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Rudyard Kipling, Edward Morgan Forster, William Somerset Maugham and Joseph Conrad: The British Imperial Tradition and the Individual Talent

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ABSTRACT

This thesis studied the dialectic of imperial tradition and individual talent in the non-fictional and fictional works of Rudyard Kipling, Edward Morgan Forster, William Somerset Maugham and Joseph Conrad. Taking its bearings from the postcolonial theory and critical categories elaborated by Edward Said, it argued the point that variation on the theme of commitment to Empire is close to "degree zero" in the four writers' works in spite of their significantly different ideologies. "Authorial ideology" is superseded by the "general ideology" of Empire as each and every author invests his "talent" in enhancing that imperial tradition that Said calls Orientalism. In their texts, it is the "textual attitude" that prevails in their perception of the Other in the opposition of the Oriental man's primitiveness and the Western man's progress. I also argued that if the authors wrote in support of Empire, it was because it was the imperial ideology that enabled them to circulate their "talents". One of my assumptions in developing the argument is that literature is just like money or currency. Writing at a time of high imperialism, the four authors could not have coined their artistic talents and put them into circulation without confirming to the general culture of empire that percolated to their respective audiences. It is the numismatic mark of empire on their talent that enabled them to be listened to and read by the public and this numismatic mark as I tried to demonstrate throughout the dissertation is characterized by monologism. The intertextuality between the four authors at the level of content is of the domain of pastiche as there is no significant "clash of referent" of the Empire. The Other voice in the writers' intertexts remains the same in spite of individual attempts to differentiate their style. The four of them are preoccupied with the maintenance of empire through the proposition of solutions and strategies to that shared goal. In short, I attempted to illustrate the ideology of difference in the four writers' works in the opposition they establish between narrative and vision in the representation of the Other (the Orientals) versus the Same (the Westerners) and the association of the Oriental space with the demonic, the abnormal, the diseased and the marginal, and the Western space with the norm and the centre. This binary aesthetics is underpinned by the assumption that the Orient and the Oriental man are there to be studied, to be controlled and restored to the Western rational norms. The writers' allegiance to art and the development of individual talent comes second to the allegiance to the country and its imperial interests. Thus, whether their personal style is classified as realist or modernist, it does not question the existence of empire, and as such their works read as allegories of empire. In this sense, the dialectic of imperial tradition and individual talent turns short.

RESUME

Cette thèse a étudié la dialectique de la tradition impériale et le talent individuel dans les œuvres de fiction et de non-fiction de Rudyard Kipling, Edward Morgan Forster, William Somerset Maugham et Joseph Conrad. Basée sur la théorie postcoloniale et les catégories critiques élaborées par Edward Said, elle a étudié l'idée que la variation sur le thème de l'engagement pour l'Empire se rapproche du « degré zéro » dans leurs travaux en dépit de leurs idéologies très différentes. «L'Idéologie de l'auteur» est remplacée par «l'idéologie générale» de l'Empire puisque chaque auteur a investi son «talent» pour l'amélioration de la tradition impériale que Said appelle l'Orientalisme. Dans leurs textes, «l'attitude textuelle» prévaut sur leur perception de l'Autre dans l'opposition de l'homme primitif Oriental et le progrès de l'homme occidental. J'ai également fait valoir que si les auteurs avaient écrit pour soutenir l'Empire, c'était parce que c'était l'idéologie impériale qui leur a permis de faire circuler leurs «talents». Une de mes hypothèses dans l'élaboration de l'argument est que la littérature est comme l'argent ou la monnaie. Écrivant à une époque de l'impérialisme élevé, ils ne pouvaient pas avoir inventé leurs talents artistiques et les mettre en circulation sans se conformer à la culture générale de l'empire qui percole à leurs publics respectifs. C'est la marque numismatique de l'empire sur leur talent qui leur a permis d'être écoutés et lus par le public et cette marque numismatique, que j'ai essayé de démontrer tout au long de la thèse est caractérisée par le monologisme. L'intertextualité entre les quatre auteurs au niveau du contenu est du domaine du pastiche comme il n'y a pas d'important « choc sur le référent» de l'Empire. La voix de l'autre dans l'intertexte des écrivains reste la même en dépit des tentatives individuelles pour différencier leur style. Préoccupés par le maintien de l'empire, ils proposent des solutions et des stratégies pour atteindre cet objectif. En résumé, j'ai tenté d'illustrer l'idéologie de la différence dans leurs textes en opposant la narration à la vision dans la représentation de l'Autre (les Orientaux) par rapport à Soi (les Occidentaux) et l'association de l'espace Oriental avec le démoniaque, l'anormal, le malade et le marginal, et l'espace occidental avec la norme et le centre. Cette esthétique binaire est liée à l'hypothèse que l'Orient et l'homme Oriental est là pour être étudié, contrôlé et restauré aux normes occidentales rationnelles. L'allégeance des auteurs à l'art et le développement de leurs talents individuels arrivent en deuxième position après l'allégeance à la patrie et ses intérêts impériaux. Ainsi, si leur style personnel est classé comme réaliste ou moderniste, il ne remet pas en cause l'existence de l'empire. A ce titre, leurs œuvres sont lues comme des allégories de l'empire, et la dialectique de la tradition impériale et le talent individuel tourne court.

ملخص

تناولت هذه الأطروحة بالدرس الديالكتيكية القائمة بين التقليد الإمبريالي والموهبة الفردية، من خلال كتب التخييل واللاتخييل للكُتَّاب **روديار كيبلن** و **إدوار مورقن فورستر** و **ويليام سومرست موقهام** و **جوزيف كونراد**، بالإعتماد على النظرية مابعد كولونيالية والتصنيفات النقدية التي وضعها إدوار سعيد، ودرست فكرة أن الاختلافات حول موضوع الالتزام تجاه الإمبراطورية تقترب من درجة الصفر في أعمال الكتاب الأربعة على الرغم من اختلاف إديولوجيتهم.عُوضت إيديولوجيا الكاتب بالإيديولوجيا العامة للإمبراطورية بما أن كلاً من الكتاب قد سَخّر موهبته في تطوير االتقليد الامبريالي الذي يسميه إدوار سعيد **الإستشراق**. في تخييلهم أو في اللاتخييل يقوم الموقف النصي على تمييز الآخر، معارضة الرجل الشرقي المتخلف، وتطوّر الرجل الغربي، حيث بيَّنتُ أنه إذا كان هؤلاء الكتاب قد كتبوا لمساندة الإمبراطورية فذلك لأن الإديولوجيا الامبريالية ساعدتهم على نشر مواهبهم. إحدى المعطيات التي انطلقتُ منها لتوثيق مسار البحث هي أنّ الأدب مثل الذهب خصوصا في مرحلة الامبريالية العظمى، حيث لم يستطع الكتاب الأربعة خلق إبداعاتهم الفنية ونشرها بمعزل عن مسايرة الثقافة العامة للإمبراطورية، إن علامة مسكوكّ الإمبراطورية كانت ظاهرة على أعمالهم وهذا ما ضمن لهم الإقبال والقراءة من طرف الجمهور، هذه العلامة التي حاولت على طول هذه الأطروحة إظهارها كانت تتمثل في **الأحادية**. إن التناص بين الكتاب الأربعة على مستوى المضمون كان في مجال المعارضة مع أنه لم يكن هناك خلفية صدام حول الإمبراطورية. إن صوت الآخر في متناص الكتاب كان واحدا بالرغم من محاولات كل كاتب منهم تمييز أسلوبه عن غيره. كان الكتاب الأربعة مشغولين بمساندة الإمبراطورية من خلال طرح الحلول والإستراتيجيات التي تضمن الوصول إلى الهدف المشترك. وباختصار حاولتُ توضيح إيديولوجيا الإختلاف بين أعمال الكتاب الأربعة والتعارض الذي يقيمونه بين السرد والرؤية في تمثيل الآخر (الشرقيين) في علاقته بالأنا (الغربيين)، الشرق كفضاء شيطاني غير عادي مريض وهامشي والفضاء الغربي كمقياس وكمركز، هذه الجمالية المزدوجة تم ربطها بفرضية أن الشرق والرجل الشرقي وُجِدَ لتتمَّ دراسته ومراقبته وإصلاحه تبعا للمعايير الغربية العقلانية. يأتي ولاء هؤلاء الكتاب للفن ولمواهبهم الفردية في المرتبة الثانية بعد ولائهم للوطن وأهدافه الامبريالية. وإذا كان أسلوبهم الشخصي قد صنف كواقعي وحداثي، فإن ذلك لا علاقة له بوجود الإمبراطورية ومع ذلك فقد قُرأت أعمالهم كرموز لها، وهكذا تتحقق من جديد ديالكتيكية التقليد الامبريالي والموهبة الفردية.

ABBREVIATIONS

Within the framework of this thesis, the following abbreviations are used to stand for the primary sources. The full biographical information of each text is given in the Selected Bibliography.

AH ----- *Abinger Harvest*

AHG ----- *Alexandria: a History and Guide*

BB----- *"The Back of Beyond"*

BP ----- *"Beyond the Pale"*

BW ---- *A Book of Words*

CAQ ----- "*The Central Asia Question"*

CLJC VI ----- *Collected Letters of Joseph Conrad, Vol. 1*

CLJC VII ----- *Collected Letters of Joseph Conrad, Vol. 2*

CLJC VIII -----*Collected Letters of Joseph Conrad, Vol. 3*

CT ----- *The Casuarina Tree*

EMFAT ----- *E. M. Forster: a Tribute*

EP ----- *"At the End of the Passage"*

GE ----- *"Government of Egypt"*

GP ----- *The Gentleman in the Parlour*

HB ----- *Of Human Bondage*

HD ----- *Hill of Devil*

HCL ----- *"His Chance in Life"*

HOD ----- *Heart of Darkness*

K ----- *Kim*

KM ----- "*Karain: a Memory"*

L ----- *"Lisbeth"*

LC ----- *"The Life to Come"*

LE ----- *Last Essays*

JB ----- *The Jungle Book*

LJ ----- *Lord Jim*

LJC ----- *Letters from Joseph Conrad, 1895 - 1924*

LRK VI ----- *The Letters of Rudyard Kipling, Vol. 1*

LRK VII ----- *The Letters of Rudyard Kipling, Vol. 2*

LRK VIV ----- *The Letters of Rudyard Kipling, Vol. 4*

LRK VV ----- *The Letters of Rudyard Kipling, Vol. 5*

MS ----- *Moon and Sixpence*

MWWBK ----- *"The Man Who Would Be King"*

NC ----- *The Narrow Corner*

NM ----- *"Neil MacAdam"*

OB ----- *"The Other Boat"*

OIAF ----- *An Outcast of the Islands, Almayer's Folly*

OP ----- *"An Outpost of Progress"*

PI ----- *A Passage to India*

PNN ----- *"Preface to The Nigger of Narcissus"*

PP ----- *Pharos and Pharillon*

PR ----- *A Personal Record*

PTOUW ----- *The Prince's Tale and Other Uncollected Writings*

PV ----- *Points of View*

RE ----- *The Razor's Edge*

SLEMF VI ----- *Selected Letters of E. M. Forster, Vol. 1*

SLEMF VII ----- *Selected Letters of E. M. Forster, Vol. 2*

SM ----- *Something of Myself*

SU ----- *The Summing Up*

TA ----- *"Thrown Away"*

TBB ----- *"The Bridge Builders"*

TCD ----- *Two Cheers for Democracy*

TLJ ----- *The Longest Journey*

VW ----- *"The Vessel of Wrath"*

WN ----- *A Writer's Notebook*

WPVRK SS LT ----- *The Writings in Prose and Verse of Rudyard Kipling: From Sea to Sea; Letters of Travel*

YN ----- *"Youth: a Narrative"*

CONTENTS

General Introduction

This thesis entitled *Rudyard Kipling, Edward Morgan Forster, William Somerset Maugham and Joseph Conrad: The British Imperial Tradition and the Individual Talent* falls into the category of research on post-colonial studies; its corpus is colonial literature, but the critical perspective is post-colonial. Even if these four authors have already received a large spate of critical attention, one more piece of research directed to the manner in which they carve their places within the British imperial tradition would only contribute to the enrichment of the existing scholarship especially if the perspective through which they are approached interweaves with more recent critical concepts such as intertextuality/monologism and dialogism/polemics. Previous scholarly works such as Charles Allen (2007), Ali Behdad (1994), Purabi Panwar (2000), Teresa Hubbel (1996), Benita Parry (2004), Jean Paul Chaillet (2009), Selina Hastings (2009), Agnes S. K. Yeow (2009), Patrick Brantlinger (1988) and Avron Fleishman (1967), and others, have placed each of the four authors within the framework of the British imperial tradition. I propose to make a further step in this field of research by working on the manner in which the four authors carve their places in this tradition and the role their individual talents play in the tradition.

Intertextuality, on the one hand, and polemics, on the other, find a more congenial space for their expression in the literary and non-literary texts that deal with power. The former proliferates in the area of colonial discourse which flourished in the nineteenth century and early twentieth to legitimate the imperial power. This same imperial power equally generates polemics as to its policies and ideologies. In such discourse, authors are engaged in discursive practices with other authors and the historical moment in which they circulate their works, and they are deeply interpellated by the idea of empire. Even if they might disagree at some points related to its policies and ideologies, the general idea of empire remains central to this literature. The Orient and the Orientals are regarded as inferior to the Westerners, who

bestow on themselves with a kind of "burden" of taking light and civilisation to the Orientals, a mission that is supposedly carried within the framework of empire. The British literature of the period of high imperialism that stretches from the 1870s to the 1930s offers one of the most exhaustive canons of colonial literature. There is intertextuality between the British authors of this period as they share the general consensus as to the necessity of preserving the empire for the good of the centre and the periphery. The allegiance to this idea makes them part and parcel of the imperial tradition. Yet the authors within this tradition might diverge at some points depending on their political orientations, generally conforming to one or the other principles of the British imperial tradition, namely liberal or conservative imperialism. Their individual talents either swerve with the idea of empire or interweave with it. Consequently, there emerges the dialectic of imperial tradition and individual talent, as coined by T. S. Eliot in "Tradition and Individual Talent" (1919) and applied to the area of colonial discourse by Edward Said in *Orientalism* (1978) and its sequel *Culture and Imperialism* (1993).

Among other authors, Kipling, Forster, Maugham and Conrad offer a relevant corpus for analysing the dialectic of the imperial tradition and the individual talent as it circulates in colonial discourse. I propose to work on their non-fictional and fictional works to demonstrate the extent to which they are committed to the idea of empire and the extent to which their individual talents downgrades their enthusiasm towards empire or rather cultivates it. Either their talents provide a more propitious space for the expression of their allegiance to empire or make them diverge as to some of its principles or even oppose it. The confirmation of the first hypothesis would show that they fall in the path of monologism in things concerned with the Orient, the Oriental man and woman and empire. In this case, no matter the personal believes of the authors, they abide by the rules of the imperial game and put authorial ideology in the service of the general ideology of empire. The confirmation of the second and third assumptions would imply that they fall within polemics and dialogism as to the idea of

empire. Depending on their political orientations, they are likely to be engaged in dialogism as regards the imperial policies adopted by the Liberals and the Conservatives. The differences that exist between these two attitudes towards the British Empire and its imperial policies generate the existence of polemics or dialogism between the authors. Yet how far they go in polemics in things concerned with empire needs to be closely studied in order to see whether it engenders the authors' opposition to empire or rather reinforces their allegiance to it, in which case the dialectic of imperial tradition and individual talent remains unsolved.

The choice of these specific authors is motivated by the disparity in background for each of them and the period of high imperialism in which they circulated their works. In this period, it is the celebration rather than the critique of empire that is the stuff of history in the West. As an Anglo-Indian, Kipling is more likely to act the role of a propagandist for a British India. Similarly, as Conrad sought and earned a British nationality, he cannot allow himself the critique of imperial Britain despite the Russian oppression of his Polish motherland. There is a general consensus as to Forster's liberal ideology, and he gives us a picture of an Anglo-India divided highly into opposing camps. Does this make him a fervent critic of the British Empire? It would be unrealistic to ask him to be so. Maugham is no less an imperial author through his quest for healing the culturally exhausted Europeans for whom the preservation of empire imposes itself as a necessity.

The literature of empire according to Said involves a set of statements and assumptions about the Orient and the Orientals in order to uphold the imperial power. In the first chapter of the discussion, I shall demonstrate the extent to which the writers' non-fictions and fictions conform to the imperialist vision of the colonised people as inferior to the colonising race. The showing mode or vision views the Indians, Africans and Malays as culturally, intellectually, politically and physically inferior to the colonising Europeans who are, in turn, viewed through the telling or narrative mode with a focus on self-appointed

superiority. However, an area for polemics over the referent of the Orient is related to the tendency to view some of the natives from the narrative point of view, through which the authors finish by telling us that they are just sliding back. Another area of intertextuality and/ or polemics is related to the representation of the colonial locale. In the second chapter, I shall study the repertoire of images attributed to the Orient as a colonial space, exotic locale and yet insinuating danger. The inhabitants' states of inferiority and the deplorable conditions in which their world subsists serve as ideologies of difference through which the Orientalist discourse re/structure this space as a colonial one, either occupied or to be occupied by the white imperialists. Depending on their personal objectives, the writers sublimate the Orient as exotic**.** Yet the same discourse speaks of the orient as insinuating danger for the imperialist, which is what the metaphor of the Orient as "the white man's grave" stands for.

One of the fundamental aspects of the imperial tradition is related to the idea that the Orientals need to be studied in order to be better controlled. This is the major assumption that underpins the Orientalist representation of the Orient. Said tells us that Orientalism involves a dialectic of power and knowledge. A whole chapter will be devoted to the extent to which the four authors are engaged in this epistemic quest. This quest is closely related to the will for power over the natives. Thus, in another chapter I will analyse the manner each of the four writers foregrounds the disempowerment of the Orientals, a disempowerment legitimated on the grounds of despotic nature of Oriental rulers and the lack of a rational traditional exercise of power in the Orient. The disempowerment of the natives is always accompanied by the empowerment of the white representatives of empire judged to be more considerate in the use of power for the advancement of civilisation. Among other motivations, the writers' appeal to the ideology of empowerment of the white representative of Empire and the disempowerment of the Orientals has meant to do with the threat of imperial collapse and the fear it inspires for the four authors.

In the two final chapters, I shall argue for the place that individual talent occupies in its dialectic of imperial tradition by emphasising the aesthetic theory that informs the conception that each and every writer has of the empire. This will be directed first to the extent to which the writers are interpellated by the politics of imperialism. In this regard, the British imperialism or Orientalism can be imagined as a continuum, with conservatives at one end and the liberals at the other. As a privileged Anglo-Indian, Kipling is more likely to be the best representative of the Conservative attitude while Conrad as Polish victim of Russian oppression seeking to adopt the British nationality plays the best defender of the Liberal attitude. With persistent differences, Forster and Maugham can be placed in-between. In this chapter, I shall also attempt to demonstrate whether the differences as to the ideology in the name of which the writers are committed to the Empire make them forget about the necessity of preserving it or rather the historical sense of the imperial tradition reminds them as to which side they belong in the encounter between the East and the West. This deeply felt historical sense has made their fictions and non-fictions read as allegories of Empire. I shall argue that the allegorical/ metaphorical mode of writing is more likely to be in line with the preservation of empire rather than its critique. So no matter how we qualify the personal style (realist or modernist) in which the writers circulated their works, my argument will be built on the idea that it does not fundamentally question the existence of the Empire. If this argument proves to be right, the dialectic of imperial tradition and individual talent will turn short, and it will confirm that the imperial tradition involves intertextuality rather than polemics as to the referent of the Orient and the Orientals.

I shall base my analysis on the non-fictional and fictional works of the four authors. Concerning Maugham, *The Narrow Corner* (1931) and some other Far Eastern tales such as the stories of *The Casuarina Tree* (1926) and *East and West* (1934) provide an appropriate corpus. As for the other writers' Oriental narratives, the study will focus on Kipling's *Kim*

(1901) which will be supported by some of his most representative short stories like "The Man Who Would be King" (1888) and "At the End of the Passage" (1890), Forster's *A Passage to India* (1924) and "The Life to Come" (1922) and finally Conrad's *Lord Jim* (1900), "Youth: a Narrative" (1902), "Karain: a Memory" (1897) and *Heart of Darkness* (1902). This selection of the authors' fictional works will be reinforced by some of their most representative non-fiction texts like Forster's private letters and *The Hill of Devi* (1953), Maugham's *The Gentleman in the Parlour* (1930), *Points of View* (1958) and *A Writer's Notebook* (1949), a selection of Kipling's travel letters, some articles of *The Civil and Military Gazette*, *From Sea to Sea; Letters of Travel* (1899) and *Something of Myself* (published posthumously in 1965), Conrad's *A Personal Record* (1904), his *Congo Diaries* (1926) and a selection of his private and professional letters.

In terms of theoretical framework, it is appropriate to approach the thesis following a post-colonial perspective. It will be first and foremost based on some key concepts that Said develops in *Orientalism* (1978) and *Culture and Imperialism* (1994). In the second place, I shall make reference to the developments or modifications of these concepts in the works of other theoreticians such as Homi Bhabha's *The Location of Culture* (2004), Thomas Metcalf's *Ideologies of the Raj* (1994), Bernard S. Cohn's *Colonialism and its Forms of Knowledge* (1996) and Douglass Kerr's *Eastern Figures* (2008). Therefore, the four writers will be considered within the scope of the British Orientalist or imperial tradition as they are closely concerned with Britain's imperial game in the Orient. For this, six main concepts will provide the layout for the chapters of the discussion: (1) *vision* vs. *narrative*, (2) the *objective structure* and *subjective restructure* of the Orient, (3) the dialectic of *power* and *knowledge* and personal *experience* of the Orient, (4) *consolidation* of vision, (5) *attitude*, and (6) the concepts of *tradition* and *individual talent*, first coined by T. S. Eliot and applied to the imperial discourse by Said.

CHAPTER ONE

Theoretical and Methodological Framework

The purpose of this thesis is to study Kipling, Forster, Maugham and Conrad as representative authors of the British imperial tradition and consider their writings as part and parcel of the literature that engaged in the process of support for the British Empire with a focus on their individual talents and artistic identities. The most appropriate approach is postcolonial theory as it is developed by Said mainly and other scholars like Bhabha. Said's *Orientalism* (1978) and *Culture and Imperialism* (1993) will be taken as the theoretical cash nexus for the analysis of the four writers' non-fictional and fictional works. This will be reinforced by the ideas of other postcolonial thinkers like Bhabha, who develops his theory of colonial discourse in *The Location of Culture* (2004), taking as a starting point some concepts borrowed from Said's concept of Orientalism (Kennedy, 2000: 119-120). Kennedy considers that Said's *Orientalism* "deals with the political implications of Western colonialism and imperialism and the West's domination and representation of the East" (2000: 1), and *Culture and Imperialism* is a follow up of the work begun in the preceding canonical work (Ibid. 2). Bhabha, on his part, extends, and to a certain extent, revises Said's *Orientalism*, especially in chapters three and four of his work (Huddart, 2006: 35; 58). The choice of Said's postcolonial theory to study the dialectic of the imperial tradition and the individual talent as it circulates in the selected writers' works is by no means uninformed. Its relevance for this topic is most evident from the fact that Said bases his ideas on the tradition of "*Orientalism"* or the "*culture of imperialism"* and the involvement of the individual voice of the author in it.

The Imperial Tradition and its Key-Concepts

Before dealing with the concept of **imperial tradition**, it is important to provide some definitions of its key concepts. The word **imperialism** is considered as "the **practice**, the **theory**, and the attitudes of a dominating metropolitan centre **ruling** a distant territory" (Said,

1994: 9; emphasis added). This involves a process through which an imperial power extends over overseas territory. This process is not only economic or political but also epistemological and cultural. The economic and political domination of one nation over another nation is accompanied by a discourse that provides it with legitimacy. Within this same process, there is the idea of **colonialism** which is, according to Said, "the implanting of settlements in distant territories" (Ibid.). The establishment of colonies in distant territories has different aspects, and it is generally motivated by political and economic factors. In the nineteenth century, especially in the last decades, there was a rush after the establishment of vital spaces defined as zones of influence which meant a special force for the imperial powers. This also meant an economic profitability for the ruling powers. It gave them the opportunity to take advantages of the riches of the dominated territories, which provided them with more markets.

Periphery and **colony** are two names given to the territory ruled over by an imperial power. This imperial power is located in a **metropolitan centre**. It is named in this way, for it is generally based in the imperial country and distantly rules over several peripheries or colonies, which make up an **empire**. The "imperial country is the 'metropole' from which power flows, and the colony […] is the place which it penetrates and controls. Imperialism can function without formal colonies" (Loomba, 1998: 7). In the nineteenth century, Britain was a metropolitan centre that ruled over several colonies all over the world. India, the Malay Federated States, Nigeria, South Africa, the West Indies were among its colonies, which were subject to direct or indirect rule. Direct rule implied that the colonised populations were dependent on the rule of the colonial authority. Indirect rule meant that the government of the people was effected by the native rulers under the auspices of the imperial authority. After the Indian Mutiny of 1875, the greatest part of India was subject to British direct rule while the others remained under the control of the native princes supervised by British agents. In the Malay Archipelago, the majority of the states were subject to indirect British power. The

native princes and sultans continued to be the rulers, but their rule needed to be supervised by the work of the British imperial administrators. The link between these two aspects of colonial rule was that the imperial power always took political and economic profits from it.

Along with the political and economic aspect of the imperial enterprise, there was the epistemological one. This is related to the accompanying discourse to this enterprise, and it takes different appellations like Orientalist discourse or colonialist discourse. Its objective is first to prepare the ground for imperial expansion and second to provide an ideological support to that expansion. Appropriating Michel Foucault's notion of discourse, Said asserts that "Orientalism expresses and represents [the Orient] culturally and even ideologically as a mode of discourse with supporting institutions" (1995: 2). For him, Orientalism is a discourse the primary interest of which is the formation, representation and control of the Orient by Western institutions. This discourse elaborates on the geographical distinction between the Orient and the Occident and voices a series of Orientalist "interests" that may vary from the mainstream political or imperial impulse to the more personal desires of the Orient. The discourse of Orientalism involves "a Western style for dominating, restructuring, and having authority over the Orient" (Ibid. 3). This style *produces* "the Orient politically, sociologically, militarily, ideologically, scientifically, and imaginatively" (Ibid.), and the Orient exists only through the Orientalist discourse which authorises views about and makes it known to the West. In political terms, the discourse attempts to produce the Orient as subject to the Western imperial domination. The scientific institutions made the Orient known to the West and especially authorised views that were in line with the imperial enterprise. Literature, too, joined in this discursive practice that attempted to define the Orient as the subject for Western domination. Though Said speaks about the Orient as that part of the world that is east of the Suez Canal, it has to be generalised to other parts of the world that were subject to Western domination like Africa. In this perspective, Bhabha, following almost the same ideas as Said,

speaks about colonial discourse and defines it as an

> apparatus that turns on the recognition and disavowal of racial/ cultural/ historical differences. Its predominant strategic function is the creation of a space for 'subject peoples' through the production of knowledges in terms of which surveillance is exercised and a complex form of pleasure/ unpleasure is incited. It seeks authorization for its strategies by the production of knowledges of colonizer and colonized [It is] a form of governmentality that in marking out a 'subject nation', appropriates, directs and dominates its various spheres of activity. (2004: 100-101)

Colonial discourse assumes that the colonised subjects are and should be maintained in the position of subordinates. This discourse dismisses them as innately incapable of self-rule, hence their need for the domination of the West. They are confined to states of primitiveness, depravity and inferiority, and this is related to their thought processes, their cultural and linguistic expression, and their 'uncivil' behaviour. To legitimate the imperial power, the native structures of government are considered in terms that are supposedly inferior to those of the West. They are generally associated with corruption, despotism and instability. Ashcroft et. al. consider colonial discourse as "a system of statements about colonies, colonial peoples, about colonizing powers and about the relationship between these two" (2007: 37). These statements view the colonised people as "primitive" and "the colonizers as 'civilized" (Ibid.) The kind of relationship involved in this discourse is that of domination, wherein the supposed civilised race rules over the uncivilised ones politically, socially, culturally, morally and economically.

Within colonial discourse, there is a constant anxiety to **moralise** the acts of imperial domination by the notions of taking light and civilisation to the colonial world. The colonial discourse endeavours to make the natives believe in their inferiority and primitiveness in an attempt to get their consent for this domination. It enforces upon them the belief in their pretended primitivism and inferiority as natural and their need for the supposed philanthropy of the colonising powers as a necessity. Therefore, colonial discourse "tends to exclude [...] statements about the exploitation of the resources of the colonized" (Ibid.) which brings benefits to the imperial structure. It "conceals these benefits in statements" (Ibid. 38) of the

inferiority of the natives, their depravity and the moral justification of the imperial enterprise. Considered in this light, colonial discourse involves a process of **concealment** through which the evils of imperialism are hidden behind a more decent and moral cause. Ania Loomba states that colonial discourse as it is viewed by Said did not say that "the Europeans were 'telling lies' or that they individually disliked non-Western peoples or cultures" (1998: 45). It discoursed upon the idea of imperial mission or the "white man's burden". These, however, are smokescreens that concealed the exploitation of the natives and their natural resources, the racist ideology and their stigmatisation only to uphold systems of imperial control.

A key concept in the title of this thesis is "the imperial tradition and the individual talent". This is based on Said's appropriation of T. S. Eliot's concept of "Tradition and Individual Talent", which he applies to the literature of empire. Said places the literature of the nineteenth century and early twentieth within the scope of an imperial tradition in which writers conformed to the culture that provided support to empire through an aesthetic endeavour. The first paradigms of the imperial tradition in Britain date back to the Renaissance period. In the Elizabethan and Jacobean times of the British Empire, some writers defended the expansion of their nation to other regions. Their alignment is expressed in the way they portray the people of the colonised countries. William Shakespeare is one of the precursors of the imperialist ideology, especially in *The Tempest.* Later on Daniel Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe* inaugurates not only the novel in Britain but also the consolidating culture of empire. This culture proliferated in the nineteenth century and the early twentieth as British imperialism also knew its glory. Shakespeare's and Defoe's texts best represent the first trend of British colonialist literature as the two writers provide legitimacy for the first British Empire. Both Prospero and Robinson are empire builders. They establish themselves as powers in overseas islands, and they have servants and take profit from their services and the riches of the islands. The two stories follow the same scheme: the two protagonists are ship-

wrecked; their English practical mind and intelligence make them the dominant race over the natives. Prospero becomes a kind of protector for Ariel and his fellows; Robinson saves Friday from his fellow 'cannibals" as a result of which he becomes his master. It is important to note that there is intertextuality between the two texts, and the referent of the colonial world is not as important as the intertext established in relation to the empowerment of the white man.

Shakespeare's play and Defoe's novel are **cultural forms** that provide a kind of ideological accompaniment to the expansion of the first British Empire. Later on, in the nineteenth century, this culture proliferated to become widely engaged with the issue of empire and imperialism. Every fictional and non-fictional text that circulated in the period made echoes to the idea of empire at the expense of the referent of the Orient and the Oriental. Said writes that the novel as a "cultural form" was "immensely important in the formation of imperial attitudes, references and experiences" (1994: xii). Nonetheless, he omits to integrate the short story within this culture, and the fact is that it plays an equal role in the imperial tradition. These cultural forms provide "a polyphonic accompaniment to the expansion of" (Said, 1994: 71) the British Empire mainly and other European ones in general through the textual embodiment of *ideological formations* (Ibid. 8). The ideological formation implies the textual production of an imperialist ideology to legitimate empire.

Though the founding principles of the British imperial tradition date back to the Renaissance, E. J. Hobsbawn insists on the point that the invention of this imperial tradition in Britain as it is known in the specialised literature was exclusively in the nineteenth century. Tradition, in this regard, involves the intertextual principles of "establishing or legitimizing institutions [like the British Empire], status or relations of authority" (Hobsbawn, 1983: 9). The imperial tradition falls into these principles, and it concerns those discursive practices that were in line with the expansion of the British Empire. Bernard S. Cohn develops further

Hobsbawn's concept of tradition by applying it directly to the Victorian imperial context. In "Representing Authority in Victorian India", he argues that immediately after the Indian Mutiny of 1857, the British established their imperial authority in India, and the Indians were to accept it as natural. There was no "questioning of the existing institutions of colonial rule" (Cohn, 1983: 167). The British Raj was not questioned, and the titles bestowed on the British were to be accepted by the Indians. Thomas R. Metcalf, on his part, states that "the British Raj in India did not of course exist by itself [...] Ideas and people flowed outward from India, above all to east and South Africa and to Southeast Asia, while the administrators of the Raj had in turn to take into account events that occurred in Africa" (1994: 215). As a matter of fact, the British imperial tradition knew an important thrust immediately after the Indian Mutiny of 1857. It became a kind of episteme whose constituents were in discursive practice without any geographical boundary. In other words, this British imperial tradition was homogenous in the sense that there was an entwined relationship between its colonies and the discourse that provided an accompanying support. The ideologies devised within discourse to defend the British rule of one colony applied to the other colonies. Yet, the British Raj was to become the frame of reference for the ideological conception of the British Empire as its ideologies were applied in other colonies like those of Southeast Asia and Africa.

It has to be noted that the imperial tradition was quite homogeneous as it was concerned with the Europeans' right and duty to rule over the pretended inferior non-Europeans. Their argument for this was that they were supposedly superior in terms of progress and civilisation, and as such they had to take them to 'non-civilised' and 'backward' people. The unsaid in their claim is that behind this philanthropist agenda they concealed the imperial project of establishing settlements and taking profit of the human and material sources of these people. Despite this monologism, there were some differences in terms of policy and conception of imperial relations. In the Victorian and Edwardian imperial tradition,

for instance, the fundamental distinction was between the Liberals and Conservatives. There grew an important controversy between these two representatives with regard to the right imperial attitude to adopt. Their imperial policies were inspired from the teachings of two important political figures of Victorian Britain, namely W. E. Gladstone for the Liberals and Benjamin Disraeli for the Conservatives.

Edward Said's Key Critical Categories

Said argues that the West has always defined itself in terms of superiority over the Orient to provide a justification to their imperial project there. The imperial expansion is accompanied by a culture that authorises views about it, supports it and presents the Orient to it. Orientalism is defined as the discourse that deals with the Orient in order to dominate it. In the culture of imperialism or Orientalist discourse, he claims that there is a set of critical categories through which Orientalist writers can be approached: *vision* vs. *narrative*; *consolidation of vision* and *attitude*; the writer, his (or her) *residence* in the Orient and the dialectic of power and knowledge; and the *objective structure* and *subjective restructure* of the Orient. These categories concern the thematic aspect of colonial discourse in terms of character and setting representation, the imperialist themes and ideologies and the attitudes towards the imperial affairs and relations. There is yet another category which concerns style and form, thanks to which every Orientalist writer carves his (or her) place within the imperial tradition as a voice among others. The concepts of *tradition* and *individual talent* can also be used to refer to the techniques and devices appropriated by the writers to integrate their works within the imperial tradition and allow them distinction as aesthetes within this same tradition.

To begin with, *vision* and *narrative* concern the modes through which the Orientals are presented and represented in the Orientalist texts. Vision involves essentialist views of the Orientals as opposed to the Westerners. This binary opposition maintains the former as inferior to the latter. This primarily involves a set of reductive categories that keep the

Oriental in *static* position vis-à-vis the Westerner. It presents the Orientals or non-Westerners through a showing mode that synchronically fixes them up as inferior to the Europeans. Their inferiority is attributed to their so-called primitive states. The Orientals, in fact, are generally regarded as *primitive,* morally depraved and ignorant whereas the Westerners consider themselves *civilised*, morally superior and enlightened. Vision deploys what Said calls *representations* "not as 'natural' depictions of the Orient" and Orientals (1995: 21). However, narrative "is the specific form taken by written history to counter the permanence of vision" (1995: 240). Narrative involves a telling mode that seeks alternative and non-essentialist ways of *presen*ting the Orientals; it goes beyond vision to portray their disposition to be different from their en*vision*ed views and closer to the *real* Oriental as such. Said claims that against vision which

> presumes that the whole Orient can be seen panoptically, there is a constant pressure. The source of the pressure is narrative, in that if any Oriental detail can be shown to move, or to develop, diachrony is introduced into the system. What seemed stable – and the Orient is synonymous with stability and unchanging reality – now appears unstable. Instability suggests that history, with its disruptive detail, its currents of change, its tendency towards growth, decline, or dramatic movement, is possible in the Orient and for the Orient. History and narrative by which history is represented argue that vision is insufficient, that "the Orient" as an unconditional ontological category does an injustice to the potential of reality for change. (1995: 240)

The writer's view of the Orient in vision is *holistic* (1995: 239) and fixed, but in narrative the writer recognises that the Oriental is liable to change. Said states that in any Orientalist text there is a constant conflictual relation between narrative and vision or between the Oriental as *static* and the Oriental as *changing*. (Ibid. 240) The concepts of vision and narrative are later on developed by Bhabha in *The Location of Culture* (2004). He inspires his notion of "fixity" from Said's concept of vision and develops it through the notion of stereotype, which is "a form of knowledge and identification that vacillates between what is always 'in place', already known' and something that must be anxiously repeated" (2004: 94). He uses for narrative the concept of mimicry which is "the sign of a double articulation; a complex strategy of reform, regulation and discipline, which 'appropriates' the Other as it visualizes

power" (Bhabha, 2004: 122). Inherent to mimicry is the notion of ambivalence which is more or less similar to Said's notion of *tension* in colonial discourse.

It follows that the first aspect of vision as it is developed by Orientalist writers is the idea of the primitivism of the colonised people. The writers about the Orient explore every aspect of the native life in an attempt to reveal their pretended **primitive** states. They explore the cultures, languages, thought processes and means of production of the colonised people in a synchronic way in order to confirm their static condition. They are also brought into a sharp contrast to the self-attributed civilised and advanced ones of the Europeans. Doing so allows the Orientalists uphold the colonised people in primitive stages of human development which, in their eyes, justify the imperialist undertaking. However, as there is tension within Orientalist discourse, they are not ignorant of the aspects of native life that show their progressive states. This involves a diachronic consideration of these people. In this perspective, Orientalist writers explore those aspects of the natives that are more or less similar to the civilised standards than to the primitive ones. However, this diachronic point of view is ethnocentric as the authors celebrate the work undertaken by the imperialists to improve the situation of the colonised people. In other cases, they show that the natives have undergone processes of change, but they remained either static or backward due mainly to their own minds and the socio-political circumstances in which they lived. For instance, there is consensus in what is written about India that some of the Indians have known some steps forward in human development, but their progress ceased and their regressive state started, which is what **backwardness** as a second aspect of vision stands for. However, as this involves some change from the primitive states, it can be placed between the primitive state and the civilised one, especially as it does neither suggest a fixed state nor an evolutionary one. It denotes an intermediate condition between primitivism so often associated with the colonised people and civilisation generally associated with the colonising ones.

In "The Other Question: Stereotype, Discrimination and the Discourse of Colonialism", Bhabha develops Said's concepts of vision and narrative. He departs from Said's concept of vision in order to develop the idea of "fixity" and its relationship to "stereotype". He argues that colonialist discourse allocates this idea of fixity to the subject people in order to maintain them in states of inferiority, primitiveness and even immorality. As colonial discourse considers the fixity of the subject people as a mark of their "cultural/ historical and racial difference" (Bhabha, 2004: 94), the colonisers are considered in terms of superiority, civilisation and morality. Bhabha differs from Said in that for him colonial discourse develops the natives' fixed states in the light of the discourse of stereotype. He considers stereotype as colonial discourse's "major discursive strategy" which is "a form of knowledge and identification that vacillates between what is always 'in place', already known, and something that must be anxiously repeated" (Ibid.). If the colour of skin is a *known* mark of difference, stereotype will attempt to exaggerate other aspects of the colonised people in order to uphold them in fixed states of inferiority and primitiveness. Colonial discourse, for Bhabha, denies "the colonized the capacities of self-government, independence, Western modes of civility, [and] lends authority to the official version and mission of colonial power" (Ibid. 118). This is given full vent through the discourse of stereotype. Yet, like Said, he regards colonial discourse as ambivalent, for "under certain conditions of colonial domination and control the native is progressively reformable" (Ibid). This implies that the colonial authority aims at changing the natives from their fixed states. The unsaid in this is that the colonial apparatus does this at the detriment of the natives' cultural and political patterns.

Bhabha's notion of stereotype involves an element that is inspired from Said's notion of "cultural stereotyping" (Said, 1995: 26). It is deployed within colonial discourse to distinguish between the superior culture of the coloniser and the pretended inferior culture of

the colonised. Said appropriates Antonio Gramsci's concept of "cultural hegemony" and applies it to the imperial context. Consequently, one of the aspects of the Orientalist discourse is this ethnocentric view of European culture as opposed to the cultures of the dominated people. One aspect of this cultural hegemony concerns language, which is deployed as an ideology of difference to keep the subject people in states of inferiority. He adds that language as part of culture has always been tied to race and empire. (Said, 1995: 99) The language of the subject people is dealt with in terms of inferiority. It is considered as a mark of their supposed primitive states. Their religious beliefs and means of cultural expression are also considered as marks of inferiority.

As for narrative, it has to be noted that the Orientalist writers endeavour to associate the Orientals with features generally used with reference to the Westerners. Therefore, they do not deny that they can have civilisations that deserve their consideration. As far as language is concerned, for example, they show that they not only have their languages but also can master the European ones. The Orientalists also consider that they adopt enlightened and civilised behaviour at times. For example, though the people of India are said to be very archaic in relation to the status of women in society, there are some enlightened Indians who believe in the necessity of emancipating them. However, generally the Orientalists attribute this enlightenment to the reforming or even civilising work of the Western imperialists, which is a way of justifying the imperial enterprise. In "Of Mimicry and Man: the Ambivalence of Colonial Discourse", Bhabha develops his concept of colonial "mimicry" to put in a nutshell Said's idea of narrative. Unlike Said, however, he invents a new concept inherent to both narrative and mimicry, namely the "ambivalence" of colonial discourse. It is ambivalent in the sense that the coloniser's efforts to reform the natives does not aspire to create them as their equals but as "almost the same but not quite" (2004: 122). On the one hand, colonial discourse is engaged in a strategy of reform and regulation of the colonised people. On the

other hand, the natives should not and cannot be completely equal to their reformers or the colonisers. It follows that for Bhabha both *stereotype* and *mimicry* are two strategies of colonial authority.

As far as the concept of ambivalence is concerned, it is important to say that the Orientalists' endeavour to reform or create the "Other" as the resemblance of the Westerner is very subjective and ethnocentric. The structure of mimicry involves an exploration of the aspects of the Orientals that show their disposition to be similar to their so-called Western Other. Yet, in this same structure, there is an ethnocentric endeavour to reveal the features which inhibit their total reformation or resemblance. Therefore, they explore the imperfections in their character which predispose them not to be totally reformed from their native behaviour. For example, while vision views the language of the Other as inexistent or primitive, the structure of mimicry attributes them the command of the language but insists on the basic elements which inhibit their total mastery of these languages. These inhibitive factors always reduce the importance of their command of the foreign language at the structural, lexical or phonological levels. Despite narrative's transcendence of vision, it is never permanent while vision remains unchanged.

The concepts of *vision* and *narrative* were at the core of a debate between the British Conservatives and Liberals. According to Douglass Kerr (2008), the Liberals established an empire on the idea that they could improve the natural states of the natives through missionary work, especially education and religion. The Conservatives, on their part, enforced an imperial system based on power and eternal superiority; they were less concerned with changing the primitive and inferior states of their colonised subjects. However, they took material facilities and English science to the colonial world. This is another aspect of the missionary work they appropriated to support this power. Kerr argues that the Conservatives fervently believed that the natives were not changeable from their states of primitiveness,

immorality and inferiority whereas the programme traced by the Liberals was founded on this idea of changeability. This controversy has become a debate over the "primacy of nurture over nature" (Kerr, 2008: 28) or, in other words, a controversy on whether the Western culture could change the nature of the Oriental societies or not. It is "the conservative's opinion that faith in non-Europeans' capacity for grown-up modernity and 'standing alone' is a delusion" (Ibid. 29). However, the liberals "may not allow themselves to believe in the essential unchangeability, or the unchangeable essence, of human subjects" (Ibid. 27). This debate is central to the literature of empire. In their texts, there is a constant tension between nature and nurture. Yet depending on the affiliation of the authors to one attitude of the British imperial tradition or the other, one element predominates over the other in their writings.

As far as the critical categories of *consolidation of vision* and *attitude* are concerned, they involve the thematic aspects of colonial discourse. On the one hand, the consolidation of vision concerns the deployment of ideological apparatuses with the aim of consolidating the imperial vision and the continuity of the *imperium*. The colonial texts like novels and short stories *converse* with the Empire to urge the necessity of its continuity; the consolidated vision comes in "a series of overlapping affirmations" (Said, 1994: 90) of the imperial power and the imperialist ideologies. Consolidation of vision, Said argues, is marked by the idea of power that is "elaborated and articulated in the novel" and short story (Ibid. 97). The celebration of the imperial power in Orientalist discourse concerns different elements. The imperial system is generally associated with structural organisation and enlightened policies. The system derives its power and authority from two important elements.

First, there is the celebration of the imperial power and its encroachment in the colonial world. Said asserts that the Europeans take "delight in the use of power—the power to observe, rule, hold and profit from distant territories and peoples" (Ibid. 158). This power

has different aspects. It involves the political power, which rules over the natives. It is generally regarded as democratic and enlightened. The judicial and disciplinary power maintains order within the colonies. The economic and commercial apparatus ensures that the riches of the colonised countries are exploited rather than remaining unexploited. The scientific institutions also promote the existence of empire and the idea of imperial authority which is worked out in the writers' works.

Second, there is "an ideological rationale for reducing, then reconstructing the native as someone to be ruled and managed" (Said, 1994: 158). In the first place, this rationale involves a denial of the native authority, which has to be replaced by the imperial authority. The consolidation literature of empire asserts that because of the natural penchant of the native rulers to despotism, misrule, corruption and the political instabilities that predominate in these countries, there is no better thing than the implementation of democratic systems in the colonial world to be imposed on the indigenous people by the Western imperial authority. Metcalf argues that in order to consolidate their imperial rule, the British devised ideologies of difference thanks to which they retained the Indians and other subject people in a political inferiority. Once the 'different' was created, the British were to "sustain a system of colonial authority" (1994: 113) which replaced the native authority. They considered India, for instance, as a land "forged by despotism" (Ibid. 66) that had to be evinced by the British imperial power.

Besides, the implementation of the imperial authority at the expense of the native structures of power is accompanied by a set of "ideological formations that include notions that certain territories and people *require* and beseech domination" (Said, 1994: 8). These ideologies are devised by the imperialists and deployed in the colonial texts. The imperialist ideology within the Orientalist discourse maintains the Orient as timeless, devoid of any aspect of progress and civilisation. The formation of imperialist ideology derives some

principles from the teachings of disciplines like anthropology in order to uphold the superiority of the Europeans and the inferiority of the non-Europeans. In Victorian Britain, Darwinian evolutionary thought was most importantly applied to the colonial context, placing the non-Europeans at the bottom of the ladder of evolution, the Europeans at its top. This provided their imperial encroachment in the Orient with some legitimacy. Aspects of this appropriation concern the differences at the level of the conceptions of time by the different communities in an attempt to sustain the non-Europeans as inferior to the Europeans. Said has referred to the ideas of the anthropologist Johannes Fabian to construct the idea of the Orient as timeless and static. Fabian argues that the Orientals are denied "coevalness" (2002: 150) in time with the Europeans because of their primitive conception of time (Ibid. 18). In contrast, the Europeans live within the framework of history thanks to their evolutionary conception of time (Ibid. 17). Therefore, they are endowed with progress and civilisation while the non-Europeans remain outside history, hence their supposed primitive states.

Said argues that the foundation of empire involves a third important element which is "the idea of Western salvation and redemption through its 'civilizing mission'" (Said, 1994: 158). The ideology of the civilising mission involves the idea that the European imperial project is motivated by a missionary impulse, a philanthropist ideal which redeems it from blame. The Europeans consider themselves as bearers of civilisation and progress to the pretended primitive and uncivilised people. They believe that they are taking Christianity to introduce the so-called heathens into religious enlightenment and to salvage their souls. They establish schools to propagate the blessings of Western education to the "ignorant" non-Europeans. They take the blessings of Western medicine to help the natives cope with their health problems. In sum, the civilising mission involves the taking of moral and material progress to the colonised people. Generally, in colonial discourse, these elements are the result of one mission, which precedes further imperial settlements and direct or indirect

political control. They argue that the mission of enlightenment is accompanied by the taking of modern technology and the establishment of infrastructure to facilitate their life. Yet, as far as the British imperial tradition is concerned, there is some difference as far as priority is concerned. Kerr argues that the Liberals favoured the moral mission while the Conservatives favoured the material one. It has to be noted that the former believed that they could change the moral and intellectual life of the natives through education and religious enlightenment. The latter, on their part, gave more importance to the material progress they could take to them. For them, the natives had to be kept in a subservient position. To provide a rationale for their imperial project, they had to show its advantages to them. (2008: 28) It is important to say that the difference is only a matter of priority, for each of the Conservatives and Liberals celebrated their civilising mission. Thus, this difference is perceptible in colonial discourse, depending on the political orientations of the writers.

The culture of consolidation has meant to do with the threat of imperial collapse and the fear it inspires for the colonial authors. This may be called the idea of imperial insecurity which is also articulated within colonial discourse. Though it is not voiced by Said and post-colonial thinkers as such, the historical sense of the imperial tradition gives birth to the idea of imperial instability and insecurity as an essential element of consolidation. There is in the imperialist texts a historical perspective through which the writers draw parallels between the stability of the imperial powers they write about and the different threats to it. These threats are generally linked to the history of native uprising. In British imperial writings, the Indian Mutiny of 1857 and its after effects not only on the British Raj but also on the other colonies poses as the most obvious threat to empire. This idea emerges out of a historicist perspective inherent to the cultural form. Valerie Kennedy states that Said's approach implies "emphasis on historicism" (2000: 115) that is drawing parallels with history. The rise of nationalist tendencies and their threat to empire are a historical reality colonial discourse is not ignorant

of, and it emerges as a consequence of the Indian Mutiny, a spectral event that looms so large in the texts that deal with the British Empire after 1858. This occurrence is tightly linked to the post-Mutiny historiography in India or the Malay Archipelago.

While the consolidation of vision is quite uniform in terms of its aim of maintaining the empire in place, there is another concept which reveals the writers' political position towards the empire, namely *attitude*, through which the convergences and the divergences of the writers in terms of point of view are given full vent. Attitude refers to the underlying authorial attitude which allows every writer to adopt a specific political standpoint towards the empire. The concept of *attitude* is first inspired from those early nineteenth century references to the facts of Empire without being considered explicitly engaged with it. According to Said (1994: 89, 96), most of the narratives in British fiction prior to 1870 were engaged with the Empire through "a structure of attitude and reference" to empire which implicitly related the domestic political and socio-economic issues to the affairs of the empire. Attitude is taken to stand for the appropriation of these domestic issues especially the political aspect to stand for the Empire or vice versa. Kerr writes: the "two great modalities – liberal and conservative – of British domestic political life, in the Victorian era and into the early decades of the twentieth century, also shaped British ideas and policies about India and the colonies" (2008: 28). Kerr uses the terms liberal and conservative as "the names of looking at and behaving towards the East, but not in the sense that one is imperialist and the other anti-imperialist" (Ibid). Despite their antagonistic posture as "modalities of empire [...] they serve the same national project" (Ibid.). Therefore, the terms liberal and conservative are used in this thesis as attitudes towards the British Empire and the way its affairs had to be carried through. The expression "liberal anti-imperialism" (Rich, 1999: 35) which will also be used does not mean a tendency of the liberals to be against the empire but rather their critical attitude towards the other European empires to strengthen their own liberal imperialist project.

The Orient as a locale has been represented from two distinct but interrelated perspectives: *objective structure* (designation of the Orient) and *subjective restructure* (Representation of the Orient by Orientalist) (Said, 1995: 129). The concept of **restructure** is essential, for it involves a process through which the Orientalist constructs the real Orient as an imperial Orient. Said calls the result of this process the **Orientalized Orient**, an Orient that is distorted from its real state to suit the imperialist intent of the Orientalist writer. The process deploys a *repertoire of images* that appropriates the Orient's marks of difference from the West to construct an Orientalised Orient. The aim of this process is to consolidate the Orientalised Orient as Europe's subject locale. The Orientalist discourse provides supposedly objective observations about the Orient and its different aspects like its climate, fauna and flora and its landscape. However, they restructure these features subjectively by taking into account its marks of difference to the West in order to express the "proprietary attitude" (Said, 1995: 211) towards it.

In relation to its climate and its fauna and flora, the Orient has been *designated* as an *exotic* locale of Romance and escape (Ibid. 118). As an exotic locale, much attention has been granted to the riches that are not found in the West and contained in the Orient. Yet this same feature is associated with the insinuation of perpetual danger not only to the Orientals but also to the Western adventurers and imperialist agents. The exotic image is accompanied by the *representation* of the Orient in terms of the *dangers* (Ibid. 57) it contains so that for instance imperialist writers focus on the perilous impact of its climate on its residents. These two images conform to a third image, which is that of a locale to be occupied or exploited by the Westerners as a result of its pretended backwardness. There is an inherent relation between the Orient as a colonial locale with the exotic and danger images attributed to it. The writers insist on the exotic image to attract Western settlers and on that of danger to show the extent to which the Western imperialists serve the people of the Orient and are sacrificing

themselves for their good. It is when the writer relates these images with the imperial project that the subjective restructure expresses itself. Through these images the Orient is designated objectively, which is followed by a restructuring that aims at having authority over it. It is a process that shows that the Orient, in fact, is the subject of the West. The Orientalist **structure** and **restructure** also engage the relationship between the Orient and the Orientals. Therefore, the images associated with the Orient are considered as the drives behind the fabricated "backwardness and inferiority" of the Orientals, the subject of Orientalist **vision**. This situation is liable to change only thanks to Western intervention. Said writes that the Orientalists

> saw the Orient as a locale requiring Western attention, reconstruction, even redemption. Thus the Orient existed as a place isolated from the mainstream of European progress in the sciences, arts, and commerce. Thus, whatever good or bad values were imputed to the Orient appeared to be functions of some highly specialized Western interest in the Orient. (1995: 206)

As far as the British Empire is concerned, Metcalf in his study of the ideologies adopted by the British imperialists in India and other colonies follows the same line of thinking as Said. He remarks that the Orient's marks of difference have been taken as the reasons for the imperialist undertaking. Therefore, the climate and its impact on the individual are appropriated by the imperialists as an ideology to show the natives' need for the intervention of the British. The imperialists consider that because of the climate and its effects, the people of the colonies have difficulties to move forward. It is regarded as an impediment to their progress. As such, they beseech the intervention of an already advanced people that can devise techniques and strategies to face this impediment. In an echo to Michel Foucault's *The Birth of the Clinic*, he writes:

> Hot climates brought with them not just discomfort and disease, but, in British thinking, an enduring degeneration of mind and body. […] Europeans took up residence in the tropics at their peril. Nevertheless, once committed to the rule of India, the British devised […] strategies thought to ensure a greater degree of survival in its climate, while increasingly they sought to blame India's disease ridden character not just on its climate but on Indian fatalism, inertia, and superstition. Climate made the Indian and the British 'constitutions' fundamentally different, but Britain's moral

> superiority, and medical knowledge, made it possible for the British to blunt the impact of Indian disease upon themselves, and even, so they believed, to instruct their Indian subjects in how better to preserve their own health. (Metcalf, 1994: 172)

The clinical discourse embodied in colonial texts aims at controlling the body of the natives.

The natural factor is not the only element which has an impact on the environment. The human factor associated with the pretended backwardness of the people of the colonial world also makes their environment a primitive one. In India, the imperialists witness a "downward trajectory" (Ibid.) which they attribute to the people and even the climate. This trajectory is illustrated by the primitive aspect of the native infrastructures like palaces and roads. India and other colonies were considered as "Europe's past" (Ibid. 66). The transformation of the Orient into a colonial locale is the result of the subjective restructure, drawing the relationship between the geographical features of this world with what could be done thanks to the imperial intervention.

In the same perspective as Said's and Metcalf's, David Spurr develops his theory of the "commanding view" of the writer thanks to which Oriental "architecture, landscape painting, and sites for tourism" offer "aesthetic pleasure, on the one hand, information and authority on the other" (1993: 15). For Spurr, the writer's gaze upon the Orient as a locale encompasses a "gesture of colonization, making possible the exploration and mapping of territory which serves as the preliminary to a colonial order" (Ibid. 16). The text stands as a map and the writer poses as a geographer mapping the colonial territory for the sake of empire.

It has to be noted at this stage that the connecting thread that joins the critical categories of *vision/ narrative*, *consolidation of vision/ attitude* and the *objective structure* and *subjective restructure* is colonial discourse's aim of providing support for and moralising the empire. In terms of vision and narrative, the imperialists' attempt to maintain the colonised in states of inferiority and primitiveness to consolidate their imperial identities as

superior races, endowed with the right to rule over "inferior" races. There is no other reason but this ideo-political motivation. In parallel to this, their consideration of the natives as changeable is explained by their desire to keep the imperial system in place through showing what it supposedly takes to the natives. For this, they either say that the natives could be reformed from their primitive manners only if they intervene in this mission or directly praise the merits of education, religious enlightenment, healthcare and cultural technology that are taken in the framework of the imperial systems. It should be remarked that these representations of the colonised within colonial discourse are not natural nor do they conform to the real states of the Orient and its people. Said claims that colonial discourse involves a process which represents rather than presents the subject people. He states that the "Orientalist text" involves Orientalist "*representations* not as 'natural' depictions of the Orient" (1995: 21). Even if the Orientalist endeavours to present the Orient from the perspective of objective structure, which is in a way based on facts, the subjective restructure involves the motivation of establishing or maintaining empire. The same idea stands for the consolidation of vision and attitude. The aim behind the consolidation of vision is to keep the empire in place through devising imperialist ideologies, and the writers' attitude towards empire purports to show the appropriate policies to follow in order to reinforce the established empires.

In sum, these categories are inherent to what Said calls the "culture of imperialism" (1994: 129) within which there are five principles. These can be paraphrased as follows: the "ontological distinction between the West and the rest of the world" articulated within colonial discourse maintains the native in a subservient state to the imperial power; the "codification of difference" with the rise of ethnography and racial theories confirms this state by insisting on the supposed inferiority of the natives and the superiority of the colonisers; the hegemony of the West over the non-West is considered as the norm; the mutual exchange

between what happens in the colonies and what happens in the metropolitan centres makes empire as part and parcel of the national culture; and especially the implementation and consolidation of the imperial authority recreates the national identity as an imperial power among others. (Said, 1994: 129-132) These five principles make up the pillars of the culture of imperialism.

To legitimise the Orientalist *representations* of the Orientals, the Orientalist writers appropriate the ideas of Orientalist scientists and explorers who accumulated knowledge for the sake of empire. They codify these representations of the Orient by the epistemological knowledge they imbricate in their texts. Ania Loomba argues that for Said "knowledge about the Orient [...] was an ideological accompaniment to colonial power" (1998: 43). In Said's thinking, this corresponds to the power/ knowledge dialectic (Said, 1995: 36) through which the Orientalist writers use their actual residence in the Orient to participate in the accumulation of knowledge about the Orientals the better to dominate them. He remarks that any writer about the Orient assumes some precedent experience there. Either they made travels or directly served the Empire as agents there; this agency has the form of service journalism, service in the merchant marine or colonial administration. According to Said, residence in the Orient involves three *writerly* intentions:

> One: the writer who intends to use his residence for the specific task of providing professional Orientalism with scientific material, who considers his residence a form of scientific observation. Two: the writer who intends the same purpose but is less willing to sacrifice the eccentricity and style of his individual consciousness to impersonal Orientalist definitions. These latter do appear in his work, but they are disentangled from the personal vagaries of style only with difficulty. Three: the writer for whom a real or metaphorical trip to the Orient is the fulfillment of some deeply felt and urgent project. His text is built on a personal aesthetic, fed and informed by the project. (Ibid. 157-158)

In sum, any Orientalist writer who has experienced the Orient personally and he (or she) intends to use that experience for the sake of the Empire is contributing to the archive of knowledge about the Orient. This archive is central to what Said coins "the dialectic of information and control" (Ibid. 36) which involves the collection of exhaustive knowledge

about the Orient and the Orientals to facilitate their domination. Through his (or her) residence in the Orient, the writer observes and endeavours to know about the Orientals, and as *author* he (or she) has the *power* to produce knowledge and impart it to the Empire. Even the least imperialist of all, the one who is impelled by his (or her) personal project in the Orient, integrates within this dialectic of information and control. Therefore, their works will be considered in the framework of the dialectic of power and knowledge in Orientalist discourse which stipulates that "to have […] knowledge about such a thing [the Orient] is to dominate it, to have authority over it" (Said, 1995: 32). In other words, Western knowledge of the Orient provides power over it. This knowledge can be categorised into different compartments, which conform to the more official "forms of knowledge" that the British were having about their colonies, especially India.

