nationalist leaders' concern with the plight of the country's women was merely ostentatious, from the point of view of the colonizer, the native woman was a means to disintegrate the nationalist movement. As Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak has famously argued, by passing legislations against atrocities meted out to women through practices like sati and child marriage, the coloniser was "saving brown women from brown men."²⁸ This completely freezes the native woman as the object of both native oppression and colonizer's rescue. Consequently, it is the "contesting representational systems [that] violently displace/silence the figure of the 'gendered subaltern.'" ²⁹ But as Inderpal Grewal points out, travel subverted colonial power too, as it empowered women in many ways for travel and its account gave women voice and agency. The very fabric of travelogue being structured in power and space, Indian women's travel narratives of



the 19th century become feminist discourses that reconfigured and challenged women's presumed irrelevance and the male-constructed hierarchies of difference. She points out that "Such empowerment violated the object status and the silence that colonial rule and local patriarchies had imposed on Indian women."³⁰

III

The travelogues by Indian women conflate the colonizer - colonized relationship with the inequities of gender relations. Despite being situated within the strictures of patriarchal norms, yet deviation from the approved path to articulate an exclusive female sensibility is evident almost as a recurring pattern. Their texts become sites for accommodating protests against subjugation and exploitation both social and political. From the iconic Krishnabhabini to the unknown Sarat Renu from the queen of Cooch Behar Sunity Devi to the nondescript Bimala Dasgupta, women ventured out of the 'antahpur' to travel that bore the signature of modernity and became often a narrative of alterity.

Prasannamoyee's *Aryabarto*, Krishnabhabini's *England e Bangamahila* and Pandita Ramabai's *The Peoples of the United States* defy the historical/patriarchal narrative of India's struggle for freedom that relegated women to the zones of silence and invisibility. They interrogate the issue of social reform where the 'Woman Question' occupied centre-stage, yet remained "a male domain, and verbal as well as active participation in it ... men's responsibility and right."³¹ As the language of silence gets substituted by voice - voice that participates in the dialog of nationalism and social reform – they partake in and bear witness to a whole matrix of intricate power relations. Undeniably thereby, they chronicle the first traces of resistance and promises of change as they interweave their very own story - 'her'story in the 'his'tory of nationalism.

IV

Written in the vernacular, travel accounts by women like Krishnabhabini Das' *England e Bangamahila*, Pandita Ramabai's *United Stateschi Lokasthiti ani Pravasavritta*, Hariprabha



Takeda's *Bangamahilar Japan Jatra*, and Durgabati Ghose's *Paschimjatriki*, to name a few, have been translated to English today – translations that have led to a wider readership and provided scope for serious research within the categories of Gender Studies, Translation Studies and Indian English Literature.

Notes

¹ Partha Chatterjee, "The Nation and its Women." *The Partha Chatterjee Omnibus* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2007), 133.

² Balendranath Tagore, "Stree O Purush". *Bharati O Balak*, Boishakh 1297 b.s.

³ Prasannamoyee Devi (1857-1939) was a well-known literary figure of her time. She was probably the first Bengali woman whose travelogue *Aryabarto* was published as a book in 1888.

⁴ Krishnabhabini Das (1864-1919) was a writer and social activist of the nineteenth century, famous for her travelogue *England e Bangamahila*. She had spent eight years in England.

⁵ Pandita Ramabai (1858-1922) was a Maharashtrian Brahmin and a Sanskrit scholar of note who created history by marrying a low caste Bengali. Widowed at an early age she set sail for England with her daughter and then proceeded to the United States. Her travelogue, *United Stateschi Lokasthiti ani Pravasavritta* (in Marathi) or *The Peoples of the United States* record her observations and experiences.

⁶ Malashri Lal, *Laws of the Threshold : Women Writers in Indian English* (Shimla: Indian Institute of Advanced Study, 1995), 13.

⁷ Prasannamoyee Devi, "Aryabarto", in *Pather Katha: Shatabdir Shandhikshane Bangamahilar Bhraman* ed. Abhijit Sen and Ujjal Ray (Kolkata: Stree, 1999), 53.

⁸ Krishnabhabini Das, *Englande Bangamahila*. ed. Simonti Sen (Kolkata: Stree, 1996), 6.

⁹ Ibid. 5.

¹⁰ Ibid. 73.

¹¹ Cora Kaplan qtd. in Sara Mills, *Discourses of Difference: An Analysis of Women's Travel Writing and Colonialism*. (London and New York: Routledge, 1991), 40.

¹² Prasannamoyee Devi, "Aryabarto", in *Pather Katha: Shatabdir Shandhikshane Bangamahilar Bhraman* ed. Abhijit Sen and Ujjal Ray (Kolkata: Stree, 1999), 57.

¹³ Ibid. 56

¹⁴ Partha Chatterjee, "The Nation and its Women." *The Partha Chatterjee Omnibus* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2007), 133.

¹⁵ Sandra M. Gilbert and Susan Gubar, "The Mad Woman in the Attic", in *Modern Criticism and Theory* ed. David Lodge and Nigel Wood (Delhi: Pearson Education, 2007), 319.

¹⁶ Krishnabhabini Das, *Englande Bangamahila*. ed. Simonti Sen (Kolkata: Stree, 1996), 74.

¹⁷ Prasannamoyee Devi, "Aryabarto", in *Pather Katha: Shatabdir Shandhikshane Bangamahilar Bhraman* ed. Abhijit Sen and Ujjal Ray (Kolkata: Stree, 1999), 58.

¹⁸ Simonti Sen, *Travels to Europe*. (New Delhi: Orient Longman, 2005), 5.



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- ¹⁹ Jayati Gupta, "London through Alien Eyes", *The Literary London Society Journal*, March 2003. Accessed February 28, 2016, <http://www.literarylondon.org/londonjournal/march2003/gupta.html>
- ²⁰ Meenakshi Kosambi, ed and trans *Returning the American Gaze: Pandita Ramabai's The Peoples of the United States (1889)*(Delhi: Permanent Black, 2003), 75.
- ²¹ Ibid. p.6.
- ²² Ibid. p.20.
- ²³ Krishnabhabini Das, *Englande Bangamahila*. ed. Simonti Sen (Kolkata: Stree, 1996), 51.
- ²⁴ Edward Said, *Orientalism: Western Concepts of the Orient* (New Delhi: Penguin Books India, 1978), p. 308.
- ²⁵ Krishnabhabini Das, *Englande Bangamahila*. ed. Simonti Sen (Kolkata: Stree, 1996), 129.
- ²⁶ Prasannamoyee Devi, "Aryabarto", in *Pather Katha: Shatabdir Shandhikshane Bangamahilar Bhraman* ed. Abhijit Sen and Ujjal Ray (Kolkata: Stree, 1999), 65.
- ²⁷ Malini Bhattacharya and Abhijit Sen ed. *Talking of Power: Early Writings of Bengali Women from the Mid Nineteenth Century to the Beginning of the Twentieth Century* (Kolkata: Popular Prakashan (P) Ltd. Bhatkal and Sen, 2003), 9.
- ²⁸ Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, 'Can the Subaltern Speak?' *Marxism and the Interpretation of Culture* (Basingstoke: Macmillan Education, 1988)
- ²⁹ Ibid. 306.
- ³⁰ Inderpal Grewal, *Home and Harem: Nation, Gender, Empire and the Cultures of Travel* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 1996), 160.
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