Cohn (1996), following Said's ideas, argues that the end-result of the dialectic of power and knowledge is the conquest of the "epistemological space" (1996: 4) of the colonial world. The dialectic involves the "investigate modali[ties]" (Ibid. 5), which provide the different branches through which knowledge about the natives could be deployed for the sake of domination. In Cohn's terms, the "historiographic" department investigated the history and practices of the colonised people to be used for efficient power. It was important to know the historical background of the people they conquered, the different stages they went through and their political practices. The "observational and travel" department made the colonial space known to the Western settler through cartography and other such branches. This made the space more accessible for the colonial administrators and the settlers. The "survey" department studied the natural and social world they were conquering. The "enumerative" department was related to economics and trade and detailed what could be got from the colonial world in terms of products, at which cost and at which amounts. The "museological" department involved a scientific and biological survey of the colonial world. Therefore,

botany studied the exotic plants and vegetation; zoology studied the different animals that they came through. The "surveillance" department worked for ensuring stability between the colonisers and the colonised. This involved a study of the behaviour of the natives to uphold order in the colonies. Finally, due to the efforts of the linguistic department to *know* the languages of the people they were conquering, communication with the colonised subject was made possible. All of the writers in this thesis can be considered in the light of some of these categories as they deploy in their texts expert knowledge about the natives and the imperial relations.

The concept of **authority** is also important to the consideration of the dialectic of power and knowledge within Orientalist discourse. It is thanks to the authority of the writers that their knowledge of the colonial world could be integrated to the imperial archive. To explain the **authority** of the writer, it is important to refer to the process through which it is established. In the *The World, the Text and the Critic*, Said speaks of "affiliation" as the process through which an individual writer is integrated into a given order as an authority within the authority of that order (1983: 19). In terms of the British imperial tradition, the fact that the authors decide to write about the colonial experience and the life it involves affiliates them not only to the Orientalist tradition but to the order which is behind this tradition, namely empire. Therefore, the authority of the writers is put into the service of the empire. This is the result of their personal residence in the Orient and their endeavour to survey and know about the Orientals. The writers as *authors* have *power* to produce knowledge and impart it to the service of empire "to dominate it, to have authority over it" (Said, 1995: 32). Generally, the knowledge produced conforms to the modalities devised by Cohn (1996).

In colonial discourse, the power/ knowledge dialectic expresses itself at different counts. The Orientalist text may engage in a dynamic of information and control in which knowledge about the subject people is accumulated in order to dominate it. This corresponds

to the formal dynamic adopted by the colonial administrators to establish and maintain the imperial power. Second, characters within the text are anxious of transmitting their knowledge of the subject people to the officials or their novice successors. Sometimes, however, the dynamic is less formal. It concerns those characters that socialise and sympathise with the natives to accumulate functional information. This is transmitted through the writer's narrative voice in the form of comments and reports about the subject people, the imperial relations, and the imperial policies. Finally, in non-fiction, the writers are more or less anxious of sharing their knowledge about the empire with not only their relatives but also with the officials with whom they sometimes corresponded. It has to be remarked that the bulk of knowledge accumulated about the Orient came first in the form of non-fiction like travel accounts, letters and essays. Thus, the writers have accounted for the vivid pictures of their personal experiences of the empire and its implications. Ania Loomba asserts that "[t]ravel writing was an important means of producing Europe's differentiated conceptions of itself in relation to" the non-Europeans and participated in the imperial archive. (1998: 57)

The concepts Said puts in a nutshell in his postcolonial theory make up the fundamental elements through which the imperial tradition can be approached. In this imperial tradition, there emerged individual voices whose works are at once inherent parts of this tradition and distinct ones. Said has made reference to T. S. Eliot's concept of "tradition and individual talent" as he develops it in his essay of the same title written in 1919 to draw the lines between the personal and the traditional aspects of any imperialist work. T. S. Eliot states that within the work of any writer, there are "aspects [...] in which the least he resembles any one else" (1942: 24). Such aspects reveal the writer's artistic inventiveness. However, in the same work "the most individual parts [...] may be those in which the dead poets, his ancestors, assert their immortality most rigorously" (Ibid.). He calls the former *individual talent* and the latter *tradition*. The individual talent concerns those literary elements

which belong to the writer's inventiveness and creativity while tradition has to do with the inscription in a given tradition. In *Orientalism*, Said remarks that in the Orientalist tradition, "**style** is not only the power to symbolize such enormous generalities as Asia, the Orient, or the Arabs; it is also a form of displacement and incorporation by which one **voice** becomes a whole **history** [...] the only kind of Orient it is possible to know" (1995: 243; emphasis added). Admittedly, the words "voice" and "history" engage respectively a paraphrasing of T. S. Eliot's concepts of *individual talent* and *tradition*. Eliot's *tradition* involves the "historical sense" (1942: 25), and the *individual talent* concerns those aspects of the work which make of the writer a distinguished *voice* in the tradition. In *Culture and Imperialism* (1993), Said explicitly makes reference to Eliot's concepts and applies them to the culture of imperialism. He uses *particularity* and *sovereignty* as taken within the framework of the European imperial traditions. (1994: 79) He argues that each imperialist narrative engrosses "a vision of a moment" and "has its particular genius, as does each geographical region of the world, with its own overlapping experiences and independent histories of conflict" (Ibid). As the concepts of **tradition** and **individual talent** are appropriated to approach the writers' places within the British imperial tradition, it is also important to devote a chapter to the study of the aesthetic elements of their works to see in what ways they are traditional and in what other ways they express their modernity and distinction.

The concept of **tradition** is studied in relation to the aesthetic elements of the texts of the four writers. To be traditional, in a sense, means to follow the traditional aesthetic devices like metaphor, symbol and allegory. Such aesthetic elements are traditional, for they are part of literary works throughout time. They are essential to colonial discourse as they generally involve modes of representation. At the core of colonial discourse there is this endeavour to represent the colonised subjects in contrast to the coloniser. Ashcroft et. al. write: "much of the life of the colonized subject has been constructed by, that is, metaphorically 'written' by,

colonialism" (2007: 7-8). They claim that allegory "has assumed an important function in imperial discourse" (2007: 7). It is important to note that metaphor, symbol and allegory, used as extended metaphor, are appropriated in colonial discourse to represent the colonised populations as inferior to the colonising power. For instance, the **book** and the **torch** are generally associated with Western knowledge and civilisation whereas **cannibalism** and **superstition** are metaphorically associated with primitivism. In *Robinson Crusoe*, the remaining signs of Friday's cannibalism better illustrate Defoe's appropriation of this feature to stand for primitivism and savagery in contrast to Crusoe's civilisation.

Bhabha (2004: 113) claims that colonial discourse engages both metaphor and metonymy in colonialism's forms of knowledge. These representational devices relate to the relationships between the coloniser and the colonised in which societal and racial variables stand for the superiority of the one and the inferiority of the other. For instance, at the racial level, skin pigmentation white and non-white respectively, is used as a variable to represent the superiority of the Europeans and the inferiority of the non-Europeans. Spurr, on his part, argues that fiction is not the only genre that is permeated by rhetorical devices used as constructive elements of colonial discourse. Works in non-fiction like journalism, letters and travelogues encompass the "rhetoric of empire", the most important elements of which are metaphor and symbol (1993: 2-3). Every writer in this thesis has a career as a literary traveller or as a journalist whose writings were serialised and published in journals and magazines like *The Civil and Military Gazette* for Kipling, *Blackwood Magazine* for Conrad, *Nation and Athenaeum* for Forster, and all of them wrote and published private letters. There is no doubt that these texts are replete with the traditional rhetorical devices that help construct a discourse of empire. These works were also published in book form simultaneously or later on. It is important to conclude with the point that the use of metaphor in colonial discourse is matched with the dynamics of vision and stereotype, which maintain the subject people as

inferior and even degenerate beings. Therefore, the writers adopt the discourse of metaphor in an attempt to perpetuate this tradition artistically. Symbols, too, are appropriated for this purpose. Yet, they are also used in the consolidation of vision and attitude through which the writers either consolidate the imperial vision or express their personal attitudes towards the imperialist policy.

Concerning the individual talent, it involves those aspects of the works which are inventive and experimental. Every writer appropriates elements that are individual and inventive, especially those of the modernist literature. The talent is not pinned down to the devices of representation like metaphor and symbol, which are essential to Orientalist representations (Said, 1995: 21). Its most important aspects show at the level of language and narrative point of view, the importance of which is undeniable for Orientalist discourse. Said argues that "style, figures of speech [and] narrative devices" are more important than the "correctness of the [Orientalist] representation [and] its fidelity to some great original" (Ibid.). The task of any analysis of Orientalist discourse is to show the way the writers deploy these devices to unveil the ideologies behind this discourse. It is in these elements that the writers' inventiveness is given full vent. This inventiveness helps them move along the artistic innovation of their own time, and the historical sense of the imperial tradition puts them on the track of continuity rather than discontinuity in things concerned with empire. Therefore, every writer confirms to the principles of the imperial tradition thanks to the traditional aesthetic elements while their individual talents make them experiment with changes within this same tradition. They explore their own aesthetic devices to show their relationship with the present circumstances concerning the affairs of the empire. Though their works represent the imperial destiny of their nations, they '**emplot'** them in such a way as to reveal the limitations and problems linked to their empire. For instance, the use of the modernist fragmentary plots to disrupt the linearity of the traditional realist plots might aim at showing

that the foundations of the empire are not that secure. They experiment in some techniques to reveal some new realities other than the ones widely popularised in the tradition. Therefore, the mainstream view that the Europeans are exclusively takers of progress and civilisation is faced by another ignored reality, namely the detrimental aspect of the imperial project to the colonised subjects. The use of the multi-dimensional mode of representations like impressionism and expressionism also shows the hidden truths like King Leopold's atrocities in the Congo that stand behind the more moralised ones. The authors of the early twentieth century aspired to bring some changes to the Victorian imperial orthodoxy to consolidate the empire. They found in this aspiration another tendency, namely the adherence to the modernist experiments in style along with a distanced view of realities like the colonial one. Such writers correspond to the category of Orientalist writers who were not ready to sacrifice their style for the sake of the imperialist orthodoxy. They show their allegiance to the imperial tradition but are not willing to "sacrifice the eccentricity and style of [their] individual consciousness to impersonal Orientalist definitions" (Said, 1995: 157).

In sum, the post-colonial study of the non-fictional and fictional works of the four authors would reveal the extent in which they fall in the path of monologism in things concerned with empire and the manners they commit themselves in polemics over it or vice versa. Six main chapters will provide a layout for the discussion of this dialectic. They will be divided into two main sections each, one dealing with non-fiction followed by another with fiction. In *Orientalism*, Said speaks about a discourse that is not restricted to one or the other forms of literary culture. Travel writing, letters and essays are part of this discourse in the same way as novels and short stories are. As far as the first form of literary texts is concerned, Spurr argues that "non-fiction, and literary journalism" (1993: 3) constitute an inherent part of Western colonial discourse. For him, non-fiction appropriates the same concepts as fiction to represent and construct the non-Western world as Other. It should be noted that non-fiction

provides a kind of rationale for their imperialist ideas as they are developed in the fiction. This is explained by the fact that sometimes it is in letters and travel reports that the imperialist attitudes of these writers are more prominent as they generally account for their own experiences as English authors in the outposts of the empire. In such writings, the author imposes himself as a first person narrator used as "an Orientalist device for capturing and conveying valuable, otherwise inaccessible information" (Said, 1995: 161) to the imperialists. Steve Clark states that the "strong model of travel writing and empire would insist that their texts promote, confirm and lament the exercise of imperial power; and that this ideology pervades their representational practices at every level" (1999: 3). However, the differences between the fictional and non-fiction modes of writing will percolate down on their ideas of empire.

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PART ONE

The Representations of the Orientals and their Locale by the Orientalist

One important aspect of the imperial tradition is to draw a sharp contrast between the colonial world and its people and the colonizing power. In order to uphold the structures of power in the colonies, the native inhabitants are dismissed as inferior to the colonising races. Their immediate environment is also represented in such a manner as to legitimise the imperialist enterprise. The colonial world as a locale is associated with primitivism and backwardness in the same way as its people, so the writers tend to consider the relation between the two as interdependent. The backwardness and primitivism of the subject races is contrasted to the enlightenment and civilization of the colonizing races. This representation is not above suspicion, for it aims at moralising the imperialist project and enforcing upon the natives the idea that they need to be subjected to the colonizing power. This is a strategy of concealment which is adopted by the imperialists and largely diffused in the literature of empire to provide a moral justification to the exploitation of the natives and their locale.

Concerning the British Empire and its literature, this Orientalist tradition was most significant as the British viewed themselves as the most superior in the world. As such, they had to take the blessings of their progress and civilisation to other supposed inferior races like the Africans, the Indians and the Malays. Where Britain engaged its empire, its accompanying discourse expressed the sense of superiority of their race and the inferiority of the Others. They matched this inferiority with different factors: the effects of the native environment which had to be subject to English technology and science for its progress; the impact of the native mind and character upon the stagnancy and backwardness of the people; the political circumstances under which they lived were not propitious to their progress as their native rulers were known for their corrupt and despotic tendencies. They compartmentalised the representation of the colonised locale and its people into categories that were interdependent.

CHAPTER TWO

Vision and Narrative in Kipling, Foster, Maugham and Conrad

Soon after the Orient was opened up to the West by means of commercial exchanges, the West started to display imperial interests in it. This made the imperialists devise a set of "binomial oppositions" (Said, 1995: 227) to maintain the people of the Orient in an inferior position in order to justify impending conquest. In Orientalist discourse, these oppositions developed into an Orientalist "vision" (Ibid. 239) which confined the Orientals in fixed states of primitiveness, inferiority and dependence. In the meantime, there emerged another Orientalist attitude which tried to view the Orientals as predisposed to change from the fixed states they were kept within the confine of vision. Said coins this attitude *narrative*, and it "introduces an opposing point of view, perspective, consciousness" (Ibid. 240). In each Orientalist text, there is an underlying tension between the two attitudes. In terms of the British imperial tradition, in the words of Kerr, there was a controversy between the Liberals and the Conservatives as to whether the Orientals were changeable from their fixed and "primitive" states or not. The Liberals were the precursors of the view that the subject people were changeable from their natural states whereas the Conservatives were not convinced of the "the primacy of nurture over nature" (2008: 28). Also, if the Orientalists were anxious about viewing the colonised subject not only from the perspective of vision but also from the narrative one, it is true to say that they appropriated some 'atypical' aspects of the ruling race to serve their narrative strategies. Narrative revises not only the image of the colonised but also that of the coloniser.

Non-Fiction

A. The Oriental as a Subject Race Fixed and Stereotyped

In terms vision and its key concepts of stereotype and fixed states, it is largely diffused in the writers' letters of travel and other such non-fiction writings. In his travel writings and

private letters like the one he addresses to Margaret Burne-Jones dated November 28, 1885, Kipling considers that the natives of India were born as naturally subordinate people and need to be ruled by a superior race. The English as represented by the "Glob-trotter" in *From Sea to Sea; Letters of Travel* (1899) are appropriate to rule over this race. This English man is considered as one "who does kingdoms in days and writes books about them in weeks" and he is contrasted to the "strange folk" of India he encounters (*WPVRK SS LT:* 3-4). He is intelligent and assimilates things promptly. For instance, he can "master in five minutes the intricacies of the 'Indian Bradshaw'" (*WPVRK SS LT:* 4). Like Kipling's personal and professional letters, Foster in *The Hill of Devi* and other similar writings writes a collection of letters home during his two visits in India: the first in 1912-13 and the second in 1921. The vision that dialectically opposes the English people to the Indians is at work in these letters; they reveal his observations of the Indians as an English tourist and as a professional in the service of Dewas Senior. His letters uphold the inferiority of the Indian subject people as opposed to the superiority of the English ruling race. Though he says certain things which fall within the dynamic of narrative, his consideration of the Indians reproduces the generalities held about them like the incompetence of their rulers, the "silliness of Indian life" (SLEF VII: 10) and their need for the enlightened work of some English agents like Malcolm Darling and Colonel Wilson, to whom he devotes many of the letters in *The Hill of Devi*.

The same imperial vision concerning the Indian people prevails in the texts on the people of the Malay Archipelago. Though the large part of Conrad's *A Personal Record* is devoted to a record of his experiences in Europe, the few instances where he describes his encounter with the non-Western people display a belief in this imperial vision. For him as for Kipling and other imperialist writers, the non-Western people are to be dominated by the white races in view of their pretended inferiority and the superiority of the white imperialists, which allows them to become the rulers of these people. In *A Personal Record*, he makes it

clear that he considers himself as a typical superior European in contact with strange and inferior Malays. He says: "it was my practice directly after my breakfast to hold animated receptions of Malays, Arabs, and half-castes" (PR: 9). This scene presents Conrad at the centre of any interest in the village. He views himself as a kind of saviour, who tries to enlighten the people of the Malay Archipelago. These, in turn, are obviously regarded as his inferiors. They are ignorant but curious to know what the white man could bring to them. He associates his exchange with these people with a "moral character" (PR: 9) to legitimate his presence in their land. Maugham in his non-fiction joins Conrad in this representation of the people of the Far East. The Chinese, Malays and Arabs are held in an inferior pedestal in *The Gentleman in the Parlour* and *A Writer's Notebook*. Much emphasis is put on the extent to which the colonised people are static and changeless. The traditional reductive categories with which they are considered in order to perpetuate their domination provide a starting point for the consolidation of their domination by a so-called superior race. He speaks about the Malays "living their **immemorial** lives" and the "white man who rules them" (WN: 200; emphasis added). The word *immemorial* is used pejoratively to denote the "latent savagery" (WN: 199) in the Malays.

Even if Kipling divides the Indians into two categories, those who enjoy the comforts of their imperial masters and those who remained static as a result of their refusal to follow the imperial rules of the conquerors, he believes that they are powerless and impotent in every field. Thus, they beseech the protection of the English sahibs. He writes in a letter to Margaret Burne-Jones dated November 28th 1885:

> never lose sight of the fact that so long as you are in this county you will be looked to by the natives round in [*sic*] you are their guide and leader if anything happens. Therefore comport yourself as such. This is a solemn fact. If anything goes wrong from a quarrel to an accident the natives *instantly* fly to a European for "orders". If a man's dying on the road they won't touch him unless they have an Englishman to order 'em. If there is a row in the city the native policeman will take his orders from the first wondering white man he sees and so on. (LRK VI: 101)

This quote sums up Kipling's opposition between the Indians' impotency and the powers of

the English. For him, an ordinary Englishman is worth the native authorities as represented by the police.

Kipling contrasts the superiority of the English race to the inferiority of the people of India. In his letters, the Englishman represents the white race, and he is described as a "cultivated observer" (*WPVRK SS LT: 10*), whose self-confidence is an asset that makes him superior to the Indians. In these letters, there is an inherent distinction between native ruled states and those that are ruled by Britain, and Kipling is very positive towards the latter; he is contemptuous towards the native states and very favourable towards those states that are directly ruled by Britain in order to stress the philanthropic and superior character of the English. Everything good that occurs to the Indians is attributed to the ingenuity of the English. Thanks to the English engineers, roads are established to facilitate the transportation of people and goods. The missionaries have established schools and hospitals to heal the bodies and minds of the natives. In these schools, the natives are educated to put an end to the "obscurantism" of the native rulers and their so-called ignorance and illiteracy. The doctors cure the natives of the different epidemics that strike in India. Paul B. Rich states that in Anglo-India from the 1880s onwards there was "the feeling of growing racial and cultural differences between the British caste of ruling sahibs and the mass of apparently backward Indian peasantry, who appeared to many observers to have declined from a former state of relative civilization and grandeur" (1990: 27). As a result of the Indians' decline and the British progress, they are fit to take even their political know-how. Kipling gives importance to the British Raj to emphasise the idea that the Indians are better off under it, for there is neither the so-called despotism of the native rulers nor any other form of oppression. The English rulers manage to control the natives with satisfaction on both sides.

Like Kipling, Forster emphasises the inefficiency and idleness of the Indians. Idleness is related to religion and the tendency to grant much time for religious matters to ignore

secular ones. Forster also claims that one reason for the stagnancy of the Indians relates to their incompetence and lack of inventiveness. The two visits he personally made to India had been enlightening, for he closely observed them at work. For him, the Indians are incompetent by nature, so they can not perform efficiently any work attributed to them. In a letter of August 10th of 1921, he speaks about a driver who was to lead him to Dewas, but he "couldn't manage the car, and Malaroa and myself, who thought we would go a quiet evening drive, were brought to a standstill six miles out of Dewas and had to walk back" (HD: 154). The driver's incompetence made them to delay, which is not without any consequence on the efficient performance of any work. In another letter of August 17th, Forster states that under the supervision of the English, the Indians can be trusted: "[w]e gave the job to the Indore state people, as they have a competent English superintendent" (HD: 155). The incompetence of the Indians and the competence of the English make appeal to the need for the interference of the English in their affairs. However, this interference should be of the nature of supervision. Like Forster, Kipling's vision of the Egyptian conforms to this idea of incompetence. While Forster focuses on the incompetence of a native driver, Kipling develops the example of the pilot of a boat along the Nile. He writes: "[w]hile engaged in the manoeuvre we hit the bank an awful wop" (LRK VIV: 154). The incident delayed the voyage, for it had to be repaired. "A naked devil went overboard to locate the leak, and I suppose, they must have puttied it up somehow" (LRK VIV: 154). The word *somehow* implies that the reparation would prove inefficient. The incompetence of the Egyptian boatman is confirmed by another "collision" (LRK VIV: 169), a perilous experience for the white tourists onboard.

Like Forster, Maugham associates the colonised people with laziness as an aspect of their impotence. Laziness is essential, for it denotes the extent to which the Orientals need to be integrated into a system that would incite them to work and promote themselves. It also attributes their stagnant states to the fact that they do not endeavour to promote themselves

and their environment. They do not engage in activities that would change their situations and promote their countries. Scarce are the cases where they are passionate in work as opposed to the Westerners who are attributed the ethics of work and self-reliance. They rely more on nature and others for their survival. As a consequence, when nature is harsh they are forced to undergo its direct effects. "God helps those who help themselves", the saying goes. Maugham attributes this divine status for the Westerners in believing that at times the Malays' laziness is so intense that it is "useless [for the Westerners] to offer a gift to him who cannot stretch out a hand to take it" (GP: 163). In other words, Maugham argues that there are cases where the Malays do not even deserve to be helped by the Westerners since they do not make efforts to participate in changing their lives.

A direct flaw that is related to laziness and which is associated with the Orientals is the idea of gossiping. They occupy themselves so much with gossiping about others that they tend to forget the passage of time and the need to accomplish things in it. In market days, for instance, people tend to "come not only to buy and sell, but also to gossip and pass the time of the day with their friends" (GP: 113). Instead of occupying themselves with their business, they prefer to waste time gossiping about others, a thing that is not without consequence on their lives. Time for them is not important, for they do not see it as an asset; it is rather regarded as a liability. It becomes a burden that they should get rid of through gossiping between each other instead of profiting from it to accomplish things for their progress.

The natives are also associated with primitivism. In *From Sea to Sea; Letters of Travel* (1899), Kipling describes the people of Boondi as semi-primitives. The language they speak is pagan. It is said that "[t]hey speak a pagan tongue in Boondi, swallows half their words, and adulterate the remainder with local patois" (*WPVRK SS LT:* 195). In colonial discourse, the word 'pagan' generally refers to the primitive people. To swallow words means that they have not the complete biological dispositions to articulate naturally their speech. Therefore,

for one expression like 'here and now' they would say "*do kosh, do kush, dhi hkas*, *doo-a koth*, and *diakast*" (*WPVRK SS LT:* 195). For Kipling, these people "are quite unintelligible" and it is very difficult for the English to understand them. (*WPVRK SS LT:* 195) This interest in the inferiority of the language of the Other place Kipling's attitude within the category of cultural stereotyping.

Similarly, in his "Congo Diaries", Conrad treats the natives of the Congo within a perspective of racial and cultural stereotyping, emphasising their attenuated linguistic potential. He writes:

> three women, of whom one albino, passed our camp; horrid chalky white, with pink blotches; red eyes; features negroid and ugly. Mosquitos. At night when the moon rose [I] heard shouts and drumming in distant villages. Passed bad night. (LE: 244)

The word "shout" denotes a denigration of the language of the Other, and the word drum is commonly associated with savage rituals that very often imply sacrifice whatever its form. The fact that Conrad stresses the harm this does for him as he "spent bad [sic] night" explains the perception of the drum as something disturbing and dangerous in some cases. The drums, of course, ought to be considered as native music. This music as "the savage sublime takes on a leasing sense of danger and menace without any real threat" (Zon, 2007: 81). They are also viewed as savages, for they still perform rituals that the conqueror does not understand to the extent of estranging them. The stress on shouts and drums is a common feature attributed to the black race in colonialist discourse, and it is associated with their pretended savagery. It shows the extent to which their ways of communication and cultural practices may be primitive for the coloniser. Daniel Schwarz affirms that one of the marks of what he calls "the semiotics of a primitive culture" is "the beating of the drums" (2001: 159), which is prevalent in Western cultural forms about the contact between the civilised and uncivilised races.

It has to be remembered at this stage that the "beating of drums" can be considered as an external mark of the primitivism of the people of the Congo. As white agents of the

imperial enterprise penetrating the heart of the wilderness do not understand this kind of musical expression, they consider it as a repellent and savage custom. This idea is central to colonial discourse, so Maugham and Kipling make some reference to it. Maugham, in his notebook, remarks that in the distance of Tanal, a Malay locality, "you hear the beating of drums" (WN: 212) which can as well be considered as the very sign of their "latent savagery" (WN: 199). Kipling considers the drums as something that belongs to the organisation of the native states. However, they are still quite repellent to the English ears especially when they are directed towards him:

> Immediately facing the Gate of the Fish was the Quarter-Guard barracks, a dark and dirty room, and here, in a chamber hollowed out in a wall, were stored the big drums of State, the *nakarras*. The appearance of the Englishman seemed to be the signal for smiting the biggest of all, and the **dull** thunder **rolled** up the Palace *chowk*, and came back from the unpierced Palace walls in **hollow** groaning. (WPVRK SS LT: 194; emphasis added)

The repellence of the drums to the imperial agents is even more important in "At the End of the Passage". In his story, Kipling makes a group of English imperial agents at constant disturbance at nights by the natives' beating of the "tomtom" (EP: 74).

Forster seems to be the most critical of the music of the conquered races, especially the Egyptians'. In Alexandria, his curiosity led him to listen with disgust to Egyptian music. He considers it as "bald bad stuff played on the oadh (a kind of guitar) and a silly little drum" (SLEMF V I: 274-275). He carries on saying about the Egyptians that they are "most uninventive and puerile" (SLEMF V I: 275), another way of saying that they are not advanced and "inherently more imitative of, or steeped in, nature than more developed people" (Zon, 2007: 6). This can be explained by their instruments of music, which he regards as very distasteful. Selma Mokrani Barkaoui asserts that for Forster the Egyptians "are incapable of genius" in terms of music and other cultural products (2009: 308). As a conclusion, this interest in the drums, the oudh and other similar concerns classifies the four writers within what Bennett Zon coins *ethnomusicality*, a discipline that studied music in relation to race and

which unveiled "Orientalist prejudice towards non-Western music" (Zon, 2009: 5). The prejudice was motivated by the Orientalist's desire to keep the natives in states of primitiveness.

Speaking about the Indians, Forster adds that "[e]xcept in the direction of religion, where I allow them much, these people don't seem to move towards any thing important; there is no art, the literature is racial, and I suspect its values; there is no intellectual interest" (HD: 184-185). In this quote, the Indians are viewed as static in their achievements. Notwithstanding their trivial advances in art and literature the fact remains that they have made no advances to reach universality and the privilege of belonging to a higher civilisation. One of the reasons for this is the fact that they are so engrossed by religious or metaphysical matters that they make no significant advances in education, science, literature, aesthetics and even politics.

As far as religion is concerned, Maugham, differently from Forster, emphasizes the superstition and piousness of the Hindus of Madras and other Indians. He shows this by contrasting himself as a Westerner to them as Orientals. In Madras, he encountered one of the wisest and most venerated religious men in India. As the man was known for his supernatural powers, his meeting with Maugham made him faint away (PV: 59) so that his devotees became absorbed by the matter. He became the subject of veneration on their part as a result of the incident: "Indians come to see [him] now and then as the man who by the special grace of the Maharshi was rapt into the Infinite, as his neighbours went to see Herman Melville as the man who had lived among cannibals" (PV: 60). Maugham remarks that "the interest aroused by this incident, unimportant to **me**, but significant to the Maharshi's devotees" was so special that it was taken to be the physical working of the Marashi's powers. For Maugham, the incident provides a pretext to tax the people as superstitious. (PV: 60; emphasis added) The irony in the natives' superstition and devotion to their holy men is that

the Europeans who consider themselves as god-figures can easily subjugate them by merely performing things that they do not know.

The writers' vision about the colonised people does not stop at the stage of cultural stereotyping. They also appropriate the aesthetic of dress and undress of these people as a mark of their inferiority. The nakedness of the native is used as a metonymy for the primitive people while the condition of being half-dressed stands for the state of semi-primitivism. In the case of Kipling, as the Indians are generally allocated the condition of static people since they have taken some steps further from the primitive state, they are not generally described as 'naked' but half-naked or half-covered, though in some tribal areas their nakedness still shows. The nakedness and half-nakedness of the Indians made up one of "the first impressions formed by British travellers to India in the nineteenth century" (Cohn, 1996: 129). Kipling has also such impressions when he tours throughout the Raj. They are always barefoot. "Myriads of naked feet" (*WPVRK SS LT*: 63) "tread of innumerable naked feet" (*WPVRK SS LT*: 110) and "Here everything shone from constant contact of bare feet and hurrying bare shoulders" (*WPVRK SS LT*: 196) are just some instances where the half-nakedness of the natives is at issue. The focus on the aesthetics of dress/ undress is also related to the Egyptians. When Kipling made a tour in Egypt he was appalled by the nakedness of some of the Egyptians be they aged or young. Expressions like "a naked devil" (LRK VIV: 154) and "naked kid" (LRK VIV: 169) denote the states of undressing of the Egyptians, which is appalling to the Western tourist in the same way as the naked Indians were for the English.

Maugham joins Kipling in this stereotypical representation using such expressions as "half-naked" and "naked feet" (GP: 10-11) which are associated with the natives in Rangoon, and this aims at showing the extent to which these people are backward. Such descriptions refer to a time when humanity did not yet have the desire to invent objects to eat with or to

cover their bodies with. This same description of the Orientals not concerned with clothing their bodies prevails in his "The Saint". In this non-fiction text relating the life of an Indian saint and the people around him, Maugham attaches some importance to the sartorial habits of the Indian people. He claims that they do not really bother about covering themselves. Speaking about the saint, he says: "he wore nothing but an exiguous loin-cloth" (PV: 58). Maugham insists on the fact that even Indian persons of higher rank do not care about covering their bodies.

Like Maugham, Forster, too, develops this idea of primitivism as it is expressed through the bodily aspect of the Indians, emphasising their nakedness or half-nakedness. He writes: "[t]he ground floor was occupied by an aged man who lay asleep upon a sort of bier with a dirty cloth stretched over him. His naked and rigid feet stuck out" (HD: 83). It is not only the people who walk barefoot but even their rulers. The first thing that strikes Forster when he meets one of the Rajahs is that he is "cross-legged and barefoot on a little cane chair" (HD: 44). Even if the Indians have evolved to a certain extent in wearing clothes, they still walk barefoot. This denotes that they are midway between civilisation and primitivism. Though there is no direct reference to this idea of the nakedness of the natives in Conrad's non-fiction, it is largely diffused in his fiction, which will be developed later in this chapter. Spurr (1993: 81) considers nakedness as a kind of personal and community attribute that marks the lack of virtue in 'savage' people. Spurr bases his conception of nakedness on Charles Darwin's notion of the "low morality of savages" and their lack of "self-regarding virtues" (Quoted in Spurr, 1993: 81). As vision involves synchronic representations of the colonised people, the writers use the physical aspect of the natives as synchronic marks of their primitive or semi-primitive states.

In terms of manners, Forster develops another aspect of the inferiority of the Indians to the English. For him, they are generally bad-mannered. Civility for the Indians is something

that belongs to the realm of fancy; their manners do not conform to any standards of behaviour that can be deemed 'civilised'. For instance, they do not express gratitude. In a letter of 1912 on Christmas Day, Forster writes what follows: "[t]here seems to be no Indian word for thank you" (HD: 26); they have no word for gratitude as they never express it. Another example of their bad manners is linked to the fact that they eat with the fingers. This is a kind of stereotype made in the direction of the European reader accustomed to using forks and spoons. The fact of eating with the hand is a reference to the beginning of humanity when no particular object was invented to eat with. For Forster, "[e]verything had to be eaten with the hand, and with one hand—it is bad manners to use the left" (HD: 35-36). Similarly, Maugham remarks that the Malays of the jungle "eat with the hands" (GP: 111). Even if it is far-fetched, eating with fingers or hands presents another synchronic device through which Maugham and Forster mark the natives' backward states.

Maugham, in his 1920s visit to the Malay Archipelago, was brought into close a contact with the Malays and their rulers and was deeply moved by their sense of primitiveness. Speaking about the Dyaks, he writes that though they are socially an organized caste and are respectful people for their hospitality, "you feel in them a latent savagery which is a little startling" (WN: 199). An instance of their hospitality is the warm welcome he received, for when he and his companions came in one of the Dyaks' households, "clean mats were unrolled and laid down" (WN: 198) for them to sit on. This is a mark of respect on their part for the strangers. However, an instance of their savagery relates to their love of danger. This is expressed through the Bore or the immense wave. When this takes place, every Dyak plunges in the river to be "carried along with the Bore" (WN: 195) to the peril of his life. Maugham portrays the Dyaks as people attracted by danger to compare them to children. Behaving on instinct rather than reason, they are not aware of the dangers of the Bore like children who have no sense of danger unless they are prepared for it by their parents.

Another feature which Maugham allocates to the Malays is concerned with their place in history. For him, the people he meets along the rivers are without history as they "live immemorial lives" (WN: 200). This is a way of saying that their lives are not eventful. Instead, it is monotonous and routine-like as they are preoccupied with its passing, repeating the same gestures day in day out. Maugham reinforces this monotony with the activism of the whites. He writes: "through that press of people passes the white man who **rules** them" not because he wants it but because this allows him a living and a "pension" (WN: 200; emphasis added). As a white man, he is fit to rule them, but he is not as enthusiastic as his fellow countrymen used to be. In fact, a typical feature of Maugham's colonial texts is the critical eye he reserves for some colonial agents, whom he regards as less enthusiastic towards their missionary work; they are rather engaged in personal enterprises in the name of the Empire.

The Orientals' lack of awareness of the importance of time is contrasted to the Westerners' preoccupation with what could be accomplished in it. Even if the white imperial agents are drawn into an environment where people lack this time awareness, they organise their daily lives in accordance with time:

> It is an error to think that because you have no train to catch and no appointments to keep your movements on the road are free. Your times for doing this and that are as definite as if you lived in a city and had to go on business every morning. Your movements are settled not by your own whim, but by the length of the stages and the endurance of the mules. Though you would not think it mattered if you arrived half a hour sooner or later at your day's destination there is always a rush to get up in the morning, a bustle of preparation, and an urgent compulsion to get off without delay.
> (GP: 117)

Once the Westerners are in the colonial world, their internalised habits do not change. Even if nothing in this world incites them to give importance to time, they organise their daily lives by respecting time. The Orientals, on their part, tend to lead cyclical lives.

Speaking about time and history entails accounting for the writer's insistence on the backward place the people of the Orient take in historical development. In *Pharos and Pharillon*, Forster deals with the people of Egypt from a historical perspective and claims that

whenever they were under a Western power, they knew some light, but as soon as they got under an Oriental power, they went through a period of darkness. The Greeks brought light, which is represented by the Pharos Lighthouse, established by Alexander the Great. However, "two hundred years before him, [the Persians] had ridden to loot the temple [s]" left by the Pharaohs (PP: 25). Later on when Egypt was annexed to the Ottoman Empire, the Egyptians knew a very awkward situation. Under the Ottoman Empire, the Egyptians became corrupt, dangerous, and very destructive. Many of them became plunderers and murderers of caravans taking tourists to visit the remnants of Egypt's glorious past. In the section of *Pharos and Pharillon* he devotes to Eliza Fay (1756–1816), a famous British woman traveller, known for her letters of travel to Calculta, he makes her say that between "Cairo and Suez […] a caravan had been held up and some of its passengers were murdered" (PP: 60) "or left to die in the sun, and worse still, the Turkish authorities were so upset by the scandal that they proposed murdering the whole European community in case the news leaked out" (PP: 64). While the Egyptians are associated with danger, their Turkish rulers are viewed as incapable of governing them because of their corruption. Like their rulers, the people's silence was to be bought by means of bribes. Paradoxically, that corruption permitted to save their skins. The "Turkish authorities had been persuaded by a bribe £ 3000 to overcome their sensitiveness and to leave the European colony alive" (PP: 64). The daily danger that was hazarding the Europeans' lives in Egypt was not the only problem; the fanaticism of the rulers and the Egyptians obliged them to conform to certain rules they could not have accepted in Europe.

The writers sometimes exaggerate in their biased views of the Orientals when they express their racial hatred of the 'Other' because of disgust. This is stirred by what Benedict Anderson calls "colonial racism [which] attempted to weld a dynastic legitimacy" to the white community in the colonised world. (1991: 150) Kipling hates the Chinese whose humanity he ignores:

> Certainly the people in Panang are not nice; they are even terrible to behold. They work hard, which in this climate is manifestly wicked, and their eyes are just the eyes of their pet dragons. […] They swarmed everywhere, and wherever three or four met, there they eat things without name—the insides of ducks for choice. (WPVRK SS LT: 273)

Both the physical aspect and the culinary habits of the Chinese are repellent to Kipling. He goes on to affirm his conviction that the Chinese are capable of eating their infants. "I saw cold boiled babies on a plate being carried through the heart of the town" (*WPVRK SS LT:* 277). This is to say that Kipling believes that the Chinese can be cannibals and savages. He considers that "there was something racially wrong with the Chinese mind" (*WPVRK SS LT:* 267). In a similar way to Kipling, Forster's attitude towards the Egyptians is very racist to such an extent that he manifestly expresses his hatred of them. In a letter to Malcolm Darling dated August 6th 1916, he says of Egypt and its people the following:

> I hate the place, or rather its inhabitants. This is interesting, isn't it, because I came [sic] inclined to be pleased and quite free from racial prejudice, but in 10 months I've acquired an instinctive dislike to the Arab voice, the Arab figure, the Arab way of looking or walking or pump shitting or eating or laughing or anything. (SLEMF VI: 238)

Like Kipling's dislike of the different aspects of the Chinese, Forster is charged with racial hatred of the Arabs. He is disgusted by their physical appearance and their habits like Kipling. Anderson explains this racial hatred by the "innate, inherited superiority" (1991: 150) which characterises the imperialists. The writers' paralleled valuation of India is not concerned with India as such but with the Raj and their privileged status as English and Anglo-Indians among the natives.

As a result of Forster's disillusionment with the Egyptians, he is fearful that his stay in "the spurious East put [him] against the true East –Dewas, Aurangabad, Jodhpur" (*SLEMF VI*: 239). Similarly, Kipling's retreat in China and Singapore makes him think of India with nostalgia. "Oh, India, oh, my county! […] Here was a labour outlet, a door to full dinners, through which men ---yellow men with pigtails---were pouring by the ten thousand" (*WPVRK SSLT:* 285). He writes that "Hindu gods are passable, some of them even jolly—witness our

pot-bellied Ganesh; but what can you do with people who ravel in D. T. monsters and crown their roof-ridges with flames of fire, or wave of the sea?" (*WPVRK SSLT: 285*) Kipling draws a sharp distinction between the religious aspect of the Hindu with that of the Chinese, and he is very favourable towards the former whereas he regards the latter as needless. Nevertheless, one is not to take Kipling's valuation of the Indians as contrasted to the Chinese at face value. He says that even if the Indians are "touchy as children" and "loveable", they are "vicious as Devils" (LRK VI: 100). Because of vision, Kipling and Forster never view the Indians as equal to the Anglo-Indians; they should always stay at the threshold.

Kipling and Forster share another subject which is the status of women in the Indian society. For Kipling, the men married several women, and these are always veiled and "kept within walls" (*WPVRK SS LT:* 75) out of sight in the zenana, the native word for the specific place in which women were confined in order to keep them out of men's sight. Forster shows a similar view of the Oriental woman as Kipling. In *Pharos and Pharilons*, he writes: "fanaticism had compelled [women] to wear" the veil (PP: 67). Both Kipling and Forster adhere to the idea that the status of women is degraded as "[t]his state of moral degeneration was [...] visibly represented by the *zenana* and the veil" (Metcalf, 1994: 94). Kipling does not believe in the possibility of change in the natives' behaviour towards women. He remarks that "all the laws of the East" privilege men over women. (*WPVRK SS LT:* 172) In a letter to his aunt, he speaks about a woman of exception who "had got a degree [like her husband] – but as she couldn't appear in public she" was forced to be a housewife (LRK V I: 24). Exceptionally, he is right to write that the *sati*, which involves the burning of widows, should be abolished (WPVRK SS LT 77). Cases when the *sati* is abolished and widows receive a decent treatment are scarce, but when they happen, Kipling considers it as racially anomalous. He regards one of the native rulers as a "racial anomaly" since he is "the husband of one wife" (*WPVRK SS LT:* 77) instead of several as the custom is in India. For him, polygamy

means that man is worth several women.

B. The Subject Race Reconsidered Narratively

It has just been argued that Kipling fixes the Indians as a subject race impervious to change from this static state. This has been observed in the stereotypical perspective from which he considers their views about the status of women in society. One difference that can be noticed between Kipling and Forster is that while the former believes in native rulers' progressivism as "a racial anomaly" the latter accepts it as a mark of progress in Indian values. Speaking about the Prime Minister of Udaipur, Kipling says: "His Highness is a racial anomaly, judged by strictest European standards, he is a man of temperate life, the husband of one wife whom he married before he was chosen to the throne […] in 1884" (*WPVRK SSLT*: 77). For Kipling, the native is innately incapable of progress. The rarest cases of progressive natives belong to the abnormal or depend upon the efficiency of the reforming work of the English. Kerr states that it "was thoroughly suspicious" (2008: 41) for some colonisers that the natives could be reformed or change from their fixed states.

Forster, on his part, considers that from the point of view of social values like "the abolition of the purdah [H. H.] is most revolutionary" (*SLEMF VII*: 8). H. H., the initials for His Highness, the native prince of Dewas, is one of those natives who is by no means conservative with regard to the veil and purdah. In October, 1945, two years before the Independence of India, Forster made a last visit to the "country [he] loved after an absence of twenty-five years" (HD: 227). What he saw was the disposal of the Indians to make advances in some fields like their secular and liberal attitude towards the status of women in society. Even if they could be very conservative with regards to politics, they seemed to grant much importance to women. In this regard, Forster says:

> It is when you leave the country, or the streets of the town, and go into the private houses, that you begin to notice a second great alteration, second only to politics—namely, the lifting of the purdah, the increasing emancipation of women. It struck me particularly in cities which are largely Moslem, such as Lahore and Hyderabad, where women once kept rigidly behind the veil. I have been in my life three times to

> Hyderabad, some of my happiest Indian days were spent there, so I have been able to trace this change. My first visit was in 1912 and then I saw scarcely any Indian women. My second visit was in 1921, when I was admitted into some family circles and saw a good deal of may be called 'semi-purdah'—ladies coming out into company, but not coming avowedly, and retiring at any moment. Today, purdah has broken down at Hyderabad, except amongst the most conservative, and at the receptions to which I went the women sometimes outnumbered the men. […] in India, as in the west, women will shortly have the same opportunities as men for good and for evil". (TCD: 328-29)

As a conclusion from Forster's observations during his visits to India, there is a discernible example of *diachrony* with three states of the Indians as they were in 1912, 1921 and 1945. Forster *narrates* the readiness of the Indians to adopt a kind of enlightened attitude towards women. The men in India have learned to give liberty to women and allow them access to public life. The fact that they emancipate women is arraigned in defence of their enlightenment and advance. Yet Forster remains reticent as to whether this enlightenment is generalised, for there are some fervent conservatives who keep to the old-fashioned beliefs and attitudes.

It is this same perspective that one identifies with Maugham. When he paid a visit to India in 1938, he witnessed that men could treat their women as equals. Speaking about an occultist he met, he told him that his "his wife had great powers than he" (WN: 270). Also, like Forster, he views the status of women in the Dyak community as an argument for their social progress. While in the Malay and Arab communities women are attributed a very inferior status in society, the Dyaks' attitude towards women is an enlightened one. This can be explained by the "division of labour" between men and women:

> The busy life passed her by and she remained absorbed in memories of the past. The preparation of rice is left to the women. There is an absolute division of labour, and it would never occur to a man to do anything that immemorial custom has established as woman's work. (WN: 198)

The fact that there is a traditional division of labour between men and women and that people keep on respecting this status is quite synonymous of the important place women occupy in the life of the Dyaks. This status is not only social but also economic. The British, in India

and elsewhere, considered that "[t]he more 'ennobled' the position of women in a society, the 'higher' its civilization" (Metcalf, 1994: 94). This is a way of saying that the Dyaks are enlightened at the level of social and economic life; this kind of organization is essential for the self-sufficiency of a community. One conclusion that might be drawn from this interest in the gender issue in the empire is that the writers seek to support imperial rule. Metcalf argues that with "the growth of empire, gender like race, helped define the contrast between the ruler and the ruled, and so provided a way to order Britain's relations with its Indian subjects" and other Orientals (1994: 93). On the one hand, they re-enact the British determination to "act as the protectors of India's [and other Oriental] women" (Ibid. 94). On the other hand, they emphasise the results of the efforts made in the direction of improving the status of women.

Though Kipling is divided as to the disposition of the Indians to be progressive, he at least recognises their natural virtues like hospitality. This is probably the most important aspect of narrative that Kipling develops. The Englishman of *From Sea to Sea; Letters of Travel* (1899) is surprised by the special welcome he receives from a Mewari man who is "very graceful and courteous" (WPVRK SSLT: 61). Like Kipling, Forster was received with the warmest welcomes during his two visits to India, and he is quite enthusiastic as to their hospitality in the letters he was writing to his friends and family. In a letter to Laura Mary Forster of October 14th, 1912, he writes that "[t]he manners of our hosts were perfect – courteous and grave" (*SLEMF VI*: 145). Their hospitality is so important that he draws a contrast between them and "their social equivalents in modern England" (Ibid.). This is to say that the Indians are modern in this perspective while their English counterparts can relatively be backward. The relative backwardness of the latter can be explained by the biased behaviour of the Anglo-Indians. Forster grants attention to the disposition of the Orientals for change. Despite the Indians' tendency to have a semi-primitive behaviour, they are not violent, and they welcome the stranger with hospitality. Forster himself was "received with

such an open heart" by Indians of the hills (HD: 66). The hospitality of the people of the Orient is so important a fact that even Maugham makes some hints at it. Like Kipling's "glob-trotter", he was received with the warmest welcomes in the courts of the native rulers of the Malay Archipelago and in the Dyak households. He writes: "when we came in, clean mats were rolled over and laid down for us to sit on" (WN: 198). In doing this, the Dyaks put their English at ease and comfort. The connection between the idea of hospitality and narrative is that it shows the extent to which the Dyaks and other Orientals are not primitive in their behaviour. Their care about others departs from the savage reception they reserve for foreigners in some colonial texts and films.

Though Kipling insists on the ignorance of the natives, he does not overlook the examples of Indians who have reached some great rank in science and understanding. One of these is Jey Singh who was "a great astronomer" and whose work grants him the title of a "great man" (*WPVRK SS LT:* 46). What should be said of Indians like Jey Singh is that they testify to the glorious past of India, especially in the time of the Mogul Empire, which in itself shows that the Indians are sliding back rather than advancing. Narrative as the antithesis of vision is epitomised in the possibility that what is held to be static is likely to improve either with the help of the English or on their own. In 1914, Forster wrote a very short pamphlet on an Indian family which shows the possibility that the Indians can adopt the ways of the Europeans. In "Advance India", he recounts the events around a Muslim marriage and the two families' rational and moderate decision to celebrate it following a mixture of Western and Muslim ways. Therefore, the bride has not put the veil not conforming to the dictates of their religion. They also play music in the manner of the Europeans. Though some conservatives are shocked by this kind of innovative ceremonial, every part accepts the situation in the end. The bridegroom explains to Forster: "[s]ome old-fashioned gentlemen did not understand at first—the idea was new. Then he explained and they understood at once. The lady is

advanced, very advanced" (AH: 345). At the very personal level, the Indians are not always static, for they are liable to improve and advance in the manner of the Europeans. For him, it is individual actions like those performed by the members of these two families "rather than the thought of a philosopher or the examples of kings that advance a society" (AH: 345).

Maugham recognises with some qualification the disposition of the people of the Orient for change. The Chinese, for instance, are differently described. For him, these are "the aristocracy of the East" (GP: 112), for they have certain dispositions that make them distinguished people. Their distinction is attributed to their ingenuity and industriousness coupled with their modesty. He says: "It was of course curious to watch the speed and deftness with which they cut and split the bamboos in order to make the floor, the ingenuity with which they fitted the rafters, and the neatness with which they thatched the roof" (GP: 127). Thanks to their industry and craft, they "live their lives apart and indifferent to the Western capital that the rulers of Siam have sought to make of this strange, flat, confused city" (GP: 166) as if to say that they do not need the West. They can be autonomous and independent of what they bring in terms of modern means and amenities. They can produce things which are different from the Westerners', but they are efficient and useful to their lives. They have also a civilisation of their own that deserves respect (GP: 252). While the other Orientals are deprived of any civilisation, the civilisation of the Chinese is as ancient as the world itself.

Before finishing with the idea of narrative, a word about Conrad is essential. First, he is different from Maugham and Forster in that he is ethnocentric in his views about the conquered people so that he does not always favour the fact that they can be very different from their attributed static features. Much of what he says about the colonised people of Africa and the Orient is biased and falls within the dimension of vision. However, he does consider the Arabs as "racially great travellers and lovers of wonders" (LE: 122). The fact that

they like travelling shows that they have an extended vision of the world unlike the alleged savages of the Malay or African jungles, who are restricted to the geographical area they live in and do rarely have knowledge of what is beyond it.

Narrative for Conrad does not stop at the representation of the Other. He insists upon another aspect which is related to the conquering races especially those in the service of the Belgian Empire. In the letters he wrote to his family and friends when he was in the Congo, he expresses his disgust with the white race which "is repellent to me" (CLJC VI: 62) as everything else there. He is especially shocked by the manager whose "base instincts" (CLJC VI: 62) make a wicked capitalist. The idea of narrative here is matched with the fact that Conrad departs from the traditional representation of the members of the ruling race as philanthropic and appoints them negative features. In a letter to Edward Garnett dated August 5th 1896, he says of his fellow white men that though they are "civilised creatures", they are "artificial" (LJC VI: 63). He speaks of one of them, namely Lingard as a "primitive" one (LJC VI: 63). Conrad recognises the possibility that the members of the white race can slide back once they are brought into a foreign environment. Speaking about the Congo and Belgian imperialists, he argues that the Company's reports on the supposed barbarism and savagery of the natives are treacherous. In a letter to Roger Casement dated December 17th 1903, he says:

> During my sojourn in the interior, keeping my eyes and ears well open too, I've never heard of the alleged custom of cutting off hands amongst the natives; and I am convinced that no such custom ever existed along the whole course of the main river to which my experience is limited. Neither in the casual talk of white men nor in the definite inquiries as to the tribal customs was ever such a practice hinted at; certainly not amongst the Bangalas who at that time formed the bulk of the state stroops. (CLJC VIII: 95)

In this quote, he does not blindly believe in the alleged barbarism of the natives of the Congo. He considers it as pure invention on the part of the Belgian imperialists who aspire to justify their imperialist domination by relating it with the missionary impulse of getting the natives out of their pretended savage customs. Yet he does not consider them as civilised, for in his *Congo Diary* he refers to them as primitives and savages. To explain this ambivalence, it has

to be noted that the observation he draws about the Belgian reports on the barbarism of the natives are critical of Belgian imperialism while the records he makes in his diaries are ethnocentric since they spring out straight from an British writer defending the British Empire. When he ignores the barbarism of the natives as it is propagated by the Belgians, he directs his critique towards the Belgian empire and its ideology. Paradoxically, the same Africans become savages when looked at from British eyes.

On the whole, Kipling is more concerned with vision than narrative while the others are not so categorical. This can be explained by the fact that Kipling belongs to the conservative point of view of empire while the others, with differences of perspective, belong to the liberal point of view. Kerr claims that the Conservatives believed in the "essential unchangeability" of the Orientals while the Liberals "may not allow themselves to believe" in the "unchangeable essence, of human subjects" (2008: 27). The former's project was not concerned with reforming or converting the natives, whereas the latter's was engaged in taking the blessings of Western education, enlightenment and Christianity to the Orientals. Therefore, the conservatives like Kipling believe that the Orientals are *natur*ally inferior and should remain as such while the liberals believe that *nurture* or the culture of the Europeans can domesticate the *nature* of the Orientals (Ibid.) through education and enlightenment projects.

Fiction

In their non-fiction, the four authors deliver their first impressions of the colonised people they meet in the outposts of empire. They load these impressions with ideology in order to confirm to the mainstream imperialist thought. Some of these non-fiction writings are private, so they are not at the reach of the majority of the British readers. Therefore, as fiction was the popular media in the Victorian and Edwardian period, they complete their effort to deliver their Orientalist representations of the colonised people by making sure that their

fiction texts, too, represent them in Orientalist terms as static or backward, morally degenerates and inferior to the colonisers.

A. A Static and Stereotyped View of the Subject Race

Like non-fiction, the fiction of the four writers is no exception in regard to the representation of the Orientals as inferior to the Europeans. To legitimise this representation, the four writers refer to a process of stereotyping that maintains the natives in states of primitiveness, decadence and immorality. Kipling makes it clear that the Indians are 'inferior' to the English politically, culturally and economically. In *Kim*, they are pinned down to the status of subordinate people: the beginning of the novel shows the native boys as Kim's subordinates; the relationship between Kim and the lama makes the former as the leader of the pair; and throughout the novel, the *babus* are considered as inferior to their English mentors in the Great Game. Forster's imperialist vision of India confirms to the Orientalist view as propounded by Kipling. This can disclosed in his "The Life to Come" (1922), which is a tale of the inferiority of the central India tribes. However, in *A Passage to India* he swerves from these traditional views in that he gives some voice to the Indians in order to serve the liberal imperialist message of the novel. In Kipling's *Kim*, except relatively for the lama, the same Indians are reduced to voiceless characters while in Forster's *A Passage to India* they participate in the story in almost a similar manner as the English characters. Forster's vision is developed in relation to some traditional racial categories like political inferiority and some character traits of the Indians that keep them subservient to the white masters.

Conrad is also faithful to the imperialist vision reproduced by Forster and celebrated by Kipling. Like Kipling, he considers the non-Western people inferior, beseeching the imperial attention of the West. For him, these people do not participate in the story while the Westerners do. In *Lord Jim*, he elaborates on this division between the Oriental and the Westerner and their ascertained difference. The novel is divided into two parts, one dealing

with the wreck of the *Patna* and the other with Jim's ascension to power in *Patusan*. In both parts, the Orientals are viewed as subject people. Conrad's text fits in the aim of dominating the Orient since it involves the process of Orientalising the Oriental. Concerning the *Patna* episode, he depicts the ship as "a local steamer as old as the hills, lean like greyhound, and eaten up with rust worse than a condemned water-tank. She was owned by a Chinaman, chartered by an Arab, and commanded by a sort of renegade New South Wales German" (LJ: 16-17). Clearly, the Orientals need the Westerners. Even if they possess the ship, they cannot command it. Hence, they need for the Westerner, in this case the German. They neither know how to manipulate technology nor how to manage crowds. It is, however, with the second part of *Lord Jim* that Conrad's Orientalist representations of the Malays as politically, culturally and epistemologically inferior people are more significant.

Like Kipling, Forster and Conrad, Maugham in his Far Eastern tales, especially those set in the Malay Archipelago, accords much importance to the "binomial opposites" between the Orientals and the white race. In his collection *The Casuarina Tree*, he makes a fundamental distinction between the British ruling race and the Malays as subject people. In other words, these stories contain two types of characters: the English masters and their fellows, on the one hand, and the Malay servants, on the other hand. Maugham attributes the English the responsibility to administer justice, peace and democracy among the Malays and makes the latter accept their inferiority status and subordination to the former. The Malays live under sultanas, and the incapacity of the Malay sultans to govern properly their people requires the intervention of the English. Therefore, despite the Sultans, the Malays obey the orders dictated by the English. All the stories within *The Casuarina Tree* narrate the tales of English *tuan*s (the native word for lord or master) obeyed by their Malay servants.

To develop further, Kipling upholds the Indians in an inferior position, badly needing to be subjected to the English structure of power. As Britain's subject people, they have no

right to aspire to a superior rank because they are bound to be ruled by the British. Like any conservative colonialist discourse, Kipling's texts remain faithful to the static view of the Indians. Therefore, they are associated with different stereotypes that are all related to "backwardness" and "ignorance", two attributes that can be explained at different levels. At the political level, the Indians are depicted as people who need to be governed by the British because of the complexity of their character, the multiplicity of cultures in the nation and the despotism of the native rulers. Some of the people Kim and the lama meet in their journeys are described as naive and innocent folk who are liable to all sorts of danger:

> Here were all manners of northern folk, tending tethered ponies and kneeling camels; loading and unloading bales and bundles; drawing water for the evening meal at the creaking well windlasses; piling grass before the shrieking wild-eyed stallions; cuffing the surly caravan dogs; paying off camel-drivers; taking on new grooms; swearing, shouting, arguing, and chaffering in the packed square. (K: 28)

Obviously, the folks are totally absorbed in their everyday activities and preoccupations, neglecting categorically the dangers of being harassed by belligerent individuals. They are governed by despotic or corrupt rulers, and they are easy preys for unscrupulous foreign powers. To be secure, they need to be annexed to the British Raj which will take care of them through the British imperial agents. Previously to *Kim*, in "The White Man's Burden", Kipling considers the Orientals as "fluttered folk and wild" in need of the philanthropic intervention of the English, "the best [the white race] breed[s]" (Kipling, 1899).

For instance, in the hills, Kim meets a desperate father whose child is extremely sick. The boy's father is 'ignorant' and superstitious, for he thinks that his son had fever, something that is common to the country. Whenever they do not know the nature of an illness, the people of the hills discard it as mere fever. Sometimes, they exaggerate in attributing the illness to the interference of their various "primitive" gods. They are too humble and ignorant to know the true nature of their illnesses. Through this stereotyped vision, Kipling wants to show that these people are in need of a more enlightened and altruistic race that can help them whenever they are sick. This is probably why Kim plays the doctor and helps the father.

Thanks to his knowledge and experience, he discovers that the child has got no fever but was simply underfed. As a real doctor would do, Kim gives the father six pills and tells him:

> 'Praise the Gods, and boil three in milk; other three in water. After he has drunk the milk give him this' (it was the half of a quinine pill), 'and wrap him warm. Give him the water of the other three, and the other half of this white pill while he wakes. Meanwhile, here is another brown medicine that he may suck at on the way home'.
> (K: 252)

Another trait with which the Indians are associated is the complexity of their character due to their variegated religious background. Since India is peopled by different religious and ethnic groups, Kipling would say that unity or compromise between the groups would be impossible. India is peopled by Muslims, Buddhists, Hindus and many other ethnic and religious communities which are not ready to mix with each other. These various groups provide an important background to Kipling's fiction. For him, there is a persistent hatred between the different groups which complicates co-existence between them. In a letter to a friend of his, Kipling writes:

> When you write 'native'' who do you mean? The Mahommedan who hates the Hindu; the Hindu who hates the Mahommedan; the Sikh who loathes both; or the semi-anglizised product of our Indian colleges who is hated and despised by Sikh, Hindu, Mahommedan. Do you mean the Punjabi who will have nothing to do with the Bengali; the Mahrattha to whom the Punjabi's tongue is as incomprehensible as Russian to me; the Parsee who controls the whole trade of Bombay and ranges himself on all questions as an Englishman; the Sindee who is an outsider; the Bhil or the Gond who is an aborigine; then Rajput who despise everything on Gods earth but himself; the Delhi traders who control trade to the value of millions; the Afghan who is only kept from looting these merchants by dread of English interference. Which one all the thousand conflicting tongues, races, nationalities and peoples between the Khaibar Pass and Ceylon doo you mean? There is no such thing as the natives of India, any more than there is the 'People of India' as our friends the Indian delegates would have you believe. (Quoted in Karlin, 1999: 525-526)

The possibility of compromise and co-existence depends on the intervention of an external power, namely British rule. In *Kim*, this background provides a layout for Kim and the lama's adventures which drive them to the encounter of these different groups. The Great Game is also linked to this background. Colonel Creighton's ethnological survey involves the study of this complex background in order to provide the imperial powers pertinent and necessary information for the successful implementation of the British Rule in India.

The Indians are associated with a bulk of stereotypes. The Indian folks are repeatedly described as "fool", "foolish" and "ignorant". Mahbub Ali, a native Indian in the service of the Raj, admits that "[t]he English do eternally tell the truth […] therefore we of this country are eternally made foolish" (K: 188). For emphasis, it is repeated that "hill-people are all fools" (K: 296). This stereotype concerning the natives' "foolishness" pervades the novel. They are associated with this stereotype because they tend to ignore the importance of the British Rule and their need for it: "moreover, these foolish natives […] always stop to think before they kill a man who says he belongs to any speecific organization" (K: 245) of the British rule. With these stereotypes, *Kim* constructs a "regime of truth" (Bhabha, 2004: 96) about the Indians thanks to which the English rule is consolidated. Arguably, Kipling's insistence on these stereotypes is motivated by his anxiety about imperial security. He joins the ideas of John Stuart Mill in his essay *Considerations on Representative Government*, where he points out to a hierarchy at the top of which lies the West, and at bottom of which figure "backward" and either "barbarous" or "semi-barbarous" societies like India. These backward societies cannot govern themselves properly (Mill, 1861: 320-321). Though Liberal in his views about domestic policy, Mill's views on the Indians are jingoist like Kipling's.

Like Kipling, Conrad maintains the Orientals in states of inferiority sharply contrasted to the superiority of the white colonising race. The *Patna* episode of *Lord Jim* discloses the relationship between a few white men and a crowd of Orientals who boarded the ship to go to Mecca. The former are five in number; they "lived amidships, isolated from the human cargo" (LJ: 18). On the contrary, the pilgrims represent the superstitious character of the Orientals. It is said that the pilgrims "streamed aboard over three gangways, they streamed in urged by faith and the hope of paradise, they streamed in with a continuous tramp and shuffle of bare feet […] Eight hundred men and women" (LJ: 17). The implication is that they are devoted to their faith and remain in need of Western enlightenment. In other words, it implies that the

pilgrims' devotion weakens and blinds them. It is proof enough of their blindness that when the first signs of the upcoming shipwreck start to appear, they notice nothing, whereas Jim and the members of his race are able to think about what to do to face the impending event. "Two Malays, silent and almost motionless, steered, one on each side of the wheel, whose brass rim shone fragmentarily in the oval light thrown away by the binnacle" whereas "Jim would glance at the compass" (LJ: 21), for "he alone would know how to deal with the spurious menace of wind and seas. He knew what to think of it" (LJ: 13). The idea of Malays being *motionless* stands for their laziness and passivity as contrasted to the Westerner's ideals of work, self-reliance and knowledge. For instance, the engineer says: "I don't know what fear is [...] I am not afraid of doing all the blooming work in this rotten hooker" (LJ: 25). Also, they have a good mastery of whatever a job they are given to perform; the word *compass* denotes their expert knowledge in geography, necessary in any sea career.

Another aspect that is tackled by Kipling is the idea that the natives need to be protected against themselves and their rulers. Therefore, his fiction deals with another category of people that is associated with violence, corruption, selfishness and despotism. The corruption of native "nobility" is common to this fiction. The native police, for instance, are ready to accept bribes in exchange for their silence. It is said of them that they "are thieves and extortioners" (K: 79). They are apt to extort the natives for their personal economic interests. Admittedly, the police stand for native rulers as a whole since they are their representative. This illustrates the natives' predispositions to behave only for their personal interests, whereas their subjection to the British would bring about justice and order. Kipling shows that the Indian rulers cannot represent their people because they are prone to act despotically. The idea of despotism can be understood from the expression "feudatory raja's army" (K: 166) which indicates that the native army is not engaged in the protection of the people but rather to serve the interests of the rulers.

In *Something of Myself*, Kipling relates a "real" story of bribery he experienced when he was nineteen and was working in the service of the Raj. As a journalist, he was offered bribes thrice. The third attempt is the most significant:

> My third and most interesting bribe was when reporting a divorce case in Eurasian society. An immense brown woman penned me in a corner and offered 'if I would but keep her name out of it' to give me most intimate details, which she began at once to do. I demanded her name before bargaining. 'Oah! I am the Respondent. That is why I ask you'. It is hard to report some dramas without Ophelias if not without Hamlets. But I was repaid for her anger when Councel asked her if she had ever expressed a desire to dance at her husband's grave. Till then she had denied everything. 'Yess,' she hissed, 'and I jolly-damn-well would too'. (SM: 28)

Kipling associates the Indians with many vices like greed, corruption and lies. Michael Harris (1992) singles out three main stereotypes in Kipling's fiction. One of these stereotypes concerns "the treacherous, avaricious native" through which Kipling "projects the image of India as a land of danger and treachery" (1992: 23). In "At the End of the Passage", he shows that the native states suffer from the corruption of the rulers and the bribery system developed by their servants: "the rulers fawned and blustered for more money from the pitiful revenues contributed by hard-wrung peasants and despairing camel-breeders" (EP: 66). To say differently, the rulers squeeze off their subjects day in day out. Bhabha argues that the objective of colonial discourse is to "construe the colonized as a population of degenerate types on the basis of racial origin in order to justify conquest and establish systems of administration and instruction" (2004: 101). Kipling creates the Indians as corrupt by nature, and it is so generalised a practice that it had to be evinced by the British Raj.

Forster in *A Passage to India* elaborates the same colonial discourse in depicting the Indians as essentially corrupt. He speaks out this through the voice of Roony Heaslop who says that corruption "never ceases in the East" (PI: 219). When Aziz has been in prison Roony has not hesitated to think that he would have "bribed" Adela's Indian servant to "lose sight of her" (PI: 183), for Aziz "paid a herd of natives to suffocate her [Adela] in a cave" (PI: 183). The words *paid* and *bribed* in these quotes suggest that in India harmful deeds can be sponged

by money. It has to be noted that Roony represents the conservative point of view in relation to the Raj, hence his prejudiced views about Aziz. Though Forster is a precursor of unprejudiced views about the Indians, he does sanction them, especially those related to the Egyptians. Speaking about the "racial prejudiced" view in a letter to Malcolm Darling, he writes that he "better understand[s] the Anglo-Indian irritation" towards the Indians (SLEMF VI: 239). The meaning of this is that though he is regarded as a liberal, his views are far from being purely humanist. Roony to a certain extent is his mouthpiece in *A Passage to India.*

One recurrent image in Kipling's *Kim* is that of the Oriental as a liar. Kim, the eponymous hero, always suspects native lies. Huree Babu, for example, is treated like a liar the first time he meets Kim who tells him: "[t]hou art here – speaking not one word of truth in ten. Why art thou here? Give a straight answer" (K: 294). Said states that "Orientals are [regarded as] inveterate liars, they are 'lethargic and suspicious'" (1995: 39). Another recurrent image that is associated with the Indians is the idea of gossip. Kim knows that whenever he passes among them, he should be careful of his behaviour. He is aware "that eyes he could not see were staring at him" (K: 93). This is probably one of the reasons which make the imperial agents in the Great Game adopt a strategy of concealment and act upon secret names to serve secret objectives. Still in relation to the stereotype of the dangerous native, Kipling believes that the natives have an unpredictable and complex character. The English have difficulties to foresee the thoughts and actions of their subject people because "one can never fathom the oriental mind" easily (K: 120). This explains Colonel Creighton's ethnological mission which would provide an exhaustive study of the "Oriental mind" in order to act accordingly.

Conrad's representation of the natives of Patusan goes in the same direction as Kipling's. The Malays are portrayed as powerless in the face of their corrupt and depraved rulers. He juxtaposes the innocence and impotence of the natives with the belligerence of

some Orientals and Western outcastes like Rajah Allang and Brown, the Dutch. The former is compared to a "laughable hyaena" (LJ: 182). If the Rajah is compared to a hyaena it is because Conrad wants to show his ruthlessness. He does not care about his people; his only motive is to satisfy his greed at their expense. Another hyaena-like native is Sherif Ali, from whom the Patusans have been secured by Jim. The "country-born Malays, who, utterly defenceless had not even the resource of emigrating" (LJ: 174). Were it not Jim's presence in Patusan, the people would certainly have been tyrannously controlled by the Rajah, Sherif Ali and others. This is explained by the idea that the Patusans are vulnerable to the control of intruding forces. The people of the village are preoccupied with the idea that Lord Jim and his white fellows "come to [them] and in a little while they go. They go away. Those they leave behind do not know to look for their return" (LJ: 207-208). The confidence the natives have in Jim is demeaned by the prospect of the end of his protection. Besides, the ruthless Rajah plots against him, for he knows that if he manages to chase him out of Patusan, he will become master and carry on his despotic ascension in the Archipelago. Brown, a European outcaste, also thinks over the same thing. Cornelius, another European, tells him: "[a]ll you have to do is to kill him and then you are *king here*" (LJ: 277; italics added). The italicised words demonstrate that the Patusans will no longer be protected if Jim is killed since they are totally *dependent* on his protection.

This idea of dependence is essential in upholding the natives in the state of perpetual need for the white imperialist. It gives them the status of subject people as embodied in the person of 'Tamb' Itam', a native who is contrasted to Jim. As Jim's personal servant or slave, he is viewed as an ignorant native who is coached by his white master. He is described in the following terms:

> Tamb' Itam, Jim's own servant. This was a Malay from the north, a stranger who had wandered into Patusan, and had been forcibly detained by Rajah Allang as a paddler of one of the state boats. He had made a bolt of it at the first opportunity, and finding a precarious refuge (but very little to eat) amongst the Bugis settlers, had attached himself to Jim's person. His complexion was very dark, his face flat, his eyes

> prominent and injected with bile. There was something excessive, almost fanatical, in his devotion to his "white lord". He was inseparable from Jim like a morose shadow.
> (LJ: 204-205)

Even if Tamb Itam is said to be a stranger in Patusan and that he is a servant, he occupies the most important place in the village, after Jim. Jim's authority percolates down to his servants. Itam's devotion and obedience to Jim reflects the reverential attitude of the Patusans. Arguably, there is a parallel here with Daniel Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe.* The relationship between Friday and Robinson is typically colonial, and it is similar to that between Jim and Tamb' Itam. *Lord Jim* reproduces the same schemes as its predecessors in terms of the colonial encounter and the resulting relationship between the coloniser and the colonised. Both texts depict English agents establishing remote empires. Their relationships to the natives are almost similar: Jim is the saviour of the Patusans and their protector; Tamb' Itam finds security under the custody of his master Jim; Crusoe secures Friday from the cannibals and accepts to be his servant.

The status of the Orientals as subject people is also evident in Maugham's *The Casuarina Tree*. In "The Outstation", the Malays are depicted as the servants of two English imperial agents. The natives on their part consider the two white men as their *tuan*s or white lords. Likewise, in "The Vessel of Wrath", they are portrayed as 'savages'. The word *heathen* (VW: 814) is generally reserved for 'savages' in need of being 'tamed' by a more civilised race. They have very primitive means of fighting epidemics, so they are more in need of the Western medical know-how than the Chinese very limited means. Maugham adds Chinese and Muslims to the people living in the islands to show that the Chinese were incapable of helping the pretended savages to fight epidemics and the Muslims could not salvage their souls. The Chinese and Muslims are overthrown by the missionary work conducted by Rev. Jones, who is regarded as the best man for the job. Obviously, the natives are better off as a subject race than as a free one. In "Before the Party", the natives of Borneo are subjected to the British rulers. For him, they are better off under the control of Britain than if let alone.

One of the reasons of the expansion of the British Empire to this area is to administrate them in exchange for commercial interests. The similarity between Conrad and Maugham resides in the subordination of the Malays to the white race. An analogy can be drawn between their respective works and Sir Hugh Clifford's "At the Heels of the White Man". In this essay, Clifford insists on the dependence of the Malays on the white race. The majority of the people are "ignorant" (1898: 127) while the so-called enlightened Malays are in need of the rationality of the white race. He tells us that the sikh is "incapable of thinking rationally for himself, and he is altogether lost unless he has a White Man at his shoulder" (Ibid. 129).

In *The Narrow Corner*, it is obvious that the Orientals are subservient to the Europeans. Doctor Saunders, the protagonist of the novella, is in the Malay Archipelago for doctoring the natives of the islands. The Chinese, too, beseech his medical services. Kim Ching, one of the most powerful businessmen in China, is resolved to get his eyes repaired by the medical expertise of the English Doctor Saunders. What gives more prominence to the Orientals' dependence is the fact that Dr Saunders is accompanied with a boy servant from China as his subordinate: Doctor Saunders "travelled with a Chinese boy who acted as a servant, gave anaesthetics when required, and made his pipes when he smoked opium" (NC: 14). The status of servant attributed to the boy stands for the Orientals' eternal position as subordinates in the hierarchy of power and knowledge.

To keep this state of native subordination, the writers refer not only to the subject people's decadent behaviour, which had already been accounted for, but also to the visible signs of their primitiveness. First, they consider their dressing style as *synchronic* marks of their states of primitiveness. Maugham is insistent on the nakedness of the Orientals like Chinese children, some Malay tribes and the people of Tahiti. For instance, Dr Saunders meets a Chinese boy who

> was trying to make a sand castle out of the dust of the road. Flies flew about him, setting on him, but he did not mind them, and intent on his game did not try to brush

> them away. Then a native passed, with nothing on but a discoloured sarong, and he carried two baskets of sugar-cane suspended to each end of a pole balanced on the shoulders. (NC: 15)

Maugham focuses on the 'nakedness' of the people of the South Seas and the Malay Archipelago and relates this to their states of primitiveness. If considered within the imperialist enterprise and the quest for ideological support to it, the fact that they can be 'primitive' as shown through 'nakedness' calls for the intervention of the West to reform them or inculcate in them some civilised values like the importance of covering their bodies. Cohn claims that clothing the natives metaphorically signifies "power and authority" (1996: 114). In parallel to their 'nakedness', these people behave strangely in the eyes of the colonisers, for there was no comprehension between them and these people of 'the forest':

> Dr. Coutras had a sense that the child was stealthily watching him from behind a tree. The door was wide open. He called out, but no one answered. He stepped in. He knocked at a door, but again there was no answer. He turned the handle and entered. The stench that assailed him turned him horribly sick. He put his handkerchief to his nose and forced himself to go in. The light was dim, and after the brilliant sunshine for a while he could see nothing. Then he gave a start. He could not make out where he was. He seemed on a sudden to have entered a magic world. He had a vague impression of a great **primeval** forest and of **naked** people walking beneath the trees. Then he saw that there were paintings on the walls. (MS: 269, emphasis added)

In this quote, the people of Tahiti are considered as primitive; their states of nakedness denote a primitive life in the bush.

One identifies a similar passage in Conrad's "An Outpost of Progress" in which the natives are also considered as primitive. "Out of that void, at times, came canoes, and men with spears on their heads would suddenly crowd the yard of the station. They were **naked**, glossy black, ornamented with snowy shells, and glistening brass wire, perfect of limb" (OP: 253; emphasis added). One perceives in this quote a state of primitiveness of the Africans, an aspect of which is tied to the idea of nakedness; they are shown in their primeval appearance, without clothes on their bodies. Similarly, in "Karain: a Memory", Conrad depicts the Malays as primitive people, still walking "barefoot" (KM: 37). "[W]ell-armed and noiseless", they "thronged" to the white tourist or coloniser visiting them with "their ornamented and

barbarous crowd, with the variegated colours of checkered sarongs, red turbans" (KM: 38) and other such states of primitiveness associated with their sartorial habits. This state of being primitive, in Philipa Levine's words,

> was to be in a state of nature, unschooled, unselfconscious, lacking in shame and propriety—and nothing better signified the primitive than nakedness. […] Nakedness defined the Western encounter with colonial—and potentially colonial—spaces.
> (2008: 192)

Arguably, Conrad and Maugham are paraphrasing Kipling, who refers to the natives' states of nakedness in "The Bridge Builders". In this story, the Indian workmen under the supervision of Findlayson and his fellows working in the bridge building enterprise are viewed as naked. He writes: "[f]or hours the naked men worked, screaming and shouting under the lights" (TBB: 17). The words "screaming" and "shouting" refer to their manners of communication, words echoed by Maugham and Conrad in their works.

Forster joins in this debate over the natives' states of undress by relating this to the Bible which, according to him, portrays "naked Arabs" (OB: 168). Ever since the first encounter between the Westerners and the Orientals, the latter's states of undress had appalled the former, and with the imperial conquest, it was codified into an ideology of difference fixing the Oriental in a state of primitivism. One can perceive in this nakedness, especially as it is accompanied by queer ornaments, a pertinent case of their primitivism, expressed metonymically. This attitude also prevails in paintings like Paul Gauguin's *Le cheval blanc* (1898), where he portrays the nakedness of a native of the Marquesas Islands riding a black horse with a white horse, which can as well stand for the white races. In this tableau, the white horse overshadows the black horse which the native is riding, his back facing the white horse. It is a way of saying that the white races have precedence over the 'brown' and 'yellow' races. At the core of Gauguin's entrance to the *Maison du Jouir* in the Marquesas Islands are sculptured images of naked native women.

To explain this idea further, it is important to refer to the opposite use of dress to show

the superiority of the white race. In "The Outstation", Maugham contrasts the natives' states of undress to the refinement of the imperial agents in terms of clothing. In this story, Mr Warburton always endeavours to instil in his novice assistant, Cooper, the necessity of dressing in a refined manner in order to "maintain the proper pride" of the white people and keep himself respected by the natives (CT: 107). Putting on refined clothes gives the white imperial agent a sense of superiority, which is his own pride in the colonial world. If one is to theorize on this interest in the states of undress of the natives, I would argue that the European text and textile go together to support imperial rule. In fact, Cohn claims that for the European writers, artists and administrators clothing signifies "the substantial nature of authority [which is] literally part of the body of those who possess it. It can be transferred from person to person through acts of incorporation, which not only create followers or subordinates, but a body of companions of the ruler who have shared some of his substance" (1996: 114). The nakedness of the natives gives the colonial administrator an opportunity to incorporate in them through their textiles/ text, binding them forever as ruler and ruled.

Another *synchronic* mark of the subject people's states of primitiveness is related to their savage cultural behaviour. In *The Narrow Corner*, when Dr Saunders encounters a group of natives from the island of Borneo, the first thing that strikes him is the extent to which they can be 'savage' in their cultural and linguistic behaviour:

> They sung lustily with rich deep voices and the sound travelled over the peaceful seas. It was a hymn they had all learned in their natives islands, and they knew every word of it; but in their unfamiliar speech, with its queer intonations, it gathered a strange mystery so that it seemed not like a Christian hymn, but like the barbaric, rhythmical shouting of a savage multitude. It rang with fantastic sounds, the beating of drums, and the clang of curious instruments, and it suggested the night and dark ceremonies by the water's edge and dripping of blood in human sacrifice. (NC: 69)

This quote evinces a certain disdain for the cultural expression of the Malays. Their language is queer, their music estranged and demonised. Said calls this "cultural stereotyping" (1995: 26) which involves an "academic and imaginative demonology of the 'mysterious Orient'" (Ibid.). This imaginative demonology is to be found in almost all the texts dealing with the

colonial world. So, Conrad in "An Outpost of Progress" writes that the black characters "made an uncouth babbling noise when they spoke, moved in stately manner, and sent quick wild glances out of their startled, never-resting eyes" (OP: 253). He considers the natives of Africa as primitives; their language is reduced to mere babbling and their gestures as means of cultural expression are denigrated. In *Heart of Darkness*, he proceeds in a similar manner. He deprives the Africans of their language and makes them shout "periodically together strings of amazing words that resembled no sounds of human language" (HOD: 108-109). He emphasises the pretended savagery of the African people by showing their awkward physical stature and behaviour. The people of the forest are portrayed as "naked human beings – with spears in their hands, with bows, with shields, with wild glances and savage movements" (HOD: 99). Clearly, Conrad associates the word *savage* with nakedness and unfamiliar behaviour of the people the white people encounter in the wilderness of Africa. These people's savagery or primitivism expresses Conrad's apprehension of showing their need for the intervention of a more civilised race.

Like Maugham and Conrad, Kipling also grades down the language of the people of India. It is either estranged or completely denied the status of language. In "The Bridge Builders", for example, the shouting and screaming of the workmen (TBB: 17) replace language as a mode of communication. In *Kim,* the people spoke "strange tongues" (K: 48). They spoke "lingo[s]" rather than languages, and the association of the word 'lingo' with the word "shouts" (MWWBK: 178) shows that there is a kind of denigration of the language of the Other. When Carnihan and Dravot arrive to Kafiristan, one of the first things they do is to learn the "names of things in their lingos" (MWWBK: 178). The primitivism of the Africans in Conrad's writings is similar to the savagery of the northern and central tribes of India in Kipling's and Forster's works. In "The Life to Come" (1922), Forster writes that Mr Pinmay, the missionary who went to convert the tribes, is welcomed by a "hostile and savage

potentate" (LC: 69). To conclude this analysis of the supposed cultural inferiority of the Orientals, it is necessary to quote Metcalf who asserts that in the process of creating the Oriental as different from the Westerner, "language, culture, and the physical biological features that distinguish race became inextricably linked" (1994: 82). The emphasis on the natives' states of undress along with the relegation of their language and culture into inferior states represent the authors' ideological apparatuses to deliver the Other as degenerate to the Western reader.

B. An Anglo-centric View of the Ruling Race

The synchronic and stereotyped view of the subject people to reduce them to states of primitiveness, decadence and dependence is accompanied by an Anglo-centric view of the ruling race. This kind of stereotyped representation "implicates *definition* of" the Orientals as the subject race with an ethnocentric belief in the "*identity* of the person defining" them (Said, 1995: 247-248) as the ruler in view of the supposed superiority of the latter. Kipling, Forster, Maugham and Conrad as British celebrate the assumed superiority of their country men in the colonial world. To write about the inferiority of the colonised people necessarily implicates writing about the political, cultural, moral, intellectual superiority of the coloniser.

The first feature Kipling attributes to the English characters is that of reason. In *Kim*, characters like Kim and Colonel Creighton are representative of the rational British. From the beginning of the friendship between the lama and Kim, Kim behaves rationally in opposition to the lama, who confesses: "[f]or, look you, without him I shall not find my River" (K: 32). The lama's subservience to Kim relates to Kim's white birth which predisposes him to adapt to different and difficult situations. His white heritage gives him natural and biological dispositions to thinking and action. The first woman they meet describes the lama as an "[o]ld priest" and Kim as a "tiger" (K: 23). Kim is different from Huree Babu, a Bengali who laments his Asiatic origin "which is a serious detriment in some respects. And *all* so I am

Bengali – a fearful man" (K: 297). He adds lamenting: "[i]t was process of Evolution, I think, from Primal Necessity" (K: 298). Maugham remarks that for Kipling "the Bengali was a coward, a muddler, a braggart, who lost his head in an emergency and shirked responsibility" (1953: viii). The Bengali's cowardice is contrasted to Mowgli's courage in *The Jungle Books* (1893). Mowgli carries courage in his genes, so he manages to defeat Sheer Khan, the man-killer. He is also endowed with the capacity to learn promptly. Mowgli's and Kim's capacities are natural predispositions that had been transmitted to them genetically by their pedigrees. Therefore, even if the atmosphere in which they first set pace with life is not propitious for these capacities – Mowgli in the jungle among animals and Kim in the streets of Lahore among Indian boys – the fact that they carry them in their genes nurtures these natural capacities. The latter set them apart from their immediate social fellows. They are indispensable for their ascension to power. The portrayal of such white characters conforms to the turn-of-the-nineteenth century widespread belief that the Britons had "the ability to lead in terms of race. It was the British blood which gave them their unique position" (Greenberger, 1969: 13). Kipling considers that Kim and Mowgli are predestined to rule by their blood.

Kim's predestination to serve the empire is implied in the way he is integrated to St Xavier's – a school where a special education is dispensed for white children in order to form them as imperial agents in the service of the Raj – as soon as his white origin is discovered. At this school, he is initiated into such disciplines as mathematics, map making and linguistics, skills and knowledge needed for the accomplishment in any imperial enterprise. As soon as he completes his education at St Xavier's, the boy joins the Great Game. As a sahib with an important Indian background, Kim's position in the Great Game is fundamental. The education he receives at St Xavier's makes him acquire the craft of commanding the native Indians (K: 168), and he behaves accordingly. The author tells us that "[w]here a native would have lain down, Kim's white blood set him upon his feet" (K: 65). In Orientalist terms,

Kim reaches "power political [sic]" (Said, 1995: 12). His power over the natives gives him a kind of precedence over other British fellows. Kim is aware of this as he asserts: "[c]ertain things are not known to those who eat with forks. It is better to eat with both hands for a while" (K: 172). He knows that despite his white identity he is different from his white fellows. This difference gives him precedence over them in different fields because he occupies a liminal position.

Some features of his character make him look like a young anthropologist in the service of the Raj. His life within the Indian society procures him a wide knowledge of the society. He knows India culturally, linguistically, ethnologically and geographically. Kim's personality is strengthened by his knowledge of the cultural diversity of India, his mastery of the Hindi language, and his geographical knowledge of the whole land. It is said that

> India was awake, and Kim was in the middle of it, more awake and more excited than any one, chewing on a twig that he would presently use as a toothbrush; for he borrowed right- and left-handedly from all the customs of the country he knew and loved. (K: 101)

The diversity of Indian customs, rituals, beliefs and religions are convoluted in the novel, and Kim is occasionally immersed within each of them. He is the *chela* of a Tibetan lama. In the course of his journeys through the Indian landscape with Teshoo Lama, he encounters Muslims, Tibetans Hindus and others, with whom he interacts without any constraints.

Moreover, his proficiency in the Hindi language is an instrument that gives an easy access to the knowledge of the Indians and their culture. The acquisition of the Other's language makes possible the dialogue with the natives from whom he learns about the Indian ways of life, their aspirations and fears, and their attitudes towards the British imperial system. Kim's proficiency in the Hindi is illustrated by the smooth and easy manner through which he shifts from his mother tongue to this language. The novel is replete with native words which Kim uses sometimes to hide his white identity, and other times to get crucial information for his tasks as a sahib in the service of the imperial power. His linguistic skill is

embodied in his capacity to think in the native language and to quote native proverbs like "for the sick cow a cow; for the sick man a Brahmin" (K: 100). Whenever necessary, Kim moves from thinking in English to Hindi or vice versa. Sometimes, he is shown thinking in English as a perfect sahib and graduate from St Xavier's. At some other times, he prefers thinking in the Hindi language. With Lurgan Sahib, for instance, Kim, the sahib, prefers science to Lurgan's magic. This is why he shifts from thinking in Hindi to thinking in English:

> So far Kim had been thinking in Hindi, but tremor came on him, and with effort like that of a swimmer before sharks, who hurls himself half out of the water, his mind leaped up from a darkness that was swallowing it and took refuge in – the multiplication-table in English! (K: 205-206)

The quote above offers an example of Kim's ability to shift from one language to another. Said argues that knowledge of a foreign language becomes an instrument both of control and "assault upon populations, just like the study of the Orient is turned into a program for control by divination" (Said, 1995: 293). Kim is also endowed with coercive power. His mastery of rhetoric allows him to get things that the lama is incapable of. For instance, in the first chapter of the novel, a passage involving Kim, the lama and an old woman, shows Kim's persuasion techniques. When the lama asks the woman for alms she does not accept because he is regarded as a false priest. However, as soon as Kim takes the floor communication is re-established and he manages to get "a little rice and some dried fish atop – yes, and some vegetable curry" (K: 24) by playing on the words "yagi" meaning "bad-tempered" and "yogi" meaning "holy man". It is important to conclude with saying that Kim is portrayed as a superior English boy, and as such he obtains whatever he desires from the natives who respect his imperial authority.

In his representation of the white race as a superior race, Conrad becomes close to Kipling. The five white men of the *Patna* are portrayed as being superior to their shipmates making them keep social distance. They are onboard the ship for their jobs and not for socialising. In this regard, they remind us of the nineteenth century heroes who go overseas to

enrich themselves through work, serving their empire and supposedly the natives of the areas. One of the motives of their being in the Eastern seas is the search for wealth. The other one is to serve their empire in opening up and controlling these regions. Apart from serving their interests and those of the empire, these seamen are supposed to be in the empire to serve the natives, by helping them get out of ignorance and superstition. The nineteenth century adventure heroes, Andrea White claims, are adventurous persons who travel overseas with the promise of "personal fulfilment, financial benefits, and status" (White, 1995: 64). They "bring not only order and justice to the dark continent [and other so-called dark places] but also the light of the Christian Truth" (Ibid. 65). This Orientalist attitude is clearly and directly reflected in the letter Marlow receives and some words of which run as follows:

> You said also – I call to mind – that "giving your life to *them*" (*them* meaning all of the mankind with skins brown, yellow, or black in colour) "was like selling your soul to a brute". You contended that "that kind of thing" was only endurable and enduring when based on a firm conviction in the truth of ideas racially our own, in whose name are established the order, the morality of an ethical progress. "We want its strength in our backs", you had said. "We want a belief in its necessity and its justice, to make a worthy and conscious sacrifice of our lives. Without it the sacrifice is only forgetfulness, the way of offering is no better than the way to perdition". (LJ: 255)

The letter encompasses the belief in the mission of the English race to conquer other races for their mutual benefits. Conrad's use of the pronouns "we" and "them" is ideological. The use of these pronouns and their objective forms *us* and *them* are the first signs of a typical Orientalist attitude which separates between the superior Western coloniser and the Oriental subject people. *We* stands for instance for "'the English', for whom the pronoun 'we' is used with the full weight of a distinguished powerful man who feels himself to be representative of all that is best in his nation's history". *They* stands for all Orientals who are "a subject race, dominated by a race that knows them and what is good for them better than they could possibly know themselves" (Said, 1995: 34-35). Robert Briffault asserts that during the imperial period the English and "many foreigners [believed] that the unique position that England came to occupy was the result of qualities of mind and character peculiar to a pre-

destined 'imperial race'" (1938: 7). The *Patna* episode prepares the ground for Jim's adoption of his fate to stand over the Patusans given the epic proportions of his character as English.

Jim is depicted as the empire builder par excellence. He "came from a long way south of the Tweed; but at the distance of six or seven thousand miles Great Britain" (LJ: 175). His coming to the Orient is motivated by a variety of reasons connected to empire building. He is depicted as a white *lord* in a foreign land. The natives regard him as their *tuan*, lord or master. His lordship is the result of his white origin which grants him some inalienable "supernatural" powers (LJ: 174). His powers are intellectual, military, political and moral. He becomes ruler over the Patusans, for he manages to take protection and stability to them and to help them get rid of their anarchy. As a result, the people consider him as their white saviour since "there could be no question that Jim had the power" (LJ: 207). This idea of Jim as a white saviour is embodied in the way he appeared to them, seeming "like a creature not only of another kind but of other essence. Had they not seen him come up in a canoe they might have thought he had descended upon them from the clouds" (LJ: 174).

In Jim, the Patusans find protection against their corrupt rulers and the threat of foreign forces. This protection is the result of his military prowess. He takes both the Western modern arms or guns and his knowledge in military organisation. These guns invest him with a power that appeared to the natives to be product of forces unknown to them. These forces soon turn out to be effective in the eyes of the natives who are protected from the abuse of their despotic rulers and that of Brown, a ferocious Dutch man, who comes to the shore for forceful trading. When a group of warring natives endanger the lives of other natives, we are told that Jim resolves the conflict easily because he is respected by the antagonists:

> Jim took up an advantageous position and shepherded them out in a bunch through the doorway: all that time the torch had remained vertical in the grip of a little hand, without so as a trouble. The three men obeyed him, perfectly mute, moving automatically. He ranged them in row. "Link Arms" he ordered. They did so. "The first who withdraws his arm or turns ahead is a dead man", he said. "March!" They stepped out together, rigidly; he followed. (LJ: 228)

The warring men stand voiceless and inactive in front of the white saviour. The way he addresses them also shows another kind of power that can be qualified as coercive power because it rests on the military power. This echoes Kim's coercive power and the way he defends the lama against the tyranny of a native policeman, Dunnoo (K: 22).

Jim is also endowed with intellectual faculties and a sense of organisation. He deploys these to bring stability to Patusan, after being like "a cage of beasts made ravenous by long impenitence" (LJ: 182). "[U]tter insecurity for life and property [as] the normal conditions" (LJ: 174) gives place to security after his arrival. As a result of his achievements, the Patusans consult him in political matters. Going out of Patusan for some days puts the people in precarious conditions because they are liable to the attacks of dangerous natives. Dain Warris, a native educated by Jim, cannot protect his fellows. He fails because "[h]e had not Jim's racial prestige and the reputation of the invincible, supernatural power of his master. He was not the visible, tangible incarnation of unfailing truth and of unfailing victory" (LJ: 272). Aware of their weakness and Jim's power, the chieftains of the village go farther in trying to find counsel in the dwelling of the absent Jim. It is this belief which "guided the opinions of the chieftains of the town, who elected to assemble in Jim's fort for deliberation upon the emergency, as if expecting to find wisdom and courage in the dwelling of the absent white man" (LJ: 272). They lack these two important elements, but they find support in Jim. The quote implies the extent to which the natives are innocent and naïve; it also demonstrates Jim's power over the island. The short absence is also meant as a warning against the havoc that can be wrecked on the natives if Jim decides to leave the island or gets killed. The people of the village are aware that if the white man is to leave they will become an easy prey to vicious people like Brown. The latter also knows that if he manages to kill Jim, he will become the lord of the island. In the absence of Jim, his native substitute, Dain Warris, is directly contrasted to him. He is weak and lacks the courage to face the intruder. Not only

does Dain Warris stand for the natives' impotence but he also represents their need for protection, so Conrad creates the Patusans as the opposite image of the Westerners.

Conrad shares the Malay world as subject with Maugham, who also reproduces the imperial vision by playing another variation of the idea of the inferiority of the colonised subjects. This inferiority is contrasted to the superiority of the colonising race. The English or any other white subject in the Malay Archipelago is always superior to his Malay counterpart. Even if the two parts may perform the same tasks, the word for the former always connotes superiority whereas the latter always connotes inferiority. In "The Outstation", Mr Warburton uses the words *butler* and *chief* for a white person who would serve another one. However, he uses the word *servant* for any Malay or Chinese who would serve the white people. He tells his assistant that if he carries on treating the natives badly they will no longer respect or obey him: "Allow me to tell you that you have no more chance of getting Malay or Chinese servants here now than you have of getting an English butler or a French chief" (CT: 131).

In "Before the Party", Harold, is depicted as a very responsible imperial agent who has pre-eminence over the Malays. He is viewed as an appropriate agent in his district, for he has the capacities to manage the natives. However, he fails to meet the requirements of the imperial tradition given his growing neglect of his duties as administrator. He starts brilliantly to perform his tasks to the extent of becoming the pride of his family and missionaries in Borneo and the British Empire as a whole. However, because of his penchant for drinking, he grows more negligent of his tasks as an agent as well as husband and father. As a result, someday, he is found dead out of intense drunkenness. His relatives reported his death as suicide. At his death, his wife uses the word ***tuan*** to announce it to his native servants saying: "[t]he Tuan's killed himself" (CT: 46). This expression denotes the extent to which Harold has been powerful as the *tuan* or lord of the natives. This is reminiscent of Lord Jim in Conrad's novel of the same title. Harold's white blood allows him to become the lord of the

natives of the district under his charge. Mr Sampson considers that he "understood the natives as well as any man in the country. He had the combination of firmness, tact and good humour, which was essential in dealing with that timid, revengeful and suspicious race" (CT: 33), but his growing neglect for imperial administration brings about failure to carry on the tradition. Therefore, his imperial career reads as a cautionary tale to what can happen to the empire if the new generation imperial agents do not abide by the rules.

In *The Narrow Corner*, Maugham depicts the workings of Dr Saunders, who gives up his mission as priest to practise his craft in the Far East. As there was no doctor in Takana, Java and other surrounding Malay islands, he becomes a vital person in the region. "There was no doctor on the island and on his arrival such as had anything the matter with them seized the opportunity to consult him" (NC: 11). Personalities of higher position come from China to consult, believing he is worth the Chinese doctors. For example, Kim Ching "had heard how the doctor, by what looked like a **miracle**, caused the blind to see" (NC: 11; emphasis added), so he came to visit the doctor to benefit from his miracles. Dr Saunders in *The Narrow Corner* and Miss Jones and her brother in "The Vessel of Wrath" exclusively detain the medical knowledge necessary for the health of the natives. The native traditional medical treatments are dismissed as mere superstition. In all this, we can read a colonial shift in the episteme, the system of knowledge to the advantage of Europe.

Dr Saunders and Mr Jones have similar features as Kim in Kipling's novel of the same name. Kim plays the doctor. At St Xavier's, he learnt some notions of medicine thanks to which he plays the doctor among the natives. This reinforces his superiority over them. It is through his knowledge of medicine that he manages to cure the child of the old and naïve farmer, remaining powerless as his child agonises. This point has already been pointed out earlier. What should be kept in mind is that because of his extraordinary intellectual powers, he wears the mantle of a native when it is required of him in the Great Game. In other

situations, he plays the perfect white imperialist with a perfect philanthropist bent which makes him look like a white prince in India.

In "The Vessel of Wrath", Maugham contrasts Rev. Jones and his sister with the natives. Both are portrayed as their saviours. They are invested with the missionary work of saving the souls of purported pagans by converting them into Christianity, dispensing education and especially providing health care for them. Mr Jones

> was the only qualified doctor in the group and it was a comfort to know that if you fell ill you need not rely on a Chinese practitioner, and none knew better than the contrôlleur how useful to all Mr Jones's skills had been and with what clarity he had given it. On the occasion of an epidemic of influenza the missionary had done the work of ten men and no storm short of a typhoon could prevent him from crossing to one island or another if his help was needed. (VW: 816)

Clearly, Jones is an exceptional man with epic proportions. Even the Chinese and the Dutch combined together cannot be up his standards as a doctor and a priest. His helpmate is no one but his sister. She is a teacher in the "mission school and helped her brother" in his medical work and surgeries by giving him "the anaesthetic", and she "was matron, dresser, and nurse of the tiny hospital which on his own initiative Mr Jones added to the mission" (VW: 817). Maugham's European characters, especially the English ones, occupy a central stage whereas "the natives, who appear, if at all, are often peripheral to the plot" (Tay, 2011: 53).

Forster's view of the Anglo-Indians in "The Life to Come" reproduces the same imperialist vision of the English race. Mr Pinmay, the protagonist, is portrayed as an English missionary who assumes the duty of converting the central India tribes into his religion as well as helping them out of their supposed heathen ways. Through Pinmay, he shows that they are in India to serve the people they conquered and wean them from their depraved customs. In India, this sense of superiority thrust upon him by his native servants who look up to him: "he was obliged to spend the night all **alone** in a miserable hut, while the **servants** kept careful watch before the entrance" (LC: 67; emphasis added). His aura and charisma arise from the natives' obedience to his rules as a lord. Despite their presence as watchmen,

they are silenced by the exclusive focus on Mr Pinmay's solitude born out of a strong sense of duty towards those under his tutorship.

In *A Passage to India*, Ronny considers himself by birth superior to the Indians, which justifies any act of control on the part of the English upon the Indians. Ronny is a representative man from the centre. His speech about the native Indians is always characterised by a tone of domination. He believes that the English are in India not to establish personal relationships with the Indians but to bring the blessings of democracy and civilisation to their Indian 'Others'. He asserts to those who want to hear him: "I am out here to work, mind, and to hold this wretched country by force. […] We're not pleasant in India. We don't intend to be pleasant. We've something more important to do" (PI: 50). Mahammad Shaheen states that Ronny "undertakes the imperialist mission with loyalty and extreme confidence" (2004: 16). The narrator sums up Ronny's sense of superiority towards the Indians and his imperialist mission in the following way:

> He spoke sincerely. Everyday he worked hard in the court. Trying to decide which of two untrue accounts was the less untrue, trying to **dispense justice** fearlessly, to **protect** the weak against the less weak, the incoherent against the plausible, surrounded by **lies** and **flattery**. That morning he had convicted a railway clerk of overcharging pilgrims for their tickets, and a Pathan of attempted rape. He expected no gratitude, no recognition for this, and both clerk and Pathan might appeal, **bribe** their witnesses more effectually in interval, and get their sentences reversed. It was his **duty**. (PI: 50; emphasis added)

Two attitudes are peculiar to Ronny. On the one hand, he expresses the high opinion he has of himself as a servant of the British Raj. On the other hand, he diminishes the value of the Indians as a people with different negative traits. For him, the task of governing the Indians is difficult because they can be very onerous: they are easily corruptible; they lie; they are selfish and greedy. Ronny adheres to the common belief in the *depravity* of the Oriental as opposed to the *virtuosity* of the Westerner. (Said, 1995: 40) And the English are there in order to do justice and keep peace in spite of the temperament of the Indians.

The same ideas are held by Mrs McBryde who advises Mrs Moore and Adela Quested

not to forget that "[they are] superior to them" (PI: 42). This self-appointed superiority makes the Anglo-Indians practise special discrimination by standing aloof from the natives. For instance, when Adela expresses her desire to see the Indians to a group of white ladies, the latter are puzzled. One of these ladies exclaims: "[w]anting to see Indians! How new that sounds!" (PI: 27). This expresses the extent to which being interested in the Indians surprises and shocks the Anglo-Indians. Also, when she expresses her desire to see the Marabar Caves, Roony categorically refuses saying: "I won't have you messing about with Indians any more! If you want to go the Marabar Caves, you'll go under British auspices" (PI: 80). The British Rule does not encourage intercultural contact, so Ronny does not want his compatriots to socialise with the natives. When she tells him that she desires to visit the caves with Aziz, he tells her that "Aziz would make some similar muddle over the caves. He meant nothing by the invitation. I could tell by his voice; it's just their way of being pleasant" (PI: 81). Nonetheless, when it is a matter of the Anglo-Indians, Ronny is very respectful, for "when his compatriots were concerned he had a generous mind" (PI: 82). It is only when his fellows serve native states that Ronny expresses his disdain as an agent in the service of the Raj. For instance, he does not approve of Mr Harris's workings at the service of native states. Ronny believes that as an Englishman Mr Harris should honour his own race. It is a transgression of English identity if Englishmen serve native states "where they obtain a certain amount of influence, but at the expense of the general prestige" (PI: 89). Due to their feeling of superiority, they treat the natives as their subordinates with whom they, as a rule, never mix. Ganguly writes that contrary to the previous invaders of India, "the British remained outsiders – a community distinct and separate" from the Indians. (1990: 40) For the Anglo-Indians, it became a standard in imperial behaviour not to socialise with the people they ruled, for socialising meant showing sympathy with them or interest in their culture. As they regarded these as inferior to them, they had not to allow themselves run the risk of showing the universal

features that would dismantle the traditional hierarchy between the coloniser and the colonised.

C. A Narrative Reconsideration of the Subject and Ruling Races

To move to the other side of the dialectic that gives the title to this chapter, it should be noted that in terms of *narrative*, the writers differ from each other in the ways they *narrate* the colonised subjects' potential to be different from the traditional stereotypes they are attributed in colonialist discourse. As a conservative, Kipling is the most jingoist in his representation of the Indians and their English rulers as he maintains the former at the bottom of the ladder and the latter at its top. Therefore, the Indians are confined to the state of primitiveness, savagery and inferiority. On the contrary, the liberals believe in their capacity to be changed from this state. Therefore, in "Lisbeth" (1888), Kipling starts with a narrative mode in his portrayal of Lisbeth as a convert, whose primitive ways are replaced by civilised ones by the Christian mission. She is educated and well-read in English literature. The English people around her are aware that she could even work as a nurse if she wanted. Her own people hated her "because she had [...] become a white woman and washed herself daily" (L: 2). Yet, Kipling's jingoist attitude makes her revert to a state of primitiveness. Her reversion is the result of her native blood. She is represented as a "Hill-girl" (L: 6), "savage at birth" (L: 5) with "uncivilized Eastern instincts" (L: 4), so she "[reverted] to her mother's gods" and "took her own unclean people savagely" (L: 7). In this regard, Kerr (2008: 26) argues that "Lisbeth was born a savage, and so still behaves like a savage" despite being converted and baptised as a white girl. Thus, she reverts to her natural states; she is no longer Lisbeth but "Jadéh's daughter – the daughter of *pahari* and the servant of *Tarka* Dev*i*". (L: 7) The name she was given when she was baptised implies that she could espouse the manners and culture of the English. However, Kipling ignores this name and uses her original native name to point out that she is and will always be a 'savage' native. Kipling deploys the

narrative not to show progress but rather the sliding back to the primitive state, so there is no permanence in the narrative.

Unlike Kipling's jingoist attitude, Forster is more liberal about the Indians in *A Passage to India*. He confronts two points of view about them: one belongs to the conservative imperialist vision and the other involves narrative as a consequence of his liberal creed. The first concerns the Anglo-Indians' ethnocentric views of their subject people, whereas the second is the product of Forster's narrative voice. Contrary to what the Anglo-Indians of the novel maintain about the Indians, Forster's narrative voice gives a *narrative* depiction of the natives. The contempt Ronny and his fellows have towards the Indians is questioned by the novel's insistence on the hospitality of the Oriental and their accommodation with the new imported way of life. In other terms, India is not a closed but an open society. This is expressed through Aziz who avows his trust in Mrs Moore, Miss Quested and Mr Fielding. One of his dearest desires is having the English as guests. Aziz says: "[o]ne of the dreams of my life is accomplished in having you both here as my guests" (PI: 141-142). The novel insists on this idea of hospitality which is deeply rooted in the veins of the Indians. Aziz compares himself to Emperor Babur, who along with his own ancestors descended from Afghanistan and "never ceased showing hospitality" (PI: 142). Forster remarks in them the importance they grant to kindness and respect. Apart from the accommodation with the European way of life, Forster foregrounds the high degree of kindness and respect that the Indians show to Europeans. This develops mutual respect when they meet, and they are equally respectful of white men and women as illustrated by the episode of the mosque. When Aziz realises that Mrs Moore is respecting the place, he praises the kind manner she addresses him and changes his attitude from contempt to human warmth. Unfortunately, English kindness and respect towards the Indians are thwarted by the rules of the British Raj. Forster blames the Ruling Race for their discard of the natives. For him, the

time of bullying is over and must be replaced by a more respectful attitude in order to keep the empire in place.

In line with the policy of containment of the nationalist movement, the Indians are also described as being a people with a civilisation and culture. Despite the complexity of Indian cultural heritage, it has to be valued in its own terms. The newly discovered sense of respect towards the Indian culture is also due to the celebration of authenticity as a way of containing the communist international drive at the turn of the nineteenth century. At the level of religion, for instance, the natives lead a harmonious life despite the variety of religious faiths. Brahmins, Moslems and Buddhists, whose Krishna spirit epitomises the ideal, alike live altogether in the same nation. Aziz is a Moslem by faith, but he is open-minded as long as his faith is respected. Mr Haq, whose name suggests justice, says about his fellows: "[we] are so spiritual" (PI: 109). The spirituality of the Indians is more represented by the Buddhist faith, which favours a cosmic relationship between people, the visible and the invisible through the actions of the spirit. The writer does not ignore this aspect of the civilisation of the East that has been denigrated in colonialist discourse.

Also, some of their manners deserve to be recognised as advanced. "This restfulness of gesture – it is the Peace that passeth Understanding, after all, it is the social equivalent of Yoga. When whirring of action ceases, it becomes visible, and reveals a civilization which the West can disturb but will never acquire" (PI: 244). The Indians have their own wisdom and enlightenment rooted in their religious background. They have cultural and artistic tastes. Some of them are interested in art in all its forms. They have a particular penchant for literature. Poetry occupies an important place in their life. They value its beauty and its harmony. Arguably, Aziz and Hamidullah epitomise the bookworm native. When Hamidullah speaks about poetry, every native "listened to him with pleasure, because literature had not been divorced from their civilisation" (PI: 103). Aziz considers that "poetry must touch life"

(PI: 270), and the primary role of the poet is to contribute in the advancement of his society. This advancement requires the contribution of every community member. Among other things, he recommends the emancipation of women to participate in the advancement of their society. By the end of the novel, Aziz's conception of poetry becomes more patriotic, for he realises that friendship is not possible with the English due to many reasons. This kind of patriotic poetry is essential for building up India as a nation after the imminent departure of the English. It has to be remarked, however, that Aziz is quite naive in believing that poetry alone can change things in India. When Forster went back to India in 1946, he discovered that the Indians were holding the same views about literature. He writes: "[l]iterature, in their view, should expound or inspire a political creed" (TCD: 328). If one takes into account Forster's argument in his essays about the Indians' lack of aesthetic interests, one can say that Forster the novelist is more liberal in his fiction. *A Passage to India* pictures the Indians as interested in art and literature, whereas in his non-fiction he insists that literature has no value for them. According to Bhabaha, the ambivalence of colonial discourse lies in the narrative endeavour to shift the view of the native from the fixed vision without reaching the stature of the Westerner. This ambivalence "does not merely 'rupture' this discourse, but becomes transformed into an uncertainty" (2004: 123).

Forster's liberal rehabilitation of the Indians is not applicable to all. He contrasts the educated Indians with the illiterate ones. Contrary to Kipling, Forster does not dwell so much on the need of the intervention of the English in government because of the Indians' inability to self-government and the despotism of their native rulers. This partly explains why Aziz's trial was not administered by an English judge but rather by an Ariel figure, Armitarao. As a Western educated man he turns out to be intelligent and partial, and he manages the case efficiently. This implies that the Indians can govern themselves and foreshadows the idea that the English will someday leave the country letting the Indians in the hands of the educated

ones. The trial is not only the trial of Aziz but also that of India's capacity to participate in the imperial rule. The novel is informed by a kind of nationalist consciousness. The educated Indians no longer believe in their political inferiority. They are hopeful about the future of India at the departure of the Prospero-like Anglo-Indians.

The Indians, especially the educated ones, are very sensitive to insult because of their coming back to roots. Aziz, for instance, feels a kind of insult when Mrs Moore enters the holy mosque. Even if Mrs Moore shows some respect to the place and because the Indians are generally not respected by the whites, Aziz has the biased idea that Mrs Moore is not respectful of the place. He says: "Madame, this is a mosque, you have no right here at all; you should have taken off your shoes; this is a holy place for Moslems" (PI: 21). Aziz's attitude is defensive, for he and his fellows have undergone a variety of insults from the Anglo-Indians who sense their assumption of power in colonial India on the insults. Arguably, the most remarkable example of insult is the one directed by Miss Quested towards Aziz in the caves. She insults him by believing that Aziz, like all Mohammedans, is polygamous and has four wives. Though Aziz is affected by her query, he does not express his shock in order not to hurt his guest. "The question shocked the young man very much. It challenged a new conviction of his community, and new convictions are more sensitive than old […] appalling, hideous! He was in trouble how to conceal his confusion" (PI: 151). Quested does not stop at these allegations as she also accuses him of sexual assaults in the caves, an accusation that alienated him from the British.

As a consequence of their stigmatisation by the British, the Indians have a tendency to unity. Despite the differences that separate the communities of India, they can be united when their national identity and culture are in danger. A pertinent example of this national unity is depicted when Hamidullah goes to a secret meeting with other Indian worthies of a variety of backgrounds: "Hindus, Moslems, two Sikhs, two Parsis, a Jain, and a Native Christian tried to

like each other and another more than came natural to them" (PI: 103). In the face of the Ruling Race, they constitute a challenging block, and unity is a prerequisite for any nationalist attempts at emancipation. Even if he is Moslem, Aziz feels that "India was one" (PI: 102). This idea of unity goes against Kipling's belief that the Indians are not united as they descend from different origins and hate each other.

The most important example of the advanced native is Aziz, who is Muslim by faith, Indian by origin and Western by education. These three elements constitute the backbone of his personality. As a Muslim, he is fervently conservative and protective of his religion. This protective attitude is revealed in the response he makes to Mrs Moore when she enters the Mosque without observing the necessary ritual of entry and his poetic engagement against the idea that Islam is decaying. Used to the Anglo-Indians' contempt towards his religion, he is not accepting her in the shrine unless she respects the place. As an Indian, he learns that his forefathers had been prosperous, for they descended from the Moghul Empire. As a Western graduate, he is an eminent doctor, who enjoys art, poetry and literature. His Western background influences even his private life. Because he was "[t]ouched by Western feeling, he disliked union with a woman he had never seen" (PI: 55). His hesitation to marry his wife in the beginning relates to his Western education. This hybrid condition makes him feel open-minded and aspire to universality. His progressive personality makes him a close friend with Mr Fielding. Their friendship "is based on a greater understanding of the interpenetration of reason and emotion, the conscious and the unconscious" (Colmer, 1975: 162). Therefore, in the story Aziz is conferred a role as equal as that given to Mr Fielding.

Maugham resembles Forster in the way he narrates the colonised subjects' potential to change. In the "The Letter", it is two Chinese, a woman and a man, who constitute the main narrative. Just as Aziz in Forster's novel, they hold central roles. He also depicts their disposition to adopt the culture and behaviour of the white race. Ong Chi Seng is the assistant

of Mr Joyce, Mrs Crosbie's legal representative in her trial for murder, and the Chinese woman is Hammond's mistress. Through individual characters, Maugham shows the extent to which the natives can embrace the cultural behaviour of the white race. They depart from the colonial stereotype of the dirty and babbling Chinese. Ong Chi Seng is presented as a gentleman who he takes care of his image. He wears the appropriate clothes for the appropriate occasion, and especially he is endowed with civility that is generally not attributed to the Orientals. Following "the height of the local fashion [he] wore very shore patent-leather shoes and gay silk socks. In his black tie was a pearl and ruby pin, and on the fourth finger of his left hand a diamond ring" (CT: 252). The expression *local fashion* goes against the prevalent clichés about the 'nakedness' of the Orientals common in colonial texts, a testimony to the ambivalence of colonial discourse. Though the Chinese woman is depicted as a "very ignorant woman" (CT: 271), she gives

> the impression of a woman of character. She wore a pale blue jacket and a white skirt, her costume was not quite European nor quite Chinese, but on her feet were little Chinese silk slippers. She wore heavy gold chains round her neck, gold bangles on her writs, gold ear-rings and elaborate gold pins in her black her. (CT: 277)

Not only does she take care of covering her body but she dresses in the manner of the European aristocracy, and she does not go barefooted, as it is the custom with the Chinese characters of the colonial texts. Jean Marie Allman (2004: 146) argues that "throughout the colonial period the binary of 'naked' and the 'clothed' invigorated colonial discourse", and "cloth was powerfully and symbolically implicated" (Ibid. 147). The presence or absence of clothe meant the success or failure of the English civilising mission in the colonies. Clothing also meant, in the words of Cohn, an act of incorporation of the native as part and parcel of the imperial body (1996: 114). What one deduces from this representation of the two fashionably dressed Chinese is that they are capable of adopting the behaviour of their white rulers. However, reference to the woman's ignorance is there to show that whatever they do and however they are like they can never reach the status of their European masters. This is an

example of mimicry in Bhabha's words (2004: 123). This idea of mimicry is also embodied in Gauguin's *Le repas, or les bannanes* (1891). Despite Gauguin's focus on naked natives in many of his paintings and sculptures, at the centre of this tableau the three native children are dressed like Europeans. Nonetheless, their gaze is that of worry or dissatisfaction as if they are by no means happy of their being covered European-like.

Ong Chi Seng's style of dress is not the only element which makes him sound a gentleman. His verbal behaviour, too, participates in this. Each time he addresses a superior white man, he shows the highest of civilities. He takes care of being respectful and *polite*, using the specific language for this and that. When he enters to his superior's office, he "closed the door behind. He closed it gently, with deliberation, but decidedly" (CT: 251). When he speaks to him, he is always formal. He uses polite expressions like "May I trouble you", "The matter on which I desire to speak to you, sir, is" (CT: 251), "it has come to my knowledge, sir, that" (CT: 252). Expressions of politeness like these and the "elaborate accuracy with which [he] expressed himself" (CT: 251) show that he is gentleman-like and deserves the respect of the white people.

In contrast to the colonial stereotype already adopted by Maugham as a strategy of colonial discourse, with Ong Chi Seng and the unnamed Chinese woman, he refers to colonial *mimicry* as "the desire for a reformed, recognisable Other, *as subject of difference that is almost the same, but not quite*" (Bhabha, 2004: 122). Ong Chi Seng and the Chinese woman are considered as mimic man and woman, who have made their own behaviour the behaviour of the ruling race. *Almost the same but not quite*, in Bhabha's words, means that the natives according to the structure of mimicry can never be treated at equal footing with the ruler. They are viewed as likely to change from their fixed states but never reach the stature of the ruling race. Ong Chi Seng's endeavours to speak accurately and behave appropriately "always faintly amused Mr Joyce, and now he smiled" (CT: 251). Although he "spoke English so

admirably he had still a difficulty with the letter "r", and he pronounced [friend] fliend" (CT: 268). Ong Chi Seng's limitations show that there is always something in the natives that blocks their complete assimilation. Tay states that Ong's mastery of English "is regarded as *almost the same* as that of Joyce but *not quite*" (2011: 51). As such he is "presented as Joyce's social inferior" (Ibid). Herein lies what Bhabha coins "the ambivalence of mimicry" (2004: 122) in the sense that the white imperialists always endeavour to reform the colonial Other but not with the intention to bring them to an equal footing.

Mimicry in both Maugham's and Forster's fiction is a kind of synthesis that does not resolve the dialectic of the white master and the Oriental servants. It keeps the educated Oriental in a limbo or in-between position that Victor Turner calls "liminal" or "threshold" (1995: 95). In other words, the educated Oriental man or mimic man stands on the threshold without being as a full member of the European class or civilisation. Aziz's desire to be intimate with the Anglo-Indians and his adjustment of his behaviour to their standards are thwarted by the flaws in his personality. His Oriental psychology makes him vulnerable to insult. At times this is matched with cultural misunderstandings, where an act, a question or a manner may be insulting towards the Muslim. Most of the time, the insult is racial in nature due to the Anglo-Indians' stereotypical views about the native Indians. Thus, a mechanism of defence is deployed against such insults by the Indians. Secondly, Aziz is portrayed as acutely suspicious. Thirdly, "he **overrated** hospitality, mistaking it for intimacy" (PI: 141; emphasis added). Forster and Maugham attribute to the natives elements that restrain them from standing at the same rank as the white men.

In "Karain: A Memory", Conrad joins in this endeavour to present the Orientals from a narrative point of view. The emphasis is put on their potential to change. "Karain: a Memory" is a celebration of an Oriental ruler named Karain. Conrad depicts Karain as a native ruler who was able to protect his people against external assaults during "those

unprotected days" when the survival of the fittest was the ultimate rule (KM: 37). Karain "summed up his race, his country, the elemental force of ardent life, of tropical nature" (KM: 41). His valour and courage, devotion and sacrifice, intelligence and organisation are nearly up to make him above the other Orientals. The epic proportions of Karain make this story quite significantly different from Conrad's other stories since Karian, the Oriental native, assumes features that Conrad generally attributes to white characters like Jim. Like Jim, he is considered as the protector of his people. Jim is venerated by the Patusans for his philanthropic mission of protecting them against internal and external assaults. *Lord Jim* shows the subservience of the Orientals to the Westerners. However, since Jim is a European and Karain an Oriental, "Karain: a Memory" subverts this subservience. It is rather than a white man who looks after his people who consider him "their war-chief" (KM: 38). He "was treated with a solemn respect accorded in the irreverent West only to the monarchs of the stage, and accepted the profound homage with a sustained dignity" (KM: 40), we are told in the story. Karain is reputed for many virtues and qualities:

> Some ten years ago he had led his people –a scratch lot of wandering Bugis—to the conquest of the Bay, and now in august care they forgotten all the past, and had lost all concern for the future. He gave them wisdom, advice, reward, punishment, life or death, with the same serenity of attitude and voice. He understood irrigation and the art of war—the qualities of weapons and the craft of boat building. He could conceal his heart; had more endurance; he could swim longer, and steer a canoe better than any of his people, he could shoot straighter, and negotiate more tortuously than any man of his race. (KM: 42)

He is endowed with the same virtues as the whites. In politics, he is a man of action and of mind but by no means of emotion. He is also a man of justice. Because of these virtues, he earns his people's respect, that of Marlow and some other well-intentioned Westerners who "came to like him, to trust him, almost to admire him" (KM: 52).

Nevertheless, like Maugham and Forster, Conrad does not deny the fact that there is within Karain something that impedes his total accomplishment. He "carried the seed of peril within" (KM: 41) him. Even if he deserves the consideration of a Westerner, he cannot be

utterly compared to any Western chief. Due to a "form of madness peculiar to his race" (KM: 79), he sometimes loses his self-confidence and power and begs for the white man's "protection or [his] strength" (KM: 79). This dwarfs everything he did for his people as an ideal ruler. The demotion is ascribed as usual to his Oriental blood as the cases Aziz and Ong Chi Seng. The downgrading of Karain is accomplished through the use of the auxiliary "to seem" and its synonyms (KM: 41, 42), which are repeatedly used by Conrad to convey the illusionary effect of Karain's strength and intelligence.

In vision, the writers contrast the supposed inferiority of the colonised people to the pretended superiority of the coloniser. In narrative, they make some members of the ruling race assume features that are contradictory with their sense of superiority or make them choose not to conform to the status of superior. Mr Fielding in *A Passage to India*, Gruyter and Ginger Ted in Maugham's "The Vessel of Wrath" and Conrad's Kurtz in *Heart of Darkness* and the Dutch of *Lord Jim* stand as examples of this aspect of narrative. Mr Fielding is not conventional as he does not hold the views of his fellow Anglo-Indians. These regard him as an 'outcast' because he merges with the Indians. The narrator tells us that his white fellows regards him as "a disruptive force, and rightly, for ideas that are fatal to caste, and he used ideas by that most potent method – interchange", for he "had no racial feeling – not because he was superior to his brother civilians, but because he had matured in a different atmosphere, where herd instinct does not flourish" (PI: 62). He likes nonconformist behaviour, for he knows that this kind of behaviour can allow him to understand the Indians. JanMohamed argues that "[g]enuine and thorough comprehension of Otherness is possible if the self can somehow negate or at least severely bracket the values, assumptions, and ideology of his culture" (1985: 65). The English can understand the Indian only if they do not blindly adhere to the colonialist biases and assumptions of their race. Fielding, to a certain extent, represents that kind of open-minded individuals. He longs for establishing meeting

points with the natives where they are respected. For instance, he organises a party in honour of Aziz, the success of which can be opposed to the vain Bridge Party organised by other white fellows. Unlike them, he does not try to do offence to the "subaltern Indians". What he desires most is to associate with the natives to be respectful in order to know them better.

After the incident of the Caves, Mr Fielding is the only Anglo-Indian to believe in Aziz's innocence. All the other Anglo-Indians of Chandrapore have sympathised with Adela Quested and condemned Aziz as a rapist without due process of law. Their arguments rest on stereotypical groundings. Among these figure the idea that "[a]ll unfortunate natives are criminals at heart, for the simple reason that they live at south of latitude 30" (PI: 164). In the second place comes the Oriental Pathology which says that "the darker races are physically attracted by the fairer, but not *vice versa* – not a matter of bitterness this, not a matter for abuse, but just a fact which any scientific observer will confirm" (PI: 213). The only person to dare to question these stereotypes is Mr Fielding who thinks that his fellows are mistaken in their judgements. He provides a very objective explanation to the incident. Addressing to Adela, he says: "[e]ither Aziz is guilty, which is what your friends think; or you invented the charge out of malice, which is what my friends think; or you have had an hallucination. I'm very much inclined" (PI: 232). Fielding is a middle of the road individual who does not easily take sides. He is objective in his judgements about the incident, and he turns out to be right. His objectivity shows that, in fact, Fielding is a "rational humanist" (Colmer, 1975, 156) who keeps distance from racial feeling because of his concern with the humanity of the native. Fielding's partiality cannot be possible unless he knows the natives and the extent to which they can be natural, human and "incapable of infamy" (PI: 161). His humanity cannot let him conceal that. He speaks it out at the expense of his status in Anglo-India.

He receives a very harsh criticism from his fellows after proclaiming Aziz's innocence. For example, students went on strike accusing him of "very grave disservice to the

whole community" (PI: 192). Yet, he does not bother about it as long as he thinks that he takes the path of justice and has not betrayed his own human principles. Paradoxically, this shows him as being more English than Anglo-Indian. It is English because as Forster asserts, the Englishman "is not annoyed by criticism", nor does he have "uneasy feeling" towards it. (AH: 17-18) It is not Anglo-Indian because the Anglo-Indians have the feeling that they are in exile. While the latter are anxious about the sentiment of exile, Fielding feels at home with mankind. In India, he learns to cross the boundaries of race and cultural difference by identifying with the Indians as part and parcel of himself.

The displacement of the white imperialists from their traditional affixed superiority is essential to Maugham. First, his Far Eastern tales somewhat depart from the non-English Europeans' self-appointed features of superiority. Maugham draws a sharp distinction between the work of the Dutch officials and that of the British missionaries as represented by Jones and his sister. The latter lead a devout life, whereas the former as represented by Evert Gruyter are rather engaged in personal quests behind their work and are less attentive to the needs of the local populations and more interested in gratifying their desires. Though Gruyter is the "contrôlleur" of the islands, he has interests that distract him from the traditional missionary agency. He confesses that he is "not a philanthropist" (VW: 844). His services to the Royal Netherlands Stream Company and the Dutch empire as a whole are subscribing to his own personal profits.

The contrasts between Gruyter and Rev. Jones and his sister and that between Jim and the others stand as contrasts between the British and Dutch empires. The former is redeemed by the philanthropic mission behind it. In *Heart of Darkness*, Conrad celebrates the "real work" done by the hands of the British imperialists in Africa as opposed to that of the other European powers. The map Marlow perceives at the Company headquarters in Brussels is hued in the colours of these powers' flags, but there "was a vast amount of red – good to see

at any time, because one knows that some real work is done in there" (HOD: 36). Similarly, in "The Vessel of Wrath", Maugham contrasts the rule under the "Dutch flag" and "the British jurisdiction" (VW: 823). Maugham's choice of the words "flag" for the Dutch and "jurisdiction" for the British is pertinent as it suggests that presence of the Dutch is only a presence while that of the British means devoted work. Similarly, in *Lord Jim*, there is a sharp contrast between Jim, the devoted English and Brown and Cornelius, the other Europeans, more engaged in plundering the wealth of the natives to enrich themselves instead of serving the natives.

The cast of white European characters include criminals and outcasts condemned to exile for their criminal acts in the West. It is as if the Orient is a prison in open air for the Europeans. This kind of vision of the colonial world as a prison in open air had also been the case with the New World, when the English Establishment decided to send its outcasts there as a way of getting rid of them in the Isles. Robert Briffault states that during the first phase of the British Empire, England regarded its "colonies as convenient places of deportation for troublesome people" (1938: 5). To start with Europe's outcasts, in "The Vessel of Wrath", Ginger Ted is depicted by Maugham as a banned criminal. He is said to be "a **disgrace** to civilization" (VW: 817; emphasis added) since he represents European debauchery. He is at once a drunkard, a violent individual and a rapist. When he is drunk, he does not control himself; it is his lust which controls his behaviour. This is why he does not hesitate to rape innocent women. However, once in the Orient, the rapist learns from his faults. The effect of the Oriental environment is positive on him, for he is tamed and becomes a good citizen. Though he kills a Chinaman once there and is sentenced to six months of arduous labour with the natives, he becomes a very careful individual. When Mrs Jones finds herself alone for a night in the company of Ted and other Chinese, she is overwhelmed by fear. As soon as Ted starts to get drunk, she becomes afraid that he will try to rape her. But Ted, for the first time in

his life, manages to control his lust. He "had had her at his mercy. Defenceless. And he had spared her" (VW: 835). As a result, she starts to think about restoring him to society. She convinces her brother and fellows to "always look for the good in their fellowmen" (VW: 836-837); Ginger Ted is the example. The "unsaid" in this comparison of the colony and the penitentiary/ the prison is that both spaces domesticate the body. In other words, the colony is there to discipline the European criminal. In this regard, Judith Ryan paraphrases Michel Foucault's ideas in *Discipline and Punish* to call "penal colonies and overseas colonies" those colonies which had the vocation of "keeping delinquent behaviour in check" (2011: 154). The colony served a two-sided objective of keeping the delinquents in the centre at perpetual check and assuring order in the periphery by controlling its people.

However, the paradox in the function of the prison and the colony is that both can lead to degeneration. In *Heart of Darkness,* Kurtz is initially portrayed as an epitome of the civilised. He is portrayed as "an emissary of pity, and science, and progress" (HOD: 55), but his presence in the African wilderness outside the limits of civilisation has a degenerative effect on him. He turns out into a worse copy of the natives he has the vocation to civilise. The "savage sight" of the "heads drying on the stakes under [his] windows" (HOD: 97) show this descent into savagery and the destructive nature of the white agents in the Congo. His brutish nature is revealed by the postscript to his report "Exterminate all the brutes" (HOD: 87). This shows the extent to which the white imperial agents obey to their avarice and greed in the colonies. The degeneration of Kurtz and Ginger Ted's debauchery bring *instability* to the dynamic of vision as they show that the Europeans are not always civilised and superior. Arguably, this pessimistic view is complicit with the evolutionary thought that man is not "fallen angel but a risen ape" and Freud's revelations on the unconscious and its hold on man.

As a conclusion, it has to be remarked that Kipling confines the Indians to inferior and primitive states and the English to superior and civilised ones. He remains very faithful to the

conservative views of the English people as the chosen race to rule over the supposed primitive people. He *represents* the Oriental as the Westerners' contrastive image to serve their hegemony, for his representations of the Indians as "*representations* [are] not as natural depictions of the Orient" (Said, 1995: 21) and its people. Therefore, in "Lisbeth" he considers that the Indians cannot be considered in terms of narrative. When Lisbeth becomes "Jadéh's daughter" (L: 7), her name does not "appear in the book" (L: 6) her English man wrote. The absence of her name implies that the natives are not entitled for narrative. This view is contrasted to the progressive move of the white characters. Kim progresses from an almost native Indian into the rank of an imperial agent in the service of the Great Game only because of his white identity. It is arguably pertinent to explain this by referring to Bhabha's concept of *nation and narration* which suggests the idea of "national progress" of the West at the expense of the stagnancy of the colonised subject. (1990: 1)

In the case of Conrad, it is debatably pertinent to conclude with the two titles of his "Karain: a Memory" and "Youth: a Narrative". The first implies some narrative of the Malays as represented by their so glorified ruler Karain. The second brings about the visionary representations of the Orientals into the forefront in contrast to the English as an imperial race. However, the ambivalence lies in the words "memory" and "narrative". Karain's glorious deeds belong to the realm of memory whereas the service of the English adventurers in the Far Eastern seas belong to the realm of the future as it is not static; the word "narrative" testifies to that. The word "youth" also suggests the idea of perpetual imperial renewal. Lord Alfred Tennyson says: "we were English in heart and in limb/ Strong with the strength of the race to command, to obey, to endure" (1998: 61) in order to defend "the banner of England" (Ibid. 59) to conquer, civilise and serve the so-called inferior people.

Forster's *A Passage to India* differs from Kipling in that he gives some narrative voice to the Indians. He draws a distinction between the Anglo-Indians and the Indians by stressing

the former's jingoist attitudes towards the latter and their self-appointed sense of superiority. To this background emerged "rounded characters" like Aziz and Mr Fielding who "try to realize" the possibility of structuring friendship "within the ambivalence of imperialism" (Shaheen, 2004: 20). Like Forster, Maugham gives some voice to the Orientals like in "The Letter", where the two Chinese play significant roles in the story. However, he adheres to the same ideologies of difference with regards to the overall inferiority of the Orientals and the superiority of the white; only he is deceived by some behaviour of the imperial agents who do dishonour to the ruling race.

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CHAPTER THREE

Objective Structure, Subjective Restructure, or a Repertoire of Images about the Orient

The variety of Orientalist representations apply not only on the inhabitants of the Orient but also on its space. There is a tendency in colonial discourse to associate the subject people's states of primitiveness and subordination with the environment in which they live. Either this environment inhibits their progress or their pretended primitivism is an obstacle to the development of this environment which is considered as more likely to be developed by the more civilised races. The interrelationship between the objective structure (designation of the Orient) and the subjective restructure (Representation of the Orient by the Orientalist) makes this representation Orientalist and imperialist. (Said, 1995: 129) It deploys a repertoire of images about this locale: exotic, yet dangerous and colonial. There is an inherent relation between the Orient as a colonial locale with its exoticism and monstrosity. The latter two involve both desire and fear of this locale; the exotic image is used to attract Western settlers, and the idea of danger aims at showing the extent to which the Western imperialists serve the people of the Orient and are sacrificing themselves in the name of civilisation and progress and for the sake of the people they conquer. The presentation of the Orient as a rich environment, with exotic objects and products, yet dangerous at times belongs to the domain of objective structure. However, the writers' endeavour to relate this representation with the imperialist intent is a subjective restructuring of the Orient.

Non-Fiction

A. The Orient as a Colonial Space

Said claims that in expressing the geographical distinction between the Orient and the Occident, the Orientalist writers add to that expression "a certain will or intention to [...] control, manipulate, even incorporate" (1995: 12) it into the West. With time, this vision of the Orient grew to become a "colonial space" (Ibid. 211) dominated by the West or to be

incorporated into its imperial structures of power. Colonial desire for incorporating the Oriental space appears most in Kipling's non-fiction works. In *From Sea to Sea; Letters of Travel,* he divides India into two parts: that which is under the *control* of the British Empire and that which needs to be integrated to it given the tendency of the native rulers not to accept it and the unpleasant circumstances which result from this refusal. In the former, there are all the modern amenities for the comfort of the Anglo-Indians and the Indians, whereas in the latter the Anglo-Indian meets difficulties in adapting to the environment given the tendency of the native rulers to keep their territories backward. This representation of the Orient conforms to its consideration as "underhumanised, anti-democratic, backward and barbaric" (Said, 1995: 150), and the writer loads it with the Orientalist's desire to see such a locale under the control of the imperial power. Like Kipling, Forster, in his Indians letters and *The Hill of Devi*, speaks of India from an Orientalist standpoint using a multitude of images that overlap to form a colonial setting. Following the Orientalist objective structure and subjective restructure, he shows that India, as a geographical entity, has the economic and environmental potential to be autonomous. However, he questions the Indians' capacity to do so, implying in the same process the need for British presence. In other words, the geographical situation of India is favourable for its progress, but the character of the natives, especially the rulers, is so debilitating for their India that it appears a kind of necessity to be subordinated to the British imperial power.

Away from the British Raj but still in relation to the British Empire, Conrad also represents the colonial world through a multitude of images that are either "realistic" and belong to the objective structure or fabricated hence belonging the subjective restructure. The Malay world he visited is one of desolation as a result of the supposed backwardness of its people. The African world is imagined/ represented in a similar manner. The common point between the two is that they need to be integrated to the European Empires, particularly the

British one. Maugham does not differ from his fellow British authors in his travel writings. He sees the Malay world as an area to be imperialised by the English given the opportunities it offers them and its apparent need for this imperial extension. The non-imperialised environment is compared to the imperialised one, but always in favour of the latter. In this special case, a frontier is drawn between civilisation and savagery or primitivism; the whites establish a kind of frontier between the areas that are allegedly civilised by the imperial intervention and the areas that remain fallow due to the fact that European civilisation has not yet penetrated there.

Kipling made tours throughout the native states of India and wrote articles and essays such as *From Sea to Sea; Letters of Travel* (1899) published first in *The Civil and Military Gazette*. For him, "Jeypore is a show city and is decently drained; Udaipur is blessed with a State Engineer and a printed form of government; for Jodhpur the dry sand, the burning sun, and an energetic doctor have done a good deal, but Boondi has none of these things" (*WPVRK SS LT:* 179-180). Jeypore and Jodhpur are ruled by the English, so everything is modelled on higher English standards. By contrast, Udaipur is native ruled, so it lacks the necessary public amenities. The only conveniences it has are owed to the ingenuity of the English personnel like the engineer and the doctor. Even though some efforts are made to make Boondi appear like these English ruled cities, it has remained a semi-primitive city and the English are not allowed to interfere in its government affairs.

The narrative of India as a land to be colonized by the English is central to Forster's non-fiction. *The Hill of Devi* shows us India as a semi-primitive land, beseeching the imperial attention of the English. Chhatarpur is an Indian city. "Hidden away in the jungles, it is indeed one of the most romantic places". As compared to Dewas, it is small and weak but more "picturesque" (HD: 195). Despite its exotic aspect, it remains very static in terms of progress. It needs to be developed with the help of the English imperialists. Like in the other

Indian cities, the animal and human kingdoms are not separated. It is surrounded by hills and jungles, isolated from the civilised world and so difficult to reach. In such areas, danger may come from everywhere, hence the need to secure it by joining it to the network of roads and railways that has already been established in India by the English to lessen the intensity of danger. What has remained unsaid is that the network of roads and railways are built to exploit the wealth of India.

Similarly, in *Pharos and Pharillon*, he notes down that Egypt has known a succession of periods that hovered between glory and darkness, depending on the occupier. After the fall of the glorious time of the Pharaohs, Egypt had known a period of darkness under the Persians. With the coming of the Greeks, the country was enlightened; this continued to be the case under the Roman occupation. Later on in 1779 when Eliza Fay made her travels throughout Egypt, she was sorry to remark that the

> glories of the antique had gone, the comforts of the *moderns* not arrived. Gone were the temples and the structures, gone the palace of Cleopatra and the Library of Callimachus, the Pharos had fallen and been succeeded by the feeble Pharillon, the Heptastadion had silted up; while the successors to these—the hotels, the clubs, the drainage system, the exquisite Municipal buildings—still slept in the unastonished womb of time. (PP: 59; italics added)

Clearly, the glory of Egypt has ceased because of the Oriental despotic rulers of the country and their inability to consolidate what had been built for years and took it as acquired. For the writer, this glory can be recovered with the "moderns", meaning the Europeans. The image of "the womb of time" implies the idea that the modernity of Egypt is approaching with the intervention of the modern European powers. Historically, this started with Napoleon's imperial expedition into Egypt in 1798, followed up by the English intervention in the second part of the nineteenth century. The moral is that Egypt progresses under the rule of the Western powers, but it regresses when it finds itself under Oriental occupation like the Turkish one.

Kipling resembles Forster in this historical consideration of the colonial world, the

fate of which depends on the nationality of the conqueror. In *From Sea to Sea; Letters of Travel* (1899), the Glob-trotter's journeys throughout the subcontinent reveal an India that is divided and yet united by one common destiny, that of being dominated by the English. India is also compared to other Oriental countries that are either controlled by Britain, native-ruled or patterned on the Western political institutions. The English man touring India has at times the impression that he is cut off from his time, when visiting the ruined palaces of the Native States. When he penetrates into one of these palaces to collect architectural and archaeological information, he feels as if he had made a kind of backward voyage in time. His descent into a labyrinthine palace gives the impression that it "had led the Englishman, firstly, two thousand years away from his own century, and secondly, into a trap, and that he would fall off the polished stones into the sinking tank" (*WPVRK SS LT:* 114). This denotes that adventure in such ruined palaces can be perilous for any person with high sensibility because it is a kind of venture into the mysteries of the past of India. Forster and Kipling agree on the idea that the "downward trajectory of" India and Egypt "was most visibly manifested" in their architecture (Metcalf, 1994: 86). Both writers believe that this backward trajectory can be stopped only through the Western intervention.

Just like Forster and Kipling, Maugham comes to the same conclusion: India is better off under British occupation. In "The Saint", he describes Madras as an exotic environment that lacks modern amenities to facilitate the movement of people. He describes his journey all the way to Madras as "a dull, hot drive along a dusty, bumpy road" (PV: 57). The roads are so bad that travelling becomes a very difficult daily task. In terms of the climate, the heat of the day makes the movement of people, especially the Western visitors, difficult. There is no direct call for the improvement of this situation on the part of Maugham, but he informs his readers about the difficulties they are likely to cope with if ever they desire to venture to the locale. Certainly, the presentation of the colonial world as different from the Western world is

part of the Orientalist objective structure. However, the writer's colonial desire to make this world subject to the imperial domination displaces this structure by a subjective restructure. The writers' descriptions of the colonial world "make a territorial claim on it" (Kerr, 2008: 11) in their insistence on elements like wasteland, inviting European fisher kings to render it fertile and prosperous.

As regards Conrad, he gives a picture of an unstable Malay world waiting for European redemption. When Hugh Clifford was appointed as Governor of Labuan and North Borneo in 1898, he wrote him a letter of congratulations. By the same occasion, he informed him of the state of affairs not only of the area but also of the adjacent villages in order to underlie their precariousness. Conrad "wonder[s] whether Sandakan is as healthy as Pahang" (CLJC VII: 226) as instability was shaking off the region. "When the expanding Yanks begin to gallop their imperial gunboats up and down the Archipelago may have some queer refugees in your Kingdom" (CLJC VII: 226). The reader understands that the natives will find security, only under the custody of the British Government. In "Travel", he writes that Nigeria with its backward past would soon find prosperity thanks to the work of Dixon Denham (1786 – 1828), Hugh Clapperton (1788 – 1827) and Mango Park (1771 – 1806), British travellers and explorers in central Africa. These would bring

> police posts, colleges, tramway, poles, and all those improving things triumphantly recorded, and always with the romantic addition that within twenty miles, the hills on the forests, all the hides in the sand, or the depths of the jungle (that blessed word) are swarming with cannibal tribes miraculously restrained by one white men. (LE: 129)

Conrad glorifies the considerable work done by the imperialists to improve Africa for its inhabitants. What is more important to underlie with regard to the Congo episode of Conrad's life is that he considers it as a "blank space" with no human presence. When he was a child in 1868, he had the desire to travel to that "blank space then representing the unresolved mystery of that continent" (PR: 13). The blankness promises profit and wealth for European imperialists, but at the same time it threatens as its mysteries are not uncovered.

B. The Orient as an Exotic Locale

The Orient as an exotic locale became a generalised view in the British imagination. Both Kipling and Forster do not hesitate to value the exotic aspect of India while sometimes they show a kind of contempt towards its inhabitants. Writing about Egypt, in a letter to John and Elsie Kipling dated February 1913, Kipling expresses his astonishment: "the extraordinary thing is to see over a hundred of miles of date-palms with only their tops sticking out of the water" (LRK VIV: 157). He is fascinated by the palm-trees which are found neither in India nor in England, his two motherlands. For Forster, in spite of the threat that Egypt constitutes for adventurers, he tells us that it has something worth it. Among other exotica he tastes the "good [...] coffee" and enjoys "the very blue sky and the keen air and the bright dresses of some natives" (PP: 76). Said argues that the word "East" is substituted for the word "Orient" when the latter "is being approved" of (1995: 208). Generally, the approval of the Orient by the Orientalist is marked with a valuation of what it can bring to the Western subject in terms of exoticism. Therefore, the writers represent the Orient through different features, the majority of which are positive, hence belonging to the objective structure but sometimes negative and belonging to the subjective restructure. Forster does not deny India's potential as an exotic country. In his letters, he insists on its exotic aspect through his description of its fauna not known in Europe: "[o]n we went again – still the enormous plain with birds in every direction: two cranes with their darling baby stalking between them, green parrots, mynas, countless doves, jays, water wag tails – all of them [...] an extra joy to me. Camels strolled about in a dégagé". (SLEMF VI: 142) As an Englishman, Forster is joyful at the sight of this multitude of exotic animals.

Kipling's exotic vision of the Orient is even more interesting when considered in relation to his idea of Algeria. Referring to Algiers, he says that "it is a new and most exciting world, full of smell [like jasmine] which does not belong to any world that I know" (LRK

VV: 53). From the hotel where he spent the night he could contemplate "orange trees, all studded with ripe fruit and heavy with bridal bloom [...] Palms run up to the tennis court – dates, palms and others that I know not. It is very long since I saw dates" (LRK VV: 53). In his letter to Colonel H.W. Feilden dated February 21, 22, 1921, he describes his impressions of exotic Algiers. How beautiful is the "cobalt sea, pearl white town and ranges of bluish red-hills, seen through or under waving fronds of date palms, plantain, bamboo or stiff-red hills, seen through cypress, were beyond even exclaiming at" (LRK VV: 56).

Likewise, Maugham is exoticist in the same manner as he is imperialist. Some parts of the Orient are regarded as a locale where the white race can find a source of pleasure and health. This is mainly linked to the beauty of the landscapes and the effects of the temperate climate: "[t]he sky was blue, not with the brilliant, provocative blue of Italy, but with the Eastern blue, which is milky, pale, and languorous" (GP: 89). The Oriental is compared favourably to Western environments. The human element is abstracted from the description of the landscape, which is there for spectacle. He writes:

> The jungle now had all the air of the virgin forest of one's **fancy**: tall trees, rising straight, without a branch, for eighty or a hundred feet, flaunted their power majestically in the sun […] The wild plantains grew everywhere. They seemed set in their places by some skilful gardener, for they had the air of consciously completing the decoration. (GP: 89; emphasis added)

The jungle traditionally associated with danger and darkness as in *Heart of Darkness* has an aesthetic essence for Maugham. It provides the Western contemplator with a source of aesthetic pleasures. This kind of view of the Oriental setting renders justice to it. It falls within the domain of objective structure, for the writer lets his Western pride aside when he describes it. Conrad's Malay Archipelago is also similar to Maugham's. Words uttered by Nina to her mother in *Almayer's Folly* "referred to a sunset in Malayan Isles, and shaped themselves in my mind, in a hallucinated vision of forests and rivers and seas, far removed from a commercial and yet romantic town of the northern hemisphere" (PR: 3). Conrad's exoticist consideration of the colonial world relates to his vision of Africa as a young man

"lying on the ground in the shade of an enormous **African tree** (species unknown)" being offered "a calabash full of **pure cold water**, a simple draught which according to himself, seems to have effected a miraculous cure" (LE: 22; emphasis added). The young Conrad was always enthusiastic towards Africa's exotic marvels, so we see here a kind of protective fantasy.

However, the admiration of these Western writers for the Orient is undermined by the kind of decadence that they see at the heart of it. They sublimate the Orient only to deflate it by reminding us of its past glories and the future lustre that can be rendered back to it if it is put in the hands of the Europeans. This binary aesthetics is clearly shown in Maugham who makes a direct contrast between the English environment with the Oriental one. This is done through contrasting English rivers with the tropical and Oriental ones:

> Most of the tropical rivers that the traveller sees are very wide, but this one [one of these rivers], overhung with an immense luxuriance of vegetation, was as narrow as the Wey. But you could never have mistaken it for an English river, it had none of the sunny calm of our English streams, nor their smiling nonchalance; it was dark, tragic, and its flow had the sinister intensity of the unbridled lusts of man. (GP: 138-139)

The English river is worth looking at while the Oriental one is tumultuous and muddy to the extent that one cannot bear the sight of it. This contrast explains best the way the writer structures and restructures the Orient for the sake of imperialism.

In the same manner, Kipling associates the touristic and exotic interest in India with backwardness. For him, India boasts of palaces that are established for the glory of magnificent rulers. They are built in cities as well as in the jungle, and they lock up a world of secrets that the European Orientalist endeavours to understand. Yet in the present time the majority of these palaces are ruinous, testifying to a troubled past. In the city of Chitor, there are many such palaces which provide the very sign of a glorious past and a gradual regression. In Chitor there "appear above a hundred churches ruined and diverse fair palaces which are lodged in like manner among their ruins" (*WPVRK SS LT:* 109). The Tower of Victory, for example, "stands, like all things in Chitor, among ruins, but time and the other enemies have

been good to it. (*WPVRK SS LT:* 110) Metcalf (1994: 86-87) claims: "Architecture [provided] another language in which could be read the story of India's decline". Forster, on his part, joins in this debate over the use of native architecture for the measurement of a country's progress or regress. He writes that the "architecture [of Hiderabad] was often inferior and always ornate" (SLEF VII: 16). It was inferior even if it was ornate. This idea of wonder at the ornament of the architecture of the Orient is more importantly emphasised by Kipling when he describes the Moorish house of Algiers as a "museum as well as an abounding delight of form and colour" (LRK VV: 56), and one can say that he draws a parallel between the backwardness of the palaces of India with his delight in the old style of the houses of Algiers.

During his travels in India, Kipling witnessed the extent to which the Indians kept building palaces, which he associates with absurdity. The palaces are built for the sake of being built. There is no aesthetic interest behind. They are rather occasions for the native rulers to squeeze off the material and human resources of the land and its inhabitants. For instance, Kumbha Rana, the great man of Chitor, "fought like a Rajput, but he had an instinct which made him build the Tower of Victory at who knows what cost of money and life" (*WPVRK SS LT:* 141). The English conscience is outraged by such palaces at two levels: the tendency to have no aesthetic aim behind their edification and the fact that they involve the squeezing of the life and resources of the land. It follows that Kipling coins "comparative civilisation" (WPVRK SSLT: 149) the discipline through which the English draw parallels between their civilisation and that of the Indians. It generally involves a positive attitude towards what is English and a negative one towards what is Indian or native. The English are particularly contemptuous of native art and architecture. The Oriental palaces and their decorations are dealt with in terms of ruin and repulsion. For instance, in a description of one of these palaces, Kipling plays up irony by emphasising excess and waste:

> Surely this must have been one of the objects of the architect. The tower, in the arrangement of its stairways, is like the interior of a Chinese carved ivory puzzle-ball. The idea given is that, even while you are ascending, you are wrapping yourself deeper and deeper in the tangle of a mighty maze. Add to this the half-light, the thronging armies of sculptured figures, the mad profusion of design splashed as impartially upon the undersides of the stone window-slabs as upon the door-beam of the threshold—add, most abhorrent of all, the slippery sliminess of the walls always worn smooth by naked men, and you will understand that the tower is not a soothing place to visit. (WPVRK SSLT: 111-112)

Arguably, the most explicit of contemptuous attitudes towards Indian architecture and art is deducible from the above in the words "maze" and "not a soothing". This idea is more prominent in the description of a palace in Chitor the visibility of which "is finely and frankly obscene to an English mind" (WPVRK SSLT: 107). Maugham is in tune to Kipling in his portrayal of the native architecture. About the Buddhist shrines, he asserts that "they had been built without design and asymmetry, but in darkness" (GP: 10-11). The modern cities of the Orient are built without any planning. He writes that "it is impossible to consider these populous modern cities without a certain malaise. They are all alike [and] **they** give you **nothing**" (GP: 163; emphasis added). The writers do agree on the inferior aspects of the native architecture, making the Orient look less attractive than it appears in moments of rupture. However, one of the most important manners of demonstrating that the colonial world is less exotic than it appears is to refer to another aspect which is the dangers it may hide to the Western permanent settlers or temporary travellers in the Orient and its inhabitants. According to Metcalf, India and the other tropical colonies were marked by their "unfamiliar plant and animal life, its excessive heat and numerous 'miasmatic' fluxes, as an exotic, and dangerous space" (1994: 171).

C. The Orient as Insinuating Danger

This exotic consideration of the Orient is not separate from its consideration as a dangerous and repellent locale. In a letter to Alice Clara dated December 20th, 1921, Forster writes of his experiences in Dewas, saying that he was "uncomfortable [with] bad food and much dirt" (SLEMF VII: 16). Dewas which has embraced civilisation and which has allured

him at first becomes all of a sudden repellent. Maugham's appreciation of the Orient is not less ephemeral: "I did not know why, the insipid Eastern food sickened me" (GP: 181). He is disturbed by the dust and dirt in Oriental cities like Bangkok and Mandalay. He tells us, just after having expressed his admiration about these places, that the streets of Mandalay are "dusty, crowded, and drenched with a garish sun" (GP: 30). Even those cities which can be considered civilised are repellent to the white race. "It is impossible to consider these populous modern cities of the East without a certain malaise […] They have no history and no traditions [and they] give you nothing" (GP: 163). Between the East as it is "storied" in "the imaginative West" (GP: 164) and the East as it is experienced there is a very wide gap. Kipling, on his part, argues that in the native states of India, there is widespread dirt. "Dirt" becomes a mark of demarcation, a boundary between an English ruled city like Jeypore and native-ruled ones like Chitor and Udaipur. When he moves from one city to another, the touring Englishman is discomforted by what he sees all around him. For example, Chitor, which is native-ruled "is very dirty" (*WPVRK SS LT:* 106).

The repellence of food and the dirt associated with the Oriental cities are just two instances of the factors that facilitate the proliferation of disease. The climate, too, plays an important role. The summer season and the heat last for a long period of time and cause diseases that take a heavy toll in terms of death among the natives and the Anglo-Indians. Kipling calls the hot weather the "Abominable". Writing to Edith MacDonald about the heat of Lahore, he imagines heat itself: "I saw her [the heat], knock a man down. He died in a trifle under two hours" (LRK VI: 63). In his visit to Lahore, he "went down with a touch of fever" (LRK VI: 63) as a result of the heat. Like Kipling, Maugham also experienced an attack of malaria in the Orient. He recounts "a bad attack [and] for days the quinine had no effect on me" (GP: 182). The "heat of Bangkok was overwhelming" (GP: 181) for him. It is as if Bangkok was another white man's grave since Maugham speaks about two missionaries who

were victims of the impact of the tropical environment upon them. The metaphor of the white man's grave applies even to India and the Shan States. There was a missionary who "had died of cholera in India [while another] had been killed by the wild Was [awesome insect] up in the north of the Shan States" (GP: 100). Metcalf argues that India and the tropical areas have come to be associated with "heat and disease" (1994: 162). The British considered that the climate made the Indian completely different from them, and their pretended primitive states were partly due to its effect. (Ibid. 172) Therefore, the "Europeans took up residence in the tropics at their peril" (Ibid. 171) to serve the people they colonised. The degree of dangerosity with the tropical climate is proportionate to the degree of heroism that the authors thrust on European colonisers. The greater the danger they confront, the more heroic the imperial experience looks like. The perilous experience which emerges out of the contact with the colonial world is shown in Maugham's first contact with Bangkok:

> The wats oppressed me by the garish magnificence, making my head ache, and their fantastic ornaments filled me with malaise. All I saw looked too bright, the crowds in the streets tired me, and the incessant din jangled my nerves. I felt very unwell, but I was not sure whether my trouble was bodily or spiritual (I am suspicious of the sensibility of the artist, and I have often dissipated a whole train of exquisite and sombre thoughts by administering to myself a little river pill) [I was told] that I had probably got malaria and took some of my blood to test. […] It was apparently a bad attack of malaria. (GP: 181)

In the quote above, Maugham reports a vicarious experience of the effects of the climate on the Western traveller and colonial administrator. Tropical Africa is notorious for being the "white man's grave", but on reading Maugham, Kipling and Forster this metaphor seems to include all tropical areas.

However, this metaphor does not always apply to tropical regions under Western rule. In a letter to Alice Clara Forster, dated December 1, 1912, Forster expresses his surprise at the state of affairs in Dewas, saying that it is "a very healthy place – plague and cholera are almost unknown among the people, however poor, such as I found in Lahore. [...] The climate is charming – sun and gentle breeze" (LEMF VI: 164). This is not the case with cities like

Lahore. As a result of the hot weather and the lack of hygiene among the natives, the place is less healthy and epidemics find way for their proliferation. Hygienic conditions in Lahore are so bad that even imperial agents like "Malcolm" are not spared from disease. He "isn't very well—just recovering from **fever** and overwork" (LEMF VI: 150; emphasis added), Forster writes.

People, it is said, live by metaphors, and one of these metaphors for nineteenth century Europeans is that of Africa as a "white man's grave". It is this metaphor that Conrad tells us to have lived. Heat coupled by disease in the Congo made him "wish [himself] dead over and over again" (PR: 14). His experience of the Congo had traumatised him for life. This traumatisation was probably the result of "a long, long illness and very dismal convalescence" (PR: 14) in Geneva. In his "Congo Diaries", he samples out his most vivid impressions of the immediate environment of the Congo when he made his journey there. He mainly emphasises the impact of the heat upon the mental and physical conditions of white agents like him. They could not withstand the heat as the Africans could do, so they fell sick. On Monday 7th July, it got so "hot" that they were "thirsty and tired" (LE: 246). On the following day at 9 o'clock, they arrived at Manyanga; "both have been sick" (LE: 247). They were sick not only because of the extremity of the heat and the scarcity of water but also as a result of the impracticability of the roadways. The latter are described as rough following a "succession of round steep hills" (LE: 246). For a nineteenth century audience who experienced the transport of revolution, the lack of practicable roads signifies a lack of movement, of speed, and therefore of civilisation. In the Orient, they "need plenty of exercise" (GP: 98) to get accustomed with walking in the jungles.

Apart from the lack of roads, tropical heat and diseases, the writers under study refer to the co-habitation of animals with human beings, as if culture has not differentiated between them. They argue that the result is that sometimes the lives of the people are endangered by

the bites of animals, especially reptiles and felids. In a letter of April 6th 1921, Forster speaks about his encounter with reptiles on his way to Dewas: "it looks a small dead tree […] and exact species and habits of snake were indicated—not a cobra, but very fierce and revengeful, and if we shot it would pursuer us several days later all the way to Dewas" (HD: 92). The co-existence of animals and humans in India is by no means assuring for Forster, as the secretary of Dewas Senior, as if the imperial agents are putting their lives at risk daily in India, as he feels himself doing.

The Orient is not a safe place to live for other reasons than physical geography. The human factor of piracy and robbery stands out above them all. Kipling refers to "high way robbery" (*WPVRK SS LT:* 122) that prevails in India. The custom was that groups of outcasts engage themselves in attacking people in the roads, taking whatever they had on them. An example of this kind of unsecured settings is the city of Ajmir, where "there was a high way robbery" (*WPVRK SS LT: 122*). The affair led to the intervention of an "English judge" (*WPVRK SS LT:* 122) to provide a judicial solution. The implication is that the insecurity of the Indian settings needs to be put under the control of English sahibs. Forster seems to join Kipling in this idea of the prevalence of robbery in India. He writes to his mother what follows: "[o]ur journey was to Vijayanagar […] Although the country was perfectly safe, it gave the feeling of Robbers at every turn" (SLEMF VII: 15). Forster believes that there is relative security concerning the lives of the people but not their property.

Conrad does not stand apart in his witnessing in "Travel" that a typical problem that prevails in the Malay Strait Settlements is piracy. In this case, the problem is even more poignant since the rajahs do encourage this kind of plunder. The implication is that piracy is a state affair. He considers that it is thanks to the teaching of the English that the long-practiced policy of plunder ended:

> And to think that only fifty years ago, after a certain amount of jungle and ting, the sultan of Perak [...] having learned attentively to a lecture from a British admiral on

> the heinousness of a certain notable case of piracy, turned round quickly to his attending chiefs and to the silent throng of his Malay subjects, exclaiming, "Hear now, my people! Don't let us have any more of this game!" (LE: 131-132)

However, elsewhere in the Peninsula piracy continued to prevail.

On the whole, one can say that in their non-fiction about the physical and human geography of the Orient, Kipling, Forster, Maugham and Conrad are birds of the same feather. All of them play up the sublime side of the Orient as an exotic place only to undermine it by emphasising nefarious effects of environment, its lack of hygiene. By displacing objective structure by a subjective restructure, the authors want to foreground the heroism of the imperial agents.

Fiction

In the non-fiction about the physical and human geography, I have underlined that the metaphor of the Orient as the white man's grave is prominent. In what follows I shall investigate where this metaphor stands and to what extent it displaces the objective structure by a subjective restructure. In other words, I shall see to what extent their experience of the Orient is reflected and refracted in their fiction. The concern with the Orient as a colonial space will serve as a starting point in this analysis.

A. The Orient as a Colonial Space

The interplay between objective structure and subjective restructure is not absent in the writers' fictions. Kipling's famous "white man's burden" is a myth or metaphor that traverses all the writers' fictions regardless of their political affiliation. It is a burden, for the so-called inferiority of the Indians and other Orientals calls forth the imperial attention of the English. Kipling's narratives about India conform to this depiction of the Indian subcontinent as a space to be imperialised by the British. The latter are either called for defending what has already been incorporated into Anglo-India or integrating other territories to it. Similarly, Forster in *A Passage to India* and "The Life to Come" portrays India as a colonial space. In the latter, he shows that the central India tribes are so primitive that they need to be brought

under English control. Mr Pinmay is brought into a "wild region" (LC: 65). It is wild because the blessings of progress have not yet been bestowed on them. The imperial penetration is imagined as a transformation of the wilderness into a garden, an outpost of empire. In *Passage to India*, Chandrapore is brought in contact with the English, establishing a dividing line between the sophisticated English zone and the regressive native zone. Forster uses the native zone as a metaphor for India and its need for the English for its improvement.

The binary aesthetics is also found in Conrad's *Lord Jim* set on the *Patna* and then in *Patusan*. Both spaces serve the imperialist message of the novel. Conrad uses them to propound the idea that the Orientals call for the attention of the West for both their stability and advancement. The *Patna* episode makes the Orientals need to be governed by a superior race. This idea is embodied in the description of the ship as "a local steamer as old as the hills, lean like greyhound, and eaten up with rust worse than a condemned water-tank" (LJ: 16-17). "She was owned by a Chinaman, chartered by an Arab, and commanded by a sort of renegade New South Wales German […] eight hundred pilgrims (more or less) were driven on board of her" (LJ: 17). The imperialist undertones of the quote cannot be overlooked. The Orient is a territory to be occupied by the Westerner given the Orientals' incapacity to steer the ship of the state; it is not fortuitous that the owner of the ship is a Chinese, its charter an Arab and its occupants Oriental pilgrims while its commander is a German. The latter not only commands the ship but also its occupants, the normal destiny of any Westerner in the Orient– the white man's burden as Kipling calls it in the poem of the same title. The idea that the ship is old and rusty is an indicator of the primitive state and inferiority of the Orient and the superiority of the West. In fact, the calamity that wrecks on the ship on its way to Jedah is attributed to its old age and rust. Were it a Western steamer, it is implied, the calamitous event would not have happened since Western ships were modern and always in good maintenance. The *Patna* episode is a preamble to the *Patusan* one, where everything attracts Jim's imperial attention.

Maugham appropriates this representation of the Orient as a colonial space. The life of British imperialists in the Orient is not gratuitous. They are there to serve the interests of the Empire and that of the people they conquered. Because of the supposed primitivism of the people and the severity and harshness of the environment, the place has remained unchanged over the years, but the narrative prefigures progress through imperial agency and Western expertise. Ever since John Locke, the West has imagined that the land belongs to those who fructify it. By signifying that conquered lands as being left waste and fallow, the imperial forces legitimise their intervention, an intervention that they support double-fold because it seeks the consent of both the Europeans at home and the natives in the colonial space.

At the core of Kipling's *Kim* lies an interest in the Indian subcontinent as a locale to be owned by the British race. The novel is set in the India of the last decades of the nineteenth century, when the British Raj was facing internal and external threats from the native princes and the Russians. Therefore, the Indian subcontinent is subject to the Great Game, a competition between imperial powers over total control of the not yet occupied territories. Kim and his mentors in the Great Game desire to consolidate what has already been annexed through moving forwards other frontiers. In order to consolidate the Raj, other territories had to be annexed to avoid threats and to reaffirm British power in the region. Territory, it has to be remarked, is a term related to military strategy. India is mapped as an imaginary geography through fiction writing in order to make it part and parcel of the British Empire. For instance, at the end of the novel, Kim is sent to Afghanistan within the framework of the Great Game to acquire necessary knowledge to its domination.

Reference to Afghanistan is also made in "The Man Who Would Be King". In this story, two English men are made kings by the locale peoples of Kafiristan, an imagined territory in the North of Afghanistan. Peachey and Carnihan, the heroes of the story, make themselves kings of Kafiristan by virtue of their white supremacy. On arrival there, they show

the natives "how to click off a riffle, and form fours, and advance in line, and they was pleased to do so, and clever to see the hang of it" (MWWBK: 178). Military encroachment on the territory is fancied as being a work of containment to which the natives gave their consent. The latter are happy to be the subalterns, ready to learn from the English art of war for the new imperial territory. In parallel to the self-made man idea celebrated in England, Kipling constructs the imperial idea of the self-made or self-enthroned King in "The Man Who Would be King". To the born English aristocrat, Kipling opposes the aristocracy of the spirit, an imperial knighthood ready to defend the British Raj. In this regard, Carnihan says:

> When everything was ship-shape, I'd hand over the crown—this crown I am wearing now—to Queen Victorian on my knees, and she'll say: 'Rise up, Sir Daniel Dravot'. Oh, it's big! It's big! (MWWBK: 184)

Queen Victoria is imagined as elevating Dravot and Carnihan to imperial knighthood to keep the empire consolidated.

In *Kim*, the two picaresque protagonists venture across various and variegated landscapes miles away from civilisation within the heart of the so-called primitivism. In the hills, Kim and the lama meet people who live in primitive dwellings like huts and are constantly endangered by the natural environment. Because of the primitivism that prevails in these areas, the people cannot protect themselves against the surrounding dangers. This primitivism takes different forms: their means of production are not sophisticated; their protection system is not really efficient; they live too close to nature, which implies that culture is absent. Religion stands as an obstacle to progress because it forbids the eating of meat, which makes them mere vegetable eaters. The blame for underdevelopment as the following quotation makes it clear is the decadent worship of cows and other fetishes:

> Along their track lay the villages of the hill-folk – mud and earth huts, timbers now and then rudely carved with an axe – clinging like swallows nest against the steeps, huddled on tiny flats half way down a three-thousand-foot glissade; jammed into a corner between cliffs that funnelled and focused every wandering blast; or for the sake of summer pasture, cowering on a neck that in winter would be ten feet deep in snow. And the people – the sallow, greasy, duffle-clad people, with short bare legs and faces almost Esquimo – would flock out and adore. (K: 308-309)

In contrast to the underdeveloped areas, Kipling insists on the advanced cities which have profited from the work of the imperial power. In the advanced cities, there are universities, hospitals, museums and other facilities which are probably the result of the encounter between East and West. Wegner states that "within the enclosure of the colonial periphery, there is not one India, but rather many micrological 'Indias'" (1994: 150). These "micrological" India (s) are either primitive and require the intervention of the British imperial powers or advanced but also need to be regulated by the same organised powers. For Kipling, the British have the moral burden of annexing these "micrological Indias" to its Empire.

In *Kim*, the colonial desire of the Orient takes different forms. The political aspect of the desire is matched with the symbol of the "Red Bull in a green field", which stands for the desire to make the British banner landed over the whole of India. *Kim* is replete with expressions like "new strange places of the Hills" (K: 27) and "mysterious land beyond the Passes of the North" (K: 29) that denote the urge to map further the territory, to tame through the imagination. The "Green field" denotes the exotic, beautiful and attractive Orient which, like the pitch, invites the English to give full vent to the imperial game. It is what Kim does, travelling and acting as a land surveyor.

Conrad, too, imagines territory destined to be occupied by the Westerner given the Orientals' incapacity to steer the ship of state. The idea of the white man's burden in the Orient is more prominent in the *Lord Jim*. In its *Patna* episode, the metaphor of the ship as state is prominent. The ship is made deliberately in command of the Westerner to underline that the Orient has to be ruled by the Westerners. This portrayal is transposed to *Patusan,* the second setting of the novel. It is depicted as "a remote district of a native-ruled State, and the chief settlement bears the same name" (LJ: 168). As most Oriental regions, it is "separated by what looks like a deep **fissure**, the cleavage of some mighty **stroke**" (LJ: 168; emphasis added). This implies that Patusan is in dire need of Jim's coming to the area. It belongs to the

abnormal, a land of "irregularities and aberrations" (LJ: 166). Navigation is difficult in view of its geographical position, so it needs the "technological superiority" (Metcalf, 1994: 81) of the Europeans. If the Patusan calls for the "technological superiority" to overcome its remoteness and ruggedness, its political regime that tyrannises people demands Jim's intervention:

> Thirty miles of forest shut it off from the side of an indifferent world, and the noise of the white surf along the coast overpowered the voice of fame. The stream of civilisation, as if divided on a headland a hundred miles north of Patusan, branches east and south-east, leaving its plains and valleys, its old trees and its old mankind, neglected and isolated, such as an insignificant islet between the two branches of a mighty, devouring stream. (LJ: 172)

Patusan is further referred to as a war-ridden region that can be pacified for civilisation solely through a more superior military force. Inter-conflicts cannot be solved in Patusan because the author suggests that the Patusans have no cultural technology such as problem-solving capacities and mechanisms for the regulations of conflicts. They were facing internal instability and violence before the coming of Jim: "[t]here wasn't a week without some fight in Patusan" before Jim's arrival (LJ: 194). The despotism of their rulers generates violence and anarchy as a result of resistance by nascent powers. Jim's arrival to Patusan is crucial since he "had regulated many things" (LJ: 168). From social and political instability, we move to stability and security. Self-control and a sense of social organisation make Jim the man for the job. We are told that "instead of succumbing to the lawlessness of Patusan, [Jim] imposes the structures of the society he left […] to the colonized territory" (Heyns, 1996: 79).

Conrad de/constructs Patusan as a land of lawlessness and reconstructs it as a pacified colonial world. The colonial word or discourse constructs an imperial world through the entrance onto the stage of Patusan history a world of historical people represented by Jim. The latter is harbinger for the Scramble for the Malay Archipelago, a scramble that resembles the scramble for Africa as it entails the competition among the Europeans imperial powers. Historically speaking, the British domination of the archipelago dates back to the second half

of the eighteenth century. This domination was mainly the result of the British "conquests of India and command of the European trade with China" which "determined British policy in the peninsula and the archipelago" (Hampson, 2002: 32). From 1883 to 1888, Conrad had frequently sailed to the Orient as a British merchant mariner. He set sail for the Malay Archipelago, so "when he began to write, it was to the sea that he turned especially for inspiration" (Sherry, 1976: 1).

European trade is opposed to despotism. If the latter promotes exchange of goods and ideas, hence a form of democracy of goods, the latter stifles human relations. Conrad accounts for the prerequisites and for the obstacles for establishing trade in the Orient. The crucial precondition for trade is of course internal stability in the East. Stein and, then, Jim play the role of regulators of internal affairs to promote trade not only for profit but also for stability. The cash-nexus in the Oriental world, as imagined by Conrad, is not as alienating as in Europe; it is constitutive of a political and ethical order. While the plunder politics of the Oriental impoverishes the Oriental people, trade enriches and empowers them. When Jim arrived to Patusan, he found that the trade was being threatened by the young and despotic Sultan, who was plundering his people and stopping trade with the Europeans. He wanted everything for himself and his followers. Despotism is associated with the Orient, and it is viewed as an impediment for trade.

In this regard, Conrad makes Stein's and Jim's presence in Patusan to promote trade, Stein with the information he collects on the region and Jim through the stability he brings to Patusan. Marlow is informed that the Europeans have always traded with the Malay. They managed to establish good trade relationships with them thanks to the presence of trade agents that are in "checkered intercourse" (LJ: 173). This involves a kind of *knowledge and power dialectic* that not only creates the trading enterprises between the Malays and the Europeans but maintains them for a long period of time, as well. Stein "had to know. He traded in so

many, and some districts – as in Patusan, for instance – his firm was the only one to have an agency by special permit from the Dutch authorities" (LJ: 173).

Like the other writers, Maugham, through the voice of the narrator of *The Narrow Corner,* states that the East is still a land to be conquered:

> all the East is here. Not the East of story, the East of palaces and sculptured temples and conquerors with hordes of warriors, but the East of the beginning of the world, the East of the garden of Eden, when men were very few, simple, humble and ignorant, and the world was just waiting, like an empty garden for its absent owner. (NC: 96)

For the narrator as for Maugham, many Oriental regions are still virgin lands that await their occupants, the European imperialists. The "absent owner" in the above quotation refers to the European imperialists who are lured by the East and its so-called "primitive" people. Because of their primitivism, they need to be introduced to the sophisticated life of the European. The humility and ignorance of the people of the East would facilitate the task. Such Oriental regions were made of "poverty-stricken village[s]" (BB: 881). They changed with the arrival of the English imperialists. John Donne says "No man is an island" (Donne, 2012), but that seems the case of the Malay Islands that stand distant from one another because of the lack of transportation. For instance, the mail takes much time to arrive to its destination. When people are sick, it is always certain that their transportation to the dispensary or doctor would not be easy a task, so they are likely to die on the way.

In "The Vessel of Wrath", which is set in a group of islands close to China and ruled by the Dutch, it is said: "[t]here was no cable communication between [the] islands and Batavia, and the mail arrived after so long a delay" (VW: 814-815). The shortage of communication means is synonymous with the absence of civilisation. Mr Gallagher in "P & O" is said to have made his wealth as a planter in a land "miles away from anything that could be described as civilisation" (CT: 58). A communication network is the one thing needed for putting end to isolation and opening the region for commerce for the benefit of the coloniser

and the colonised. In exchange for the blessings of civilisation, the natives provide the raw materials like rubber.

The building of civilisation is foregrounded in *The Casuarina Tree.* From primitive and savage locales, the British made some important colonial cities. Examples are Kola Solar, the chief town of the State of Sembulu and Selantan. The latter is a barely disguised Singapore. Civilisation is generally believed to move West from the East, but it goes in a reverse movement, constituting a circle. Maugham makes of this colonial locale a propitious place for trade and economic benefits. British managers cooperate with the federated states of Malaya under indirect British imperialistic strategies to serve, support and even save their economic status. In "P & O", he stresses this point when Mr. Gallagher is telling Mrs. Hamlyn how he succeeded to make and regulate trade for so many years during the rubber boom in the state of Selantan, by investing his savings in Government stock (CT: 58). Personal interest does not conflict with the national interest, which means that he serves the empire economically. Another case of the lack of conflict of interest in the colonial venture is that of the Lacoms who offer us another success story through silk trade in Japan. (CT: 64)

Forster's *A Passage to India* is set in the fictive city of Chandrapore, which is not a homogeneous one. It is divided into two blocks: the native and the Anglo-Indian. The immediate environment in which the Anglo-Indians live is the exact opposite of that of the Indians. In conformity with the colonial space discussed by Fanon in *The Wretched of the Earth*, the Anglo-Indian space is more or less sophisticated, beautifully built and arranged in order to ease the life of its inhabitants, whereas the Indians' inspires disorder, filth, destruction and death. This kind of setting is typically colonial, and it shows the coloniser's spatial discrimination against the colonised, who are pushed to the margins. The first chapter of the novel pertinently presents a breach between the two spaces which in themselves represent the gap between the white race and the Indian one. This echoes Fanon's ideas,

according to whom "[t]he colonial world is a world cut in two" (1968: 38). Though there have been some attempts to bring the communities together, the breach remains 'unbridged' due to many political, cultural and social factors.

The Anglo-Indians or the colonisers live in the 'civil station' which is within Chandrapore but not really integrated to it. It is a kind of 'Little England' inhabited by the white race within the land of the colonised. In the civil station, the houses are beautifully built in order to give the impression that one is not far from one's motherland. There are also the necessary infrastructure and buildings for transportation, schooling and medical service, modern amenities in a land considered by the coloniser static in terms of development and technology. The Anglo-Indians create their 'little England' to distinguish themselves as *superior* to the natives who live in the remaining parts of Chandrapore. In order to avoid an encounter between the ruling and ruled races, barriers are built between the two parts that make up Chandrapore. Gardens are carefully erected to hide the station from the other side of the city and vice versa. These reflect their contemptuous attitude towards the natives, who are reduced to misery. Misery brings forth contempt and contempt brings misery as in a sort of dialectic.

The civil station "is sensibly planned, with a red-brick club on its brows, and farther back a grocer's and a cemetery. The bungalows are disposed along roads that intersect at right angles" (PI: 10). Everything is geometrically arranged, and "it shares nothing with the city except the overarching sky" (PI: 10). It is a little town in the estranged land of the 'Other'. According to Fanon, this kind of town "is a strongly built town, all made of stone and steel. It is a brightly lit town; the streets are covered with asphalt, and the garbage cans swallow all the leavings, unseen, unknown and hardly thought about" (1968: 39). The roads are named after famous English Kings and Queens in order not to forget the glory of their motherland. Since they feel at exile, they endeavour to establish settlements where life resembles the one

they have left behind them in the British Isles, at least for those who were born there. For the ones who were born in Anglo-India, these settlements give them an idea of what their motherland looks like culturally as they are introduced to the English way through clubs and private parties.

The club is built with 'red bricks' with the purpose of giving the impression that they are in their motherland, where cities like Manchester are 'red-bricked'. It serves as a point of social intercourse for Anglo-Indians. In the clubs, they feel themselves as entirely British though the sentiment of exile haunts them. This is why they play typical British games like bridge, billiard and tennis. They eat national dishes and drink tea as their fellows do in Britain. Finally, patriotism is more intense when cultivated through "the Anthem of the Army of Occupation [which] reminded every member of the club that he or she was British and in exile" (PI: 26-27). The kind of life they are leading in Anglo-India aims to avoid cultural and national uprooting. 'British they are and British they must remain' seems to be their motto. In this regard, Ganguly asserts that in the club "the communal bond is encouraged so that the exiled people can find their own identity with their own clan to withstand all kinds of real or imagined hostility in a foreign land" (1990: 61).

The 'civil station' is inhabited by a majority of Anglo-Indians. They are the servants of the British Raj who live with their families. In Forster's novel, there are four major families: the Turtons, the Burtons, the Callendars and the Lesleys. Apart from these families, there are individuals who have settled there without relatives like Ronny, the new city Magistrate. What is noteworthy in the behaviour of this caste is that it is race-bound. They do not merge with the natives, nor do they have the art of crossing the boundaries of their station. They follow the dictates of the British Raj, which requires them not to be intimate with the natives for political reasons. Mr Fielding's behaviour upsets them because he has not conformed to the colonial dictate. For them, the ideal is to live in a unified community closed

to the Indian communities. When Ronny's mother and his intended join him in Anglo-India, he immediately wants them to meet the members of his caste. His wish is that "they would see the Lesleys and the Callendars and the Turtons and the Burtons, and invite them and be invited by them, while true the India slid unnoticed" (PI: 46-47). The English aristocracy which lost power in England at the end of the nineteenth century seems to have a congenial colonial ground to prosper.

In contrast to the civil station, *A Passage to India* begins with a depiction of the native part of Chadrapore as deprived and very dirty. Arguably, the most prominent image of the contrast between these two spaces is matched with the idea of death and decay associated with the space of the colonised as opposed to the care bequeathed for the dead in the civil station, where there is a cemetery. In Chandrapore, "[h]ouses do fall, people are drowned and left **rotting**" (PI: 9; emphasis added), whereas in the 'civil station' there are several amenities among which a **cemetery**. This shows the division of the colonial world into two spaces, one which is inhabited by a supposedly superior race and the other by an inferior one. The colonisers live in human dignity and die in the same dignity, but the colonised live in awful conditions and die in the same conditions. Contrary to the civil station, the rest of Chadrapore is but desolation and rot: "[t]he very wood seems made of mud, the inhabitants of mud moving". (PI: 9) This echoes the ideas of Fanon, who sums up the native space in the following terms:

> The town belonging to the colonized people, or at least the native town, the Negro village, the medina, the reservation, is a place of ill fame, peopled by men of evil repute. They are born there, it matters little where or how; they die there, it matters not where, nor how. It is a world without spaciousness; men live there on top of each other, and their huts are built one on top of the other. The native town is a hungry town, starved of bread, of meat, of shoes, of coal, of light. The native town is a crouching village, a town on its knees, a town wallowing in the mire. It is a town of niggers and dirty Arabs. The look that the native turns on the settler's town is a look of lust, a look of envy; it expresses his dreams of possession--all manner of possession: to sit at the settler's table, to sleep in the settler's bed, with his wife if possible. The colonized man is an envious man. And this the settler knows very well; when their glances meet he ascertains bitterly, always on the defensive, "They want to take our place." It is true, for there is no native who does not dream at least once a day of

setting himself up in the settler's place. (1968: 39)

Two metaphors come to mind when we come to draw conclusions about this representation of the setting of *A Passage to India.* First, the 'civil station' stands for the metaphor of Europe as a superior civilisation entitled to expand over the non-European space. The native part of Chandrapore is synonymous with the metaphor of the Orient as an underdeveloped space that calls forth the attention of the West. These two metaphors are significant of the coloniser's desire to create two zones in the colonial space in order to serve the colonial undertaking with the myth of the "white man's burden". The space of the colonised according to Fanon "is not complementary to the zone inhabited by the settlers. The two zones are opposed" (1968: 38). This is exactly the case with the native space in *A Passage to India*. Yet the difference is that Forster is not as revolutionary in perspective as Fanon. In Fanon, the coloniser is represented as someone looking for the opportunity to expel the coloniser. Pacific co-existence is the order of the day in imperial India whereas in the colonial world, as Fanon tells us, the two worlds are in confrontation. Forster, on his part, plays up irony by saying that the civil station "charms not, neither does it repel" (PI: 10), without further consideration of the conflictual condition of the two zones. The only opposition that is made is ideologically loaded with the two metaphors already underlined.

B. The Orient as Insinuating Danger

The pretended absence of progress in the colonial world and its apparent need for the caring attention of the Westerner play an important role in the writers' refurbishing of the idea of the Orient as a colonial space. They further deploy the idea of "the Orient as insinuating danger" to borrow Said's words. Kipling shows us India as a dangerous and hostile land where the English is constantly in danger. This danger results from the severity and harshness of the climate, the proliferation of disease because of filth and the attacks by man-eating animals and man-biting reptiles. This is essentially an environmentalist discourse developed

to explain what the imperial agents consider as the abnormality of the natives. Apart from physical diseases like cholera, small-pox, and many other epidemic diseases, heat is considered as the cause of hallucinations. It is worth recalling here Albert Camus's *The Stranger*, whose main plot is built around Meursault's hallucination that supposedly led him to kill the anonymous Arab.

In Kipling's fiction, the effect of the climate on the individual is an important aspect of the motif of India as a dangerous territory. It either depicts the lives of the white imperial agents endangered by the harsh climate or shows the amenities of British Rule to alleviate the pains of the natives. This sense of danger is expressed throughout Kipling's fiction. In *Kim*, the lama and Kim have come to the encounter of a variety of diseases which strike the natives, and when disease knocks at the natives' doors, the white imperialist comes to the rescue. In the hills, Kim has played the doctor when he has provided medicine for the Punjabi child, whose father was powerless at his child's agony.

Like Kipling, Forster emphasises the effect of the climate on both the Oriental and the Westerner. People are concerned with the harshness of the weather for which they are incapable to find solutions. They are simply at its mercy: "aware of a common burden, a vague threat which they called 'the bad weather coming'" (PI: 111). The political implication of this incapacity to control the environment is that the Indians "do not mind about how India is governed" (PI: 111). The control of the environment means the development of culture at the expense of nature. This type of Hegelian struggle earns man respect as a cultured human being. Living at the mercy of the environment, as the native Indians, can be explained as a sign of defeat by the elemental forces; only the English can help tame that weather for the interest of the Indians. Masculine imperial agents not the feminine ones can do the job appropriately. When Mrs Moore arrives to India, she is warned about the harshness of the weather. She is asked: "[w]hy do you come to India this time of the year, just as cold weather

is ending? [...] It will soon be unhealthy for you!" (PI: 22) Her coming to India at this time would be insane to her since the hot weather makes diseases like fever and malaria proliferate.

Preparations for the journey to imperial India, as Kipling narrates them, are strangely reminiscent of contemporary space missions. They were preceded by medical examination, inoculated against disease as if the colonial space is an extraterrestrial space. Kipling delivers cautionary tales for those who dare without receiving the necessary preparations like vaccination. In "Thrown Away" (1888), he depicts the life of a young ambitious sahib who goes to India to serve the Raj. When cholera breaks out, he does not bear it up hence dies of it. Though he is vaccinated preventively against the different diseases that break out there as customary, the boy is too weak to resist "cholera" and he died (TA: 25). The Indian environment is considered as a muddle that impacts on the life of the sahibs:

> Now India is a place beyond all others where one must not take things too seriously – the mid-day sun always excepted. Too much work and too much energy kill a man just as effectively as too much assorted vice or too much drink. Flirtation does not matter, because every one is being transferred, and either you or she leave the station and never return. Good work does matter, because a man is judged by his worst output, and another man takes all the credit of his best as a rule. Bad work does not matter, because other men do worse, and incompetents hang on longer in India than anywhere else. Amusements do not matter, because you must repeat them as soon as you have accomplished them once, and most amusements only mean trying to win another person's money. Sickness does not matter, because it's in the day's work, and if you die, another man takes over your place and your office in the eight hours between death and burial […] It is a slack country, where all men work with imperfect instruments; and the best thing is to escape as soon as ever you can to some place where amusement is amusement and a reputation is worth the having. (TA: 16-17)

The quote reads as a report from the man in the field to new adventure. It is a colonial propaganda of a kind, a propaganda aimed to discourage those who do not have the physical force from travelling to India. In this regard, Kipling reminds us of the early American writings which emphasise the trouble in colonial America to dissuade carefree people to settle there. *In Something of Myself*, he relates his story of how he caught many "Indian diseases" at once:

> I had broken down twice in India from straight overwork, plus fever and dysentery, but this time the staleness and depression came after a bout of real influenza, when all my **Indian microbes** joined hands and sang for a month in the darkness of Villiers

Street. (SM: 56; Emphasis added)

Clearly, this stands as a warning to the physically weak people to go to imperial India. It also indicates his awareness that physically weak imperial agents can give a bad impression about the capacity of empire to domesticate the environment.

Conrad is no less concerned with the necessity of medical examination. *Heart of Darkness* reads like a science fiction film where we see future colonial agents getting physical examinations before going to the Congo. The tropics for him "bring mental changes to the individual [thus] in the tropics one must before everything keep calm" (HOD: 38), so when Marlow was due to go there, he had to visit the company headquarters in Brussels to have the examinations made on him. Even physically and mentally strong people like Kurtz die in the tropical wilderness. Concerning Kurtz, the wilderness "had patted him on the head" (HOD: 84).

Kipling and Conrad emphasise the importance of medical examinations for many reasons. One of these concerns the unfamiliarity of the tropical clime for the Europeans. Maugham focuses on the impact of this unfamiliarity for the imperial agents. In "Before the Party", *Tuan* Harold, the prodigal son-in-law and husband, is forced to addiction to alcohol as a result of the climate and the malaria it causes. Over-consumption pushes him to commit suicide "in an attack of *delirium tremens*" (CT: 47). Alcohol remains the sole way out for imperial agents assailed by an unfamiliar weather and native resistance. In situations where the environment is not familiar and that man is a stranger, in a perpetual exile, hope and suicide in such absurd situations constitute escape routes. Harold chose suicide. Arguably, the emphasis on the negative effects of the consumption of alcohol probably stems from the Indian Mutiny of 1857 and the contribution of liquor in shunning doubt over the success of British troops in this war. The British were next to failure in the mutiny; one of the reasons for this is the troops' consumption of alcohol "left for them by the enemy" (Wurfgaft, 1987:

18).

Foucault's *The Birth of the Clinic* applies perfectly to the description that the imperial authors give of the state of hygiene in the colonial world. For example, through Kipling's eyes we are made to see how dirt and filth invades the body of the native cities: "the Sansi is deep pollution" (K: 85) and Benares "struck [Kim] as a peculiarly filthy city" (K: 249). Such are the dishes we are served throughout the novel. These are descriptions as if they were made by hygiene agents. They make the colonial discourse into a clinical discourse. This discourse aims to isolate or put into quarantine the diseased cities. Maugham joins in this clinical discourse in writing about the proliferation of epidemics like malaria and influenza in the Orient. These are due to the effect of the climate along with the general dirt that is typical of the colonial world, the bites of insects which transmit the viruses, the monotonous food the people eat and their primitive way of coping with epidemics. With extreme tropical heat, epidemics proliferate easily especially influenza and fever. Typhoons, too, help in the spread of malaria and other diseases. Maugham and his fellow imperial writers focus on this aspect of the colonial world to justify the presence of the white imperialists, who are regarded as the most competent to face the problems these islands suffer from, by establishing roads and cable communication and taking medical and culinary know-how. These are part of the mission invested in the white imperialist to take the blessings of civilisation to the non-Western world. In "The Vessel of Wrath", he depicts the strike of cholera in the Alas Islands. "For four months the epidemic raged" (VW: 845), and it decimated hundreds of natives. Thanks to the work of Mr Gruyter, Mr and Miss Jones and Ginger Ted, who brought "drugs and disinfectants" (VW: 845) and devoted themselves to the natives, the lives of several thousands of them were spared.

The colonial work as portrayed by the imperial authors is at times Hitchcockian and other times informed by infantile fears. Indeed, nothing spreads like fear in the colonial world

because of venomous reptiles and wild animals. A major motive behind Kipling's *The Jungle Book* (1893) is Sheer Khan's obsession with the white boy, Mowgli. This denotes the idea that the white people are endangered by the animals that the Indian jungle contains. Though the "Law of the Jungle, which never orders anything without a reason, forbids every beast to eat Man" (JB: 7), Sheer Khan does not abide by this rule and turns to be allured with the stranger Mowgli. Admittedly, this obsession with devouring Mowgli is motivated by his white origin. In other words, the jungle does not welcome Man, and the fact that Mowgli is of white origin endangers him in the jungle. *The Jungle Books* ends triumphantly with Mowgli's challenge and victory over Sheer Khan. This triumphant ending is allegorical of the English supremacy in India. It is the English who are capable of keeping the dangers of the jungle distant from the people, whether Indian or English: "[t]he real reason for this [the prohibition of man eating by the law of the jungle] is that man-killing means, sooner or later, the arrival of white men on elephants, with guns and hundreds of brown men with gongs and rockets and torches" (JB: 7). Since the English are not fearful as compared to the Indians, they are the ones to face the danger of the jungle and keep it away from the life of the people. It is noteworthy that the *Jungle Books* are primarily addressed to young Anglo-Indians and British children to make them familiar with the imperial world. They belong to that kind of imperial juvenile literature meant to initiate young children to the adventures in the empire. It has also to be noted that these young school children were the product of the 1860s school reform which permitted access to larger sections of the British population. In the words of Louis Althusser, the school and the books (1994: 110-11) like the *Jungle Books* constitute the ideological imperial apparatus.

Forster does not differ so much from Kipling in this representation of the native setting as a wilderness, a kind of demonic world contrasted implicitly with the motive of the European space as a garden. The major idea that stands out in Forster is a man-animal world

where the animal kingdom has not yet been differentiated in distinct species. Animals and human beings as the following quote tells us are contiguous: "I think you ought not walk at night alone, Mrs Moore. There are bad characters about and leopards may come across from the Marabar Hills. Snakes also" (PI: 22). From India as an idealised setting there is a radical shift to India as threatening. For the members of the ruling race, India is so infested with dangerous animals and reptiles that a promenade is a perilous experience. Ronny, speaks with insistence to his mother about this: "[f]or example, a six-spot beetle [...] you pick it up, it bites, you die" (PI: 22). The gaze of the imperial agent does not fail to register even the existence of the smallest creatures to which they assign the greatest harm. Danger is not proportionate to the size of the creature.

In conclusion, I shall argue that Kipling and Forster make of the colonial world a monstrous world, in other words, a world that is significantly different from the motherland. Fear, horror and terror are attached to this world of monstrosity that threatens the existence of the white population. If Conrad's and Maugham's are less monstrous it is because their texts are set mostly in Africa and the Far East in the Malay Islands where animals and human beings do not live together for religious reasons. There are, for instance, no such charms in Africa or the Malay Archipelago as in India. However, to a larger extent all four writers display what can be called binary aesthetics, an aesthetics that paradoxically juxtaposes the exotic and monstrous. While the exotic attracts, the monstrous repels. This binary aesthetic can be further qualified in terms of an imperial sublime Edmund Burke spoke about in his famous book. In the imperial sublime, it is ambivalence which predominates. John James Clarke claims the existence of "an old age ambivalence in the West's attitudes towards the East" (1997: 2). The colonial world is described as an ideological site at whose heart is what Freud calls the *uncanny*. It is estranged in the double sense of exoticism and monstrosity and fulfils political and economic functions. On the objective structure of the Orient is projected

the political unconscious of the imperial power as a subjective restructure. This subjective re/structure as it will be shown in the following section is totally pointed in black. It contains white shades which are no less expressions detected in the monstrous side of the Orient.

C. The Orient as an Exotic Locale

The representation of the Orient as an exotic locale shows its attractiveness to the Western people. This aims at inciting imperial settlements there. This attractiveness has a variety of aspects related to the exotic objects it contains, its exotic climate and its beautiful landscape. For instance, a prevalent aspect of the exotic environment is the importance that is attached to Oriental odours, precious stones and jewels which have long been an important feature of Orientalist texts from the time of Marco Polo's reports of the richness of the East and Oriental texts like *The Arabian Nights*. These Oriental objects of desire have always had an alluring effect on Western subjects. This effect wears many facets: it can be economic and mercantile in the case of the ancient explorers like Marco Polo; it can be escapist in the case of the Romantic poets like Wordsworth, whose youth "daily from the east/ Must travel" (Wordsworth, 1996: 247); it can be idealist in the case of the American transcendental poets like Walt Whitman, whose "passage to India" is the West's idealist passage to the East of "myths and fables", "the far darting beams of the spirit" and "temples fairer than lilies, pour'd over by the rising sun!" (Whitman, 2010); it can be nostalgic and ideologically loaded in the case of Kipling. His exoticism cannot be detached from his childhood. He was born and socialised in Lahore, where he had his early contact with the beautiful landscape, full of colourful and beautiful objects. Kim, the title character of Kipling's book, is accustomed to these odours from his early childhood days:

> [he] was conscious that beyond the circle of light the room was full of things that smelt like all the temples of all the East. A whiff of musk, a puff of sandalwood, and a breath of sickly jasmine oil caught his opened nostrils. (K: 199)

It follows that Kipling appropriates the flavours and colours of the Orient as they are

described in Oriental fables like *The Arabian Nights* to describe the Oriental cities. Another instance concerns the city of Lucknow, which is described as a "fair city – a beautiful city" which has been embellished and adorned with "fantastic buildings" by kings (K: 162). "Undoubtedly", argues Harris, "the contrast between [Kipling's] childhood memories of India and his early years in England" can be observed "in his idealisation of India in *Kim* as a boy's wonderland" (1992: 17). More importantly, his nostalgic idealisation of India can be explained by his fear of the loss of this "wonderland". This is the result of the traumatic experience of the Indian Mutiny of 1857, which attempted to put an end to the British domination of India. It also arguably results from the turn of the century's "Great Game" or the New Imperialism, which involves a kind of struggle between the different European imperial powers for colonial possessions in the remaining territories of the Indian subcontinent which are not yet subjected to the British rule.

In spite of differences between Forster's and Kipling's attitude towards the British Raj, they share together this sense of the exotic. The picture they give us of India is a picture painted in black and white. For instance, in *A Passage to India*, despite the negative depiction of Chandrapore in the very beginning, the writer does not forget that India also plays some charms on the alien guest. This charm is linked to the effect of the sun and the night: exotic images that are very important in rising fascination of the Westerner. "But when the sky chooses", Forster says, "glory can rain into Chandrapore bazaars or a benediction pass from horizon to horizon. The sky can do this because it is so strong and so enormous" (PI: 10). The word *benediction* is significant, for it stands as the very exotic element of Chandrapore. Notwithstanding the great difference in terms of beauty between the English civil station and the rest of Chandrapore, which is mainly the result of the colonial system coupled with the Indians' neglect, the cosmic environment can endow the city with exotic features. One of the reasons for Adela's coming to India is to see such exotic beauties. Kipling and Forster adhere

to what is common to writers about colonial India, namely its description in terms of Oriental splendour and "the exotic landscape" (Wegner, 1994: 136). It goes without saying that the subjective structure of exoticism is a kind of cultural baggage meant to sell out the Orient for potential imperial visitors, settlers and stay-at-home admirers of the Orient.

Exoticism is not the dominant feature of Conrad's fiction, but a 'touch of the exotic East' can be seen between times. In *Lord Jim*, for example, we catch him speaking about "the bewitching breath of Eastern waters" (LJ: 15). The use of the word 'East' instead of the word 'Orient' is a mark of objectivity on the part of Conrad. Said argues that the word 'East' is substituted to the word 'Orient' when the latter is considered in positive terms. (1995: 208) Conrad associates the East with words like "infinite repose", "the gift of endless dreams" to emphasise the positive effect the East can have on the European. (LJ: 15). This impact is the result of the exotic landscape, full of unfamiliar vegetation unknown to the European like the palm trees and "the garlanded islets, lighted by festal sunshine" (LJ: 15). On the whole, however, the Orient as a territory, but not as a map, does not hold the same charms for his characters. Roland Barthes's words "the map is not the territory" applies to Conrad's exoticism. His characters like Marlow quit the world of maps to enter the territory, and the colonial world loses its exotic aura.

Maugham's exoticist representation of the Orient is mostly developed in *Of Human Bondage* with his express fascination with the exotic environment. It is further developed in his later Far Eastern stories. In "The Outstation", Mr Warburton finds relief at the beautiful sight of the surroundings of the station he rules. Despite his problems with his assistant Cooper, "[p]eace stole into Warburton's soul" when he admires the delicate silhouetting of the "palms trees [...] against the sky. (CT: 111) It is a way of saying that despite the difficulties that the imperial agents may have in the outposts of empire, there is always relief, this time thanks to the exotic aura. This exotic representation is preceded by Maugham's

desire to go there in his early years. This is revealed in *Of Human Bondage* through Philip, who has always led a solitary life and preferred refuge at reading travel books and admiring paintings about distant Oriental countries. He shows particular interest in Oriental classics like *The Arabian Nights* and cultural products like the Persian carpet. Both of them have fallen upon Philip's hands almost inadvertently, but he grew attached to them strongly. The kind of feeling he reaches when he is imaginatively and aesthetically transported in space from the West to the Orient is that of existence and liberty. He is specially captivated by the tales and the people of *The Arabian Nights* and the colours and motifs of the Persian carpet. In the beginning, what consumes him most is the pictures within the *The Arabian Nights,* for he is attracted by the colours and sensuality of Oriental objects and palaces. His interest grows from the pictorial to the textual:

> One day a good fortune befell him, for he hit upon Lane's translation of *The Thousand Nights and the Night.* He was captured first by illustrations, and then he began to read, to start with, the stories that dealt with magic, and then the others; and those he liked to read again and again. He could think of nothing else. He forgot the life about him. He had to be called two or three times before he would come to his dinner. (HB: 37)

The magic carpet that holds Philip in fascination is the objective correlation for the wonders of the East about which his friend Cronshow has spoken during one of the visits to the museum. Philip learns to respond to his quest for the meaning of life:

> Have you ever been to the Clungy, the museum? There you will see Persian carpets of the most exquisite hue and of a pattern the beautiful intricacy of which delights and amazes the eye. In them you will see the mystery and the sensual beauty of the East, the roses of Hafiz and the wine-cup of Omar; but presently you will see more. You were asking just now what was the meaning of life. Go and look at those Persian carpets, and one of these days the answer will come to you. (HB: 213)

Through the Orientalist cultural forms, Philip receives a foretaste of the Orient. He learns about the extent to which the individual feels free and his (or her) life becomes easy and worriless. He also shapes an idea about the impact of the environment on the artist. In terms of Orientalism, one can say that Maugham adopts the *textual attitude* which consists of introverting within one's texts the ideas developed in previous Orientalist cultural forms in

order to make clear one's own ideas and give more prominence to the text. The textual attitude emerges when a writer deals with a subject relatively unknown and distant to him (or her). He (or she) is, therefore, forced to refer to those archetypes like travel books which are already known to provide some authority to his (or her) own text. (Said, 1995: 43) Maugham's *metaphorical* trip to the Orient in *Of Human Bondage* is followed by a series of *real* trips to the Far East, the subject of a large majority of his Far Eastern tales and novels. In these texts, Maugham fulfils the second part of his "Romantic redemptive project" of escape to the Orient (Ibid. 154). This escapist project to the Orient is nourished by the textual attitude adopted in *Of Human Bondage*. It involves an exoticist depiction of the Oriental cultural environment. He insists on the freedom and moral uplift this environment allows the Europeans.

The textual attitude that is inherent to Maugham's stories can also be seen in his reference to Western texts. He owes much to travel books which:

> take [the reader] upon enchanted journeys of the spirit; and their matter-of-fact style, the admirable order, the concision with which the material is before [the reader], the stern sense of the practical that informs every line, cannot dim the poetry that, like the spice-laden breeze that assails your senses with a more than material languor when you approach some of those magic islands of the Eastern seas, blows with so sweet a fragrance through the printed pages. They tell [about] the anchorages and the landing places, what supplies [one] can get at each spot, and where [one] can get water; they tell [one] the lights and buoys, tides, winds […] They [briefly inform] about the population and the trade. (VW: 813-814)

Through what he read in Western travel books and Oriental cultural archives, Maugham cultivated a romantic and idealist idea of the Orient. Soon after his personal experience of the Orient, however, his idealism became less intense. His book reads as if the imagined Orient, the Orient of the museum and that of books fade as soon as one enters into contact with the "real" Orient. The dream never becomes true; it turns into nightmare. It functions as a safety valve for the Western non-conformists by providing an escape from Victorian conventions. Captain Nichols in Maugham's *The Narrow Corner* says: "[i]f a man wanted to keep out of the way of the police I should think he'd be pretty safe here" (NC: 20). The East is a far away

bohemia in which the outcasts are redeemed from violence. In "The Vessel of Wrath", this idea comes out most prominently. Ginger Ted's violence is cooled by the exotic environment.

Conrad allows less free reign to his imagination in terms of the exotic than Maugham. To explain this point, it has to be noted that Conrad is more concerned with the idea that the imperial enterprise involves human sacrifice both on the side of the colonisers and that of the colonised people. Therefore, it is no surprise that throughout his fiction there is this predomination of the idea of the Orient as a dangerous experience over the idea of exoticism. One can say that the Orient, to paraphrase Andre Gide, does not provide the "nourritures terrestres", that it supplies for his fellow British authors. His personal experience in the Congo and elsewhere in the colonial world including his native Poland has overshadowed the exotic aspect.

All in all, the portrayal of the Orient as a physical and cultural place and the Oriental as a human being is an ambivalent portrayal in both the four authors' non-fiction and fictions. The ambivalent attitude of colonial discourse towards to the territory of the 'Other' is best illustrated by Kipling's fiction. The motif of the native land as a land of desire and dream is paralleled with the fear of the unknown East as a dangerous land, which is considered in many cases as a perilous experience for the English subject. Kipling's enthusiastic depictions of India are contrasted to some moments of fear of it. This fear expresses itself through three main forms. First, the land is associated with primitivism and backwardness, which is a central tenet of the nineteenth century imperial ideologies. Second, elements of this primitive land pave the way to the emergence of deadly diseases, which are the result of the association of the tropical climate and lack of hygiene. Third, the so-called wilderness, which tends to extend to the city, is inhabited by dangerous man-eating and man-biting animals. In India, there is an inherent interaction between beasts and people. This is the central idea that is developed in *The Jungle Books.*

Contrary to the three other writers, Maugham plays up exoticism, an exoticism that he deflates to conform to the binary imperial aesthetics. Kipling and Maugham can be placed on a continuum going from an exotic view of the Orient to a monstrous one at the other end. The non-fiction of these two writers shows that personal experience of the two authors has much to do with this placement. It is nostalgia that explains to a large extent Kipling's fiction. But this nostalgia does not count much on desire to legitimate the conquest of another people and country on the basis of its monstrous spaces and people. Personal reasons also explain the exacerbated exoticism of a Maugham. In his non-fiction and fiction, Maugham looks for personal redemption. His view of the Orient and the Oriental is most romantic since it is deeply anchored or steeped to the idea that it is a place of escape from the restraint of Victorian civilisation. However, his romantic attitude does not fail to give to the general ideology of imperial culture of his time. The author's ideology counts less if compared to the sway that the ideology of empire exercises over his fiction since we see Maugham's exotic Orient giving place to a monstrous representation of the same Orient when he comes in contact with it.

For different reasons raised in the non-fiction section, Conrad and Forster can be placed in the same continuum. The former learns exoticism more than the latter. Forster in a way gives the consequences of the European projection on the Orient and the Oriental. This is the Oriental gothic displacing excessive exoticism to give rise to collective fears. Forster makes of the Marabar Caves Adela's object of desire to see India. But the dictates of her race coupled with the echo in the caves make her imagine danger springing out of Aziz. Adela is not interested in dialogue and cultural understanding in choosing to be accompanied to the caves by a native; her only desire is to see the marvels of India. Aziz later on figures out that "[Adela's] pose of 'seeing India' which had seduced him […] at Chandrapore was only a form of ruling India; no sympathy lay behind it" (PI: 301). Her interest conforms to the

dictates of the colonial system which forbids any intimacy between the coloniser and the colonised. Therefore, the episode of the caves widens the cleavage between the native space and the coloniser's one. The incident of the cave serves as another means to try the nerves of the two castes in the face of interracial dialogue. Sarai Jung argues that in the "aftermath of the Marabar Caves the English do no longer only ignore the Indians but turn cruel and sadistic" (2007: 12). In fact, the illusory assault on Adela is the result of the official rules that did not allow any British to mix with the Indians, and the outcome is that the English have become more and more contemptuous towards the Indians. The incident of the Caves belongs to the collective imaginary of the colonisers, and they take it as an assault on their race. The conviction of native danger was enforced upon Adela by Ronny and the other officials. Therefore, the echo in the Marabar caves makes her see danger emanate from Aziz. Forster shows what would be the outcome of cultural intercourse in the then state of affairs. The English become increasingly violent and irrespective of the Indians. The Indians on their part start to have a nationalist consciousness which is shown through Aziz's attitude by the end of the novel confessing to Fielding despite their reconciliations: "[m]y heart is for my own people henceforward" (PI: 298).

Given this cleavage, Forster uses another Indian object of desire to voice his liberal message. This concerns "The Temple" of the third part of *A Passage to India*. The temple refers to the Hindu religion and philosophy of life. For Forster, in order to bridge the cleavage there should necessarily be dialogue between the Anglo-Indians and the Indians. This seems to result from the fundamentals of Hinduism. It is no accident that Fielding and Aziz decide to reconcile with each other in Mau, the Hindu area where Hinduism preaches the spirit of universal love. The temple is the shrine where the Hindus worship their religion and get in touch with the Krishna spirit. This part of the novel is set at a chosen time when the Hindus celebrate the birth of Krishna, the deity of universal love, reconciliation and peace. Wolfgang

Burkle sums up the events of this part:

> During this part friendship is again established between the two individuals Fielding and Aziz, when everything between is explained. Aziz finally forgives Adela and realizes his mistakes of the two last years. He also befriends Mrs Moore's children who bring a spirit of love and friendship to both cultures almost like their mother did. The new relationship cancel the bad effects of the Marabar Caves; but real friendship between the two cultures cannot be established, there is only reconciliation […] This is Forster's final view: the two cultures are not yet ready for real friendship. (2007: 4-5)

Using the Anglo-Indians' mixed attitudes towards the space of the Indians, as both object of desire and dangerous space, Forster depicts the colonial space as it is and restructures it into a space as it should be. The breach between the natives and the colonisers in the beginning of the novel is endemic to the space as it is. However, through the Temple, Forster shows that this colonial space could be changed into a more harmonious one in order to perpetuate English rule in India, so he restructures it 'as it should be'.

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Conclusion to Part One

The analysis of the representation of the Orientals and the Orient from the narrative versus vision, and the objective versus subjective structure in the four authors' non-fictions and fictional works leads to the following provisional conclusions. The most important one is that authorial ideology is inflected in the direction of the general ideology of empire. No matter the personal beliefs of the four authors expressed in the non-fiction, they finish by abiding to the rules of the imperial game. Can they do otherwise? The answer is in the negative because their works are inscribed in an imperial tradition, whose main tenet is a biased historical sense. In the period of high imperialism in which the four authors wrote their works, it is the celebration rather than the critique of empire that is the stuff of history in the West. As an Anglo-Indian Kipling cannot but act the role of a propagandist for a British India. Doing otherwise would be like asking French Algerian authors like Louis Bertrand not to celebrate the idea of a French/ Latin Algeria. Similarly, asking a Conrad who sought and earned a British nationality to criticise imperial Britain would be like asking Albert Camus to prefer an Independent Algeria over his adoptive mother that is colonial France. Similarly, in spite of his liberal ideology, it would be unrealistic to ask Forster to be an Algerian Fanon committed to the celebration of the wretched of the earth, though like the latter he gives us a picture of an Anglo-India divided highly into opposing camps. Maugham is no less an imperial author through his quest, like that of the French André Gide, for "les nourritures terrestres". For these to be preserved there is an urgent need to preserve the empire.

A second conclusion is that at the level of form vision predominates over narrative when the Orient is represented. Style, Roland Barthes tells us, is an act of historical solidarity (Barthes, 1968: 14). The four authors' historical solidarity with empire building expresses itself in the tableaux vivants that the authors present us, as if their non-fiction and fictional works are museum and curiosity shops, horror halls all of them elevated for satisfying

contrary impulses of admiration and fear. Narrative agency does not belong to the Oriental wax figures of these textual houses of entertainment and empire ideology. In other words, the Oriental and the Orient are disempowered the better to make the white agents as imperial adventurers, doctors, hygiene workers, protectory soldiers etc.

The third conclusion that can be drawn is that all the authors are involved in fantasising about the Orient and the Oriental. The subjective structure transforms the objective structure in response to various needs. Hence, we find a Kipling dreaming about the establishment of an empire as a home for a displaced British aristocracy because of the democratic drive at home in Britain. We also find a Forster in a wish fulfilment as he dreams of an Anglo-India of brotherhood at the time when the Indian nationalist movement was on the rise. Similarly, we have Conrad who knocks one type of imperialism against another telling us that the Oriental idea is still valid if Britain decides to act on it. Finally, there is a Maugham involved in the celebration of an imperial Orient as a way to heal the cultural exhaustion of Europe. In short, the subjective structure undermines the objective structure. In other words, romance displaces realism as a mode of representation no matter whether the authors were writing non-fiction or fiction. The authors, each for different reasons, are complicit with the Empire building that is the greatest romance that Europe in general and Britain in particular were involved in at the third quarter of the nineteenth century and the early twentieth. This complicity as it will be shown in the second part of this thesis shows prominently in the authors' trading of authorial ideology for the general ideology of empire.

PART TWO

Colonial Discourse's Imperialist Ideologies and Strategies of Control

Another aspect of the imperial tradition is the working out of imperialist ideologies and strategies of control in the texts. Before the implementation of the imperial systems in the colonial world, the people and their environment were subject to the different compartments of Western knowledge. In time, knowledge about the colonised people became an essential strategy of control so that this dialectic became a fundamental aspect of colonial discourse. As far as the British Empire is concerned, the accumulation of knowledge about the colonised populations and their environment was conducted in the framework of the British Academy and its different departments like the Royal Geographical Society, the Linguistic Department and so on. Generally, every writer about the empire assumes precedent experience there, which allows him (or her) accumulate some knowledge about it. This knowledge is injected within the imperial archive in two ways. First, they express it in their non-fiction writings like journal articles, private and professional letters and other such texts. Second, the writers create a kind of information and control dialectic within their fictions. The two aspects make up two fundamental elements of the discourse of empire.

The knowledge and power dialectic makes the imperialists know the discursive sites where they could devise imperialist ideologies. This is important, for the establishment and consolidation of empire required the adoption of these ideologies. The subjection of the colonial world into the scrutiny of the Western imperialist made it possible to know where exactly to infer imperialist ideologies. Therefore, after the accumulation of knowledge about the political, economic, cultural and intellectual life of the colonised people, they came to the conclusion that these aspects provide significant sites where they could discourse on the importance of the implementation of the imperial power, to a certain extent, without being blamed in the metropolis and in the colonies.

CHAPTER FOUR

The Writers' Residence in the Orient and the Power/Knowledge Dialectic

The four writers under study have precedent experience of the Orient, and in their texts there is a certain will to share this experience. Said claims that any Orientalist author's text provides a "fresh new repository to Oriental experience" (1995: 169) in the West. It is a new repository, for it contributes to an already existing archive. This archive is the result of what he calls the power/ knowledge dialectic, in which a process of information accumulation for the sake of domination is engaged. It subjects the Orient into Western knowledge in order to dominate it. He states that "the object of such knowledge is inherently vulnerable to scrutiny […] To have such knowledge of such a thing is to dominate it, to have authority over it" (Ibid. 32). Therefore, the Orient as a colonial locale is viewed as "the laboratory [and] theater of effective Western knowledge about the Orient" (Ibid. 43). The Orientalists, writers or other experts, pose as the specialists in imperial matters.

The practice of accumulating knowledge in order to dominate formally started with Napoleon's imperial expedition into Egypt in 1798. When Napoleon arrived in Egypt, he was not only accompanied by an army of soldiers that would occupy the land militarily but by a body of scholars whose duty was to investigate the Egyptian customs, manners, laws in order to facilitate the transition of Egypt from a free land to a French colony. (Said, 2010) French scientists, philologists, architects were recruited to study Egypt in a systematic way and to produce a kind of scientific survey designed not for the people they were conquering but for the conquerors and their desire for power and domination. In the case of Britain, the first interest in knowing the Orient was made in the eighteenth century. However, it was only later in the nineteenth century that this process came to be matched with imperial domination. In India, it became a particularly organised project that helped shape the British Raj in 1858. Literature participated in this dialectic of knowledge and power since many writers were also

committed to the imperial affairs of their countries, and their personal experiences counted much in their commitment. They provided what can be named a literary Orientalism that became part and parcel of the imperial culture.

It is as persons of firsthand experiences of the Orient and as imaginative authors that Kipling, Forster, Maugham and Conrad wrote about the Orient. Kipling spent much of his life in the service of the Raj, writing for the *Civil and Military Gazette* and the *Pioneer*. Forster made two visits to India which allowed him befriend some Indians and work as private secretary to one of the native rulers. Maugham made several voyages as a professional writer and was received in the Rajah's and the Sultans' courts. As a seaman and professional writer, Conrad had direct experience of the colonial world through his voyage to the Congo and his Malay Islands. Our authors' experience of the colonial world gave them authority to speak about the Orient making public pronouncements about the Orient in the non-fiction writings within which they brought their knowledge of the colonial space and the imperial experience. At the same time, they shared an imperial legacy, a heritage that is put to use in the writing of fiction.

Non-Fiction

The will to participate in Orientalism shows in the necessity that our authors felt in writing non-fiction testimonies about their experience in the Orient. Every one of them transforms that knowledge into a personal aesthetic the aim of which is to participate in the process of the accumulation of information for the sake of domination. We feel that they are anxious about taking part in this dialectic of knowledge and power. To start with Kipling, the fact that he was born and socialised in India gives him a very important precedence over his other fellow imperial authors in terms of knowledge about India. This allowed him to have an extensive knowledge of the Indian subcontinent and its people. He started to serve the Raj through the articles he wrote for the columns of the *Civil and Military Gazette* and *The*

Pioneer, where he delivers the knowledge that he had accumulated about the Orient to the general public and the imperial machine. It is practically from the perspective of the man who knows India from within and not from the outside that Kipling prefers to write about India.

In the case of Forster, his two visits to India shaped his knowledge of the Anglo-Indian imperial situation. In his first visit, he learnt about the situation of "unrest" (LEMF VI: 196) in the British Raj and what was awaiting it if the situation of crisis was not attended to move seriously. In his second one, he dug further into the situation of crisis to come with the diagnosis of a simple state of "unrest" caused by the rise of Indian nationalist movements. Playing the role of political sociologist, he suggests the solution of building a kind of brotherhood with the Indians. From writer Forster turns into a journalist and imperial advisory expert of Indian affairs.

The power/ knowledge dialectic is also present in Conrad's non-fictional writings about his personal experience of the colonial world. It is in his letters that one feels this anxiety towards the transfer of knowledge acquired out of experience of the colonial world to correspondents, whether they are politicians like Hugh Clifford, editors like William Blackwood, or friends and relatives. Though *A Personal Record* is concerned primarily with recording facts about his life, it is also a record of personal experience in the outposts of empire from which information can be drawn for the management of imperial business. It can be said that Conrad is an imperial outsider, a foreigner in the service of empire building.

Finally, travel broadens the mind, the saying goes. So does it seem in the case of Maugham, whose major motive for travelling to the Orient is to know more about the East the better to kill the cultural fatigue of the West. Through his writings, he imparts this knowledge to an audience that may or may not be imperialist. Just like any other imperial writer, he participates in the accumulation of knowledge about the Orient. This expresses itself through non-fiction writings like *The Gentleman in the Parlour*, *Points of View* and *A Writer's*

Notebook all of which disseminated knowledge which enriches the archive of knowledge about the Far East.

A. The Writer as Authority

In the *The World, the Text and the Critic*, Said speaks of "affiliation" as the process by which an individual writer is integrated into a given order as an authority within the authority of that order (1983: 19). Conrad both expresses this authority that empire had over the Western imagination when he makes Marlow dream about visiting the blank spaces of a world map. Naturally, therefore, when our four writers came to write they were already heirs to a tradition they did not only seek to preserve but also to refine and revise if necessary in obedience to the order of empire. Their personal experience of the Orient make them look like public figures speaking in the name of that empire which gave them the space for expression of their own authority as authors.

Kipling's non-fiction displays knowledge about India. He gives, for example, a detailed account of the history of Chitor. He informs about the date when it was founded, the major events it went through, the legends around its rulers and so forth. Chitor knew a turbulent past, for it had to face different wars. It was founded by Bappa Rawul, and nine "princes succeeded [him] between 728 and 1068 AD. And among these was one Alluji, who built a Jain tower upon the brow of the hill" (WPVRK SSLT: 95). The rules of these princes were followed by "eleven turbulent reigns" (WPVRK SSLT: 96). Chitor knew a tumultuous past, and this testifies to the importance of the city and the extent to which it can fall an easy prey to foreign forces. The same historical details are given about the city of Gerowlia. The fact that the historical details concern mainly native ruled states is proof enough of Kipling's desire to contribute to the extension of the British Raj. The history of an area can be regarded as an attempt to have power of the area and take control of it politically or militarily. Forster joins in this archaeological, historical and geographical account of the colonial world. Both

Pharos and Pharillon and *Alexandria: a History and Guide*, offer an exhaustive study of Alexandria and Egypt. In *Alexandria,* he provides details about the history of Alexandria saying that it was "founded by Alexander the Great" (AHG: 8), and it was developed by "the Ptolemies" (AHG: 13). *Alexandria* is replete with historical details that integrate him within the "historiographic" department of empire.

To be efficient in integrating native-ruled states to the British Raj, geographical knowledge of these states is also important. Kipling's letters read as detailed geographical accounts of many native-ruled states. He accounts for the historical background of Chitor, and he lets the Westerner/ British reader know how it can be accessed by giving information about its physical geography:

> The ascent to Chitor, which begins from within the southeast angle of the town, is nearly a mile to the upper gate, with a slope of about 1 in 15. There are two zigzag bends, and on the three portions thus formed are seven gates, of which one, however, has only the basement left." This is the language of fact, which, very properly, leaves out of all account the Genius of the Place, who sits at the gate nearest the new city and is with the sight-seer throughout. The first impression of repulsion and awe is given by a fragment of tumbled sculpture close to a red-daubed *lingam*, near the Padal Pol, or lowest gate. It is a piece of frieze, and the figures of the men are worn nearly smooth by time. What is visible is finely and frankly obscene to an English mind.
> The road is protected on the cliff side by a thick stone wall, loopholed for musketry, one aperture to every two feet, between fifteen and twenty feet high. This wall is being repaired throughout its length by the Maharana of Udaipur. On the hillside, among the boulders, loose stones, and dhak scrub, lies stone wreckage that must have come down from the brown bastions above. (WPVRK SS LT: 107)

Kipling in the above gives crucial details about how to reach Chitor easily and efficiently. It reads as if he was looking for recruitment in that "observational and travel department" known as the British Geographical Society. In other words, Kipling poses as a geographer proposing a kind of cartographic account of the city for the sake of controlling it. It has to be noted that in the nineteenth century, cartography and geography as scientific disciplines were complicit with imperialism. At the disposition of the European Empires were specialists in these disciplines, who draw maps of the overseas dominions and colonies. In Kipling's letters, there is a certain desire to share his knowledge with the British imperialists, and the fact that

he published most of his writings in *The Civil and Military Gazette* is evidence of this will to power and authority.

Imperialism and Orientalism are like a joint-stock company, so it is not surprising that Maugham expresses his interest to be part and parcel of the joint venture of empire building. Like the other fellow British writers, he tried his hand as geographer, archaeologist and historian. What follows fixes an objective to:

> set down now for his edification a few facts of general **interest**. Angkor was a city of great extent, the capital of a powerful empire, and for ten miles around the jungle is dotted with the remains of the temples that adorned it. Angkor Wat is but one of these and has claimed more than the rest the attention of the archaeologist, the restorer, and the traveller, only because when discovered by the West it was in a less ruined state. No one knows why the city was abandoned so suddenly that they have found blocks of stones in the quarries ready to take their place in an unfinished temple, and the experts have in vain sought for plausible explanation. (GP: 234; emphasis added)

Clearly, Maugham tells that he has acquired enough archaeological and historical knowledge to speak with authority about his object of knowledge and to be hired as an expert. The city of Angkor at the turn of the thirteenth Century "was one of the great cities of the East; two hundred years later it was the resort of wild beasts" (GP: 235). In the same manner, Forster adds an archaeological account of the history of the wonderful city of Alexandria. He speaks with enthusiasm about Alexandria's lighthouse on the island of Pharos. "No doubt it entered into Alexander the Great's scheme for his maritime capital" (AHG: 144). He writes that the lighthouse knew its first "disaster" after the "Arab Conquest" in A.D. 641. Its "lantern" fell around A.A. 700 (AHG: 146). This shows the extent to which the Arab rulers are destructive towards what has been erected by ages of European civilisation in Egypt.

As archaeologists, historians, geographers and experts in architecture, our four writers are not ideological neutral. All of them deployed the discourse strategy consisting of sublimating the classic periods of the countries they lived in or visited the better to deflate them. Whether the achievements were assigned to previous European conquerors as in the case of Forster or to native rulers as in Kipling and Maugham, the conclusion is always the

same. These achievements were only transitory and temporary since they soon fell into oblivion either because of the retreat of the white conquerors or the despotism of the native rulers. It is implied that the British imperialism would bring back or restore the systems of the classical age of the people they want to control. To do so they need another type of knowledge that the four writers are ready to supply. This knowledge is ethnographic and demographic. This may help in what is called, for instance, the 'divide and rule' strategy of control. Kipling writes: "population of Boondi seems more obviously mixed than that of the other States. There are four or five thousand Mahometans within its walls, and a sprinkling of aborigines of various varieties, besides the human raffle that the Bunjaras bring in their train, with Pathans and sleek Delhi men" (WPVRK SSLT: 186-187). The division of the population into different ethnic and religious communities can be appropriate for any power to take hold of the city. It can be easy for the English, for instance, to create internal clashes among the Indus and Muslims given the difference in religious beliefs and practices. Kipling, Forster and Maugham are similar in their affiliation to the different branches of the British Academy, which was in line with the British imperial enterprise.

What the authors are concerned with is primarily making the Western reader read the mind of the natives to give them the sense of power over them. Forster poses as the expert of the mind and character of the natives and their rulers. He uses this expertise for political purposes. *The Hill of Devi* is a kind of pamphleteering collection of letters that provide the British imperialists necessary knowledge on how to keep the Empire in place in the Indian subcontinent. First of all, India suffers from "unrest" (LEMF VI: 196) as a result of the colonial system and the racial feeling it is based on. For Forster, blind obedience to the superiority/ inferiority dialectic impedes the harmony between the Indians and the Anglo-Indians. As long as the Anglo-Indians keep bullying the Indians, there should always be a barrier between the two races, and this barrier will increase from day to day until a clash

emerges. In "The State and its Rulers", Forster relates the story of a British imperial agent who used to have problems with the Indians because "he had the feeling of racial superiority which was among Englishmen at that time" (HD: 64). However, this agent named Malcolm soon realised the source of the barrier and in "a few months lost it, and it never returned. They became fond of each other and every difficulty vanished" (HD: 64).

Forster explains the Indian unrest by the character of the Indians, who like affection and courtesy. So, sympathising with them is better than showing contempt towards them. An Indian may say: "[i]t is only for the sake of those who love us that we do things" (HD: 61), which is a "dangerous creed" (HD: 61) for Forster. This is to say that all the good work done by the English in India is eclipsed by the simple act of not showing affection or love for the Indians. The Indians are more liable to remember insult or contempt towards their race than acknowledge the good work done under the imperial enterprise. It is necessary, therefore, that the British imperial agents change their attitudes towards their so-called 'subalterns'. The British imperial agent should follow the footsteps of Malcom, for whom "[a]ffection and its attendants of human warmth and instinctive courtesy—when they were present his heart awoke and dictated his actions" (HD: 65).

The opposite of Malcolm is certainly Colonel Wilson. The colonel did much for the Indians. However, he is arrogant and accepts neither social intercourse nor any form of sympathy with the Indians. And this dwarfs everything he does for them. In this regard, Forster writes:

> I have been with pro-Government and pro-English all this time, so cannot realise the feeling of the other party: and am only sure of this—that we were paying for the insolence of Englishmen and Englishwomen out here in the past. I don't mean that good manners can avert a political upheaval. But they can minimise it, and come nearer to averting it in the East than elsewhere. English manners out here have improved wonderfully in the last eight years. Some people are frightened, others seem really to have undergone a change of heart.
> But it's too late. Indians don't long for social intercourse with Englishmen any longer. They have made a life of their own. (HD: 237)

It is men and women like Colonel Wilson who incite the Indians to be more aggressive with

their so-called 'benefactor'. Anglo-India needs to make the pro-English Indians carry on their support of the English by attending to public relations. We see here Forster adopting the posture of a man who knows the people with whom he has gone into contact. He poses as an expert of public relations ready to sell out his wares (his expertise) in exchange of social recognition as an authority in the field. He warns the British authorities against many Indians. If people like the Indian nationalists like Gandhi are pyromaniac, Forster proposes his services as a fire fighter for the sake of empire.

Forster goes so far as to enter into debate with Sir Frederick Luggard about his proposition to "apportion British India among royaller rulers, and control the whole peninsula through them" (EMFAT, 127). It has to be underlined that Luggard is the precursor of the concept of "indirect rule" in the colonies, a policy that fits well in the liberal imperial scheme. He proposes to study the question before taking the decision of cooperating with the native rulers to contain the Indian nationalist movements in Anglo-India. For Forster, any such decision will probably not work given the character of the native rulers. In "The Mind of the Indian Native State" (1922), he considers the native rulers as both despotic and incompetent. Though the majority of these native princes have studied in Britain, they remain archaic and feudatory in mind and practice. Therefore, if the collaboration is to be instituted, these parameters should be taken into consideration to ensure its efficiency. When the native-ruled states receive the official visits of the emissaries of the King-Emperor, they resort to tricky displays of broadmindedness. For instance, they "fortify themselves by internal reforms, by spreading education, and by granting constitutions" (EMFAT: 132). In reality, these reforms are just "showy exhibits that flower in the capital, but have no roots in the country districts. An education that frees the mind, a constitution that gives effect to such freedom, can never be tolerated by a man who believes in autocracy and possibly thinks divine" (EMFAT: 132). As they are just deceitful displays, it is necessary to be careful in cooperating with them. So,

the suspicion of the society is in order in any attempt at cooperation with the native rulers.

Kipling is even more ready to play the role of politician and expert. In the series of articles he wrote on the North West Afghan border crisis of 1885, he indirectly plays the secret agent of the Raj, *informing* them about the Russian threat that weighs upon the empire. In "The Central Asian Question" (1885), he assumes that "Russia will annex, more or less formally and completely, every inch of ground in central Asia, not defended and safeguarded by Britain" (CAQ: 111). The threat to the Raj is that Russia is not only plotting to advance to the North West borders of the Raj but also to invade it when occasion arises and the means available. Kipling is aware that the Liberal government is doing nothing to undermine these plottings so that he insistently warns against the Liberal policies, running the risk of being dismissed with his "illiberal and narrow minded effusions" (LRK VI: 93). Also, he knows that the Russians have the subversive power to mount the natives against their Raj to serve their expansionist interests. "Every one who felt dissatisfied with our rule, who was impelled by some real or fancied grievance into a feeling of disloyalty, would be tempted to hold communications with the agents of a Power which might be destined to upset our Raj" (CAQ: 113). Therefore,

> unless English officers were stationed in the North West Afghanistan, Russia could, under favourable circumstances, occupy Herat before we knew anything of the move, save perhaps for uncertain rumours. Merve and Serrakhs were occupied with the same secret celerity. [...] From Serrakhs, the Russians could reach Herat, marching in force, within little over a fortnight. Simultaneous movements might be made on Balk [sic] and Chitral; both of which positions might like Herat, be seized before a British force could even be placed at Kandahar. These movements are perfectly feasible. [...] Holding then these positions, she would be able to insist on a rectification of the Afghan frontier; and England would have to recognise Herat and probably Afghan Turkstan as a Russian province. (CAQ: 111-112)

Kipling is calling for action to preserve the interests of the Raj from the North West. It is out of his valuable work for *The Civil and Military Gazette* that he managed to compile this body of information about the Russian threat for the Raj. He not only uses his craft as a journalist, but he also refers to his mastery of Russian to decipher the opinion of the Russians on the

issue through translating several passages from Russian journals. What should be said here is that Kipling's aim at consolidating the Raj goes beyond its borders. He aspires to protect the frontier against the external threats. Also, his mastery of Russian makes him an ideal imperial agent, an agent capable of understanding both the enemy within and the enemy without. He belongs to what can be called the Linguistic Department as part and parcel of imperialism.

Conrad's resentment against Russian occupation of his native Poland came to the support of Kipling in his urge of the British imperial power to contain its advance. In a letter to Spiridion Kliszcszwski of December 19th, 1885, immediately after Kipling's writings about the Russian threat to the British Raj, he anxiously remarks that if the Liberals are elected to the Home Government, the British Empire will be under threat, especially as a result of Russian influence. He writes what follows:

> The Great British Empire went over the edge, and yet on the inclined plane of social progress and radical reform. The downward movement is hardly perceptible yet, and the clever men who started it may flatter themselves with the progress; but they will soon find that the fact of the nation is out of their own hands. […]The destiny of this nation and of all nations is to be accomplished in darkness amidst much weeping and gnashing of teeth, to pass through robbery, equality, anarchy, and misery under the iron rule of militarism [sic] despotism! Such is the lesson of common sense logic.
> (CLJC VI: 16)

Presumably involved as a colonial exile from Russian Poland, Conrad forgets his commitment to the Liberal ideology to the extent of wishing the Liberals not elected for the simple reason that the British liberals seemed to ignore the Russian threat to the British Empire, his home country.

Apart from his concern about the Russian threat, Conrad is ready to put his experience as a sea man at the disposal of the British Empire. He claims that experience makes any seaman a kind of library to the European people, for any experienced seaman has things to say about the foreign/ colonial parts of the world. This is best illustrated in one of his acquaintances, namely Captain Froud, whom he met in the Merchant Marine. "It is impossible", Conrad says, "not to pay him the tribute of affectionate familiarity at this

distance of years—had very sound views as to the advancement of knowledge and status for the whole body of the officers of the mercantile marine" (PR: 7). Men like Captain Froud deserve the respect and tribute of any other seaman who serves the Empire, for they are essential for the effective administration of the Empire. The insistence on the word Empire here is motivated by the fact that the Merchant Marine stands as the emblem of the Empire, and anyone who serves the Marine generally serves the Empire.

The political turn that Conrad gives to the experiences of English individuals in the colonial world can easily read in his letter to Sir Hugh Clifford when he was appointed Governor of Labuan and North Borneo in December 1898. Conrad, in this letter, is anxious to transmit the little experience of the Malay Archipelago he has to the colonial administrator in order to accomplish his tasks more efficiently. He writes:

> I hope that at first You will have no war on your hands; not at any rate till you get good hold. Who is Mat Saleh? I've seen the name in the papers some time ago. Should think he is none of the Brunei Royal gang. Is he? One would think the name of a villager. It has a plebeian sound. Your letter warned my heart. May good fortune attend you and your people; and thinking of your 'House' I wonder whether Sandakan is as healthy as Pahang. You will have the Sulu people for the next door neighbours. When the expanding Yanks begin to gallop their imperial gunboats up and down the Archipelago may have some queer refugees in your Kingdom. I once knew a gentleman of that sort – but he was from Basilan. He traded in coconuts and – I regret to say – in women. Incidentally he endeavoured to split my skull with a horrid wood chopper. This kind of intention was unfortunately frustrated by some people who really had nothing to see in the matter, and now my head is ready to burst with worries of sort. (CLJC VII: 126)

Conrad in this letter seems quite informed about the political situation which Hugh Clifford was called to manage. Among other things, he informs him that danger could be expected from the presence of a man called Mat Saleh since that man was a criminal of sorts. He indicates possible political alliances with his neighbouring Malays to confront internal and external threats. According to Lloyd Fernando "Conrad did not, after all, have an intimate knowledge of the Malaysian life" (1976: 79). Conrad writes modestly to William Blackwood: "[w]ell I never did set up as an authority on Malaysia. I looked for a medium in which to express myself. I am inexact and ignorant no doubt" (CLJC VII: 130). Yet the experience he

had as a seaman made him contribute a great deal to this limited knowledge. The information he provides Hugh Clifford set him an authority less important than Kipling but crucial to empire. In spite of his limited knowledge, he is ready to trade it with the smallest social recognition that he can get from the imperial power at the periphery and at the centre. In sum, the readiness to serve the empire that the four authors showed in the public sphere of non-fiction writing speaks about the power that imperialism and Orientalism exerted on them as an authority to be respected before getting their credentials as authors in fiction.

Fiction

It is in the field of fiction that this anxiety for authorship shows most. Through interdependent fractions in the fiction section, I shall attempt to illustrate how the four authors' fiction is involved in a similar dialectic of knowledge and power and an equally similar interplay between the personal and the political. Fiction emerges as another mode of knowledge that the authors deploy in search of accomplishment as individual authorities within the imperial tradition.

As far as Kipling is concerned, his fiction is directly concerned with the exercise of English knowledge in India. This is the predominant atmosphere of *Kim*. The novel is a discourse in which power relationships determine the epistemological status of the information that circulates in it. It is based on Britain as a metropolitan centre of power which subjects and rules India as its "periphery". The knowledge from the periphery that Kipling delivers through the central character is there to be fed into the machine of imperialism at the centre. He imagines the dialectic of power and knowledge played out as a Great Game which stands as a metaphor of the political and military contestants or adversaries, the Russians and the Britons as classmen. He imagines the dialectic of knowledge and power in terms of the Great Game of which the chief player is his juvenile hero Kim. He moves his classmen on the political chessboards with such deftness that the Russian adversaries and their collaborators

are always kept in control. The Great Game is a political game and our hero has always the knowledge of the political moves that have to be made to control the enemy. This power/ knowledge dialectic is also predominant in other short stories like "The Man Who Would Be King" and "At the End of the Passage".

Just as Kim is the product of the anxiety that Kipling feels at the threat of the Russian invasion of the empire, Forster's *A Passage to India* is an attempt to bridge the gap between the native Indians and the Anglo-Indians. Their function is also similar since both try to understand the threat to the fabric of empire and to propose solutions to face it. Though both novels are primarily fiction, they do not hide their epistemological quest for understanding the crises of the British Empire. Fiction becomes a mode of knowledge acquisition, a pedagogical tool used to acquire understanding in order to refurbish the play of power under novel imperial circumstances. Said speaks of Orientalism as a class and the Orient as a "classroom" (1978: 41). It is the classroom that comes to mind when one reads the two fictions as they try to explain to the reader how to deal with the situation. Forster engages his narrative within a dynamic of information gathering through making his central English characters, Mr Fielding, mainly and Mrs Moore and Adela Quested, fuse within the natives to know about them and their character within the state of affairs concerning Anglo-India. Mr Fielding, Mrs Moore and Adela Quested are just like the classmen that Kipling involves in the Great Game to explain how to hold a check-make.

The idea of Orientalism as a class finds one of its best expression in Maugham's fiction. Without explicitly stating, Maugham tells us that he has always dreamed about the Orient to break out of Western bondage. What is implicit in such affirmations is that Maugham is brought up or rather schooled in the idea of the empire as a place of escape. Most anthropologists affirm that people across different cultures and times live by metaphor. One of these is that the "sun turns around the earth". It is the metaphor of the empire as a refuge

from fatigue that Maugham tries to realise when he becomes a grown up. Yet once Maugham got up at the centre of empire making his dream come true, he turns into a teacher for those who stayed at home. Through his frequent travels to the Orient, he got privileges from the native Sultans and the colonial administrators, which allowed him in his turn to act as teacher/ witness about the colonial situation, which he voiced in his texts like *The Casuarina Tree*.

We find a similar idea of Orientalism as a class in Conrad when he makes his hero Marlow stand in his childhood in front of a map dreaming of travelling to distant places of empire. Naturally, a map stands as a metonymy for the Orientalist tradition as a school or class where children are taught to have dreams of travelling to the empire. Just like Maugham, Conrad's alterego Marlow realised his dream and just like Maugham, he came back with secret knowledge about the imperial enterprise in the form of letters written by Kurtz. Yet he does not deliver his stance, preferring to share them by writing another novel, namely *Lord Jim,* to teach certain politics to the empire. Ten years after the publication of *Lord Jim,* Conrad is included in the tradition as defined by F. R. Leavis in *The Great Tradition*. And so Conrad moves full circle from being a child schooled in the idea of empire to a teacher who recycles the same idea to become an authority in the field of Orientalism.

A. The Formal Knowledge and Power Dialectic

Kipling poses as the most committed as a conservative, and his status as an Anglo-Indian journalist makes his knowledge about the Indians more prominent. In *Kim*, he formalises and sophisticates the information and control dialectic, and Kim stands as an Orientalist epitome in the service of the Raj. The novel depicts the effective workings of British knowledge in the Indian imperial playground and shows its importance for the domination of the Indian people and the facility of their management. Said claims: "knowledge of subject races or Orientals is what makes their management easy and profitable" (Said, 1995: 36). It is, therefore, important to relate the novel to the dialectic of

power and knowledge which involves a multitude of Western *local agents* in the Orient. These agents have specialised knowledge of the natives and their environment that they deploy to get more knowledge of the Orientals for the better to dominate them. (Said, 1995: 44)

As a paradigm of the Bildungsroman, *Kim* depicts the development of Kim from a Lahor urchin into an expert in the Indians and the empire through his education both at St Xavier and in the Great Game. His knowledge of India is far-reaching and multi-faceted, hence the idea of his being a kind of anthropologist in India in the service of the Raj. He is British by origin, but his birth and socialisation in the Indian society procure him a broad knowledge of the Indians. Thanks to this knowledge and because he is white, he manages to get the special education of a sahib, knowing that the work of sahibs is consistent with Orientalism; they are Orientalist experts in the service of the Raj. Once a sahib, Kim manages to be part and parcel of the British secret services, a network of *agents* of the Raj engaged in many imperial activities. His knowledge, indeed, gives him the power to "command natives" (K: 168) after graduating from St Xavier.

Born and socialised in Lahore, Kim is brought into a landscape that is typically Oriental. As a bazaar boy, he is accustomed to the natives. This gives him a wide knowledge of the Indian cultural background. He knows India more than he knows his motherland. Because of his knowledge of the Oriental mind and behaviour, he is deemed "Little friend of all the World" (K: 9), adopting different identities according to situations and needs. As a white Briton, he enters St Xavier and infiltrates the Great Game. With natives, he behaves as if he is one of them; there is always an imperial aim when he adopts the native identity. It is this capacity to comprehend and embrace the Indian identity which procures him a kind of power as a British subject over the natives. It is said of him that "[w]here a native would have lain down, Kim's white blood set him upon his feet" (K: 65). His power over the natives gives

him a kind of precedence over his British fellows. Kim is aware of this, stating: "[c]ertain things are not known to those who eat with forks. It is better to eat with both hands for a while" (K: 172). Despite his white identity, he knows that he is different from his white fellows. This difference gives him precedence over them in different fields. Philip E. Wegner sums best the outstanding development of the character of Kim:

> The rapidity with which Kim slides between [his different selves] is truly breath-taking – he transforms himself from a common street urchin to the lama's dedicated chela to a star student at St Xavier's to a significant new player in the Game. And, in a land of many religions, he changes from a Hindu to a Muslim, from a Christian, and then begins the cycle over again. Along the way he adopts innumerable minor identities and disguises further proliferating the play of subjectivities. (1994: 148)

Kim's ability to merge with the natives and pass for one of "them" makes the white officials decide to send him to the school of sahibs. Colonel Creighton of "the Ethnological Survey" acts as his mentor. He recommends sending him to St Xavier to be assigned the special education of sahibs. Creighton's insistence on St Xavier is based on two factors. At St Xavier, Kim is expected to get the adequate and necessary knowledge to embrace his imperial career. Since he has a hybrid identity, his knowledge of the natives would contribute a great deal to complete his white education so that he will be allowed to the class of "the Survey of India as a chain-man" (K: 159). In other words, the completed Kim will contribute to a large extent to the survey of the Indian subcontinent and the knowledge of its people. This constitutes a prerequisite for the efficient exercise of the British power in India. In this regard, Kipling is concerned with the most effective ways of perpetuating British power in India. The training of young agents in the transformation of India into an "epistemological space" (Cohn, 1996: 4) for the sake of domination certainly aims at perpetuating this tradition, and St Xavier which is "for the sons of sahibs - and half-sahibs" (K: 150) has this central objective. It is a school where white children are given a special education to serve the colonial rule in India. These children, once formed according to the imperial standards, would perpetuate the exercise of English knowledge in India for the sake of its domination. Keith Booker claims

that "the text seeks to depict a timeless India in which the British are (and will always be) able to remain firmly in control through […] practices of power" (1997: 30). The young agents like Kim play the role of the relief force through which control can be perpetuated.

Along with Kim, the novel engages other characters who stand for the entity of knowledge as power; they act as Kim's classmen in the Great Game. Like Kim, Colonel Creighton, Huree Babu and Lurgan Sahib play significant roles in the exercise of British rule in India. All of them are scholars who work as secret agents. Creighton's presence in the subcontinent is twofold. He has the aim of preparing an exhaustive ethnological survey of India. He is also involved in the British secret services in the Great Game. Even if Huree Babu is a native Indian, he is enough credible to integrate the imperial game as an interpreter. Lurgan Sahib "is first and foremost, the possessor of far-ranging knowledge, including knowledge of Indian mysticism" (Ibid. 31). These characters are important to British power in India, for each of them has an important knowledge of India, and they are involved in their specific "epistemological quests", to borrow Bookers' words. Booker asserts that it is "significant that the central object of the epistemological quests of Creighton and the other characters in *Kim* is Indian culture" (Ibid. 33). The outcome of Creighton's ethnological survey, for instance, can serve the imperial system by providing more ethnographic knowledge of the Indians to facilitate their rule. The secret services can supply necessary information on how to cope with the Russian threat.

In Orientalist terms, to know more about the Indian culture and to remain in control, the novel encompasses a set of techniques of accumulating more knowledge and strengthening the British power. An "essential feature of the discourse of Orientalism", according to Ashcroft and Ahluwalia, concerns the "objectification of both the Orient and the Oriental" (2001: 64). The objectification of India and the Indians is deeply rooted in the novel in the sense that they are subjected to the scrutiny of the British imperial agents. John Stuart

Mill in *Considerations on Representative Government* claims that the colonising power should bother about knowing the natives, and for this it needs to select the best agents: "It is in no way unjust, that public officers thus selected and trained should be exclusively eligible to offices which require specially Indian knowledge and experience" (1865: 334). Mill speaks about a "delegated body" (Ibid. 335) of servants of the Queen to collect as much information as possible about the culture and the institutions of the natives.

As the Orientals are subject to the Western knowledge, so in the novel, India's subjection to the scrutiny of the imperial eye is related to the British Academy and its different branches and departments: the Ethnological Survey, the Royal Geographical Society and the Canal Department. It is worth noting that the British Academy is a British institution for the promotion of the sciences, of which ethnology, geography and linguistic studies played an important role in Orientalist discourse. Kipling imbeds the workings of the British Academy and its departments within his text to display his Orientalist concerns in India, the latter being "the laboratory [and] theater of effective Western knowledge about the Orient" (Said, 1995: 43). As the theatre and laboratory of British knowledge, India is subjected to the scrutiny of Colonel Creighton's ethnological survey department. Creighton is a scholar whose presence in India is for its comprehensive ethnological study. For instance, one can discern Creighton's ethnological interests in his preoccupation with the way Kim's Asiatic background has interfered in the transformation of the Red Bull into a kind of fetish:

> You see, as an ethnologist, the thing's very interesting to me. I'd like to make a note of it for some government work that I'm doing. The transformation of a regimental badge like your Red Bull into a sort of fetish that the boy follows is very interesting.
> (K: 153)

Creighton has also selected scholarly agents of British and Indian birth to serve as his classmen in the Great Game. Kim, Lurgan Sahib and Mahbub Ali are representative agents who have a Western education and an extensive knowledge of the native culture. The three agents have also a good linguistic background essential for facilitating communication with

the natives. Kim is proficient in the Hindi. Lurgan Sahib is a specialist of Indian mysticism and an interpreter who masters many oriental languages such as Turkish, Hindi, Persian and Afghani. To consider India as the theatre or laboratory where British knowledge is put into practice entails viewing the aforementioned agents as the players or the laboratory experimenters.

Arguably, the most pertinent case of the objectification of India into English knowledge is observed in Kipling's "At the End of the Passage", where a group of English specialists work out their crafts in the service of the Raj. Despite their young age, they all "possess that knowledge" (EP: 66), which allows them precedence over their Indian subjects. Mottram belongs to the Indian Survey. Lowndess is a doctor, who is there to help the natives in their disease. A prominent example of their objectification of India is shown in their attitude towards the death of Hammil, a native ruler. When the latter dies, the two have the occasion to exert their expert knowledge even on death. (EP: 81) The English imperial agents master everything in India, and their Western education and expert knowledge transcends every aspect of their subject people.

Lowndess and Mottram join in the information network created by Kipling in his fiction like in *Kim*. There are political objectives behind the official task of surveying India ethnologically and geographically. The British powers disguise their aim of remaining eternally in control of the natives by the survey enterprise. Each agent is attributed different tasks. Mahbub Ali is officially an interpreter, but he is also a secret agent under the guise of "C25". Under this guise, he gathers information in the Northern territories for the British government in India. His reports to the British government

> concerned all manner of out-of-the-way mountain principalities, explorers of nationalities other than English, and the gun trade – was in brief, a small portion of that vast mass of 'information received' on which the Indian government acts. (K: 33-34)

Another agent is Hurree Chunder Mookerjee, who "can wear many dresses and talk many

tongues" (K: 214). With these capacities, he works for Creighton and sends him reports periodically. Like other secret agents, he operates under the dignity of a letter and a number which are "R17". Headed by knowledgeable British scholars like Colonel Creighton and Lurgan Sahib, these native agents are inherent parts of the British powers whose aim is gathering information on the natives. Kipling creates an information network thanks to which knowledge about India and the Indians is to be achieved efficiently and extensively. To gather more information and knowledge about the natives means to rule them in an effective way. This task is assigned to a group of agents in the framework of an information network in which such techniques of espionage as disguise and false friendship are adopted to better control the natives.

To begin with the latter, *Kim* is concerned with the friendship of Kim with Teshoo Lama. Their friendship is to a certain extent based on mutual interests. Kim's interests in this friendship are suitable for the novel's concerns with the relationship between power and knowledge. His aspiration in being the Lama's *chela* is to find the Red Bull, which represents knowledge. The Red Bull also represents the British power of dominating India. Clearly, by looking for knowledge which is symbolised by an icon of power, "the Red Bull on a green field", the novel looks for power through knowledge. In other words, Kim's quest is knowledge through which power is gained. This knowledge is two-sided. On the one side, he gets more knowledge about the native setting. On the other side, he receives revealing enlightenments about his white origin and its importance in the Indian imperial context. Finding the Red Bull entails finding both knowledge and the power which it gives rise to. In Orientalist terms, Kim reaches "power political [sic]" (Said, 1995: 12) by virtue of the enlightenments he gets throughout his adventures with his friend, the lama. Kim discovers that he is more powerful than he thinks. He is now aware that his white descent gives him a kind of supremacy over the natives and that to be of white birth is something and to be of the

native one is another utterly different thing. Piper remarks that the novel's "pretence of a neutral zone of friendship between Kim and the lama is, in reality, nothing more than a means to absorb an object of knowledge and thus own" (2002: 53) it and dominate it. Kim discovers that despite the lama's capacities and knowledge, his native birth gives him an "inferiority" status, whereas he – meaning Kim – is superior by virtue of his white descent. When this kind of enlightenment comes to Kim's mind, he discovers the pleasures, the advantages and above all the essence of being of white birth in an imperial context.

In the novel, those who are of white birth have primacy and are in a position of superiority. To be of white birth entails having the different powers about which Said speaks and which are political, intellectual, moral and cultural (1995: 12). Kim's superiority is constantly taken into consideration by his Indian classmen in the Great Game, Hurree Babu and Mahbub Ali, who keep reminding him of his white heritage and accept his superiority without questioning its legitimacy. Hourihan asserts that in the novel some Indians such as Mahbub Ali and Hurree Babu recognise and value "the innate superiority of their white overlords which is exemplified in Kim himself" (1997: 60). He himself enjoys his white supremacy and sometimes speaks with an authoritative tone. "You are subordinate to me departmentally at present" (K: 294), says Kim to Hurree Babu. Because he is a white Briton and Hurree Babu an Indian, he entitles himself to rule over him.

Disguise is a technique used in the novel to conceal the true objectives of the British intelligence in India. It is part of a system of espionage that is involved in the Great Game. One of its aspects concerns the political mission which lies behind Colonel Creighton's ethnological mission to survey India. It is true that Creighton is there to get an exhaustive ethnological survey of the subcontinent, but he is also a colonel in the secret services and involved in the Great Game. In this perspective, Brantlinger asserts that "[d]isguise was a means of crossing the gulf between superior and inferior races, civilisation and barbarism – a

means that led to ethnological knowledge" (1988: 163-164). To bridge the gap between the Indian races and cultures and the British ones, the novel shows many instances of disguise. For example, Kim is aware that each time he crosses native cities and encounters the people, it is better for him to conceal his white identity and behave as if he is one of them. This is why he conceals his *sahibdom* whenever he feels it under threat. The truth is that disguise is sometimes the only solution in situations where the natives represent an effective danger for the British agents in India. Kim disguises himself by putting on native clothes such as the "native garb" (K: 10, 225), speaking in vernacular and quoting native proverbs.

In a similar way, in "The Man Who Would Be King", the would-be kings also refer to the technique of disguise and false identity to obtain satisfaction of their projects:

> When we left the caravan, Dravot took all his clothes, and mine too, and said we would be heathen because the Kafirs didn't allow Mohammedans to talk to them. So we dressed betwixt and between, and such a sight as Daniel Dravot I never saw yet nor to see again. He burned hald his beard, and slung a sheep-skin on his shoulder and shaved his head into patterns. (MWWBK: 175)

The process of disguising one's identity to pretend to be a member of the colonised race is part of the network of information and control instilled by the imperialists in order to collect information about the people they were conquering. This is exactly what they are doing before they manage to make themselves kings.

"The Man Who Would Be King" is a miniature version of the dialectic of knowledge and power as it is developed in *Kim*. When Carnihan and Dravot arrive to Kafirstan with the determination to become rulers over the natives, one of the first things they do is to learn the "the names of things in their lingo—bread and water and fire and idols and such" (MWWBK: 178). The objective of this desire to learn the language of the conquered is to establish communication and facilitate the transfer of power from the native chiefs to the two white men. The words 'bread', 'water' and 'fire' denote the marks of power for primitive societies. If the two men control these emblems of power, they will command the natives. If taken in the framework of the knowledge and power dialectic involved in the British Empire, this belongs

to the aims of the Linguistic Department that aimed at knowing the language of the colonised Other. Cohn claims that the

> first step was evidently to learn local languages. "Classical" Persian, Arabic, and Sanskrit as well as the currently spoken "vernacular" languages were understood to be the prerequisite for knowledge for all others, and the first educational institutions that the British established in India were to teach their officials Indian languages. The knowledge of languages was necessary to issue commands, collect taxes, maintain law and order – and to create other forms of knowledge about the people they were ruling. (1996: 4)

Like Kipling, in *A Passage to India* Forster considers the knowledge of the native language as an instrument of control and power. The Anglo-Indians learn the aspects of the native languages through which they can give orders to their Indian subordinates. This is best illustrated in Mrs McBryde, who "had learnt the lingo, but only to speak to her servants, so she uses none of the politer forms and of the verbs only the imperative mood" (PI: 41). The expression "imperative mood" is significant of this interest in the native language only for the sake of domination. The imperative mood of the native language is "necessary to issue commands" and keep control of the natives (Cohn, 1996: 4).

Similarly, Forster's "The Life to Come" (1922) can be compared to this line of thinking, whereby knowledge means power. However, in this story, Forster first turns the dialectic up-side-down. He shows that the lack of interest in the natives of India does not bring about the power to rule over them. He writes that the disinterest in knowing the language of the natives and their psychology engenders failure in empire building. When Mr Pinmay is sent to a village to convert its native inhabitants he "knew little of the language and still less of the native psychology and indeed he disdained this last" (LC: 66). The result of this lack of interest is nothing but failure to convert the natives. The failure implies that they are not aligned to the missionaries, who will control their lives following the requirements of the colonial administration. Soon after Pinmay starts to learn the language of the natives, he gets knowledge of their mind. Therefore, the hostility he receives in the beginning is finally rewarded as he manages to gain their confidence through his philosophy of open-mindedness.

He converts the chief of the villagers and baptises him Barnabas. He confers him a Western education; the image of him "lin[ing] the steps of a building labelled 'School'" (LC: 69) testifies to that. The Western education attributed to Barnabas can transform him into an imperial servant among the natives. This is a strategy similar to Kipling and the use of the babus as servants of the Raj. Like Huree Babu and Mahbub Ali, Barnabas "proved an exemplary convert. He made mistakes, and his theology was crude and erratic, but he never backslid, and he had authority with his own people, so the missionaries had only to explain carefully what they wanted, and it was carried out" (LC: 69). Barnabas plays the interpreter like Huree Babu and Mahbub Ali.

Though in *A Passage to India* the information and control dialectic is less formal than in Kipling's narratives, it should be recognized that there is in it some reference to it. The informal aspect is related to the liberal voice of the novel, and it will be given full vent in the following section. The formal one concerns the British Raj and its established imperial orthodoxy as it is developed in Kipling's narratives. *A Passage to India* echoes some of these strategies through Roony Heaslop, the Magistrate of Chandrapore. This young imperialist is portrayed as a Public School agent whose newly begun career in India as an official allowed him reach "the higher realms of knowledge" (PI: 79) about the natives. About Aziz's attempts to bridge the gap between the two races, it is Roony who "**knew** the **type**; he **knew** all the **types**, and this was the spoilt Westernized" (PI: 75; emphasis added). Roony was trained in the official system of power and knowledge of the Indians, which classifies the Indians into categories to perpetuate their subservient positions. It is out of this knowledge that he warns his mother about the dangers that mixture with the natives of the type of Aziz can constitute for her. Considered in this perspective, Roony joins the

> Surveillance modality [which endeavoured to identify] those who were suspected of anti-social, political, and criminal activities that the state sought to control or eliminate. The ideal was to create a systematic means of recording and classifying a set of permanent features that distinguished an individual. (Cohn, 1996: 11)

With Kipling, there is another instance of the power/ knowledge dialectic which concerns the power of journalism. In "The Man Who Would Be King", he claims that journalism facilitates access to power over the native states of India and their rulers. As there were financial problems in the Central India States, Dravot and Carnihan have ceased the opportunity to establish their power. They start with pretending to be correspondents to the *Backwoodsman* knowing that the native "[s]tates have a wholesome horror of English newspapers which may throw light on their peculiar methods of government" (MWWBK: 165). They can easily get access to the native states pretending to be journalists, for they know that they can gain the favours of the rulers in exchange for their silence or moderation in their articles.

The power vested in the journalist is essential, and its stands to reason that Kipling has had the same opportunities and privileges when he was touring throughout India as a journalist. His knowledge of India is transferred into his texts through a personal aesthetic involving a group of scholarly experts standing for the spate of knowledge he gathered throughout his life in the service of the Raj as a journalist. The different experts involved in the Great Game stand for his expert knowledge of India linguistically, geographically, ethnologically and religiously. They also stand for his network of connections he was acquainted with as a journalist and as a servant of the Raj. Considered in this perspective and following Said's line of thinking (1995: 157-158), Kipling corresponds to the category of writer who has precedent experience of the Orient and transfers it into an aesthetic that is both imperialistic and artistic. His texts while being significant artistic works are also imperialistic in displaying the most evident and effective manners of exerting English power over India.

Like Kipling, Conrad's *Lord Jim* develops a more or less formal quest for power through knowledge, which is the outcome of Jim's intellectual qualities. Notwithstanding Jim's desertion of the *Patna*, which is taken by many of his fellows as a coward act, he has

the necessary knowledge to cope with any danger. While the Orientals on board the ship are ignorant of the signs of danger awaiting them, "Jim would glance at the compass" to preconceive any upcoming event. (LJ: 21) The compass suggests the geographical knowledge needed in exploration. This knowledge is best shown in Patusan; once there Jim's intellectual capacities allow him precedence over the Malays. His intellectual precedence is previously felt on the *Patna*, when he excels in his knowledge of geography. However, it is in Patusan that his intellectual capacities endow him with other powers. Jim poses as a political and military expert. The political aspect of the dialectic is the result of the interaction between what Said calls "power political", "power intellectual" and "power moral" (1995: 14). Thanks to his distinction as a white man with a potential that does not characterise the Patusans, he becomes their white lord. This potential is first and foremost intellectual and moral, which in turn endows him with political power. He ascends in Patusan by becoming the protector of the people. Thanks to his military power, he manages to become the white lord of these people. Again, Said speaks about the ascent of the British Empire at the turn of the nineteenth century thanks to "the triumph of English knowledge and power" (Ibid. 35) as represented by Jim's ascension in Patusan.

Not only do Jim's intellectual capacities allow him precedence over the natives but they allow him to adopt strategies of domination and control, as well. These strategies are matched with his systematic knowledge of the Orientals. One brand of this knowledge is an awareness of the pre-colonial "Malay polity" and the "executive power" vested in the ruler to nominate "the headmen" (Yeow, 2009: 74). Soon after he arrives in Patusan, Jim appropriates himself the traditional polity to make himself an authoritative *lord* or *tuan*, as he is called by the natives. This title confers him power over the natives, and it is thanks to the knowledge he has of the political customs of the land that he succeeds.

Like Kipling's body of local agents serving the British Raj, in *Lord Jim*, Conrad

creates this body with the combination Stein/ Jim. Stein "was the man who knew more about Patusan than any body else" (LJ: 167). As a white imperialist in the Orient, he represents his race, for he is there for the specific purposes of serving the imperial authorities and Eastern trade, and his knowledge confers him a sense of superiority. He is, in fact, in the Malay Archipelago for the official mission of gathering as much knowledge as possible of the Malays and their archipelago. The idea of collecting knowledge about the Other is part of the Saidian *dialectic of information and control*. His mission is essential to the Dutch powers, for it provides the information for the control of the natives and the Eastern trade. It is said that Stein is "full of information about the native states as an official report" (LJ: 173). It is Stein who informs Marlow about the deplorable state of Patusan by giving him the names of the native rulers and "a sketch of the life and character of each" (LJ: 173).

It is due to his knowledge of the different native states that Stein comes to know Patusan, and he shares this with Marlow as well as Jim. He plays a significant role in Jim's ascension in Patusan by advising him to retire to this native state which has not yet been reached by official white rule. The information about the Patusans Stein provides Jim with is important to Jim's future rule in Patusan. The relationship between the two men is arguably a kind of semi-allegory of the metropolitan powers and their imperial agents overseas. Stein can be considered as Jim's imperial agent, and his task is to inform him about the natives the better to dominate them. Besides, Stein's help of Jim denotes the perpetuation of a tradition, that of passing on one's experience of the Orient to the young generation of imperial agents or empire builders to perpetuate the control of the Orient by the West. Indeed, "Stein was passing on to a young man help he had received in his own young days" (LJ: 176). Like Colonel Creighton who prepares Kim to the imperial career, Stein always imparts his knowledge to his fellow white imperialists. Given "Stein's residence" in Patusan, he becomes "an acknowledged authority on native affairs" (Yeow, 2009: 38). This authority is shown in

the confidence vested in him by Jim. Most importantly, he advises Jim to become the white ruler of the Malays: "He was going to carry the gentleman to the mouth of the river, but would 'never ascend'" (LJ: 182) to Patusan. Jim sounds to be the favourite to rule over the Patusans and get them out of their nefarious situation, and Stein plays the typical Orientalist who accumulates knowledge about the Orient and imparts that knowledge to his fellows in order to establish imperial rule.

It should be pointed out here that Conrad reproduces the same turn of the century thought as Kipling. This period witnessed a change in British strategies in the affairs of Empire. There was a shift from the use of force to the pertinent use of knowledge or information. "The narratives of the late century are full of fantasies about an empire united not by force but by information" (Richards, 1993: 1). Stein and Jim in *Lord Jim* and Kim and Colonel Creighton in *Kim* are the representatives of this attitude. However, in *Lord Jim* it is not as organised as it is in *Kim,* for in Kipling's text the power and knowledge dialectic concerns the agents of the Civil Service of the British Raj whereas in *Lord Jim* it is more random as it concerns the idea of entitling any white subject to establish an empire in the Orient or in this case the Malay Archipelago. One explanation that stands for the difference between *Kim* and *Lord Jim* is that the former involves direct rule in India whereas the latter involves indirect rule in the Malay Archipelago. Arguably, the information and control dialectic in *Lord Jim* is a miniature of that of *Kim*, and in each text there is this awareness of the necessity of having expert knowledge and using it to accumulate more knowledge about the subject people for their domination.

As Conrad is concerned with the ways of perpetuating imperial control of the Malay Archipelago, one should necessarily draw parallels with Maugham's Malay stories. In his Far Eastern stories, he depicts the life and work of the British imperial agents. There is a transfer of knowledge about the colonised subjects from the experienced agents to the novice ones.

This has been observed in the way Kim is trained by his mentor Colonel Creighton to become a sahib in the service of the Raj, and in Stein who imparts everything he knows about the people of the Malay Archipelago to Jim. This is also the case with Maugham's "The Outstation", in which Mr Warburton, the experienced agent, informs his novice assistant, Cooper, about the intricacies of the Malays and the colonial relations. He informs him that in order to be in good terms with the natives, respecting them is imperative. He also informs him that when the imperial agent "loses his self-respect [...] the natives will soon cease to respect him" (CT: 107). For him, a white agent's self-respect starts with the refined clothes he wears, not to get drunk and his personal entertainment in shaving himself daily in order to give the natives the impression of superiority through the physical appearance.

It is with the endeavour to collect ethnological information about the natives that the imperial agents manage their rule. To have such knowledge may help to avoid clashes with the Malays. In "The Outstation", Cooper does show no respect for them while Warburton *knows* that to be in harmony with them requires sympathy towards them, and this knowledge allows him respect and honour among the natives. Warburton is different from Cooper, for he *knows* them. He knows that they are "very sensitive to injury and ridicule [and they] are passionate and revengeful" (CT: 140). He advises Cooper to "remember in the future that good masters make good servants" (CT: 130). What Mr Warburton calls a good master is one who respects his servants, and what he calls a good servant is one who obeys his master. When his superior decides to go up river, Cooper does exactly the opposite of what he is advised to. Because he is a snob, he misses to respect his servant Abas, whom he regards as "a nigger […] a dirty, thieving rascal" (CT: 141). Abas is also insulted by his master when he does not accept him to go home for a moment. He also accuses him of robbing him some clothes "and when the boy denied the theft he took him by the scruff of the neck and kicked him the steps of the bungalow" (CT: 143). The accusation of robbery coupled with his refusal

to allow Abas visit his family are insulting to the Malay boy. And when Malays feel insult they are very dangerous as Mr Warburton knows. Consequently, Cooper is found dead in his room; Abas is immediately suspected of the murder. Hanging is the customary sentence for murders in the colonies, but Mr Warburton decides otherwise. He finds a compromise so as to avoid clashes with the natives. "The provocation was very great. Abas will be sentenced to a term of imprisonment" (CT: 147). This is a liberal attitude that aspires to maintain the status quo in the station, namely the master/ servant dialectic.

Kipling's *Kim,* "The Man Who Would be King" and "At the End of the Passage", Conrad's *Lord Jim*, Forster's "The Life to Come" and Maugham's "The Outstation" show that fiction is a mode of discourse where the interplay between knowledge and power is most significant. It is a transcription of the Orientalist/ imperialist dialectic of power and knowledge as it was followed by the imperial agents in India and Malay. Sir Hugh Clifford, the British Resident of Pahang from 1896 to 1900, governor of North Borneo in 1901 and back to his Residency just after this conforms to this mode of discourse in his essays. In "Up Country" (1897), he writes that the process of becoming a white lord in a colonial society passes through a series of steps related to the dialectic of power and knowledge. These are the learning of the native languages, the study of native customs and ways of life and the mastery of the "Native Point of View". For him, the later point "is really the whole secret of governing natives" (Clifford, 1998: 210). If these are observed in the white imperial agents, they are entitled to be lords among natives. It is the case with Kipling's Kim, Forster's Mr Pinmay and Roony, Conrad's Jim and Maugham's Mr Warburton, who manage to be successful sahibs among the Indians and white lords among the Malays, respectively. These imperial agents are viewed as figures of power through the formal knowledge they display in the imperial machine. All of them are brought in the Orient as a classroom where the interplay between power and knowledge was complicit with the official program traced by the imperial machine

as pre-established by Napoleon in Egypt and followed up by the administrators in the British Empire in order to gather knowledge about the conquered people to facilitate their domination. Hugh Clifford is one such administrator.

What is peculiar with Hugh Clifford is that he claims that *sympathizing* with the natives allows the whites to be appreciated by them:

> He never offends their susceptibilities, never wounds their self-respect, never sins against their numerous conventionalities. He has feasted with them in their weddings, doctored their pains, healed their sick, protected them from oppression, stood their friend in time of need, done them a thousand of kindnesses and has helped their dying through the strait and awful pas of death. (1998: 211)

Lord Jim obtains the confidence of the Patusans through the protection he offers to them. Mr Warburton is trusted by the Malays thanks to the respect he grants them, whereas Cooper is murdered by one of them because of his arrogance towards them. Therefore, in the same fiction of empire there are imperial agents who consider socialising and sympathising with the natives as an important source for obtaining information about them. The power and knowledge dialectic, therefore, takes an unofficial form, but its objective is all the same, to keep the natives under perpetual control.

B. The Informal Knowledge and Power Dialectic

The liberal attitude towards empire favours dialogue and human relations between the coloniser and the colonised. Therefore, Forster's and Maugham's works constitute the most prominent repository of imperial agents for whom human relations and socialising with the natives are central. The knowledge obtained does not follow the standards of the official epistemological quest as conducted by Colonel Creighton in the Great Game. As the knowledge is obtained from within the native communities through socialising and sympathising, it corresponds to the lines and objectives of the ethnological survey without being formally identified as part and parcel of it. The purpose remains the same, namely imagining the most efficient ways of perpetuating domination through knowledge.

In *A Passage to India*, Forster argues that rather than staying alone in the club the

Anglo-Indians must socialise with the natives to obtain confidence and get accustomed to them. Mr Fielding is the right English subject to have managed to gain the confidence of the natives as he shows respect and sympathy with them. Though Mrs Moore and Miss Quested count much to the fusion of English people within the Indian society, Mr Fielding's is at the core of Forster's endeavour to participate in the accumulation of knowledge about India, the Indians and the Raj in order to perpetuate the imperial rule. In the novel, Forster allows his character fuse within the Indian society thanks to his position as an Educationist, someone who is trusted for the nobility of his mission. The Indians feel at ease with an English educationist than with a politician like Rooney. In the beginning of Britain's interests in India, the East India Company sought to fuse within the natives through instilling English education upon the Indians, whereas later on the British rule became direct so that a more separatist attitude was adopted by the imperialists. Mr Fielding's status as an educationist earned him the consideration of the Indians, which in turn allowed him to know about them and how to perpetuate the Empire. Central to the novel are his conclusions about how to stimulate harmonious imperial relations to perpetuate the empire, and this importance given to a man of education is part of Forster's liberal attitude towards the empire.

Forster engages himself in a quest for knowledge that can stimulate these relations. These relations are complicated by what he calls 'officialism' and the jingoist attitude in the Raj. However, it is no coincidence that the author devotes the third part of his novel, labelled 'The Temple", to Hinduism and its ideal of universality. Aziz and Fielding retire to Mau, where Hinduism teaches the values of universal love and there is no British Raj to impede their attempts to friendship. Through this part of the novel, Forster proclaims his message of tolerant human relations so important to the attempt to bridge the gap between the Indians and their English rulers. He also reasserts that as long as the jingoist power relationship between the Anglo-Indians and the Indians continues, harmonious relations cannot be established

between the two races. Previous attempts to bridge the gap have shown no results because of the jingoist creed.

As a professional Orientalist, Forster in *A Passage to India* is *informed* about the nascent Indian nationalism which takes political, social and cultural/ or artistic aspects and provides a serious threat to the British Raj. He works out this knowledge through the character of Aziz, through whom the nationalist spirit of the Indians is expressed. Aziz's plea transcends the individual and becomes national in the sense that every Indian, whatever his (or her) faith, supports him. One of the consequences of the trial is the Hindu-Moslem unity. This shows that the Indians can be unified against the British Raj. The meeting of Indian worthies of different ethnic and religious groups shows one unified body discussing the right attitude to adopt towards the political status quo under the British Raj. For Aziz more than for others, India should be one nation to gain freedom and respect. After the trial,

> he vowed to see more Indians who were not Mohammedans, and never to look backward […] The song of the future must transcend creed […] Half-closing his eyes, he attempted to love India. She must imitate Japan. Not until she is a nation will her sons be treated with respect. (PI: 261-262)

The Indian patriotic attitude is more peculiar to Aziz, especially after the trial that made him more than ever decided to lead India towards independence. For him, this would start with the building of India as a unified nation. To be free and respected and live in human dignity, the Indians should and can build India as one unified nation that transcends creed and caste.

Another fundamental prerequisite to build up India as one nation is related to the ability of the Indians to accept new ideas like the emancipation of women. Aziz is portrayed as a poet whose primary purpose in writing is to promote the role of women in society. He "declared […] that India would not have been conquered if women as well as men had fought at Plassey. 'But we do not show our women to the foreigner'" (PI: 289). He believes that were women allowed an important role in society, India would not have been conquered. Thus, in order to build India as a modern nation, it is imperative that women are given a public and

political life.

Aziz's nationalist feeling is also matched with his consideration of the nationalist function of art. For him, its primary function is to awaken the nationalist spirit of the Indians. With his friends, he prefers to discuss poetry and its function, and for him poetry is an important tool when there is a revolution in the sense that it propels people to act in the direction of the nation. But alas, he would say, it "has lost the power of making men brave. My mother's father was also a poet, and fought against you in the Mutiny. I might equal him if there is another mutiny" (PI: 270). This implies that Indian poetry lost its notorious power to render the people brave in the face of the coloniser. Nevertheless, Aziz is optimistic in recovering what is lost. If there is another mutiny, he is convinced that he can equal his predecessors. This kind of poetry can only exist if the Indians are unified and consider themselves as one nation. This is why it is vital in the times of the Indian "unrest". Thus, Aziz's patriotic stance becomes stronger in the end of the novel when he expresses his contempt for the Raj and his conviction that India will get rid of it. India appears, through Aziz's call, utterly ready to advance towards freedom:

> 'India shall be a nation! No foreigners of any sort! Hindu, Moslem and Sikh and all shall be one! Hurrah! Hurrah for India! Hurrah! Hurrah!'
> 'Down with the English anyhow. That's certain. Clear out, you fellows, double quick, I say. We may hate one another, but we hate you most. If you don't make you go, Ahmed will, Karim will, if it's fifty five-hundred years we shall get rid of you, yes, we shall drive every blasted Englishman into the sea, and then'[…] 'you and I shall be friends'.
> 'The horses […] didn't want it, they said in their hundred voices, 'No, not yet', and the sky said, 'No, not there'. (PI: 317)

Aziz not only calls for nationhood and freedom for the Indians but answers the initial question whether it is possible to be friends with the English, as well. The answer is in the negative, for as long as India is under the conservative policies of the British Raj, friendship cannot be established. Forster does by no means express his desire for the independence of India. Instead, through Fielding he reports facts about the Raj and points at the problems with which it is coping to bring the appropriate solutions to those issues. And these solutions should be

consistent with the liberal credo. Forster is the one who recognises the urgency of adopting a new imperial policy in India. By explaining the racial clash that would result in the overthrow of the British Raj, Forster aspires to instil in his fellows the necessity to adjust their behaviour and establish a new imperial system in which the colonised subjects would occupy some important place. David Medalie argues that in the novel "Forster considers the possibility that Liberalism will act as the remedy for the ailments of the Raj" (2002: 25). These ailments are necessarily the result of the conservative and jingoist behaviour of the imperialists. Hunt Hawkins coins this behaviour "the bigotry of the Anglo-Indians" against which "Forster urged tolerance and understanding" (1983: 55). Through fusing Fielding within the Indian society, Forster takes part in the accumulation of knowledge to save the British Raj from its eminent collapse. As an Orientalist expert, he informs through Fielding about the nationalist creed that prevails among the natives. He also accounts for the efficient manner of avoiding the effect of this nationalism on the continuity of the Raj and which is dependent on the imperialists' democratic attitude towards the natives.

Maugham resembles Forster in the conclusion he draws as a professional writer about the colonial world. Forster insists on the importance of respect, kindness and sympathy with the Indians as well as "liberal consensus and compromise" (Medalie: 2002: 27). Maugham stresses the importance of the democratic feeling. In "The Outstation", he deals with another problem inherent to class consciousness. For him, the spirit of class is a serious impediment to empire. He makes a contrast between the first generation imperialists and the second generation ones. One of the impediments for the efficient control of the natives, for him, is to abstain from being sympathetic with the natives because of projecting the class feeling at home on the relations between the coloniser and the colonised. "The Outstation" is set in an isolated trading station in Borneo. It is commanded by Mr Warburton. Cooper comes to assist him in his task of commanding the station. Warburton presents the profile of an ideal imperial

agent. He knows how to deal with the natives, keeping his dignity and respect without offending them. He "was inclined to be sarcastic with white people, but with the Malays he had a happy mixture of condescension and kindliness. He stood in the place of the Sultan. He knew perfectly how to preserve his own dignity, and at the same time put a native at his ease" (CT: 119). Maugham's sarcasm with white imperialists is especially directed towards the members of the upper classes, who tend to bully at the lower classes, who project their feeling of inferiority on the natives. When Cooper arrives, he says: "I was born in a Crown Colony, and I've lived practically all my life in the colonies. I don't give a row of pins for a lord. What's wrong with England is snobbishness" (CT: 123). Warburton does not accept arrogance in the colonies while Cooper plays his exact opposite. The latter "looked upon himself as every man's equal [and] should look upon so many others as his own inferiors" (CT: 125). Even if he is capable of commanding the natives, his lack of indulgence and sympathy for them is a problem that Mr Warburton worries about.

Three words recur throughout Maugham's Far Eastern tales: equality, democracy and justice. These not only express Maugham's attitude towards the manner through which the Empire ought to be held but also to his philosophy of life. For Maugham, people are born and die equal, so gender, class or racial distinctions should not prevail over the freedom of the individual or be a serious impediment to harmonious relations among people. Though the coloniser/ colonised dichotomy is fundamental to the continuity of the British Empire, Maugham informs that the need for the democratic feeling and justice becomes central. For him, the natives are better off under the colonial administration of the English and that the latter take many advantages in their positions as the ruling race. However, in order to sustain harmonious relations between the two sides, equality before law, justice for all and the democratic feeling become vital. The colonising people should not lack respect towards the natives on the basis that they are their subalterns. The prerequisites in harmonious colonial

relations are human understanding and sympathy as ways of socialising.

Socialising with the natives cannot be achieved unless there is "the democratic feeling" (CT: 94) which is a requirement in Maugham's eyes. This feeling expresses itself through strategically considering the natives as equals rather than inferiors, for "in the presence of death all men were equal" (CT: 94) before God. For Maugham, equality before justice is important. In "The Outstation", Mr Warburton is aware that the Malays are very sensitive when they are treated as the white imperialist's inferior. When Cooper comes to assist him, he diagnoses his lack of "sympathy for the natives" (CT: 125) and "very quickly realised that the Malays disliked and feared him [Cooper]" (CT: 125). As his superior and mentor Mr Warburton has the duty to *advise* him to adopt a more appropriate attitude towards them lest he wants to be overthrown. In order to ensure the continuity of the English rule of the Malays, it is important that the young imperialists learn from their predecessors. Cooper, who was "a Colonial" (CT: 144), adopts an arrogant attitude towards the natives. The word *colonial* means that he blindly conforms to the coloniser/ colonised dialectic and neglects the possibility of native action against him or other representatives of the Empire. He does not endeavour to know the character of the colonised people. Warburton knows that the "Malays are sensitive to injury and ridicule [as well as] passionate and revengeful" (CT: 140). It is imperative for the imperial agents to avoid insulting them and sympathise with them to avoid conflictual situations.

In "P. O.", Maugham imagines the ship of the empire affected by problems of class. He sets his story in a ship which sails back home from the Malay Archipelago. Onboard the ship, there are first class and second class British subjects. The members of the latter are not allowed to the space of the former. However, the death of a fellow seems to remind everybody that "in the presence of death all men were equal" (CT: 94). Maugham encourages the democratic feeling among classes. Metaphorically the ship stands for the British Empire,

with the subject people on the one side and the ruling race on the other. Life is worth living happily with others rather than spoilt in discriminatory feelings. Only the democratic feeling is the leitmotiv of a strong empire. The beginning of the narrative makes clear the metaphor of the ship's first class and second class passengers representing the subject people and their rulers. It shows that the Malays live apart from the English:

> The Malays, though natives of the soil, dwell uneasily in towns, and are few; […] and the English in their topees and white ducks, speeding past in motor-cars or at leisure in their rickshaws, wear a nonchalant and careless air. The rulers of these teeming peoples take their authority with a smiling unconcern. (CT: 53)

In the ship, the disdain for the natives is represented by the first class passengers' contempt for the second class ones.

In "Before the Party", Maugham depicts the failure of the second generation imperialists to carry on the British imperial tradition of administering justice, tranquillity and welfare to the natives of the Malay Archipelago. He sets his story in a colonial district in Borneo. Harold, the young administrator of the station, substitutes to the former British agents to carry on exercising British control. Maugham conforms to the traditional views of the natives as a subservient race in need of the intervention of the British, whose presence in the area has the vocation of administering them in exchange for economic interests. However, he remarks that the second generation imperialists like Harold start to have more personal interests that might affect negatively the affairs of the empire. Harold, in the beginning, is depicted as a very responsible imperial agent. Mr Sampson considers that he "understood the natives as well as any man in the country. He had the combination of firmness, tact and good humour, which was essential in dealing with that timid, revengeful and suspicious race" (CT: 33). Harold has been the appropriate agent in his district, for he has had the capacities to manage the natives. However, he fails to continue the imperial tradition given his neglect for his duties as administrator. At first, he starts with brilliancy to perform his tasks and becomes the pride of his family and missionaries in Borneo and the British Empire as a whole. Because

of his penchant for drinking, he starts to be more negligent of his tasks as an agent. As a result, someday, out of acute drunkenness, he is murdered by his wife, and his death is interpreted as suicide because of his penchant for alcohol. The idea of suicide is one of Maugham's ways of *informing* that the future of the British Empire is in danger as a result of problems endemic to its new generation agents. Maugham explains this point by making a contrast between the life of the first generation British imperial agents and the second generation ones. Harold, who represents the latter, is contrasted to Mr Skinner, his father-in-law and Mrs Skinner, his mother-in-law. The latter "seemed to live in a different world from theirs [that of Harold and fellows] and to have no connection with them" (CT: 27). Mr Skinner, on his part, cannot accept the fact that Harold had committed suicide, an act of disgrace to the ruling race, for it is a coward act, and revelatory that the British Empire is not that great. This is why he is the only one to believe that it is murder rather than suicide.

By way of an explanatory conclusion to this analysis of Maugham as compared to Forster, it is through the narrative voice that Maugham imparts the knowledge he had already acquired in his visits to the Malay Archipelago. This body of information concerns mainly the problems from which the empire suffers, problems related to the imperialist agents and their relations to the natives. The previous section has argued that there is a transfer of knowledge from experienced imperialists to novice ones, which denotes the prevalence of the dialectic of power and knowledge in a formal way. In this section, the narrative voice fuses, like Mr Fielding or the omniscient narrator in Maugham's stories, within the colonial system in an attempt to remark facts of imperial importance. Also, democratic solutions to these problems are provided in the same manner as Forster does with his insistence on dialogue between the coloniser and the colonised for the perpetuation of the British Empire. To use Said's words, the formal dialectic corresponds to the category of writers who use their experience of the Orient as an integrative part of professional Orientalism and its power/ knowledge dialectic.

The informal category has the same purpose but is less formal; it concerns the writers' desire to join professional Orientalism without sacrificing "the eccentricity and style of [their] individual consciousness to impersonal Orientalist definitions" and strategies (1995: 157-158). Their narrative voices are used to replace the formal strategies as they are integrated within the power/ knowledge dialectic.

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CHAPTER FIVE

The Writers' Consolidation of Vision

The establishment of Western domination of the Orient is accompanied by a discourse marked more by continuity than discontinuity in its endeavours to keep the empire in place. Part of this discourse is the literature of empire which is characterised by a latent support of the imperial project and expansion in spite of the manifest changes at the surface levels. The imperialist vision that non-Western races need to be dominated by the Western imperial powers is propped up by means of a set of imperialist ideologies that allows for the expression of authorial ideology as a distinctive personal style in the representation. This rescaffolding of vision is closely linked to the necessity of the *continuity* of the empire that we see at the level of vision. Style, writes Roland Barthes, in *Degree Zero Writing* is an act of historical solidarity (1968: 14), so no matter the attempt the writers make in the direction of breaking away from the continuity of the imperial tradition, they end up by its refurbishment. In other words, whether in fiction or in non-fiction, the best way for the imperial writer to continue and re-affirm the tradition is to write against the grain by observing its sense of history. This holds true whether the writers are authoring fiction or non-fiction.

Non-Fiction

A. The British Imperial Power in the Orient and the Forms of its Consolidation

In terms of consolidation of vision, Kipling is certainly the most committed of all the writers addressed in the framework of this thesis. His attitude is conservative and jingoist. At the core of the letters published under the title of *From Sea to Sea; Letters of Travel* (1899), there is a celebration of the restoration of the British power in India after some doubtful moments. Part of India is directly ruled by Britain, and parts of it are territories ruled by native chiefs under the supervisory authority of the British. Kipling does not make this distinction innocently. The comparison is further consolidated by appropriating other territories. Hence, we find him establishing distinctions between two states, the native-ruled

Udaipur and Jeypore as part and parcel of the Raj: "The State of Jeypore is as backward as Jeypore is advanced—if we judge by the standard of civilisation" (WPVRK SSLT: 51). The comparative attitude has at its core a judgemental stance that associates the Raj with civilisation and the rest of India with backwardness. The frontiers of India are redrawn and secure, but the effort of reinforcing them must go on. Consolidating the empire will feed off sliding back to point zero. Sliding back is one of the fears that traverse all imperial writing.

Forster's non-fiction writings are deeply rooted in terms of the consolidation of vision and the attitude that underlies this consolidation. In *The Hill of Devi*, the outcome of his two visits to India in 1912 and in 1921, he speaks out his views about the colonial situation in India and the relationship between the coloniser and the colonised. The two visits allowed him to experience the British Raj personally as the private secretary to Dewas Senior, and as close friend to Syd Ross Masood. Kipling's style is significantly different from that of Forster. The former is an attitude of aloofness, of separateness that reminds us of Ernest Renan, in his recommendation for his contemporaries never to forget that "East is East, and the West is West, and never the twain shall meet" (Kipling, 1941: 111). His attitude is that of an observer rather than a participant. Forster's style on its part is marked by sympathy, a propensity to go to the other Oriental without forgetting who he is, and where his real interests are. Such a personal style is similar on many points with T. E. Lawrence's personal conduct in the Near East during the War. And so we see developing in him a close friendship with Sid Ross Masood, a friendship doomed to failure because of divergent interests. The personal submits to the collective because their friendship is sacrificed at the shrine of imperial duty that demands personal sacrifices in order to save the "Jewel in the Crown".

In the case of Conrad, there is no denying that he, too, celebrates the British Empire, but he consolidates that imperial vision in his own manner. The experiences he had of the Orient and Africa came to him through his career as a seaman in the service of the British

merchant navy. In the outposts of Empire, he came to observe facts about how the imperial power is exercised. His knowledge of these outposts, he thinks, authorises to pass a judgement on the appointment of officials for their supervision. So, immediately after he hears about the appointment of Hugh Clifford Governor of Labuan and North Borneo in 1898, he writes him a letter of congratulation for his new "Kingdom" (CLJC VII: 226). The word *kingdom*, in Conrad's letter, essentially denotes the idea that Clifford is the man for the job, re-establishing control over the natives. For Conrad, the English are and should be rulers of the people of the Orient like the Malays because they can keep them under control. The consolidation of Empire that he proposes extends further away than Kipling's India. The reason behind such consolidating attitude is probably due to the fear of Russians who occupy his native Poland.

In *The Gentleman in the Parlour,* Maugham believes that the British Empire must be consolidated in the name of the values that it has instilled in the colonies that it occupies. The history of empire building legitimates further investments in the idea. The British Empire "will have been in the world's history a moment not without grandeur" (GP: 15), he tells us, so any historian who would attempt this evaluation should do it with "sympathy, justice, and magnanimity" (GP: 15). For Maugham as for many imperialist writers, no other empire has done more than the British Empire did in terms of taking progress, civilisation and progress to those in need of them. He insists upon the workings of the English power in the Far East, which is associated with the Christian and philanthropic missions. The works of the Christian missions are as central to this writing as the use of the humanitarian missions set up to improve the lives of the natives. Clearly, Maugham's idea of English power is saddled up with an ideological accompaniment similar to that of his contemporary imperial authors. The consolidation of Empire that he suggests rests on human groundings and the saving of the Oriental soul. In emphasising on spiritual forms of consolidation, Maugham is close to the

French imperial writers in the abstraction of thought that characterises their Orientalism in comparison with the concrete thought of English Orientalists.

What follows fleshes out the style and the manner in which each of the four authors consolidates the Empire. All of them refer to a denial of the native structures of power on the ground of the incompetence and even despotism of the native rulers. Kipling writes that in contrast to the prosperity of Ajmir and Jeypore, Udaipur and other such native-ruled states suffer from the incompetence of the rulers and their tendency to despotism. The principle condition throughout the native states is widespread poverty, which is due not to the poverty of the country in matters of products or natural resources but rather to the native rulers' and administrators' tendency to be opportunistic and egocentric. Kipling, the sahib, asks the question: "[d]oes any black man who had been in Guv'ment service go away without hundreds an' hundreds put by, and never touched? You mark that. Money? The place stinks o'money — just kept out o' sight" (WPVRKSSLT: 220). As soon as a native becomes an administrator, he engages himself in corrupt activities. Corruption and egocentrism are in the veins of the natives for Kipling; anyone who becomes an administrator overnight also becomes a corrupt one. Historically, the Indian rulers are known for their "grab":

> But to return to the native States' administrations. There is nothing exactly wrong in the methods of government that are overlaid with English terms and forms. They are vigorous, in certain points; and where they are not vigorous, there is a cheery happy-go-luckiness about the arrangement that must be seen to be understood […] Most impressive of all is the way in which the country is "used," and its elasticity under pressure. In the good old days the Durbar raised everything it could from the people, and the King spent as much as ever he could on his personal pleasures. Now the institution of the Political agent has stopped the grabbing, for which, by the way, some of the monarchs are not in the least grateful — and smoothed the outward face of things. But there is still a difference between our ways and the ways of the other places. A year spent among native States ought to send a man back to the Decencies and the Law Courts and the Rights of the Subject with a supreme contempt for those who rave about the oppressions of our brutal bureaucracy. One month nearly taught an average Englishman that it was the proper thing to smite anybody of mean aspect and obstructive tendencies on the mouth with a shoe. (WPVRK SSLT: 219-220)

To a large extent, what Kipling reiterates in his discursive statements about the laziness of the native, his despotic rule and grab derive from John Stuart Mill's and Jeremy Bentham's

thought about India, a thought that exercised all important influence of Indian administration. Mill and Bentham stressed the necessity of a strong administration exercised with strict rules and regulations and a penal code to reduce the effect of corruption in the colony. Clearly, Kipling writes for the maintenance of the administrative system in order not to compromise the idea of Empire.

Bentham's ideas of the Panoptican and the Poor Houses and the coercive style recommended by Mill inform Kipling's non-fiction. Forster's departs from this in wanting to extend to India the liberal ideas that Mill elaborated for the exclusive application in Britain alone. Just like Kipling, Forster underlines the incompetence, despotism and corruption of the native rulers. Also, India is better off under the hegemony of Britain for the simple reason that the latter has taken many facilities to the country in addition to the political efficiency, so it is important that it carries on taking what is missing in terms of public works like water supply for the isolated areas, schools and so on. However, Forster's attitude is tainted with a liberal fervour rather than a conservative one. In his eyes, the natives should be accorded some liberties and need to be respected by the British imperialists. His letters make valuable observations on how to keep pace with Anglo-India within a harmonious relationship between the Indians and the Anglo-Indians.

In Forster's letters prevails the idea that the British Empire in India should continue, for India needs the English competence in terms of government. For example, in his letters of 1921, he recognises that the native rulers in India are incompetent and have a leaning to despotism so that their states are misgoverned. Writing about Nagpur, a province in central India, he writes what follows:

> it was once a Maratha state, and two preposterous creatures called rajahs still live in semi-loyal state. H. H. –misguided creature—moved by patriotism and pity, is scheming to set them on their feet again, and to get them not indeed Nagpur itself, but certain districts round it which will be re-created into a **native state** and abundantly **misgoverned** in consequence. (HD: 189; emphasis added)

Forster puts stress on the fact that the native states are misgoverned given the incompetence of

the rulers. According to him, history teaches that after the glorious Mogul Empire, no native ruler managed to govern his people fairly. Speaking of one of the Maharajas, who is expected to be governor of his own people, Forster remarks that this maharajah "merely omitted to govern it [Mau], and did what the English told him" (HD: 196). As he had no power to govern, he accepted certain recommendations from the English without which his people would have been the prey of external forces or internal clashes.

In Forster's letters, the dominant strain of thought is that the Indians need to govern under the tutelage of the British. The Liberal reforms that were denied to the Indians by Mill nearly half a century earlier can no longer be retained for the sole use of the English at home if they want their presence in the colony to be consolidated. As native rulers are not apt for governing their people, it is necessary that the English assume the task. When Forster arrives to Dewas to work as secretary to Dewas Senior, he finds the state in a stagnant and unpleasant condition, for it has been misgoverned for many years. The state's stagnancy touches even on the economic and social levels given this impotence in self-government. This widespread misadministration "drained the life of the state" (HD: 209). There are no real projects and the prospect for the future is gloomy unless the British interfere to remedy the situation. Forster himself is a kind of rescue worker. Other English subjects also could face the situation as Forster. "Wilson", Forster says, "will of course 'cope' with the situation better than" he does (HD: 209). Two words are important here: 'will' and 'cope'. They can be rephrased as follows: give any English subject like Wilson the opportunity to interfere more freely in the affairs of the natives states and the persistent misgovernment will be ceased.

Forster's denial of the native authority and his emphasis upon its impotence is shown in a letter he sent to Alice Clara Forster on December 20th, 1921. In this letter, he writes about the upheaval and the political instability in the native state of Hyderabad. He writes: "politics here have unexpectedly turned the worse" (SLEMF VII: 17). This is mainly due to the

incompetence of the rulers and the people's ignorance of their rule. The people do not respect the law nor do they show any obedience for their rulers. He speaks about the native prince as "just a piece of luggage that must be carried about carefully" (SLEMF VII: 18). In his previous visit to India, Forster writes that the Maharajah of Chartarpur "hates ruling, and I think rules badly" (SLEMF VI: 164). The rulers are like dolls put on the thrones of their states; they neither have interest in ruling nor have they the competence to do it. Forster voices an idea that was common among the British imperialists that the Indian princes should be helped by the English. Paraphrasing the words of Lord Curzon, Metcalf writes that the native rulers will cease to be impotent if they are "[t]rained and educated in Western ways, but ruling their states 'upon Native lines' they were to be not 'relics' but rulers; not puppets, but 'living factors in the administration" (1994: 198). To say in other words, Forster is critical of the Liberals like Mill who withheld the application of reforms in India, application that could have contributed to the upgrading of the administration. The result of this misguided policy has resulted in what he sees as a crisis that is likely to endanger the existence of Empire. So if one has to qualify his brand of imperial consolidation, one can consider it as one of refinement or revision of the liberal tradition that had kept the cultural technologies like that of government to the sole benefit of those at home in England, overlooking the fact that Empire is its economic substance. We feel that Forster speaks as an imperial agent mindful of revising the policy of exclusion that was applied to India in order to consolidate its existence for the future generations.

Maugham is also critical of the way the Empire is managed, but for other reasons. He finds it abnormal that the native rulers are so young, and without any experience in politics. One of the native rulers he met was surprisingly "a little boy of **thirteen**" (WN: 221; emphasis added). Due to his young age and devoid of any power to take decision on his own, he is surrounded by two "regents" who seem to be his counsellors. This is reminiscent of the

"imbecile youth" (LJ: 173) and his despotic uncles in *Lord Jim*. Maugham persists on the fact that the natives are naturally born despots. He recognises that the natives do not deserve to be trusted for self-government, for they have in their genes the predispositions to be tyrants:

> The moral is that even the most sensible person can very easily get above himself: grant him certain privileges and before you know where you are you will claim them as his inalienable rights; led him a little authority and he will play the tyrant. Give a fool a uniform and sew a tab or two on his tunic and he thinks that his word is law. (GP: 128)

As for Conrad's faith in the British Empire and the need to its continuity, it is more emphasized in his celebration of the ideals that are generally associated with it. For him as for the majority of the British imperialists, the British Empire cannot be dissociated from the ideal of liberty. In a letter he sent to Angèle Zakorska, he claims that wherever it is engaged, people enjoy the blessings of liberty, whereas in colonies like the German and the Dutch ones they never enjoy them. Probably the Boer War is the result of the clash between the ideal of liberty associated with the British Empire and the lack of this same ideal in imperial powers like Germany and the Dutch. For him, the precursors of the Boer War "have no idea of liberty, which can only be found under the English flag all over the world" (CLJC VII: 230). Conrad echoes the ideas of William Gladstone, who considers that it is time "to see the growth of the true spirit of freedom in the colonial communities which would make them not only willing, but eager, to share all the responsibilities of freedom and to take a part in the common burdens" (Quoted in Knaplund, 1941: 1961). Conrad poses as a Liberal imperial agent in favour of the encouragement of liberty in the colonies for the sole purpose of imperial consolidation.

B. The Ideological Accompaniment to the British Imperial Power

The ideological mark that distinguishes Kipling's work from the other writers is that of appropriation. In a way as I have already noted earlier, he reminds us of the French Algerianist writers in their desperate quest for obliterating the native system, transforming its geography, rewriting its history, in short establishing the rule of the "same" over the

"different". He states that because of the work carried out by the English in Jeypore, it is more like a Western state than an Oriental one. The English established modern infrastructures to facilitate access to it like railways and roads, which are generally only found in Europe. It is thanks to "the lamps of British Progress" (WPVRK SSLT: 14) that Jeypore is such a marvel. Colonel Jacob "the Superintending Engineer of the State, created water-supply for the city and studded the ways with stand-pipes. He built gas-work, set a School of Art, a Museum --- all things, in fact, which are necessary to Western welfare and comfort" (WPVR SSLT: 14). Lord Curzon in his celebratory "British Rule in India" writes: "[w]here, before the English entered India, there were no made roads and few bridges, we have overspread the country with a network of roads and have spanned the rivers" (1910: 153). Another Indian territory that enjoys prosperity thanks to the work of the English is Ajmir. The sole problem is that it lacks security, for it is surrounded by native states:

> From a criminal point of view, Ajmir is not a pleasant place. The Native States lie all round and about it, and portions of the district are ten miles off, Native State-locked on every side. Thus the criminal, who may be a burglarious Meena lusting for the money-bags of the Setts, or a Peshawari down south on a cold-weather tour, has his plan of campaign much simplified. (WPVRK SSLT: 49)

Ajmir suffers from the insecurity resulting from the "vicious" and "covetous" attitude of the native rulers. Besides, about Chitor, Kipling claims that the people are forced to endure inhumane exploitation. It is a "land where human life and labour are cheaper than bread and water" (WPVRK SSLT: 97-98). People work under harsh conditions for meagre payments not sufficient to earn their living. The lesson is that they would be better off under British rule.

While Jeypore is an improved city, Udaipur has none of the modern infrastructures, for "the King who governs to-day is wise in his determination to have no railroads to his capital" (WPVRKSSLT: 60). As the rulers of Udaipur do not accept the interference of the English, they do not want their state to resemble an English-ruled one. The only form of progress that is authorised to cross the frontiers is the exchange of mail with other states. The mail system of communication is modern, and it is taken by the English. The Englishman in

charge of bringing the mail to Udaipur had difficulties to reach the state as a result of the impracticability of the ways to the state. Once on the way to Udaipur the "bags [of the mails] were the only link between him and the civilisation" (WPVRKSSLT: 57); he is kept in an uncivilised world that needs to be civilised by the English missionary work.

Notwithstanding the refusal to implement the British rule in Udaipur, the Christian mission has implemented itself there. It is said: "to arrive, under Providence, at the cure of souls through the curing bodies certainly seems the rational method of conversion; and this is exactly what the Mission are doing" (WPVRK SSLT: 72). The work carried out by Padre-Sahib is both missionary and medical. In Udaipur, he implemented the Cross as well as a hospital to help the majority of the natives who had not access to the state hospital. The word "Padre-Sahib" (WPVRK SSLT: 72) signifies that the priest is also a servant of the British Raj. While the humanitarian work is the best way of converting non-Christians, the missionary work serves as an efficient way to implement the British banner in the native-ruled states. The Christian mission is generally used as a prelude to Empire. This in turn is reinforced by the doctrine of the 'white man's burden' and paternalism, which are immediately inspired from the idea of the survival of the fittest. The work of English Sahibs is celebrated on the basis that they are engaged in humanitarian work in India given their supposed superiority:

> In the middle of all this bustle of reform planned, achieved, frustrated, and replanned, and the never ending underground welfare that surges in a Native State, move the English officers – the irreducible minimum of exiles. As a caste, the **working Englishmen** in Native States are curiously interesting; and the traveller, whose tact by this time has been blunted by tramping, sits in judgment upon them as he has seen them. In the first place, they are, they must be, the **fittest** who have survived; for though, here and there, you shall find one chafing bitterly against the **burden** of his life in the wilderness, one to be pitied more than any chained beast, the bulk of the caste are honestly and unaffectedly fond of their work, fond of the country around them, and fond of the people they deal with. In each State their answer to a question is the same. The men with whom they are in contact are "all right" when you know them, but you've got to "know them first", as the music-hall song says. Their hands are full of **work**. (WPVRK SSLT: 146-147; emphasis added)

Clearly, this conforms to the white man's burden and the doctrine of the survival of the fittest. Among all the other people, the English turns out to be the fittest to have authority over the

Indians and uphold them as part and parcel of the Empire. What distinguishes Kipling's style of consolidating the Empire is comparison. The comparative style foregrounds the differences in managing spaces, time and people. It is animated by a proprietary attitude that reminds us of Defoe's Robinson Crusoe in his quest of transforming the Indian subcontinent into another England by importing its cultural and technological gadgetry to a colony judged to be retarded state at both the material and the spiritual levels.

Kipling is not alone in this appropriation of the Enlightenment project for consolidating the Empire. Under the sign of the same, Forster is also utopian in that matter. The main divergence between them is that the former's attitude is aggressive whereas the latter's is progressive in the sense that it takes time to change mentalities. This explains the change of tone from one of bullying the Indians to one of understanding that things change slowly but surely. In his two visits, he witnesses the large and very important work which has already been achieved in Anglo-India. There is as yet much to do for the welfare of the Indians. For instance, water supply for the cities and isolated areas remains something very limited, and many provinces still need to be linked to the system of roads like the Grand Trunk one while railways are a scarcity that needs to be amended. This is the case with the city of Chhatarpur, which is bigger than Dewas. In his letter of September 16th, Forster describes this city as jungle-like with monkeys, tigers and leopards nearby. Except for the agriculture which is "more diversified" what requires more attention is the absence of "industries" and "railways" (HD: 195). The agriculture itself should be modernised, for without modern amenities, it would not ensure enough production needed for the growing demography in the cities. The letters Forster devotes to the work of Colonel Wilson show that he had accomplished much during his service. However, water supply, for example, is lacking. If the Colonel "had forgotten the water supply" (HD: 220) around his dwelling, what could be said of the Indian populated zones. It is evident that there is none. Where there are

wells, the draughts dry them off soon in May or before. Water supply is a sensitive problem that requires the missionary attention of the English.

Forster also considers that the natives have to be included within the education program traced by the British liberals. As the native rulers have a leaning for militarism and obscurantism (HD: 130), the Indians beseech the English education and aesthetic and intellectual enlightenment. First, education is not given much importance in many Indian states as religion. Therefore, there should be more schools to educate the Indians. Besides, obscurantist and militarist native rulers like Scindhia prevent their subjects from having a sceptic attitude or an aesthetic mind, the result of which is that they become "unaesthetic" and have no appreciation for beauty. "One is starved by the absence of beauty", says Forster to denote the extent to which it is unpleasant for the Indian to be "unaesthetic". (HD: 131) No interest in beauty implies starvation of senses that needs to be satisfied by the English interests in the beautiful. Also, because of the obscurantism of the rulers, the natives are forced to remain unenlightened unless the British take them the blessings of Education. Forster's non-fiction reads as a state of art mentioning the work that is done and what remains to be done in the future by proposing a gradual approach to change. This gradual approach has to be sustained by putting at the disposal of the Indians the necessary cultural and material technologies that had been tested at home. So on the whole, it can be said that consolidation of Empire for him can be achieved if an attitude of accommodation is adopted.

Maugham believes that the rule of the British Empire when efficiently exercised is seen in what it accomplished in the colonies. The natives benefit from the philanthropic missions vested in some imperial agents who offer schooling and lodging for the needy. The Christian mission also affects the lives of many people, not only for religious reasons but also to offer welfare, protection and security. Public works are brought to areas where they are scarce or non-existent. For instance, as a traveller Maugham writes about his experiences in a

portion of China: "when I arrived at a village and the headman and the elders, kneeling on the ground, gave me presents I had seemed to read in their large eyes a strange hunger" (GP: 99). This is a way of saying that as an English traveller, he is welcomed as a kind of saviour. This kind of treatment can be explained by the *efficient* work of the imperial agents who manage to have the confidence of the natives.

The warm welcome he receives from the Chinese is related to their gratitude for the work of a white priest who "at least could give them something" (GP: 99). The Shans have confidence in the priest to the extent that "they let their children come to him only because he **clothed**, **lodged**, and fed them" (GP: 100; emphasis added). The work of the priest in the name of the Christian mission is also important to the civilisation of the world. Some of the children who are helped by the priest would return to their villages after some time spent benefiting from his teachings. While some would "revert to the savage beliefs of their fathers, others would retain the faith he had **taught** them and by their influence perhaps lighten the darkness that surrounded them" (GP: 100; emphasis added). Teaching these children the civilised ways, savage ones will disappear gradually in this region. Not only is this priest a kind of imperial agent but he is also a devoted philanthropist who "gave the people his heart and made no more fuss about it" (GP: 105).

Maugham's ideology does not stop at the missionary impulse. As other imperial authors, he appropriates the concept of time as an ideological apparatus to justify domination. He contrasts the primitivism and semi-primitivism associated with the people of the Orient to the civilisation of the Westerners. The contrast is demarcated through using the concept of time, as if the journeys made in *The Gentleman in the Parlour* are journeys from a Western world of civilisation and progress into a world that, if let alone, remains changeless. "It seemed to me that I had been riding along that broad white road since the beginning of time, and still it stretched interminably before me" (GP: 150). However, the contact with the white

race results in a process that brings about some change in the habits of the people of the Orient. This contact

> marked the end of an existence they had led since time immemorial. It heralded a revolution in their habits and their customs. It was a change that came down upon them, panting and puffing, with a slightly flattered tire but blowing a defiant horn. Change. […] It was civilization. (GP: 151)

This process of change is mainly intensified in the imperial impulse which had the pretension of civilising the so-called non-civilised people.

About the state of India, Maugham relates the concept of time to the Hindu's belief in the Karma. The Hindus believe that life is conditioned by the Karma, "the force that conditions the nature and circumstances of the human being as the result of his actions in previous existences. It is the events of past lives, and of the present life" (PV: 66-67). This definition of the Karma denotes the idea the Hindus believe in cyclicality of life. They do not believe in the linearity of life or time; human actions are mere repetitions of previous actions. Therefore, there is no place for self-fulfilment or progress. This feeling has helped shape the spirit in the Indian society, believing that the poor shall remain poor because of their previous lives whereas the rich shall remain rich for the same reasons. Supposedly, the Hindus are not disposed by their religious beliefs to endeavour to change their situations and will prefer to stick to them as a result of their karma (s). In this way, Maugham joins in the debate over the Oriental cyclical conception of time as opposed to the Westerner's progressive one. (Fabian, 2002: 17, 18) What characterises the consolidation drive for Empire in Maugham is a priestly attitude. Paradoxically, Maugham went to the East to cure the spiritual and cultural fatigue which many of his contemporaries experienced in the West at the time, yet in contrast with the East he saw that the spiritual exhaustion was even worse here. The shock seemed to have healed him because as I have said it is more as a priest than anything else that Maugham wrote the East.

Forster is also similar in his appropriation of the concept of time to mark the delay in

India's progress. The people's cyclical conception of time inhibits progress as they do not care about the passage of time. What happens in the trains gives a pertinent example of the Indians' lack of time awareness. This is the central topic of "Iron Horses in India" (1913). In this essay, Forster asserts that though the train is taken to India by the British, the fact that people carry on not to really care about the effective functioning of the train will be an impediment to India's progress. He writes that the train "is unpunctual" and the situation is so serious since it is the result of the carelessness of officials like "the local rajah" (PTOUW: 219). Therefore, the problem of native unpunctuality sometimes percolates down on the British servants of empire like the sahib who "doesn't see why he should be punctual, when the rajah wasn't and the train waits for him" (PTOUW: 219). The British imperial agents sometimes do not endeavour to change India's state when its people pose as obstacles to their work. Likewise, Maugham claims that "it is useless to offer a gift to him who cannot stretch out a hand to take it" (GP: 163).

This section has focused more on Kipling, Forster and Maugham. In the case of Conrad, it has to be noted that the ideological accompaniment to empire is more pertinent in his fiction, which will be developed in the fiction section of this chapter. In order not to fall within repetition of what has been said about his letter to Hugh Clifford, it is enough to say that it involves some imperialist ideology. One understands from this letter that Hugh Clifford is taking security to the district he is about to rule. He tells Clifford: "down the Archipelago [you] may have some queer refugees in your Kingdom" (CLJC VII: 226). Clifford will be regarded by the Malays as a kind of *protector* for the people of Labuan and North Borneo, the administration of which he was appointed in 1898.

In conclusion, the non-fiction of our four authors shows that the consolidation of Empire constitutes one of its main concerns. Its forms and its accompanying or propping ideologies differ between the worldly circumstances that influenced the authors, but there

emerges an agreed consensus that the Empire has to go on no matter the differences in the manner and strategies that have to be adopted. For Kipling, the consolidating forms and ideologies are steeped in the eighteenth century Enlightenment project as it is imagined by writers like Daniel Defoe, and in the ethnocentric thought of liberal thinkers like John Stuart Mill. Forster differs from Kipling in his adoption of a more lenient strategy that consists of extending the liberal policy to the empire, but the end remains the re-invigoration of an Empire in crisis. His attitude is one of refinement of the logistics already deployed. Maugham takes another road in his quest for salvaging the Empire. The urgent problem to be addressed is that of cultural and spiritual exhaustion that has hit the East. His approach seems to be borrowed a lot from Arnold's cultural philosophy in the priestly attitude with which he wrote his non-fiction. Conrad seeks the consolidation of the British Empire for pragmatic reasons. As a foreign born author, he serves both the interests of the Britons and those of Poland by seeking to contain the Russian threat. He revises the idea of Empire by qualifying the British brand.

Fiction

To move to fiction, it has to be noted that what the writers maintain in their non-fiction is prevalent in their fiction. This is expressed through the themes and motifs which they develop to consolidate the English imperial vision of domination of the Orient through a textual formation of imperialist ideologies. Kipling's imperialist idea of the Orient cannot be dissociated from this dynamic of control of India by Britain. His texts develop the ideologies that contribute to the perpetuation of this power. These are not dissociable from the general tendency of the ontological, ethological and political contrast between India as a subject country and Britain as the colonising power. One of the factors which have impelled Kipling to be closely engaged with the British Empire is related to his personal experience of India. This concerns his nostalgia towards the empire he has known as a child and as a writer. The

possibility of the overthrow of this empire was expressed in the Indian Mutiny of 1857, which led to the establishment of the British Raj and its "permanence", to borrow Lewis D. Wurgaft's word (1987: 3). As a journalist and writer, Kipling is committed to this permanence. H. J. Valey argues that he is motivated by the desire to criticise "those at home [certainly the Liberals] who are stupid and who do not realise the difficulty of governing India" (1953: 124). His consolidation of Empire is therefore a drive that rises out of the domestic threat that Liberals in England constituted to Imperial India.

While Kipling wrote the majority of his fiction at the apogee of the British Empire and its Indian Raj, Foster wrote in the early twentieth century, a period that witnessed the increase in the nationalist creed of the Indians. This led imperial authors to be concerned with the manners of coping with this nationalism. His consolidation of vision is directly matched with this idea. He structures *A Passage to India* in such a way as to give the impression of inevitability of the racial clash in the imperial atmosphere of Anglo-India. Therefore, throughout the novel he consolidates the empire by giving importance to how to ensure the future of the British Raj and the colonial system. *A Passage to India* (1924) and "The Life to Come" (1922) were published in the interwar period when "it was no longer possible to sustain British control on the basis of the earlier self-confident and paternalistic imperialism epitomised in the viceroyalty of Lord Curzon" (Judd, 2004: 138). The time was rather for liberalism and a change of policies from separation and hegemony to liberal and democratic concessions. This was due to the increase in Indian nationalist creed as a result of the Rowlatt Act of March 1919 which aspired to maintain the hegemonic attitude towards the nationalist Indians and the Armitsar Massacre of the same. Forster's look at the Empire is prospective whereas that of Kipling is retrospective. A point of distinction in their strategies for reinforcing Empire is whether to change or to keep the same policy.

Far from the British Raj but still in relation to the British imperial power, Conrad and

Maugham refurbish the imperialist attitudes that purport to legitimise the British imperial vision of domination of the Malay Archipelago. In *Lord Jim* (1901) and other writings about this area, Conrad ideologically accompanies the British power in the Archipelago. The title of the novel denotes the process through which the white empire builder becomes a lord over the non-Europeans only thanks to his superior character and mind. Throughout the novel, the natives keep speaking about Jim as their *tuan,* the Malay word for lord or master. Maugham's Malay tales conform to this idea that the English are the "fittest" to rule over the Malays. He creates the people of the Malay Archipelago as the subject race of the English, whom they consider as their *tuans* or their white lords. To consolidate this vision of domination, Maugham refers to a set of ideologies. Nowhere is his consolidation of vision more prominent than in his Malay tales like *The Casuarina Tree*. In this and other collections of stories, he depicts the English imperial administration as an organised structure at the head of which are the Residents backed by their agents. To reinforce the presence of the English in the Malay Archipelago, he emphasises the missionary work. He also deals with the most evident ways of maintaining the administration in place. What is common to Conrad and Maugham is their interest in the Malay portion of the British Empire and their endeavour to maintain British power there and make the natives "serve and honour the English masters" (Greenberger, 1969: 57) in the same manner as Kipling and Forster do in relation to the Indians.

A. The British Imperial Power and the Denial of Native Authority

Consolidation of vision, Said argues, relates to the power-relation articulated in the arts such as literature. Literature expressed the service of imposing one's will to power over the other. In this sense, we can say that the four writers, each in his own way, tried to re/deploy his art within the confine of imperial power relations. Literature becomes a peculiar mode of knowledge similar to the one that academic Orientalists put at the service of the Empire. Kipling's Indian fiction manifestly celebrates English power in India. He pays due

respect to the British Raj, whose power is worked out through an organised body of the British imperial agents helped by some Indian natives. In *Kim,* the British imperial system is depicted as a highly organised political structure. It involves primarily the services of the British colonial administrators who are attributed the names of *sahibs*. Besides, some native agents such as the *babus* are nominated to help the British officials in their governance. The British secret services are also involved in the novel. This British political structure rules over India with the iron fist as it can even interfere in the affairs of the native states. When the native kings conspire against the British authority in India through their uprising against one of its agents namely Mahbub Ali, the reaction is immediate and authoritative. The native is not allowed to rise against the authority of the imperial power. "By Gad, sar! The British government will change the succession in Hilás and Bunár, and nominate new heirs to the throne" (K: 369). The natives should obey the authority of the imperial power because it is to their own benefits. Imperial authority and native obedience/ disobedience are the subject of "His Chance in Life" (1888), where Kipling develops the metaphor of the child as the native and the British imperialist as his paternal figure. He asserts that it should never be forgotten that "unless the outward and visible signs of Our Authority are always before a native he is as incapable as a child of understanding what authority means, or where is the danger of disobeying it" (HCL: 81). He compares the disobedient native to the child who needs the caring attention of his father but does not know the importance of listening to his advice.

Another pertinent example of the exercise of English authority over the Indians and the denial of the latter's authority occurs in the passage which involves Kim and a native policeman named Dunnoo. The policeman says what follows:

> 'Do not sit under that gun' [...] 'Huh! Was Kim's retort on the lama's behalf. 'Sit under that gun if it please thee. When didst thou steal the milk-woman's slipper's, Dunnoo?
> That was an utterly unfounded charge sprung on the spur of the moment, but it **silenced** Dunnoo. (K: 22)

Obviously, Kim is endowed with the power to "silence" the policeman who has no other

solution but to accept his rejoinder. He not only denies the authority of the Indian but also exerts his white authority over him.

Kipling endorses the British rule in India in order to show that it should be continuous and eternal. He believes that the Indians are not capable of ruling themselves because of factors related to their aptitudes, natural dispositions and the complexity of their cultural and religious background. His *representation* of the Indians as inferior to the supposedly superior English encompasses his belief that they need to be subjected to the rule of Britain. The latter is to implement an imperial system in the Indian setting, the outcomes of which are advantageous to the Indian people. In this sense, Kipling joins Mill, who argues that because India is a "backward" society, its

> subjection […] is often of the greatest advantage to a people, carrying them rapidly through several stages of progress, and clearing away obstacles to improvement which might have lasted indefinitely if the subject population had been left unassisted to its native tendencies and chances. (1861: 77)

Another way of demonstrating the writer's position vis-à-vis the Orient is by means of drawing parallels with other texts. This way of analysing such Orientalist texts is called "strategic formation" (Said, 1995: 20). Kipling's text appeals to Mill's *Considerations on Representative Government* (1861) since both works emphasise the importance of British rule in India. Kipling's fiction reads as a kind of fairy tale wherein power is magically invested in the juvenile hero for whom nothing can resist. The India of Kipling has strong resemblances of all the "island literature", "the Robinsonades" like Robert Louis Stevenson's *Treasure Island* and *The Coral Island* that were accessible to nineteenth century English children. The adventures of the hero retrace the initiation to the exertion of power that is deposed in him by virtue of belonging to another race, another type, another epistemology, another space and time. Kim is not so much a progeny of human interaction as a cultural product of Oriental romances elaborated to consolidate the power relations between the dominated natives and the dominating white men.

In a similar way, in Forster's *A Passage to India*, the Anglo-Indians consider themselves as the Ruling Race that does everything to avoid the rise of the natives against their power. In fact, after the 1857 mutiny, the officials started to change their policy in India. They are in India to keep peace and maintain the British Raj. Forster portrays the British Raj in miniature. Chandrapore is "presented as a representative centre of British India, and used as a literary device to a microcosmic view of the Raj at work" (Ganguly, 1990: 33). This "microcosmic view of the Raj" is presented through the services of officials like Mr Turton, Mr McBryde, Major Callendar and Ronny. These in turn are linked to the Indian princely states by the Viceroy. Turton is the collector of taxes, McBryde the Superintendent of Police, Callendar the Civil Surgeon and Ronny the new city Magistrate. All of these agents are figures of the English power in India: the power of finance, the power of discipline, the power of knowledge and the power of justice, respectively. For instance, Roony tells his mother: "I am out here to work, mind, to hold this wretched country by force" (PI: 50). This testifies to the Anglo-Indians' belief that they were serving the Indians within the Raj. The narrator advocates this by the following comment:

> He spoke sincerely. Every day he worked hard in the court trying to decide which of two untrue accounts was the less untrue, trying to dispense justice fearlessly, to protect the weak against the less weak, the incoherent against the plausible, surrounded by lies and flattery. That morning he had convicted a railway clerk of overcharging pilgrims for their tickets, and a Pathan of attempted rape. He expected no gratitude, no recognition for this, and both clerk and Pathan might appeal, bribe their witnesses more effectually in the interval, and get their sentences reversed. It was his duty. (PI: 50)

The narrator argues for the importance of the implementation of the English justice in India. They administered Chandrapore as a district among the number of districts that India was divided into during the time of the British Raj. Historically, it "was divided into 250 administrative districts and the duty of the administrators was to 'maintain law, order and to collect revenue'" (Ganguly, 1990: 33). There are two important aspects of the administration of these officials. Their rule is race-bound, and it is governed by the traumatic experience of

the 1857 Indian uprising. These two features stand as an impediment to cultural and racial understanding in Anglo-India and widen the gap between the ruler and the ruled. This says much about the general framework of Forster's consolidating style. Though he reproduces the imperial vision that the people of India need to be maintained within a system that is as important to them as to the imperial power, he considers that it is within a system that favours dialogue between the coloniser and the colonised that this rule can be held.

In "The Life to Come", Forster shows the appropriation of the missionary impulse for political aims. This is achieved through missionary agents who have managed to make themselves rulers over colonised subjects by expressing compassion. Mr Pinmay is representative of this category of imperial agents. He becomes powerful not by means of fire arms or coercion but by showing the humanity of the white Christian. As soon as he converts the natives, their locality is transferred into an integral district of the empire, and Mr Pinmay is appointed as the administrator of "the new district" (LC: 69). In this regard, Roy Anindyo writes: "Pinmay's control over Vithobai and the forest signifies a **reterritorialization** of the colonial imaginary, whereby the site of savagery and wilderness is inscribed within the larger realm of economic exchange and profit made possible through religious conversion" (2001: 252; emphasis added). Anindyo's comments on the portrayal of missionary achievements in Forster's "The Life to Come" reminds me of the transformation of the "evil forest" in Chinua Achebe's *Things Fall Apart* into an enchanting place that ended with the conversion not only of "agbala", the good-for-nothing persons but also the wealthy Umofians. Obviously, unlike Kipling, Forster's fiction does not start with the idea of writing a juvenile story, but his dream of a future India wherein the British will have a privilege status takes his *A Passage to India* close to Kipling's *Kim* in its emphasis on romance. *A Passage to India* is an adult romance that seeks to short-change the Indians by proposing the extension of Liberal reforms to the colony without perturbing the power-relationships.

In *Lord Jim*, Conrad explores the idea of power through a process by which Jim becomes a ruler in Patusan. By virtue of his white birth and the awkward circumstances under which the people of Patusan live, he becomes their *tuan* or white lord. Therefore, Jim fills the conditions of an empire builder like Robinson Crusoe. He "came from a long way south of the Tweed; but at the distance of six or seven thousand miles Great Britain" (LJ: 175). His coming to the Orient is motivated by a variety of reasons related to empire building. He is viewed as a white *lord* in a foreign land. His lordship is the result of his white origin which allows him some inalienable "supernatural" powers (LJ: 174). These powers which are intellectual, military, political and moral deify him in the eyes of the Malays of Patusan. The moment he arrives at Patusan, his powers are asserted over the natives. He finds them in turmoil because of internal factions and external threats, so the people turn to him as their white saviour: "there could be no question that Jim had the power" (LJ: 207). This idea of Jim as a white saviour is embodied in the way he appeared to them, seeming "like a creature not only of another kind but of other essence. Had they not seem him come up in a canoe they might have thought he had descended upon them from the clouds" (LJ: 174).

In Jim, the Patusans find protection against their corrupt rulers and the threat of foreign forces. This protection is the result of his military expertise. As a British in the Orient, he took both his knowledge in military organisation and the British fire arms. These guns make him look like a kind of supernatural being to the natives. Jim manages to protect them against their despotic rulers and Brown, a ferocious Dutch man, who came to the shore with a Machiavellian aim. When a group of warring natives were endangering the lives of other natives, Jim was able to manage the group easily and successfully:

> Jim took up an advantageous position and shepherded them out in a bunch through the doorway: all that time the torch had remained vertical in the grip of a little hand, without so as a trouble. The three men obeyed him, perfectly mute, moving automatically. He ranged them in row. "Link Arms" he ordered. They did so. "The first who withdraws his arm or turns ahead is a dead man", he said. "March!" They stepped out together, rigidly; he followed. (LJ: 228)

It is clear from the above that the warring men are voiceless and inactive in the face of the white saviour. The way he addresses them also shows another kind of power, coercive power generally associated with military power. Before Jim, Patusan was like "a cage of beasts made ravenous by long impenitence" (LJ: 182), and where "utter insecurity for life and property was the normal conditions" (LJ: 174). But "he had regulated many things [there]" (LJ: 168). When Jim goes away from Patusan for some days, the people were being attacked by the dangerous natives. Dain Warris, a native educated by Jim, could not protect his fellows. He failed because "[h]e had not Jim's racial prestige and the reputation of the invincible, supernatural power. He was not the visible, tangible incarnation of unfailing truth and of unfailing victory" (LJ: 272). Aware of their weakness and Jim's power, the chieftains of the village go farther in trying to find counsel in the dwelling of the absent Jim. It is this belief which "guided the opinions of the chieftains of the town, who elected to assemble in Jim's fort for deliberation upon the emergency, as if expecting to find wisdom and courage in the dwelling of the absent white man" (LJ: 272). Despite their lack of "wisdom" and "courage", the thought of Jim as their *lord protector* procures them confidence and the power to face the enemy. The preceding quotation not only shows how innocent and naïve the natives are but it demonstrates the manner Jim established himself as *power* on the island, as well. Due to Jim's skills he became "the virtual ruler" (LJ: 207) of Patusan. The idea that his rule was "virtual" implies that he did not rule the natives without consulting them. This is representative rule, which goes against the idea of tyranny and despotism, associated with native authority. Also, through Stein and Jim one understands the idea of native rulers helped by the political expertise of English Residents and their assistants.

It follows that the enlistment of romance for the empowerment of the white man, especially when it concerns the English man, and disempowerment of the natives is even more prominent in Conrad than in Kipling and Forster. At the centre of Romance, as

Northrope Frye says, stands a hero far above the other men in the miracles that he can accomplish (1957: 33). It is what we see in the power-relations between the natives and Jim. The magnifying and epic proportions of the latter stand in contrast to the Lilliputian dimensions of the former. However, at the heart of Conrad's romantic empowerment, we feel a dream betrayed by other European white men in search of purely material interests.

Maugham's Far Eastern tales refurbish the political organisation of the English rule in the Malay Archipelago. The rule is not direct since it is imposed through representatives. In his texts, the British colonial system follows the same pattern; all the stories deal with the life of the British colonial administrators in the Malay Archipelago and the imperial work. Generally, there are Residents headed by one Governor, the equivalent of the Anglo-Indian Viceroy. These are diplomatic titles conferred on those servants of the Empire who ensure the efficiency of the colonial work in the Archipelago. There are also British local administrators, who are in charge of the local affairs of retreated areas in the interior, whether they are economic, judicial or social. These imperial agents serve both their Empire and the Malay sultans, for they are the backbone of what is called The Federated Malay States. It is these British agents who work to federate these states or sultanas according to the English standards of government.

As the Malay sultans cannot rule their subjects properly, the British assist them in exchange for economic and political advantages. However, instead of a direct rule, the natives are given a certain freedom of action. In the opening story of *The Casuarina Tree*, there are a Resident and an Assistant Resident who care after the affairs of their district. Harold is the Resident. The English people around him are proud of the "fluency with which he spoke […] the multifariousness of his duties and the competent way in which he performed them" and "the combination of firmness, tact and good humour, which are essential in dealing with that timid, revengeful and suspicious race" (CT: 27). Harold and his Assistant Simpson obey less

to the Sultans and more to the Governor. They do inspection work around their district to ensure the good working of English rule, they collect the taxes, and they administer justice for all according to the English law. It is during a tour of inspection around his district that Harold caught malaria. On his return, he tells his wife that there are certain sacrifices for "a man to be an empire builder" (CT: 35), which makes him pose as a devoted empire builder. This denotes the devotion to efficiency shared among every servant of the British Empire.

Thus, the romantic strain is not absent from Maugham's fiction in spite of the fact that we do not meet characters of similar supernatural calibre as in Conrad's. What is arguably prominent in Maugham's romance of empire building is the importance he accords to the efficient manner in which unequal power-relationships came to be established in the Empire. This idea is also found in Conrad's *Heart of Darkness*, an idea of efficiency that seems to distinguish the English or British from the rest of Europeans. In *Orientalism*, Said claims that "what was important in the latter nineteenth century was not *whether* the West had penetrated and possessed the Orient but rather *how* the British and French felt they had done it" (1995: 211). To all evidence, Maugham together with Conrad tell us that the British manner of imposing unequal power-relationships in the Empire are far better than that of the other European nations. The celebration of the efficient manner of the British Empire building makes Maugham's fiction read as romance not only in relation to the natives but to the other Europeans.

The empowerment of the white British rulers that one finds in Kipling's, Forster's, Conrad's and Maugham's romances is accompanied by the disempowerment of the natives through the enumeration of series of deficiencies related to their nature and their abuse of exercise of power. The romantic representation of the white man is contrasted to the ironic or satiric representation of the natives. This irony assumes a militant contour in its exaggerated affirmation that power is a dangerous thing to be put in the hands of natives who have no

tradition for its exercise. Thus, Said states "authority […] means for 'us' to deny the autonomy of 'it'" (1995: 32). Kipling totally adheres to this view in his denial of the native authority through insisting on native despotism. For instance, a group of native policemen headed by an Englishman is shown at work. This suggests that these native men should be led by the English power because "native police mean extortion to the native all India over" (K: 276). The idea of a "native police" force directly alludes to native rule in the sense that it represents the authority of the native rulers. Their disposition to "extortion" is the obvious example of their despotic behaviour and denotes the natives' predispositions to behave only for their personal interests, whereas their subjection to the British would improve the political situation. Kipling shows that the Indian rulers cannot represent their people because they are likely to act despotically. Arthur James Balfour, the British statesman, claims that "Oriental despotism" is a fact that the history of the East has given proof to. (Quoted in Said, 1995: 32) This idea is emphasised by Zastoupil, who writes that because "India [was] dominated by cruel despots" (1994: 173), the British imposed their own rule. In Kipling's text, the idea of despotism is also embodied in the expression "feudatory raja's army" (K: 166) which implies that the native army is not engaged in the protection of the natives but rather in serving the interests of native rulers. The word 'feudatory' denotes the idea that native rule is old-fashioned, and it is compared to feudalism, the medieval version of despotism that only serves the interests of the minority at the expense of the majority. As it is within such systems that corruption and treachery become entrenched in the society, the people should be headed by a more enlightened race like the British.

Oriental despotism was common among nineteenth century political thinkers like Mill. Mill asserts that foreigners "belonging to a superior people or a more advanced state of society" should interfere in the task of ruling the Indians. (1861: 77) He opposes Oriental despotism to "enlightened despotism", and the former should be replaced by the latter. In

view of the complexity of the Indian people, "vigorous despotism is in itself the best mode of government for training the people in what is specifically to render them capable of higher civilisation" (Mill, 1861: 320) He uses the expression oriental despotism to refer to the insecurity of "property rights" since it is based on "envy" and the desire to satisfy personal interests. The role of politicians is to protect the lives and properties of their represented people at home and their subject races abroad. This echoes Kipling's idea that native police extort the natives throughout India. It is the moral duty of the white race to help the natives to get rid of their despots. Both Kipling and Mill emphasise this idea of implementing Western political rule in the Orient in order to "veil the threat of terror", "check the show of pride", "seek another's profits" and "work another's gain" (Kipling, 1899). Mill's text and similar liberal and conservative texts in the nineteenth century provide for Kipling with a pretext to disempower the natives because of their incapacity to handle authority. The romantic stature of the white heroes and their capacity to transform the power game into an instrument for the organisation of the colony contrasts with the ironic stature of the natives portrayed as children arrested in their development to adulthood or degenerates whose excesses in the exercise of power and authority has led to the shambles.

Like Kipling, Forster in "The Life to Come" remarks that the English power as it is implemented through the missionary work is politically essential to the natives. Before the planting of the cross in the unnamed colonial setting of the story, there were usual clashes among the different villages of the region. Also, the people suffered from the vilest misrules of the primitive tribes of central India. Street claims that "politically, the 'primitive' was in the grip of either anarchy or despotism; social control, if any, was exercised by the most savage tyranny, by the despotism of custom or by religious trickery" (1975: 7). Forster asserts they were fortunate to have British missionaries come "to teach [them] to rule [their kingdoms] rightly" (LC: 72). They also managed to evince the "inter-tribal war[s]" (LC: 74).

Unless the British interfered in the internal affairs of these people, only a situation of instability due mainly to native misrule would prevail.

The utopian impulse in Forster's fiction is set against the dystopian native background. He joins Kipling in the development of irony and satire to the end of denying the assumption of authority by the natives over their own affairs. Irony, George Lukacs says, is closed related to the fallen bourgeois world in which the novelistic hero seeks for an impossible community. This seems to hold true in Forster's case in his description of an Aziz as a fantasy character born out of Forster's bourgeois mind. The romance of friendship that he develops with Fielding turns into irony in its confrontation with the reality of power-relations in India. The romance of friendship is displaced by the unresolvable contradiction of Orientalism as a system of regulating power relations.

The interplay of irony and romance for the empowerment of the white man and the disempowerment of the natives is even more prominent in Conrad's fiction. In *Lord Jim*, Jim is the British regulator of the affairs of Patusan. When he arrives there he finds the people suffering from the tyranny and oppression of their despotic Sultan, who is viewed as "an imbecile youth with two thumbs on his left hand and an uncertain and beggarly revenue extorted from a miserable population and stolen from by his many uncles" (LJ: 173). He is an impotent ruler since he does not manage to cope with the antagonism of his uncles. The worst that can be said of these uncles is that they are more despotic than the young sultan. For instance, the Rajah Allang was

> the worst of the Sultan's uncles, the governor of the river, who did the extorting and the stealing, and ground down to the point of extinction of the country born Malays, who utterly defenceless, had not even the resource for emigrating. (LJ: 174)

The Sultan and his uncles are typical Oriental despots who do not care about their people. Burnhan claims that the "oriental despot is better seen as a figure of power" (1995: 85). Under the power of the despot, the people suffer from insecurity, not to mention their poor

conditions. Richard Ruppel claims that "the rule […] he imposes is thoroughly benign because his vision of the ideal is one of harmony and justice" (Ruppel, 1998). The Rajah and Doramin, the despots with whom "Jim fights […] are transparent figures of [the] detested despot" (Ibid.). It is only by imposing his political expertise and the British political technology that Jim disempowers the despots to hold their places as the authority in the land.

Conrad conveys almost the same vision of Oriental despotism as Kipling's idea of native police extorting the natives and Mill's idea of the Indians' need for the British Rule to protect their lives and their properties against their despots. He is also similar to Sir Hugh Clifford's idea of Malay "vile misrules and a government which is so incompetent and impotent" (1898: 124) and their replacement by an "administration that presses equally upon all alike" (Ibid.) In the nineteenth century, the misfortunes relative to native rule in the Malay Archipelago required the intervention of the British "to impose a Western-type stability onto an ancient heritage of changing political fortunes" (Yeow, 2009: 48). This idea of Oriental despotism started to impose itself as a reality when in the sixteenth and seventieth centuries, scholars and travellers discovered that a common feature of the Oriental societies of Asia, the Near East, China and India was this "despotic strength of their political authority" (Wittfogel, 1957: 1) and a monopolisation of the sources of wealth especially the land (Ibid.). Therefore, when the project of colonial expansion started, the imperialist used this feature as a justification for their undertaking.

Speaking about Oriental despotism entails speaking about the doctrine of paternalism. This is developed in *Lord Jim* through Jim's protection of the Patusans against both their rulers and the threatening foreigners. Jim is considered as the white protector of the Patusans (LJ: 250). This doctrine was a nineteenth century prop of the civilising mission ideology and states that Europe's 'Others' beseech the caring attention and protection of the white race as the children are in need of the protection of their parents. Jim's ascension in Patusan as a

result of his white origins and his different powers shows his political and military paternalism. His sense of organisation and intellectual powers help him regulate the political status quo in Patusan. He also takes to Patusan the modern military amenities; these make him a kind of white lord with 'supernatural powers'. Marlow conveys this idea of paternalism when he says in a letter:

> You said also – I call to mind – that "giving your life to *them*" (*them* meaning all of the mankind with skins brown, yellow, or black in colour) "was like selling your soul to a brute". You contended that "that kind of thing" was only endurable and enduring when based on a firm conviction in the truth of ideas racially our own, in whose name are established the order, the morality of an ethical progress. "We want its strength in our backs", you had said. "We want a belief in its necessity and its justice, to make a worthy and conscious sacrifice of our lives. Without it the sacrifice is only forgetfulness, the way of offering is no better than the way to perdition". (LJ: 255)

From the above one mainly understands that the English feel a kind of moral responsibility towards the Orientals. Their sense of sacrifice comes to be associated in *Heart of Darkness* with the "redeeming idea" of efficiency which is "not only a sentimental pretence but an idea; and an unselfish belief in the idea – something you can set up, and bow down before, and offer a sacrifice to" (HOD: 32).

The doctrine of paternalism is matched with the idea of authority. For the natural development of the children, they need the authority of their parents as are the Orientals in need of the authority of the white imperialists for their progress. Authority in *Lord Jim* is an important trope. His authoritative power is limitless. He becomes the 'lord-protector' of the natives. Since "[h]e loved the land and the people living in it with very great love [and] was ready to answer with his life for any harm that should come to them" (LJ: 295), the Patusans are obedient to him in view of his political and military expertise. For instance, he manages to unite the people against the old Rajah, whom they could defeat thanks to their obedience to and trust in Jim's power. After having plotted against the old Rajah, "Tuan Jim gave his orders and was **obeyed**" (LJ: 297; emphasis added). Jim's authority coupled with the natives' obedience to him entails the denial of native authority. Like Conrad, Kipling in "The Man

Who Would be King" argues that one of the most important steps towards power is to take protection, security and stability to people who live in anarchy like those of Kafiristan. Dravot remarks that he and Carnihan came to "make Kafiristan a country where every man should eat in peace and drink in peace and 'pecially **obey us**" (MWWBK: 181; emphasis added). The word 'obey' is associated with the mission of restoring peace and security in Kafiristan to emphasise the importance of the mission for the sake of power. It also denotes a denial of native authority that is to be replaced by that of the two English subjects. Conrad seems to stand above Kipling and Forster in his disavowal or abrogation of authority for the natives. His fiction reads as some sort of Leviathan that reveals how the natives exchanged the exercise of authority for security under the protection of the British royal system. The irony of such a modest proposal, to paraphrase Jonathan Swift, is that Conrad proposes a monarchical model built on divine rights, a model that the English themselves dismantled at the time of the Glorious Revolution.

Maugham does not stand behind in his romantic quest for the abrogation of native authority. He is contemptuous towards the natives' capacity to rule. In "The Outstation", he affirms that it is not convenient to let a native rule over his own people. In the absence of the English residents when touring for supervision, "it had been inconvenient to leave the station in the hands of a native clerk" (CT: 103). These words denote a kind of semi-allegory of the British power in the Malay Federated States; Maugham is insistent on the natives' need for the political enlightenment of white English heroes. The native clerk stands for native rulers, and the absence of the Resident, in this case Mr Warburton, expresses the possibility of the end of British rule. The official titles bequeathed on the imperial agents of the British Empire and the reference to the Queen and the Crown are proofs of the overwhelming presence of the British Empire in *The Casuarina Tree*. The Malay Archipelago is considered as part and parcel of this Empire notwithstanding the fact of indirect rule. Right at the beginning of the

collection, there is reference to Queen Victoria (CT: 18). Her prestigious reign has also known the glorious moments of the British Empire, reaching its zenith in the last decade of her reign. The expression "Crown Colony" (CT: 123) metonymically stands for the British monarchy and its Empire while it also refers to those colonies that enjoyed a semi-independence but were tightly linked to the Empire.

While the imperial administrators perform political tasks they also make sure that trade follows the flag. By the time the affairs of the Malay States are in the hands of the English administrators, the English banner is implemented. This is followed by the control of trade and other economic activities in the area. In "Before the Party", Mr Gray is one of the secretaries for the Resident. Knowing about Harold's problem of alcohol, his wife convinces Mr Gray "to prevent whiskey being sent from Kuala Solor, but he [Harold] got it from the Chinese" (CT: 40). Obviously, trade in the Malay Archipelago is controlled by the English. They decide on which products to sell and which are forbidden. Whiskey is just one example of the products that are forbidden for importation to the district by the Malays. This idea of trade is importantly emphasised in "P. O.", "The Outstation" and "The Letter". All of these stories deal with men and women engaged in commercial activities in the Far East. In "P. O", one of the passengers of the ship back home is a man who has enriched himself through the rubber boom. Mr. Gallagher

> had been in the Federated Malay States for twenty-five years, and for the last managed an estate in Selantan. It was a hundred miles from anything that could be described as civilisation and the life had been lonely; but he had made money; during the rubber boom he had done very well, and with an astuteness which was unexpected in a man who looked so happy-go-lucky he had **invested** his savings in a **Government** stock. (CT: 58, emphasis added)

It was common that English people retreated to the most isolated outposts of the Empire to serve their profits and those of their mother country. Though Mr Gallagher had made fortune through trade, his investments in government participate in the strengthening of his nation. The vision of the Malay Islands that emerge from the reading of Maugham's fiction is marked

by the idea of joint-stock company. Just as Conrad takes back to the Leviathan, Maugham goes back to the Elizabethan join-stock companies like the Virginia Company, which made possible the rise of the British Empire. Obviously, Maugham wants to press into service of Empire a romance of trade circulated during the Elizabethan and Victorian periods. In so doing, he imaginatively replaces the system of power based on war by a system based on trade. The Victorian Merchant just like his old Elizabethan fellow becomes a model of citizenship because by tending to his business he enriches his country. The irony is that his romanticisation of the British merchant reduces the authority of the native to exercise a similar function for the benefit of his own country.

B. The Ideological Accompaniment to the British Imperial Power

In the preceding section, I have shown that the denial of native authority is accomplished through the irony that sustains the romances of the white man's empowerment. This allows a kind of ideological legitimating of the implementation of the English authority at the expense of the native one. In order to consolidate this imperial authority, a set of "ideological formations that include notions that certain territories and people *require* and beseech domination" (Said, 1994: 8) are devised by the imperialists and deployed in the imperial fiction. The imperial authors derive these ideologies from the evolutionary thought that demarcates the Other as inferior to the Self and the missionary project of enlightening and improving the condition of the Other.

In *Kim*, Kipling explicitly utters the later idea in saying that "[t]o heal the sick is always good […] To expound the most Excellent way is always good" (K: 320). With respect to medicine, it is contrasted to the inefficient and 'primitive' magic of the Indian hakims and gods. Magic provides no healing for the sick while Western medicine does. A characteristic event which illustrates this point is related to Kim's encounter with a Punjabi farmer whose child agonises because of his supposed fever. Contrary to what the depressed father thinks, it

takes Kim little time to realise that the child has no fever as he "knew enough to recognize starvation when he saw it" (K: 250). Therefore, as a real doctor, he prescribes that some milk would suffice to bring the child on his feet again. Through Kim, Kipling shows that English science is more appropriate than Indian magic and mysticism. When disease knocks at natives' doors, these oriental practices are inefficient, but the Westerner is armed with scientific weapons to face it. This idea is also pointed out in "The White Man's Burden", where the white man is depicted as a bearer of health care to the Orientals. Addressing the white man, Kipling says: "[f]ill full the mouth of famine/ And bid the sickness cease" (Kipling, 1899). Lord Curzon adds: the "main recurrent afflictions of India are famine and cholera and plague. Against these our forces are always mobilized" (1910: 153). Curzon like Kipling views the British as bearers of good fortune for the Indians because of the superiority of their cultural and scientific technology.

Conrad in "An Outpost of Progress" denotes that Western medical science is taken to Africa. The ailing "savages" who could choose suicide to escape from their sore states are "doctored" (OP: 258) by Carlier and Kayerts. This is also linked to the nineteenth century doctrine of paternalism. This doctrine is captured in "An Outpost", where Kayerts, speaking of their "fostering care" of the natives, says: "[w]e took care of them as if they had been our children" (OP: 260). The presence of these two men in Africa is advantageous for the natives because they take care of them. The natives need them as children need their own parents. They are dependent on the fostering care of the white imperialists.

Like Conrad, Forster in "The Life to Come" emphasises the importance of the medical mission in the colonial world as it accompanies the Christian mission. In a conversation between Barnabas and Mr Pinmay, one reads:

> 'I am told that the heat down there is so great that the miners work unclad. Are they to be fined for that?' 'No, it is impossible to be strict about mines. They constitute a special case'. 'I understand. I am told that disease among them increases'. 'It does, but then so do our hospitals'. 'In do not understand'. 'Can't grasp, Barnabas, that under God's permission certain evils attended civilisation, but that if men do God's will the

> remedies for the evils keep pace?' 'Five years ago you had not a single hospital in this valley. [...] 'There was abundant disease', corrected the missionary. 'Vice and superstition, not to mention others'. (LC: 74)

In planting the cross, the English missionary agents not only decimated vice and superstition among the natives but also worked for their health as they established hospitals. Forster, like Conrad, depicts the importance of the medical work for the physical and spiritual bodies of the natives.

Maugham does not stand apart from the interest in the medical mission. Many of the protagonists of his stories are doctors like Dr Saunders in *The Narrow Corner* and Rev. Jones and his sister in "The Vessel of Wrath" who serve the empire through their craft. In the former, Dr. Saunders is driven to the Orient by his passion for medicine. As the natives require his services, he becomes vital to their lives:

> They thought him **philanthropic**. Since time was as unimportant to him as cash, he was just as willing to doctor them as not. It amused him to see their ailments yield to treatment, and he continued to find entertainment in human nature. […] It was curious to see how all these people, white, yellow, and brown, responded to the critical situations of humanity, but the sight neither touched his heart nor troubled his nerves. (NC: 24, emphasis added)

Dr Saunders echoes Philip's dream of going to the Far East to practise medicine in *Of Human Bondage*. For him, a "doctor was useful anywhere. There might be an opportunity to go up country in Burmah, and what rich jungles in Sumatra or Borneo might he not visit?" (OHB: 602) This is symptomatic of the missionary impulse, denoting the idea that the Orientals are in need of Western doctors to heal their diseases. Dr Saunders's presence in the Far East is regarded as vital to the lives of the natives, and this confirms Philip's romantic quest to go to the Orient to work as a doctor and serve his country.

The medical mission is emphasised in "The Vessel of Wrath". Mr Jones, the representative of the Christian mission establishes "a tiny hospital", and his sister becomes "matron, dresser and nurse" (VW: 817). When cholera strikes in the island, the Jones, Mr Gruyter and Ginger Ted have engaged in an extensive work to decimate it and spare the lives

of the natives. They bring "drugs and disinfectants", "distributed food and medicine" and "everything possible was done to localise it" (VW: 845). The measures taken in the face of the epidemic have paid, for in the end "out of a population of eight thousand only six hundred died" (VW: 845). Since the hospital is established "on [the] initiative" (VW: 817) of Mr Jones rather than the "unphilanthropist" Gruyter, it is obvious that Maugham is celebrating the British missionary work to consolidate the British Empire. The four writers conform to the imperialist ideology that "Britain's moral superiority, and medical knowledge, made it possible for the British to blunt the impact of [Oriental] disease upon themselves, and even, so they believed, to instruct their [Oriental] subjects in how better to preserve their own health" (Metcalf, 1994: 174). In their imperial romances, they consider the white men as heroes who perform philanthropic actions in the service of the people they conquered.

According to the writers, the white colonisers also take material technology to the colonial world. The taking of the train to India, for instance, is considered as a very valuable technical achievement that facilitates the life of the natives and their rulers. In *Kim,* an Indian banker says with appraise: "[g]reat is the speed of the *te-rain* […] We have gone farther since Lahore than thou couldst walk in two days" (K: 46). The train is a prowess thanks to which time is gained and little effort is spent. Another Indian recognizes that "the government […] gives us one good thing – the *te-rain* that joins friends and unites the anxious. A wonderful matter is the *te-rain*" (K: 263). This denotes Britain's important contribution to the economic development of India through material technology.

Another element which expresses this material improvement concerns the network of roads that the British Services have established in the land. *Kim* emphasises the work of the Freemasons as essential not only for the Indians but also for the British Raj. These secret societies engaged in establishing roads for the purpose of opening up India to Western civilisation. In the novel, this is shown in the Grand Trunk Road, a transcontinental road that

passes through northern India from East to West. Kim and the lama are privileged by the work of the freemasons, who established "cloisters" which "reached by three or four masonry steps, made a haven of refuge" (K: 28). To be more emphatic, Kipling reverses the situation when he imagines the absence of the work of the Freemasons in "The Man who would Be King". As their work has not reached Kafiristan, the establishment of the Empire becomes less practical and more complicated. When they decided to head to this area they went "forward into those bitter cold mountainous parts, and never a road broader than the backs" of one's hands (MWWBK: 176). It should be observed here that the British branch of the Freemasons, a universal secret society that worked for the spirit of fraternity, charity and the cultivation of the mind, joined Britain's imperial quest, especially after 1872. According to Jessica Harland-Jacobs, the "the brotherhood [of freemasons] had taken up a conspicuous place beside the company-state in the growing movement to spread British civilization to India" (2007: 241). The establishment of roads was one mark of the opening of India into British civilisation. By the turn of the nineteenth century, the Freemasons started to "define themselves as ardent imperialists who were not only loyal to the monarch and the state but were ready and willing to put their brotherhood at the service of the empire" (Ibid). In short, Kipling dramatises the importance of the British domination of the Oriental people by celebrating the philanthropic mission of taking progress. Britain's contribution to the promotion of the Orient's progress exempts it from all sorts of blame from 'nationalist' voices like those of the mutiny of 1857 in India, the early twentieth century Singapore crisis or even a war like the one conducted by the Boers in South Africa. The writer's positive consideration of the British power in the Orient makes his fiction read as an expression of a certain anxiety to defend the right of the British to continue to be the ruling race. Michael Harris states that Kipling and other writers "explicitly endorsed the idea that […] the British were actually serving and helping the needy" (1992: 5) whom they supposedly colonised for philanthropic purposes. With slight differences of focus,

the authors reproduce the "ideology of native improvement" (Kerr, 2008: 34), whether the improvement is material, physical or cultural. This ideology is comforted by other ideological formations, which are inspired from the evolutionary thought of the nineteenth century.

For instance, Kipling works out the ideology of the superiority and primacy of Western civilisation over other supposedly "backward" races. He views the British as the most suitable people to rule over the "inferior" Indians. To support this ideology, he develops the Darwinian thought of natural selection and Evolution. The Darwinian idea of "the survival of the fittest" is deeply rooted in *Kim.* Kim's education is not paid before his identity is discovered. As soon as his white identity and his 'sahib' descent are known to the British officials, they decide to school him in the education of a white boy. The moment Colonel Creighton "knew the boy was white he seems to have made his arrangements accordingly" (K: 152) by sending him to St Xavier where he is expected to study and learn to become a sahib. This displays a kind of strategic distinction between the areas that should be exclusively reserved for British access and those that are accessible for both races. The special education that is received at St Xavier is one element whose access is only restricted to the British boys. The natives are excluded from it for strategic reasons, for in such schools they train future British servants of the Raj, a technique of domination that would ensure perpetual British rule in India.

Another instance where Darwin's evolutionary thought and his idea of natural selection are at issue concerns Huree Babu's lamentation of the liability of his Asiatic descent. He addresses Kim telling him that he is a privileged person because of his British birth as opposed to himself who is "unfortunately Asiatic, which is a serious detriment in some respects. And *all* so I am Bengali – a fearful man" (K: 297). He adds with lament: "[i]t was process of Evolution, I think, from Primal Necessity" (K: 298). This shows the biological superiority of the English over the Indian people. Huree Babu believes that even if he is an

agent in the service of the British Raj, he is excluded from several services and material facilities because of his Indian birth.

Like in Kipling's texts, Darwinism and the 'survival of the fittest' are deeply rooted in Conrad's *Lord Jim*. Arguably, the pertinent example of the 'survival of the fittest' ideology is related to the *Patna* episode of the novel. The novel starts with a contrast between the white men with the Malays onboard the *Patna*. The former are active, rational and brave, whereas the latter are "silent", "motionless", "superstitious" and cowards. This is the starting point of Conrad's construction of the 'survival of the fittest' ideology in *Lord Jim*. Given the impotence of the Malays and the strength and activity of the whites, the latter are viewed as the fittest to survive when danger occurs to the *Patna*. Jim and his fellow shipmates seem to be less careful about the Malays, who are sleeping when their ship is in danger. Jim later says:

> They [the Malay pilgrims] *were* dead! Nothing could save them! There were boats enough for half of them perhaps, but there was no time. […] Before he could shout three words, or make three steps, he would be floundering in a sea whitened awfully by the desperate struggles of human beings, clamorous with the distress of cries for help. There was no help. (LJ: 70)

In relation to the idea of Darwinism, Kipling stresses the "backwardness" of the Indian people and the advancement of the white races. This backwardness suggests another idea which is linked to the concept of time. Kipling contrasts between two different conceptions of time, the Oriental and the Western. For the Indians, time has no importance; they do not really accord much economic, social, and even metaphysical importance to it, whereas for the Europeans, time means much more than passage in existence. It has a much more economic, social and intellectual significance. In *Kim*, he clearly insists on the way time is considered by the Indians for whom "all hours of the twenty four are alike" (K: 40). They do not really consider the importance of time, so they do not care about what they can accomplish in it. It is said: "even an Oriental, with an **Oriental's views** of the value of **time**, could see that that the sooner it was in the proper hands the better" (K: 34; emphasis added). Clearly, for Kipling the Indians have a different conception of time than the British, and theirs does not grant cultural,

economic and social importance to it.

In nineteenth century Britain, however, the conception of time became linear with the emergence of Darwin's evolutionary thought. This linearity of time means that it progresses upwards, and the past is unrecoverable. With the linear consideration of time, society progressed quickly, especially with the invention of time-winning machines like the train, which shortened the distances and gained time. In Victorian England, time became essential in social and economic life. Economic activity was arranged according to time-scales. The working day would respect a certain given timescale, and there was spare-time which allowed the workers to take rest and perform their hobbies. This is relative to the Victorian faith in progress and its ideal of work ethics, which promote the individual and society. Nonetheless, most of the Oriental societies, which accorded little or no importance to it, remained stationary or backward. For Kipling, one of the reasons for the "backwardness" of the Indian society is matched with their conception of time. In *Kim*, he stresses the two distinct conceptions of time, the Western and the Oriental, to show that the Indians need to be impelled to develop a time awareness to promote their progress.

One of the aspects of this lack of time awareness on the part of the Indians can be related to the Buddhist religion. In Buddhism, time is more related to the metaphysical than to the earthly life, so the Buddhist can spend hours of meditation in order to allow to the 'self' a cosmic relationship with what is beyond nature. In hours of meditation, the Buddhist is cut off from reality. This implies that the Indians' religious beliefs and practices obstruct their development in according more importance to the metaphysical and neglecting space and time, or the *here* and *now* of their society. Johannes Fabian (1983) distinguishes between the *sacred* time of the Orientals and the *secular* time of the Judeo-Christians. (2002: 2) The sacredness of time for the Orientals is explained by their religious practices of praying and worship which make them spend much time on them. However, the Westerners grant less

importance to worship and more for promoting their lives. With the rise of imperialism, these two conceptions of time were appropriated for ideological aims. In attempting to convert the non-Christians, they want to "secularize Judeo-Christian Time by generalizing and universalizing it" (Ibid.). In the framework of this project, the Christian missions basically serve the implementation of Western powers in the non-Western worlds. In quite a similar way, in Forster's *A Passage to India*, the Christian conception of time is similar to that of the Hindus. Forster writes: "[i]n a land where all else was unpunctual, the hour of the Birth [of Krishna] was chronometrically ordered" (PI: 282). What one understands here is that throughout India time has no importance: only one hour a year. This 'hour' is matched with their religious faith. Thus, Kipling and Forster develop the irony that the only importance they grant to time is associated with religion but by no means with the promotion of their civilisation and progress.

Besides, the people Kim meets throughout his journey with the lama are described as old people, especially those of the hills. The adjective 'old' denotes a temporal category which is contrasted to 'young'. One relates to the past, and it is concerned with the Indians. The other relates to the advanced present, and it is concerned with the white race. The Indians as any other Oriental races are stationary while the Europeans are progressive. A relevant example that shows the old age of India and the youth of Europe is embodied in the relationship between the 'old' lama and the 'young' Kim as an allegory of the primitive/ evolutionary time dichotomy. The European lives an evolutionary time, so there is a constant renewal and change. As the Indian lives a static time, there is no change. The youth of the European is the result of this constant renewal, whereas the old age of the Indian stems from this static condition. The former is represented by Kim, the latter by the lama.

Similarly, Conrad develops the evolutionary thought through the notion of time. In *Lord Jim*, the description of the *Patna* denotes an ideological appropriation of time. It is

depicted as "a local steamer as **old as the hills**, lean like greyhound, and eaten up with rust worse than a condemned water-tank" (LJ: 16-17; emphasis added). The temporal adjective *old* denotes the past, which mainly means that the *Patna* belongs to the past. Conrad uses the *Patna* as a metaphor to stand for the Orient. This is given full vent in the idea that "[s]he was owned by a Chinaman, charted by an Arab, and commanded by a sort of renegade New South Wales German […] eight hundred pilgrims (more or less) were driven on board of her" (LJ: 17). Its occupants are mostly Orientals headed by a white man. The idea that the ship is old and rusty denotes the primitivism of the Orient. The calamity that wrecks upon the ship in its course to Jedah is attributed to its old age and rust. Arguably, Conrad considers that if it were a Western steamer the disaster would not happen since the Western ships are modern.

Like Kipling, he distinguishes between the time of the Europeans and that of their Malay and African "Others". The former belong to the present, which is the highest point in the evolutionary ladder, the latter to the past. Europe's 'Others' are still in the beginning of existence, so they have no awareness of the passage of time. By contrast, the Europeans have taken long steps forward in time. Their belongingness to the present is characterised by the awareness of the passage of time and the desire to advance in civilisation, progress and history as time moves on. The majority of Conrad's narratives insist on the *primitivism* and *savagery* of the African and Oriental people. The italicised words are *temporal* words that abound in Conrad's texts. According to Fabian, the word *savagery* "denotes a stage in a developmental sequence [and it] is a marker of the past" (2002: 75). Speaking about the African people Marlow meets in Kurtz's station, he says:

> I noticed that the crowd of *savages* was vanishing without any perceptible retreat, as if the forest that had ejected these beings so suddenly had drawn them in again as the breath in a long aspiration. (HOD: 99; italics added)

Not only do these "savages" belong to the forest but also to the past which it is symbolised by the forest. The above implies that these "savages" do not have a place in the history annals

nor do they know about the remaining world. They live in a world of their own, where civilisation does not penetrate. They lead a dull life of their own, and they communicate in a manner which has less to do with the human language. Similarly, in "An Outpost of Progress", they are pinned down to the status of "howling savages" that "made an uncouth babbling noise when they spoke, moved in a stately manner, and sent quick, wild glances out of their startled, never-resting eyes" (OP: 253). This idea is more prominently developed in "Karain: a Memory", where the Orient is depicted as "a land without memories, regrets and hopes; a land where nothing could survive the coming of the night, and where each sunrise, like a dazzling act of special creation, was disconnected from the eve and the morrow" (KM: 39). The people are so disconnected from time that they do not bother about improving their lives. They "had forgotten the past and lost concern for the future" (KM: 42), so they do not use their past experience to build up a bright future.

In "Youth", Conrad attributes the Malays and the whole East a primitive state. "This was the East of ancient navigators, so **old** so mysterious, resplendent and sombre, living and **unchanged**", he says (YN: 130; emphasis added). In terms of time, Conrad's description implies the idea that the East and its people are static. They have not changed from the *primitive* state when the first ancient European explorers encountered them. The Easterners do not progress or evolve. Accordingly, they "[live] in another Time" (Fabian, 2002: 27). By contrast, the Europeans have taken a very long step forward ever since the first explorers had reached the East. Contrary to the Easterners, the Westerners have reached the highest point of human development since their notion of time is evolutionary and linear. They never look backward but forward aspiring for progress. The majority of the Westerners at the turn of the nineteenth century and early twentieth believed that time moved forward, and its move "accomplished or brought about things in the course of evolution […] theirs was a preoccupation with stages to civilization" (Fabian, 2002: 15). This evolutionary conception of

time allowed the Europeans have a history of progress and civilisation. In *Lord Jim*, Marlow departs from Patusan to England, and he says:

> But next morning, at the first bend of the river shutting off the houses of Patusan, all this dropped out of my sight bodily, with its colour, its design, and its meaning, like a picture created by fancy on a canvas, upon which, after long contemplation, you turn your back for the last time. It remains in the memory motionless, unfaded with its life arrested, in an unchanging light. […] I had turned away from the picture and was going back to the world where events move, men change, light flickers, life flows in a clear stream, no matter whether mud or over stones. (LJ: 248)

One clearly understands the contrast between two worlds: the static Orient and the constantly changing West or Europe. Marlow leaves a world that does in no way know change through time to a world on the move as time progresses. Ruppel (1998) states that "words like 'inert', 'static', and 'unchanging' nearly always adhere to late nineteenth century descriptions of Eastern and African nations and cultures". He continues the thought by insisting that while "the West moves along the great sweep of history [these] remain apart from that movement, unable even to look forward" (Ibid.). The Orientals and the Africans have no evolutionary notion of time.

In *Heart of Darkness*, Marlow emphasises these ideas when he speaks of a group of natives being employed by the Europeans:

> They had been engaged for six months (I don't think a single one of them had any clear idea of time as we at the end countless ages. They still belonged to the beginnings of time – had no inherited experience to teach them as it were). (HOD: 75)

A clear distinction is established between the static time of the African people and the evolutionary one of the Europeans. He considers that the Africans are as they were in the beginning of existence, without any evolution. In the words of Said, colonial discourse emphasises the idea that the "great moments [of Europe's Others] were in the past" (1995: 35). The conquered people think only about things passed while the conquering people make of the present and the future their purpose in life.

Conrad pays attention to another parallel issue, namely the Victorian notion that "primitive" people lacked a history. This idea of the people "without history", a word coined

by Eric R. Wolf, refers to the Western attitude towards the pretended primitive people (1982: 4-5). It is an imperial ideology that sought to legitimise the conquest of other people. In *Heart of Darkness,* this ideology is given full vent through Marlow's journey which involves a voyage to the earliest beginning of time, to prehistory. "We were wanderers on a prehistoric earth, on an earth that wore the aspect of an unknown planet" (HOD: 68), Marlow tells us. His journey involves a return to prehistory when people could not yet communicate linguistically – "howling savages" – to have any history of their own. The "howling savages" have no oral tradition to mark it through time any more than a written one to engrave it. Conrad excludes the non-Western people from historical development in the same way as Hegel does. Hegel elaborates a "hierarchical scheme to describe the place of the Western world in historical development" (Federici, 1995: 67). He believes that history runs unilaterally from East to West, or from South to North and progresses as it goes forwards. This places the non-West in the primitive aspect of historical development whereas the West is placed in the advanced and progressive one. In view of this primitiveness, the Westerner deems it important to take the blessings of civilisation to these people.

Temporality is a paradigm that Maugham and Forster use to compare the East to the West. In *A Passage to India*, Forster writes that the names of the days are not really important to the people of India: "[i]t was Sunday, always an equivocal day in the East, and an excuse for **slacking**" (PI: 98; emphasis added). The word *slacking* essentially implies the idea of *laziness*, which in turn, leads to the stagnancy of India. For example, despite Aziz's Western education, his Oriental conception of time makes him "always late" (PI: 12). The fact that he is not punctual shows that he does not grant importance to time and its value. Similarly, one of the ideological tools used by Maugham to justify the British presence in the Far East is the concept of time. This is also dramatized in such a way as to show that the Oriental's conception of time provides an ideological basis for domination as it denies the Orientals an

advanced place in historical development. In "The Vessel of Wrath", the dramatisation reads as follows: "[t]ime on the Alas Islands did not matter very much and the rest of the world did not matter at all" (VW: 836). The Orientals do not accord much importance to the temporal world no less than they do to the spatial one. In terms of space and time, they are narrow-minded. They do not mind about what they can do in the temporal world, nor do they explore the spatial world. Since the Orientals are not interested in exploring the world around them, perhaps out ignorance of its vastness, the white imperialists accord themselves the privilege of not only exploring unexplored spaces but also the space occupied by the Orientals. And as the latter are quite unaware of the temporality of the world, the Westerners engage themselves in a rush after geography moving eastward as well as southward.

Said argues that Orientalism is deeply embedded in the prevalent discourses of its time from which it borrows its major discursive statements and paradigms of thought. It goes without saying that academic Orientalism as a system of knowledge is significantly different from literature as another mode of knowledge; it does not escape the pressures of the so-called sciences of its time. It can even be affirmed that fiction and literature are even a more congenial ground for the transfer of ideas from the diverse sciences of the period in which Kipling, Forster, Conrad and Maugham produced their works. In all of them, we see the emphasis placed on the idea of evolution; that of biology in the importance accorded to the Orient and the Occident as distinct species; that of philosophy of time and history which we see in the foregrounding of temporality; that of philology in the comparison of languages; the political economy of a Mill and so on. Reading Kipling, Forster, Conrad and Maugham, one has the impression of hearing some sort of polyphony of the voices of Charles Darwin, Benjamin Kidd, Thomas Henry Huxley, Charles Harvey, John Stuart Mill, Henry Bergson and other such cultural figures of the period. The ideological apparatus that I have spoken of in this section is derived from the scientific literature in circulation at the end of the

nineteenth century. The representation of the Orient that our four writers give us in their fictions remains deeply steeped in the supposedly scientific discourse of the time, so it can rightly be said that their works belong more or less to the scientific fiction of Jules Verne and H. G. Wells which prospered in the same period.

C. The Idea of Imperial Insecurity: the Indian Mutiny and After

The appeal to the various ideologies of the time in support of Empire has meant to do with the threat of collapse and the fear it inspires for the four writers. The origin of this fear can be retraced back to the Indian mutiny which gave rise to the idea of imperial insecurity. Insecurity was related to the fear of native uprisings as the direct result of the Indian Mutiny and its domino effect upon other British colonies, intercourse with the subject people and idea of inefficiency of the imperialists due to cultural exhaustion in the West. The fear of native uprising is the direct outcome of the Indian mutiny of 1857. Among other factors that propelled the mutiny there was intimacy with the natives. Therefore, intercourse with the natives is regarded as risky of 'going native'. It implied degeneration and imperial inefficiency. The emergence of Indian nationalism at the turn of the nineteenth century, the Boer War (1899 - 1902), the Singapore mutiny and the uprising in Kelantan in 1915 were among the most important events that came to remind the British that imperial security was not ensured and warned them to adjust their imperial policies for imperial continuity. Mokrani Barkaoui states that the

> rise of nationalist movements, **auguring** imperial vulnerability and **uncertainty**, as well as the likelihood of imperial retreat, are important only inasmuch as they awaken the English to the new **imperatives** of **coping** with their shifting world". (2009: 72; emphasis added)

The Indian Mutiny of 1857-8 had an important influence on the British imagination. Anglo-Indian writers considered it as an event that came to show that the British Raj could easily collapse if the natives are resolved to overthrow it. Other writers about other British colonies were not unaware of its domino effects on the stability of the British power in such areas as

the Malay Archipelago, Africa and the West Indies. To start with the British Raj, in Forster's *A Passage to India,* the Anglo-Indians are deeply concerned with the fear of the rise of another mutiny, which would overthrow their rule. Their behaviour is shaped by the effects of the mutiny and what they know about it. This is probably why Mr McBride advises his fellow Anglo-Indians to "[r]ead any of the Mutiny records; which […] should be your Bible in this country" (PI: 166). They should care about their discourse and their behaviour in relation to the natives to avoid stimulating their seditious and nationalist spirit. Mrs McBride is aware of this in warning Mrs Callendar to "be more careful than that, please, in these times" (PI: 179). The expression "these times" denotes the period of unrest the Raj was experiencing in the early twentieth century, with the Indian nationalists who started to request more political rights. For the Anglo-Indians, these political claims prefigure the end of empire. Unless they are satisfied by the English officials, the natives will lead mutinies against the imperial power. This is expressed through the political dimensions the incident of the caves takes. After Adela's charge against Aziz, the officials decide to arrest him, and they appoint an Indian judge to manage the trial. The choice of a native judge instead of an English one aims at silencing the seditious creed of the Indians, who might seize the opportunity to act against the Raj. In other words, they are anxious that if an English judge is appointed for the trial, the natives would express their disapproval by violence. The officials think that they could avoid clashes with the natives by merely charging an impartial native judge to lead the trial. If there is a native uprising, it will imply the overthrow of the British Raj. For Fielding, the latter "rests on sand" since "justice never satisfies them [the Indians]" (PI: 253). The narrator states: "it was good that an Indian was taking the case. Conviction was inevitable; so better let an Indian pronounce it, there would be less fuss in the long run" (PI: 210).

The fear of the rise of another mutiny is expressed through the popular support Adela Quested obtains from her compatriots, foreshadowing the importance of unity in the face of

the natives. It is obvious in the way the problem of one Anglo-Indian becomes the problem of a whole community and takes an official turn. It is claimed in the novel that "every human act in the East is tainted with officialism, and while honouring him they [the Anglo-Indians] condemned Aziz and India" (PI: 184). Forster considers that the Anglo-Indians behave according to the dictates of the Raj and the vitality of unity in the face of the rising Indian nationalism. They take Aziz's alleged assault against Adela as an act of violence against the Raj and react accordingly. When Adela's charge against Aziz was being tried, the Anglo-Indian officials, the other members of her community and "the entire British Raj [were] pushing her forward" (PI: 245). This is explained by the fact that they took it as an imperative to win the trial; otherwise it would mean the beginning of the decline of the Raj. Before the beginning of the trial, one of the officials states: "[w]e're bound to win, there's nothing else we can do. She will never be able to substantiate the charge" (PI: 171).

In parallel to this Anglo-Indian unity, Forster considers the unity of the natives in reaction to the violence of the British. The Indians have become united against the English settler. Another "local consequence of the trial was a Hindu-Moslem entente" (PI: 260). This is related more to Aziz, who stands aloof from the members of the Ruling Race and no longer bothers about establishing relationships with them. After the trial, he addresses Fielding: "[t]he approval of your compatriots no longer interests me, I have become anti-British, and ought to have done so sooner, it would have saved me numerous misfortunes" (PI: 243-245). This Anti-British feeling denotes imperial insecurity and reiterates the Sepoys' rise against the British during the 1857 Mutiny. The novel ends with Aziz mutinous words: "Down with the English anyhow. That's certain. Clear out, you fellows, double quick, I say. We may hate one another, but we hate you most. If I don't make you go, Ahmed will, Karim will. […] we shall drive every blasted Englishman into the sea" (PI: 317). Fanon writes:

> The violence which has ruled over the ordering of the colonial world, which has ceaselessly drummed the rhythm for the destruction of native social forms and broken

> up without reserve the systems of reference of the economy, the customs of dress and external life, that same violence will be claimed and taken over by the native at the moment when, deciding to embody history in his own person, he surges into the forbidden quarters. (1968: 40)

The shared idea between Forster and Fanon is that the violence of the coloniser generates the violence of the colonised. The Indians have suffered for a long time from the violence of their British oppressor, and Forster through Aziz expresses the rising violence of the Indians. The precondition for the Indians' violence is their unity in the face of the oppressor.

A Passage to India is a work of fiction, but it seems to be more a supplement to the non-fiction that he wrote about India in his role as imperial agent. It is in the novel that he formulates an alternative policy for the preservation of Empire. In this novel, we can see in full shape this policy alter/native at work in the form of a friend of the Orient (Fielding) trying just in the manner of T. E. Lawrence to enlist Aziz in the project of building anew imperial relationships. The resurgence of political and cultural strength in India demands its enlistment by other imperial strategies, but the Orientalist hold on imagination is such that the romance of friendship ends as a story of love gone wrong. The sense of duty to Empire is so powerful that the idea of material understanding and brotherhood are felt sooner, giving place to an apocalyptic and demonic sense of monstrosity and fear of hybridisation.

If Forster's fear for the collapse of Empire is directed towards the future, that of Kipling is oriented towards the past. Kipling expresses the traumatic experience of the Indian Mutiny of 1857 in *Kim*. Using flashback, he condemns the particular violence of the Sepoys, who preferred to "kill the sahib's wives and children" (K: 73), which was "a bad deed" (K: 74). He juxtaposes the memories of the Mutiny with the uprising of five local kings against Mahbub Ali, a revolt against the imperial system since Mahbub Ali is a native agent in its service. Kim condemns it saying: "[i]t was an utterly foolish thing to do" (K: 36). Clearly, Kipling is against any nationalist revolt against the British power system. He is anxious that the nascent Indian nationalism at the turn of the nineteenth century would overthrow British

power in India. The Mutiny, in Keith Booker's words, "is one of the central events" which encapsulates "a number of fears, anxieties, and dreams" in British colonial fiction about India (1997: 11). Kipling's refurbishing of the Mutiny has the purpose of "imagin[ing] a successful application of the British techniques of domination that would render such a rebellion unthinkable" (Ibid.). He explores the different techniques that were appropriated by the British imperialists to maintain the empire in place like the techniques of espionage through native recruits the type of Mahbub Ali and hybrid agents such as Kim. Kim's ability to immerse within the natives makes him learn about their nationalist aspirations.

On the whole, Kipling's novel reads as a rehearsal of the Indian Mutiny, staged or fictionalised in order to appease the fear of a similar uprising. Freud tells us that repetition of trauma heals it, so seems the case with Kipling who shows that after all the monster of mutiny is defeated once for all. The mutiny is just a juvenile story or game in which children play roles of ferocious Indians easily tamed by white Indians. This takes us all the way from India to America where at the end of the nineteenth century, Wild West shows (the ancestral form of cowboy films) are staged through the century to celebrate the end of the Indian frontier violence.

Conrad's *Lord Jim* underscores the fear of the overthrow of the English imperial power in the Malay Archipelago through the rise of seditious natives plotting against Jim's position as a white lord in Patusan. It is said that "[p]eople of every condition used to call, often in the dead of night, in order to disclose him plots for his assassination. He was to be poisoned. He was to be stabbed in the bath-house. Arrangements were being made to have him shot from a boat on the river" (LJ: 219). Kassim is one of these natives who decide to rise against Jim with the help of Brown, who is of Dutch origin. These seditious forces are conspiring in the purpose of taking Jim's place as ruler in Patusan. Thus, Jim is killed by Doramin, (LJ: 312). Through his killing, Conrad shows that the English rule in the colonies is

not totally secure. It can be overthrown by the natives as well as the external forces like Brown and Cornelius. Conrad's fear of the periphery of the Empire strangely echoes the one he expresses about its centre in *The Secret Agent*. The anarchist elements that threaten its existence are foreigners, local outsiders who conspire to overthrow the empire. In the same perspective, *Lord Jim* makes an echo to Kipling's *Kim* and the idea of foreigners conspiring against the British power. The rise of the natives in each novel involves the assistance of other European forces, the Russians in *Kim* and the Dutch in *Lord Jim*.

On his part, Maugham links the insecurity of empire to that of cultural exhaustion in the West and the lack of preparedness to meet the unpredictable. This is matched with the imperial agents' addiction to alcohol and the class struggle among them, which would, in fact, favour nationalist uprising among the natives. Arguably, the emergence of the Indian Mutiny of 1857 was related to the problem of alcohol among British soldiers. Maugham expresses the fear of the emergence of mutinies like the "Singapore mutiny and an uprising in Kelantan in 1915 [which] were linked in the minds of those who fought them as an attempt to exploit a perceived waning British power" (Harper, 1999: 27). The "waning British power" expresses itself in the cleavage between the imperial agents and their problem of addiction to alcohol as the result of their cultural exhaustion in the West.

He also condemns the cleavage between imperialist agents of the high and low classes. This idea looms so large in "The Outstation", where he depicts a clash between a novice imperialist and his mentor. This involves Mr Warburton, an experienced imperial agent and Cooper, his novice assistant. Warburton does his best to hand over his imperial responsibility to Cooper in a successful way, but the stubbornness and arrogance of the latter make him murdered in the end by his native servant in the same manner as Jim was murdered by Doramin. Both men are to blame for the clash between them. Warburton is arrogant towards his assistant as he belongs to the aristocracy whereas Cooper is a colonial. The latter is to

blame because he projects his sentiment of inferiority to Warburton on the natives through an arrogant feeling of superiority towards them. He does not respect them nor does he treat them decently. His motto is not to "mind if the boy who cleans my shoes and brings me a drink when I want it has blue blood in his veins or not. All I ask is that he should do what I tell him and look sharp about it" (CT: 119). He expects from them blind obedience without respecting them. Warburton's motto, however, is that "good masters make good servants" (CT: 130). Admittedly, Maugham seems to say that if the inexperienced imperialists do not listen to the advice of their predecessors, the future of the British Empire is in danger. The contempt of the novice imperialists towards their imperial forebears is emphasised in making Cooper always "countermanding" his master's "orders" in order "to exacerbate" him (CT: 133, 134). Clive J. Christie argues that even if Maugham "depicted a stable British Empire in Southeast Asia, he was not unaware of the challenges to it, and its inevitable decline and fall" (Christie, 1994). It is probably as a result of the clash between Mr Warburton and Cooper that the latter was killed by his servant, Abas. Through Abas, Maugham voices another anxiety that agitated the stability of the British Malay settlers immediately after the World War I. This was linked to another result of the war, namely the consideration of Muslims, especially young students, as "dangerous political threats" (Harper, 1999: 27) since Abas is Muslim. The young Abas expresses his revolt against the oppressive behaviour of his master by first claiming his rights, then by murdering the arrogant master. This is an echo to Forster and Fanon for whom violence generates violence.

In the face of the rising nationalist consciousness of the natives, the British imperialists should be more vigilant. But, Maugham shows their inappropriate behaviour, which would thwart their efficient rule. In "Before the Party", he dramatises the wane interests of the imperial administrators in administration as such. Through Harold, he shows the dangers that could recur to the British rule if its agents continued this pursuit for "the

consumption of more alcohol than any one needed or enjoyed" (Heussler, 1981: 320). Harold's addiction to alcohol brings about his neglect of the affairs of the empire and his death. Also, the natives would be aware that their white masters are less firm and efficient than they endeavour to show. Their states drunkenness mark their weaknesses, which would be exploited by the natives if ever they rise against the imperial power. In the story, "the natives were talking about" (CT: 36) Harold's states of drunkenness. The thematisation of alcohol in "Before the Party" is reminiscent of the Indian Mutiny which "had shown the importance of British soldiers to the maintenance of imperial rule. But they were notoriously prone to immorality and drunkenness, and when drunk they were difficult to control" (Ballhatchet, 1980: 123-124). Harold grew out of control because of his daily states of drunkenness so that he forced his wife kill him. Robert Heussler argues that Maugham exposes "the caddish behaviour" of the imperial agents. (1981: 320) He adds that he "was concerned with the British and their foibles" (Ibid. 321), Britain's Achilles' heel.

Cultural enervation or exhaustion stands as the most serious fear that Maugham points to as a possible source of imperial collapse. In the nineteenth century, as Said remarks in *Orientalism* (1995: 271), the Orient was considered as a therapeutic to the West, but things as Maugham describes them look differently because at the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth those posted to the Orient turn into drunkards and alcoholics. Such breed of men are capable of crossing the interracial barriers to endanger the white social fabric by a possible blood mixing. Hybridity is a monstrosity that has to be averted at all costs if the empire should survive, Maugham seems to declare. It is this message that we find in the three other writers. According Allen J. Greenberger, the consolidation of the Anglo-Indians' "position of leadership […] is, after all, in the English *blood* and the important thing is to keep the blood 'pure'. For this reason intermarriage is dangerous. Equally dangerous, however, is the adoption of Indian customs and attitudes" (1969: 15).

A theme that recurs in Kipling's fiction is the idea that white blood should never be mixed with black or native one since it is monstrous for the imperial race. In "Beyond the Pale" (1888), he writes: "[a] man should, whatever happens, keep to his caste, race, and breed. Let the white go to the White and the Black to the Black" (BP: 171). Racial separation is matched with the theme of interracial relationships which are dangerous for imperial security. In order to avoid mixing the English blood with the Indians', it is better to avoid interracial relationships which lead to marriage. This is central to "Lisbeth" (1888), where the story of a native girl who falls in love with a British imperial agent leads to chaos. When the gentleman departs to his native country, Lisbeth's ultimate desire was to wait for her gentleman to come back, but the "the Englishman had no intention of coming back to marry a Hill-girl" (L: 6). Interracial marriage was scarce in colonial India because the English were preserving their self-appointed 'superior' identity. They were creating a semi-Britain, and the mixture of bloods would mean no racial purity and no pure English identity. Kipling is engrossed by the purity of English identity as a requirement for the preservation of the British Raj.

Conrad, too, conveys the same idea in *Lord Jim*. The story between Jim and Jewel is a temporary one. It is doomed to failure because Jim had to keep faithful to his identity and preserve the purity of his white blood. He is not to remain with Jewel, and Jewel is aware that Jim would leave her as her father once did for her mother. And he has left her. She tells Marlow that he "has left me […] you always leave us for your own ends" (LJ: 261). She adds that he "went away from me as if I had been worse than death. He fled as if driven by some accursed thing he had heard or seen in his sleep" (LJ: 262). "In colonialist stories" like *Lord Jim*, Ruppel argues, "the white man always leaves, and the non-white woman often knows that he will" (Ruppel, 1998). Jim leaves his Jewel in order to avoid the mixture of native blood with European one and not get intimate with the natives.

In a similar way, in *A Passage to India,* Adela joins Roony in India to marry him. This involves this anxiousness not to get the imperial agents mix with the native women. Despite the distance, both of them remained faithful to each other in order to preserve the purity of English blood. They knew each other in England (PI: 79), but she "felt well advised to visit him before deciding to be his wife" (PI: 79). Roony and Adela are obviously conforming to the dictates of the imperial authority in remaining faithful to each other despite the distance and waiting for a long time to get married. To show this, Forster introverts within the novel the story of a "lady of Imperial descent" (PI: 15) who remained single because her caste did not allow her to get engaged with the 'Other' and had no occasion to get married with a man of her caste. It is a rule not to mix blood, and Roony and Adela are just conforming to this rule. Adela was to become a memsahib, and Roony was to carry on the imperial tradition of not marrying native women for the sake of the Raj. It has to be noted that Roony and Adela's project of marriage is part of normal conditions of being an agent of the Raj. No imperial agent was to get married to native women any more than no Anglo-Indian was to be intimate with the natives who were considered as "**seditious** at heart" (PI: 39; emphasis added). Therefore, officials like Turton and Roony forbid any act of intimacy with them. Ian Baucon argues that "it is to forestall a repetition of the Mutiny that he [Turton] forbids his fellows to seek that intimacy which is a mutiny's precondition" (1999: 103). Intimacy with the natives is regarded as dangerous towards the Raj, so every Anglo-Indian is incited to avoid it and favour separation with them.

Maugham conforms to this prohibition of interracial marriage. However, to test the importance of this prohibition he makes some of his characters intercourse with native women to show the monstrosity of their interracial relationships. In "The Yellow Streak", he shows that the end result of intercourse between natives and white subjects is their posterity, the half-castes of the Empire. The British institutions negatively consider these half-castes, for

they carry within their veins native blood. "The Yellow Streak" deals with this problem from the vantage point of the imperial institutions. Izzart, the protagonist, is an English engineer whose mother is a half-caste. As the half-castes are despised by the white imperialists for the native blood they carry in their veins, Izzart would prefer not to have it and endeavours to conceal it to his fellows. The white people regard them as not trustworthy, treacherous and unreliable, defects they owe to their native blood. It is said:

> What difference could it make, that drop of native blood in his veins, and yet because of it they would always be on the watch for the expected failure at the critical moment. Everyone knew that you couldn't rely on Eurasians, sooner or later they would let you down. (CT: 160)

The expression *yellow streak* has an allegorical meaning. First, it refers to the burden of carrying native blood for a white man like Izzart. Second, it stands for the end-result of this native blood, which is cowardice.

When he, his servant Hassan and Campion, were going down a river in the jungle, they were caught up in a torrent. Campion called for his help, but Izzart did not answer his fellow's cry. In this struggle for survival, he let him down on his devices. Izzart was ashamed of what he did and started to curse his 'yellow streak'. He regarded his act as cowardice, and he was afraid that this would reveal his secret to the Resident and his other fellow white men. To attribute Izzart's vicious character and cowardice to his native blood, Maugham puts him in parallel to a group of Malays, who went through the boat without answering their call for help, fearing for their own life. When Hassan and Izzart were close to them, they "shouted for help, but the Malays averted their faces and went on. They saw the white men, and did not want to be concerned in any trouble that might befall them. It was agonising to see them go past, callous and indifferent in their safety" (CT: 211). To add more focus to the callousness of the Malays and Izzart's cowardice, the writer parallels them to the courage of a group of Dyak prisoners, who saved Campion. The latter owes his life "to these two sportsmen" (CT: 216). Arguably, Maugham wants to say that it is better to have affair with the most criminal

of the Dyaks than with the Malays or the half-castes. Besides, to carry native blood in one's veins impedes the heroism of the British imperial agents like Lord Jim in Conrad's novel. Izzart's cowardice goes against the epic proportions of the British imperial agents. Through him, Maugham denotes the corruption of the English blood by the native one as there is mixture. Half-castes are the result of the intercourse between natives and white people, and their native blood represents a serious menace to the stability of the white race in the Orient. Therefore, it is better not have this intercourse to preserve the purity of English blood.

To explain the link between the mixture of native blood and English one, Maugham uses two expressions which mean the same thing but connote other things. These are *yellow streak* (CT: 232) and *white feather* (CT: 231). Knowing about his native blood, Izzart calls his cowardice yellow streak, for yellow implies the yellow blood he carries in his veins. Campion calls it *white feather*, a symbol of cowardice popularised by the British Army and the servants of the British Empire. This denotes the disastrous effect of racial intercourse on the affairs of the British Empire, for by the time its servants start to be native-like their celebrated efficiency becomes meaningless. Probably, through Izzart, Maugham echoes Conrad's vision of the half-castes of the empire. In *An Outcast of the Islands*, he associates them with a variety of stereotypes that show them as degenerate beings. He writes that they "were a lazy lot, and he saw them as they were – ragged, lean, unwashed, undersized men of various ages, shuffling about aimlessly in slippers" (AIAF: 19). Viewed as such they cannot lead the imperial enterprise for good in the same way as Izzart's cowardice thwarts his efficiency. Also, as the outcastes are not accepted by the white communities for these degenerate traits, Conrad makes Almayer mind about how to conceal his Nina's "mixed blood" (OIAF: 249) when they are back in Europe. The "Eurasians also came to be regarded with uneasy disfavor, as threatening to bridge the social distance between the ruling race and the people" (Ballhatchet, 1980: 4). Being a threat to white rule in the colonies, the half-castes could not be

integrated to the imperial structure as revealed in *Almayer's Folly* and *An Outcast of the Islands* and Maugham's association of inefficiency with Izzart.

The prohibition of intercourse with the natives is pertinent in "The Letter". In this story, Geoffrey Hammond took a Chinese woman as mistress. His caste took this as an affront to their racial purity. This is why when he was killed by a woman of his caste on allegations that he tried to rape her, they believed the woman without any hesitation. He lost both dignity and credibility in the eyes of the members of his caste. His "relations with [the] Chinese woman […] turned public opinion most vehemently against" him (CT: 200). Benita Parry remarks that the Europeans regarded intercourse with native women as "a symptom of degeneration, and in popular fiction Eurasians were shown as debased and without dignity, as shrill and cringing, a warning against the mixing of the races. 'Going native' was an abandonment of true standards" (1972: 32). Once Hammond abandoned English standards, he was no longer trustworthy.

The consolidation of Empire as it is rendered in the four writers' fictions and non-fictions involves in the last analysis the preservation of the purity of the blood. Hybridity and miscegenation are regarded by each of the four writers as monstrosity that has to be avoided at all costs. Following in the footsteps of the racist theories like the ones developed in such books as Joseph Arthur Comte de Gobineau's *Essai sur l'inégalité des races humaines,* Robert Knox's *The Dark Races of Man,* the writers put forward a binary typology of races with a cautionary note that if this typology collapses, the Empire will disappear. Biological determinism is such that blood mixing can lead to the deterioration of the white man's character. Apart from the great fear raised to keep the white man on the alert, our four writers have tried to consolidate the unequal power relations in Empire by echoing the prevalent theories of history, anthropology, biology, philosophy, philology, political economy and so on. The result is the emergence of a literary Orientalism that makes the writers' fiction and

non-fiction read as romances marked by what Said calls "radical realism" (1995: 72). Radical realism is a species of realism that does not take into account the reality of the Orient but the "truths" or "representations" of the Orient produced by the application of academic Orientlism nourished by the various human sciences. In sum, the writers' fiction and non-fiction participate in the elaboration of a mode of knowledge pressed in the service of the Empire.

Notes and References

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Conclusion to Part Two

The study undertaken in the this second part of this thesis aimed at showing that the writers' non-fictional and fictional works deploy the ideologies of empire and its strategies of control in order to fully express their allegiance to the British imperial tradition. First, in their non-fiction, they give full vent to their authority about the Orient as political experts, linguists, ethnographers, geographers, archaeologists and historians. These, in turn, are transformed into formal and informal quests for knowledge through the objectification of the Orient as a class or socialising with the natives as a means for gathering expert knowledge. Second, in both fiction and non-fiction, they consolidate the imperial power by denying the native authority, providing an ideological support to the imperial power and expressing their awareness of the threats to it. Two conclusions might be drawn for this study of the authors as Orientlist experts and ideologues.

First, they are anxious of legitimating the empire and ensuring its continuity. By dismissing native authority as despotism and misrule, they provide a political *legitimating* of the empire, concealing at the same time the empire's sole aims of domination in the same manner as the Arab world is viewed today as mere tyranny in order to plan for Western (American or European) intervention to exploit its riches. To *contain* the native uprisings and absolve the empire from critique at home, the writers associate the imperial project with a pretended moral mission to civilise the colonised people and promote their progress. Besides, the writers aspire to steer *vigilance* in their country men and women about the threats to the stability of empire. The moral is that the authors integrate their names within the British imperial tradition.

Second, every writer has personal objectives behind the legitimating of the empire. Kipling, the Anglo-Indian, does not want the British Raj overthrown by the natives in order

not to get uprooted as the French “pieds noirs”, who found themselves foreigners in France after being chased out of Algeria. As a Liberal, Forster has always considered empire, especially the British Raj, as a site in which liberal ideas could flourish. Conrad has adopted the British identity, and empire is part and parcel of this identity in the era of imperial consolidation. To be regarded as a full British author, he cannot exclude himself from the general culture of empire. As for Maugham, it is mainly his desire of escape from European “bondage” to the Orient that motivates his support of the empire in his writings. In view of these differences, I shall devote a third part to study the individual perspective/or talent of the writers within the British imperial tradition.

PART THREE

The Imperial Tradition and the Individual Perspective

In parts one and two, I have attempted to show that the four writers do conform to the principles of the British imperial tradition at the level representation, the celebration of imperial power and the imperialist ideology and strategies of control. The slight variations of perspective in this tradition also percolate through to the writers as they profess their allegiance to one or the other principles of the British imperial tradition. These variations are persistent in their attitudes towards the imperial policies and the relations between the coloniser and the colonised. As the conservatives were in favour of separation between the two, Kipling's writings are jingoist and confirm to the conservative point of view. Forster and Maugham are liberal, so they are more sympathetic with the natives. Conrad, on his part, adopts another liberal perspective, namely the critique of the other European powers and adherence to the imperialist ethos of Britain.

These slight differences are also apparent at the level of the writers' aesthetic talents. Be it at the political or cultural level, the Conservatives are always associated with tradition since they favour the Establishment, so at the level of art they are more traditional, adopting devices that are less inventive. The Liberals, however, are receptive to change and accept new ideas, so artistically they are more inventive and experimental in terms of style and technique. Besides, the time span between the writers is quite long, so every one of them is in a way living with his epoch: Kipling wrote mainly in the realist tradition; despite the realist aspects of Conrad's fiction, it lies ahead of its time and stands as a prelude to modernist literature; Forster and Maugham wrote in the modernist one though some aspects of their writings are traditional. This also explains the writers' individual talents and their traditional elements. As a matter of fact, Kipling is likely to be traditional while the others are more experimental and inventive at the level of aesthetics.

CHAPTER SIX

Imperial Attitudes: From Conservative Imperialism to Liberal [Anti-]Imperialism

In the previous chapter, I have studied the manners in which the four writers consolidate the British imperial power in the Orient through a double process of abrogation of native power and its re-appropriation for the benefit of Empire. I have tried to illustrate how romance and irony are deployed to give epic proportions to white empire building characters while reducing the natives into caricatures. Similarly, I have attempted to throw insight into the ideological apparatuses on which that converge and diverge at the same time. Each of the four writers have deeply drawn to elaborate their respective discourses. In what follows, I shall continue to delve into the ideologies of the writers in their respective representation of the Orient and the Oriental by throwing light on possible analogies between domestic policies and imperial attitudes. I follow in this Said's claim that one aspect of the culture of imperialism is informed by the mutual exchange between what happens in the colonies and what happens in the metropolitan centres (1994: 130).

The British imperial tradition involves a set of attitudes which vary between conservative imperialism and liberal [anti-]imperialism depending on the domestic political trends, and the writers confirm to one or the other. Kerr claims that the "two great modalities – liberal and conservative – of British domestic political life, in the Victorian era and into the early decades of the twentieth century, also shaped British ideas and policies about India and the colonies" (2008: 28). Kerr uses the terms liberal and conservative as "the names of looking at and behaving towards the East, but not in the sense that one is imperialist and the other anti-imperialist" (Ibid). Despite their antagonistic posture as "modalities of empire [...] they serve the same national project" (Ibid.). Therefore, the terms liberal and conservative are used in this chapter as attitudes towards the British Empire and the way its affairs had to be put into effect. The expression "liberal anti-imperialism" does not denote a tendency in the

liberals to be against their empire but rather their critical attitude towards the manner in which the European empires are managed the better to defend their own liberal imperial projects.

Non-Fiction

A. Between Conservatism and Liberalism

The liberal and conservative attitudes towards the imperial affairs are central to the non-fiction of the four writers. They generally fall into one or the other attitude, echoing the ideas of the major precursors of these trends. For instance, Conrad's political creed joins the ideas of William Gladstone while Kipling directs his critique to them echoing the ideas of Benjamin Disraeli, instead. At the turn of the nineteenth century, Britain got hold of Egypt and the Suez Canal and there emerged a division between the Liberals and the Conservatives with regard to the new colony. Conrad, on his part, considered Egypt as full of advantages to the British. Addressing a letter to E. L. Sanderson, he says: "I never could understand before the advantages of the Egyptian occupation; but since your engagement I see the hidden wisdom of the inscrutable Gladstonian policy of many years ago" (CLJC VI: 335). His association of wisdom with the imperial policy of Gladstone is proof enough of his engagement with the liberal view of the British Empire. In the debates over the purchase of British shares in the Suez Canal in 1875 and further ones in the following year, Gladstone insisted on sending British troops to Egypt to protect earlier British interests in the Suez Canal. This resulted in the occupation of the country by Britain in 1882 the moment he became Prime Minister for the second time. He was particularly against the idea of buying additional shares, which would result, in his eyes, in complications. As a Liberal, Conrad is favourable towards the war and the occupation of Egypt.

It is this liberal conception of imperial relations and policies that Forster propounds in his private and professional letters. Two elements which reinforce this idea are related to the importance he grants to the missionary work in India along with the pacification of Egypt.

These two ideas involve the idea of passage. The first relates to the establishment of empire through gaining the confidence of the colonised people. The second is related to the idea that pacifying Egypt would facilitate the perpetuation of the Empire East of Suez. To begin with the first point, Forster devotes an essay on the missionary work and its importance to Empire. In "Missionaries" (1920), he pays tribute to the missionaries thanks to whom the confidence of the colonised subjects is earned. He underlines that their knowledge is important to the establishment and the perpetuation of empire. He declares that "it is the missionary rather than the Government official who is in touch with native opinion [...] he often seems to be, and sometimes he is, the ideal student of human nature, passionate, after facts, and moving through analysis towards sympathy" (PTOUW: 286).

For Forster, the government official strongly conforms to the 'old-fashioned' imperial dichotomy of the superiority of the English and the inferiority of the Indian. This dialectic obstructs the harmonious relationship between them. He advances the idea that the barriers of race and nationality should be bridged so that Anglo-India continues to exist as a colonial country. Instead of race and nationality, Forster advocates civilisation and education to make sure that the Empire continues to exist for the good of the Indians and the English. What Colonel Wilson "gains by his efficiency he will lose by his bad temper, for the people here dread him" (HD: 209). The idea of efficiency, ascribed to the English wherever their empire is engaged, is essential for the government of indigenous people. However, Forster defends the idea that it is not enough to be efficient if the English lack respect of the people they govern. This embodies one aspect of Forster's liberal attitude towards the British Empire.

As for the second point, it has to be noted that Forster in the same manner as Conrad supports Gladstone's occupation of Egypt. For him, the occupation of Egypt would not only preserve imperial interests and European settlers from native unrest but also provide Britain a bridge towards its Indian dominion and its colonies of the Far East. In "The Government of

Egypt" (1921), he asserts that the Canal of Suez "serves as [a] passage between Europe and India" (GE: 180). Emily A. Haddad states that by "the time E. M. Forster was finishing *A Passage to India* in the early 1920s, the Suez Canal had become a clichéd metaphor for the transition point between East and West" (2005: 363). The purchase of the shares in the Canal and the military encroachment there to protect them contributed in the consolidation of Britain's Eastern dominions. He assumes that "whatever happens Great Britain will remain in control so that even if Egypt does gain independence, she will always be a weak state, incapable of damaging us as long as we remain a naval power" (GE: 180). In Forster's eyes, the pacification of Egypt is essential to provide a bridge to India, and he naturally prefers India as the "real East" over Egypt as the "spurious East" (SLEMF VI: 238).

Kipling does not adhere to the liberal tide by expressing his dissent against liberal imperial policies of the Gladstonian agenda. In *Something of Myself*, he expresses regret for liberal policies in India:

> In the early '80s a Liberal Government had come into power at Home and was acting on liberal 'principle', which so far as I observed ends not seldom in bloodshed. Just then it was a matter of principle that Native Judges should try white women [...] Our paper, like most of the European press, began with stern disapproval of the measure, and, I fancy, published much comment and correspondence which would now be called 'disloyal'. (SM: 30)

Kipling assimilates the liberal government and the change of imperial policies to *bloodshed* to underline the wrong turn that liberal policy has taken. He also voices the disapproval of the European community of these measures. In a letter to Cornell Price, dated June 1st 1883, he predicts that the "Bill" concerning the power vested in native judges to try British subjects will but bring turmoil to the Raj, and he holds that "the present [Liberal] government are directly responsible" for that. (LRK VI: 35).

Kipling's criticism of the Liberal government is even more prominent in his consideration of the effect of the new imperial policies on the Indians. He prefers a government that takes care of its subjects rather than buying harmony by granting some

privileges to some Indians at the detriment of the majority. He confides what follows to Margaret Burne-Jones on September 27th, 1885:

> You see in our best of all possible worlds – read India – there are whole hosts of abuses oppressions and unthinking wrongs that may one of these days be set right if you hammer long enough. Understand more clearly that I don't mean [...] the extended employment of natives out of Hindustan etc – because my views on the subject would shock you a good deal [...] What I mean is that the population out here die from purely preventible causes; are starved from purely preventible causes; are in native states hideously misgoverned from their rulers' own folly and so on. (LRK VI: 91)

Kipling accuses the Liberal government of India of not taking care of the Indians that it is supposed to govern liberally with the reforms brought by new imperial policy. For him, it is not sufficient to grant some privileges and liberties to the Indians to make them happy. It is also ironic that the Liberal government, whose principles are against privileges, is perpetuating the class system by doing a favour to a tiny part of the Indians while the rest continue to suffer from starvation and poverty. In a letter addressed to his father, he expressed his wish that "there were a Conservative Government in power" (LRK VII: 61). Kerr argues that Kipling was "inducted at the age of seventeen into the ideological discourse of conservative imperialism" (2008: 47). The conservative background of his youth obviously influences the adult author.

Maugham's attitude towards the way the affairs of the empire were managed is quite ambiguous. Though he is more liberal in tendency, he does not fail to make satirical thoughts at liberal policy. The subject of *The Gentleman in the Parlour* is travel and professional writing. Yet to give some authority to his texts as part of the British imperial tradition, he derides upon the manner the affairs of the empire are managed in its last decades. Anxious about its future, he wishes that it remains served by more efficient agents like their nineteenth century forebears. He enquires about what "had happened to the race that had produced Clive, Warren Hastings, and Stamford Raffles that it must send out to govern its colonies men who were afraid of the authority entrusted in them [...]" (GP: 14) Maugham is elegiac towards the work of Robert Clive (1725 - 1774), Warren Hastings (1732 - 1818) and Stamford Raffles

(1781 - 1826), figures among others of the early Liberal founders of the British Empire. They established an imperial power based on efficiency and a strong devotion to taking the blessings of English progress to the colonised people. However, Maugham is ironic towards the imperial agents of his own time who

> prated efficiency, and they did not rule efficiently, for they were filled with an uneasy feeling that they were unfit to rule. They were sentimentalists. They wanted the profits of Empire but would not assume the greatest of its responsibilities, which is power. (GP: 14)

Obviously, Maugham is supporting the British Empire and the quest for the exercise of power over the colonised subjects. However, he is not at ease with the relaxation in ethics shown by the new type of imperial agents that do not work for this power but rather for their personal interests.

The four writers' conformity or non-conformist attitude to the prevalent ideologies of their time has much to do with their personal life. For example, Conrad's liberalism stems from the liberal philosophy that shaped his childhood years in Poland. In *A Personal Record,* he confesses that he is touched by the "Polish mentality" (PR: ix) which advocates an

> imperial view of humanity in all its degrees of splendour and misery together with a special regard for the rights of the unprivileged of this earth, not on any mystic ground but on the ground of simple fellowship and honourable reciprocity of services, was the dominant characteristic of the mental and moral atmosphere of the two houses which sheltered my hazardous childhood. (PR: ix)

His liberal attitude directly results from his childhood experience of a philosophy of life more asymmetric to British liberalism in its sympathy with the weak and the poor to serve those who detain power. Therefore, it is no coincidence that his writings empathise with the direct victims of empire and disdain the harms done in the name of civilization in the colonies, which gives way to a second attitude towards empire, namely his anti-imperialist stance.

Though Conrad adheres to the liberal efforts to consolidate the British Empire, his childhood memories grow in him an anti-imperialist stance. This is mainly directed to the affairs of the other European powers. His personal experiences in the colonies and in Europe

are eclipsed by "the oppressive shadow of the great Russian Empire—the shadow lowering with the darkness of a new-born national hatred fostered by the Moscow school of journalists against the poles after the ill-omened rising of 1863" (PR: 24). In an echo to *Heart of* Darkness, he makes a distinction between the artist, the politician and imperialist and assumes that while the artist conquers the realm of thought and the psychological world, the imperialist conquers a world that is not his. Therefore, to be ambitious to explore worlds is "lawful except in those which climb upward on the miseries or credulities of mankind" (PR: xx). It is the imperialist who does harm to the conquered races; the ambitions of the artist "are permissible, up to and even beyond the limit of prudent sanity. They can hurt no one" (PR: xx). As the ambitions of the artist hurt no one, arguably Conrad exonerates his work from being considered imperialist. He integrates his views on the Empire as part of an artistic enquiry into the study of power and its negative impact on mankind.

In "Geography and Some Explorers", he is embarrassed by the fact that the work of so many explorers has been used for the inhuman exploitation of the Africans. While he was a child, he had a passion for geography, but when he paid a visit to the Congo, "melancholy descended" upon him to witness "the vilest scramble for loot that ever disfigured the history of human conscience and geographical exploration" (LE: 24). He is against the exploration of territories like the Congo for the exploitation of its riches and the abuse of its people. This attitude is most pertinent in his *Congo Diary*. Concerning the former, he argues that the work performed for the ivory trade is "idiotic employment" (LE: 238). As for the exploitation of the natives, he grew sorrowful to witness what he calls in *Heart of Darkness* the "grove of death" (HOD: 47). On his first two days in the Congo, he saw the dead bodies of two natives, isolated without any humane notice on the part of the Company's leaders. On the first day, he saw the "dead body of a Backongo" (LE: 238), and on the second "another dead body lying by the path in an attitude of meditative repose" (LE: 244). As victim of Russian imperialism

himself, he sympathises with the natives of the Congo who suffer from the inhuman treatment of King Leopold's slave state.

Conrad's celebratory attitude towards the British Empire and his critical scorn for the other European imperial powers takes another form when he joins the campaign against slavery. He claims that Britain has redeemed itself from this shameful practice while powers like King Leopold's rule in the Congo continued its slave system. He first asserts that the so-called savagery and cannibalism of the Africans, used by the Belgian imperialists as a pretext to establish their slave state, was "an enormous and atrocious lie in action" (CLJC VIII: 95). He confesses to Roger Casement that "[d]uring my sojourn in the interior, keeping my eyes and ears well open too, I've never heard of the alleged custom of cutting off hands amongst the natives" (CLJC VIII: 95). For Conrad, the idea that the natives are barbarous and need to be integrated to an imperial power does not offer a justification for the atrocities performed in the name of civilisation. In another letter to Casement, he urges the necessity of reinforcing the campaign against the slave trade which breeches international laws:

> It is an extraordinary thing that the conscience of Europe which seventy years ago has put down the slave trade on humanitarian grounds tolerates the Congo State to day. […] But as a matter of fact in the old days England had in her keeping the conscience of Europe. The initiative came from here. But now I suppose we are busy with other things; too much involved in great affairs to take up cudgels for humanity, decency and justice. […] And the fact remains that in 1903, seventy five years or so after the abolition of the slavery trade (because it was cruel) there exists in Africa a Congo State, created by the act of European Powers where ruthless, systematic cruelty towards the blacks is the basis of administration, and bad faith towards all the other states the basis of commercial policy. (CLJC VIII: 96-97)

Even though Britain is not a slave power anymore, Conrad claims that the efforts being carried by the British against King Leopold's Congo slavery are dwarfed by the other European powers' lack of interest in the matter. Therefore, Conrad establishes the issue of slavery as an historical reality that needs to be taken into account in the metropolitan powers. This anti-imperialist perspective in Conrad's writings is explained by his liberal stance. At turn of the nineteenth century, the British Liberals inaugurated a "new crusade for reform in

the Congo and the removal of King Leopold's control" and exploitation of the natives (Rich, 1990: 35).

The non-fiction works written by the four writers on the empire show that they are imperialists, but their attitudes differ at various counts. Maugham's, Forster's and Conrad's non-fictional works constitute a pertinent example of the different facets of British liberalism. Maugham plays up irony upon the failures of the liberals to be efficient. Conrad, the victim of Russian domination of his native country, embraces another liberal attitude which concerns the critique of other European imperial powers to absolve their policies from the critiques of the conservatives. In this regard, Kipling poses as a typical conservative who reacts to the Liberal imperial policies as they do not conform to the conservative imperial agenda. Yet the four writers share the same objective of keeping the empire in place whatever the manner followed. What follows will analyse the manner the writers' attitudes are reflected in their fictional works.

Fiction

Fiction, especially the novel, according to Said conforms to the imperial attitudes. Kipling's, Forster's, Maugham's and Conrad's works constitute a reservoir of attitudes towards empire as they were held by the Liberals and the Conservatives. Depending on whether they conform to one or the other, their texts read as politically loaded with the principles of Liberalism or Conservatism. Kipling is the spokesman of the latter while the other writers stand as representatives of the variety of principles and ideas associated with the British liberals. If the principles of "Conservatism" make up one homogeneous attitude, Kipling stands as its mentor in fiction. However, because of the long time span from the first time the Liberals started to have imperial power to the last years of Liberal imperialism, there emerged varieties of Liberalism[s], so Forster, Maugham and Conrad pose as the representatives of these different Liberalism[s] in fiction.

A. Kipling, the Conservative

Kipling's attitude towards the Empire is conservative in the sense that he reproduces the conservative principles of home rule and the Raj. Benjamin Disraeli, the precursor of the conservative principles, maintains in "Conservative Principles" (1872) the divine right of kings and their coercive power at home. In the same year, he called for "the maintenance of empire" based upon the "principles" of the Conservative party (Disraeli, 1999: 117). As soon as he became Prime Minister in 1874, he extended the same attitude towards the British Raj by crowning Queen Victoria Empress of India (1876) to stand as a ruler of India. Kerr remarks that Kipling was "unremittingly a conservative" (2008: 29). Despite a little sympathy he expressed at times towards the country of his birth, he did not stop his allegiance to the conservative policy of the Raj.

In *Kim*, the idea of the divine right clearly fleshes out in the embodiment of the eponymous hero of the novel. Throughout the novel it is suggested that Kim is the "favourite of the stars", which is a way of saying that God entitles him to be a white prince among the Indians. In this regard, Maugham makes the pertinent remark that in the nineteenth century "the inhabitants of the [British Isles] trusted in God, and God, they were assured, had taken the British Empire under his particular protection" (1953: ix). God favours the British Empire in the same way as the "stars" favour Kim. For Kipling as for his fellows, nothing is to be feared in the expansion of their empire, for God is behind them. Kim's destiny to be superior to the Indians is conditioned by what his father calls *ne varietur*, the Latin proverbial expression for 'so that nothing should be changed'. Before Kim's father's death, he carefully prepared a "*ne varietur* parchment, his clearance certificate and Kim's baptismal certificate" (K: 116). The *ne varietur* implies that Kim's fate must not be altered since he fulfils these conditions. As Kim is of white birth and baptised as a Christian, his baptismal certificate testifies that he is entitled for an important status in India.

Also, as Kim's father's clearance certificate testifies, Kim is heir to the rights and duties of the Victorians. Thus, to make him embrace the imperial destiny his heritage has to be considered. The moment Mr Bennett and Father Victor discover the meaning of Kim's parchment, they send him to St. Xavier's to be trained as a future imperial agent. The choice of the parchment by Kim's father is also important to Kim's fate as it suggests the idea of longevity. Instead of writing the message on paper that can degrade through time, he seals it in parchment to make the fate of his son last forever. The association of parchment and birth, baptismal and clearance certificates indicates the idea of heredity. Kim's father makes sure that the conservative principle that members of the ruling class, especially those of the House of Lords, inherit their status profit to his son. He ensures that his son would inherit his position as an important member of the ruling race through the parchment and the accompanying certificates which testify to his noble birth. According to Kipling, this idea of heredity in government dates back to the Anglo-Saxon charters, whose shapers made an imperative to let "the son of the picked man succeed to his father's place in the council when his father dies" (BW: 68). They decide upon inheritance on the basis of achievement "which benefits the kingdom; heredity which gives responsibility; independence which inspires fearless advice" (BW: 69). The efficiency of the rulers should be transmitted from generation to generation through heredity, and it is the responsibility of those who take the relief to carry on the tradition. Thus, Kim does not hesitate to go with the lama throughout the journey to get initiated into the imperial career.

Quite in direct line with the idea of heredity, Kipling endorses the British rule in India and ensures its future through the integration of *Kim* as part of the children's literature to "reflect imperialism and empire as a normal part of the world and often encourage child readers to accept the values of imperialism" (Kutzer, 2000: xiii). This is achieved through making the novel as a child's wonderland, the aim of which is to attract children as an

important readership; this is a significant tool to sustain the idea that the British are and should remain in place as an imperial power. By promoting British imperialism through children's texts, Kipling aspires to maintain the empire as the 'innate' destiny of Britain's children. *Kim* inculcates in them the imperial idea that they are destined to rule over so-called inferior races. In this way, they are more reliable to be themselves imperialists in the future and perpetuate the imperial tradition.

Kutzer argues that Kipling propounds the idea that the British Empire is "good and valuable and must be maintained, both by current adults, and the adults of the future, including the child readers of *Kim* and their descendents" (Ibid. 21). By varying the content of his novel, Kipling aspires to meet the requirements of various readerships especially the juvenile one. It is through Kim's imperial destiny as a white prince in India that Kipling aspires to make them embrace their imperial destiny. Kim is a British adolescent who embodies all the features of an imperialist: the scene concerning the Zam-Zammah shows that he has power over the natives; he manages to enter the British secret services in the Great Game; and his white birth gives him all the privileges of being white in an imperial setting. By depicting Kim in this way, Kipling wants the British children to identify themselves with him and aspire for the same imperial destiny. This would ensure the continuity of the British imperial tradition. Once adults, these children will replace their fathers and forefathers as a relief force upon which the continuity of the British Empire depends.

Kipling does not stop at divinity and heredity to conform to the conservative principles. He also emphasizes the connection between power and religion. Disraeli in his "Principles" strongly defends that Church and State should never be separated, for one serves the other (1950: 231-232). In *Kim*, this is shown through the working of the Christian mission in India. It is best illustrated by the work of Father Bennett, who is allowed an important role in the novel. As soon as Kim is identified as a white boy, the political and religious powers of

the Raj start to think about the best ways of making him assume his imperial destiny. It is Father Bennett who pays for his studies in St. Xaviers, where he is to be trained as a sahib. Father-Bennett is the "Padre-Sahib" of *From Sea to Sea; Letters of Travel* (WPVRK SSLT: 72, 73, 90). The combination of padre, Latin for father, and sahib, Hindi for white imperial agent, shows that the Church serves the empire. The 'padre' cooperates with Colonel Creighton who integrates Kim to the Great Game. Creighton stands for the state and Father Bennett for the Church, but they cooperate when the matter concerns Kim's imperial destiny.

Historically, the novel was published in a period characterized by the Viceroyalty of Lord Curzon over the Raj between 1899 and 1905. Curzon was a Conservative, and he followed conservative policies in India. As *Kim* was written and published during this period, Kipling becomes his ardent supporter. He adopts a jingoist attitude, separating between the superior English and the inferior Indians. Curzon declared that his power as viceroy emanated from "the extraordinary inferiority in character, honesty and capacity of the Indians" (Quoted in Judd, 2004: 104). Curzon as Kipling maintains the idea of the supremacy of the English ruling race over the Indians.

Another conservative principle which is related to this ideology of the superiority of one and the inferiority of the other is linked to the exclusion of the Indians from rule. This is shown through the game of identity in which Kim and his fellows are engaged. In the novel, the Great Game, engaged among the European imperial powers for the possession of the unconquered territories of India, is paralleled with a *game of identity*. The crux of *Kim* is Kim's identity and his initiation to the Great Game. Though he was born and raised in India, he "was white" (K: 7). His white identity allows him to be treated as the prodigal son of empire by the imperial authorities. "Colonel Creighton's interest in [him] was directly paternal" (K: 236). His initiation to the Game incites Kim to be interested in another game, that of identity. This involves the interest in the dialectic of the English and the natives. This

dialectic is a theme of paramount importance in *Kim* and Kipling's other Indian narratives as in Orientalist discourse in general. The importance allotted to identity in the novel can be illustrated by Kim's preoccupation with the distinction between what Said calls in *Orientalism* "us" and "them". The white identity should never mix with the native identity, so Kim is taught to be distant with the native identity. Throughout *Kim*, Kim is aware that "us" should not be intertwined with "them". When he is being initiated to the Great Game, and each time he meets a new acquaintance, he asks his mentors the central question *is he one of us?* Once he integrates the British secret services as a sahib, Kim is pervasively enquiring about how some natives managed to blend in "us", meaning the British. "How comes it that this man is one of *us*?" (K: 216), asks Kim about a babu's integration to the British services as Kim's mate. For emphasis, the question is frequently repeated in the novel. Kim asks: "[i]s he also one of *us*?" (K: 278). It should be recalled here that even if some natives are allowed to mingle with the whites, it is to serve the British Raj.

The Great Game and the game of identity are closely matched with the initiation of Kim as a central theme to the novel. This is related to Kim's *passage* from the little boy of the bazaars of Lahore to the prodigal son of the British Empire. The passage is a kind of ritual that involves the initiation and completion of the children of empire to serve their Queen. It starts with the education at St Xavier's, where white children are introduced to disciplines that are related to imperial control of dominions. Kim is aware that in this school, he is taught to become a *sahib* after successful completion of studies at St Xavier's. *Sahibdom* involves the power to "command natives" (K: 168). Part of the disciplines that are dispensed at this school are maths, linguistics, map-making and elementary surveying as essential for the purposeful instruction of sahibs. After St Xavier's Kim's integration to the secret services follows.

It has to be noted that Kim's initiation to the empire and the Great Game starts early in his life with his father's prophecy that someday a "Red Bull on a green field […] shall carry

[him] to the heavens" (K: 50), which promises a bright future for Kim. By the time he accepts to travel with the lama to discover the meaning of this prophecy, Kim starts to be initiated to the empire. "Red Bull" and "Green field" are symbols that Kipling uses to make the journey enlightening for Kim, who does not yet know that his destiny is the destiny of a white prince in India. His initiation reaches its acme when he encounters the first white officials Father Victor, Bennett, the two Christian missionaries and Colonel Creighton, the commander in chief in India. This event denotes the return of the prodigal son of the Empire. Thus, they treat him as a white novice to be immediately sent to St Xavier's and to be integrated to the secret services afterwards. They are well satisfied with their prodigal son and "rejoice [that] the *pony* learns the game" (K: 173; italics added). Throughout his initiation to the game, for instance, Kim is trained how to make maps; and his masters would ascertain that he manages to make them. This is motivated by the importance of map-making for the geographical knowledge of the Indian subcontinent and its control by the imperial powers. It is not by inadvertence that he is sent to "the mysterious city of Bikanir [and] the Colonel ordered him to make a map of that wild walled city" (K: 227), but the Colonel's motivation is first and foremost to test his trainee and to get pertinent and useful information about that city.

Kipling's novel dramatises Disraeli's consolidatory spirit of empire. *Kim* is concerned with the threats posed by other European powers which would overthrow the British Raj. This dramatisation is related to the struggle between the different European imperial powers for colonial possessions in the remaining territories of the Indian subcontinent which are not under the British rule. *Kim* displays the activities of the British secret services to get hold of these territories, by preceding other European powers. Historically, this preoccupation refers to the Russian threats to the Northern frontiers of the Raj. This period was marked by the emergence of new imperial powers which intensified and complicated the struggle for "geography". In addition to Britain, France and Germany, other powers like Russia and the

United States emerged as important powers, each being remarkably eager to extend its territories to other geographical areas. All these powers had a hankering after more possessions, but the European ones dominated the international scene because the United States was following its 'manifest destiny' of annexing all the Western Hemisphere. Concerning the Eastern Hemisphere, in India, Russia was the immediate threat to Britain because it had mainly been extending eastward, hence its interest in the Indian subcontinent. This is why there is a direct reference to the British quarrel with the Russian powers in the novel under the heading of the Great Game. A pertinent example of this consolidatory spirit is related to the Russian character of *Kim*, who declares that it "is *we* [meaning the Russians] who can deal with the Orientals" (K: 318). What Kipling does is to test this possibility so that by the end of chapter twenty of the novel he answers the Russian: "[d]ecidedly it is we", meaning the English, "who can deal with the Orientals" (K: 332).

B. Liberalism: the Cases of Forster and Maugham

While Kipling proclaims separatism between the members of the ruling race and those of the ruled ones, the liberal Forster advocates their co-existence and tolerance between them. For him, it is imperative that the boundaries of race are crossed to establish this friendship so vital to the Raj. This attitude is propounded through the liberal voice of Mr Fielding who says: "I can't be sacked from my job, because my job is Education. I believe in teaching people to be individuals, and to understand other individuals" (PI: 118). In making his protagonist an Educationist, Forster aspires to propound a liberal message. Kerr asserts that "the voice of the liberal is likely to be raised in schools and churches" (2008: 28). Understanding individuals should start with the essentials of tolerance and dialogue. Tolerance, Forster states, "is the only force which will enable different races and classes and interests to settle down together" (TCD: 56). It is only by establishing tolerance between the races that live in the British Raj that they can co-exist. They must be endowed with this power

to transcend difference as it is embodied in the persons of Aziz and Fielding, whose friendship is based on the transcendence of difference and the mutual respect. Despite the obstacles they are forced to cope with, they manage to be friends by not abiding by the rules of their respective races. Mr Fielding does not conform to the jingoist attitude that characterises the British officials. While officials like Roony are "relied on to put the conservative view" of empire, Mr Fielding expresses "the liberal one" (Kerr, 2008: 28-29).

Tolerance in the novel is associated with two different conceptions: the Oriental and the Western. Hospitality and intimacy are the features of tolerance in the Oriental mind. However, the Western view of tolerance involves reasonable co-existence with the Other. The Indians are known for their hospitality with foreigners, whom they accept without prejudice. Regardless of their origin and race, they are welcoming of any foreigner who comes to their country. The flaw in their hospitality is their tendency to mistake it for intimacy. By contrast, the Westerners' conception of tolerance is more reasoned in the sense that it avoids intimacy and emotional engagements with the foreigner. It also involves a reasoned and determined attempt to cultural understanding. Aziz is the epitome of Oriental hospitality. He is portrayed as the friend of any Anglo-Indian who attempts to mix with his people. He greets any Anglo-Indian who shows interest in his culture. Thus, he becomes friend with Adela and Mrs Moore given the latter's respect for his culture and the former's pretended interest in India. He invites them to his house and serves them food that is almost English to make them feel at home. The narrator says: "[h]is deeper thoughts were about the breakfast. […] He ran over the menu: an English breakfast, porridge and mutton chops, but some Indian dishes to cause conversation, and pan afterwards" (PI: 149). Aziz's effort to serve an English dish for them is proof enough of his respect and hospitality.

The Westerners' conception of tolerance is embodied in the person of Fielding. The pertinent mark of his tolerance is his acceptance of Aziz's criticisms when he pays him a visit

to prison and after he is released. When Fielding's desire to accompany his friend to prison and his wish to visit him as early as possible has been refused to him by the officials, Aziz does not accept or understand that Fielding has not visited him. He is very suspicious of his friend and accuses him of desertion. After having these thoughts in prison, he repeats: "Cyril, again you desert" (PI: 228). When they meet again, Fielding notices a change in Aziz's attitude towards him. He "was conscious of something hostile, and because he was fond of Aziz his optimism failed him" (PI: 273). Nevertheless, he remains his friend and makes sure not to deceive him. Though he does nothing to steer Aziz's hostility to him, Fielding accepts everything that emanates from him. This is explained by his tolerance for the suspicion and misunderstanding of his friend.

According to Forster, a second prerequisite for harmony in the Anglo-Indian imperial context and the abolition of the everlasting cleavage between the colonised and the coloniser is the adoption of apolitical and unconventional behaviour which should replace the traditional political, conformist and especially jingoist one. This kind of behaviour favours the individual over his or her alienating race or state. Individualism, indeed, is propitious to the establishment of personal connections regardless of origin and race and on the basis of tolerance and mutual understanding, whereas conformity to the dictates of one's race and state leads one to fall in the traps of racism. The Anglo-Indians are biased in their views of the natives and are contemptuous towards them. The Indians on their part are sensitive to insult, so they are cautious in their behaviour and live apart from the colonisers. This kind of political and conformist attitude widens the cleavage between the two races. Nonetheless, Mr Fielding all along the story and Aziz at least in its first chapters are the nonconformist and apolitical figures through whom Forster shapes the importance of such behaviour in the interests of bridging the gap between the races.

Mr Fielding's unconventional behaviour is related to his desire to cross the boundaries

of race and establish intercultural dialogue with the Indians at the expense of his status as a respected member of the ruling race. Because he is friend with the natives, he is regarded by his fellows as a deserter. Nonetheless, he does not mind about the way they consider him since for him what matters most is friendship. His fellows believe that since "[h]e had found it convenient and pleasant to associate with Indians […] he must pay the price" (PI: 63). The 'price' mentioned in this quote relates to the contemptuous attitude Fielding receives from his fellows by accusing him of anti-English behaviour. Fielding's nonconformist attitude is expressed in his support of Aziz at his arrest while the other Anglo-Indians believe in his guilt. He proclaims this belief at the peril of his status in the Raj as a respected school teacher. In other words, knowing Aziz incapable of "infamy" (PI: 161), he publically refuses to recognise his guilt and imperils his position. His nonconformism is also embodied in his withdrawal from the hypocrisy of the English clubs and his preference of the modesty of native hospitality. As for Aziz, his nonconformist attitude is more apparent in the first part of the novel, where he is obsessed with establishing friendship with the Anglo-Indians. Because of the contempt and the insults from which the Indians have long been suffering ever since they were subjected to the Raj, especially with the shift into conservative and jingoist imperial policies, they became closed to the coloniser. But Aziz does not follow the collective attitude in his desire to establish connections with the Anglo-Indians at the expense of his reputation.

The focus on Aziz's and Mr Fielding's apolitical and nonconformist attitudes shows the degree to which changing imperial behaviour is vital. Fielding runs the risk of being taxed with anti-English stance to warn his fellows about the vitality of changing the imperial behaviour. Colmer claims that "the solution to human understanding lies not in political institutions; it lies in man's capacity to transcend human difference" (1975: 169). Aziz is aware of the vitality of this dialogue. Mr Fielding, too, knows that difference should be transcended in any attempt to establish harmonious colonial relations. By the end of the novel

when all misunderstandings are cleared out between the two friends, they become friends forever but unable to meet again because of the Indian "unrest". Benita Parry states:

> Forster in *A Passage to India* commends the liberal value system of encouraging free intellectual inquiry and accommodating civilized personal relations. The negation of these values is institutionalized in Anglo-India. The British in India have suppressed their intellectual curiosity; their purpose is not to share the ideas and techniques of the West with Indians but to administer a subject people; official relationships take the place of human ones, social intimacy is taboo. In Fielding, the schoolmaster who stands apart from Anglo-India and represents culture, tolerance and kindness, Forster suggests the virtues of a rationalist and sceptical humanism. (1972: 273)

It is important to single out one central conclusion out of the idea of tolerance and dialogue namely that Forster inscribes his name within the British imperial tradition with an aspiration to liberalism in the British Raj. For him, the continuity of the Raj passes through the mutual understanding between the coloniser and the colonised in order to instil peace between them. It must be noted that the Liberal imperialists are favourable to peace and freedom and against clashes between races.

In terms of the Liberal policy, he insists on appointing some power to the Indians to participate in their own rule. This is one of the most important principles of political liberalism, namely the participation of the ruled in government. In *A Passage to India*, Forster attributes this power to the Indians by means of Aziz's trial, which is presided by a native Judge rather than Rooney Heaslop or any other member of the Ruling race. Kipling disagrees with this measure of appointing Native Judges for trials in Anglo-India and taxes it with being typically Liberal since it started to be adopted with the arrival of the Liberals to the Home Government in the early 1880s. (SM: 30) Later in the early twentieth century, the Liberals sought "to institute reforms which were consistent with the Liberal conception of imperial administration" (Medalie, 2002: 27). To insist on the importance of liberal reforms in the empire, he appoints a native judge the manager of the Aziz/ Adela case and makes the jingoist Anglo-Indians react unfavourably to this choice to demarcate himself from them. In addition, for Forster dialogue between the ruling race and the subject race depends on the ability of the

member of the former to sympathise with the members of the latter. In England, during the Victorian period, the Liberals encouraged the ruling class to sympathise with the working class to avoid clashes. Forster encourages the same attitude in an imperial context. To sympathise with the Indians would avoid their uprising and encourage peace in an attempt to perpetuate the British Raj.

If I read *A Passage to India* in the light of Gladstone's "England's Mission" (1878), I shall find some analogies. In response to the Conservative government of his time, Gladstone asserts that England would never stand as an imperial nation unless the English stopped their

> effeminate selfishness of luxurious living; neglecting realities at home to amuse herself everywhere else in stalking phantoms; through putting again on her resources a strain like that of the great French war, which brought her people to misery, and her Throne to peril; through that denial of equal rights to others, which taught us so severe a lesson at the epoch of the Armed Neutrality. (1999: 187)

Borrowing his ideas from Gladstone, Forster's novel depicts the imperial administrators like Turton and Burton and their families as jingoist, engaged in some life of luxury and extravagance at the expense of the people they are ruling as well as the imperial interests. To remedy this situation, the jingoist policies have to be changed in the eyes of Forster. He conforms to Gladstone's belief that England

> will never lose by the modesty in thought and language, which most of all beseems the greatest of mankind; never by forwardness to allow, and to assert, the equal rights of all states and nations; never by refusing to be made the tool of foreign cunning, for ends alien to her principles and feelings; never by keeping her engagements in due relation to her means, or by husbanding those means for the day of need, and for the noble duty of defending, as occasion offers, the cause of public right, and of rational freedom, over the broad expanse of Christendom. (Ibid.)

It follows that Forster's attitude towards the imperial affairs and the relations between the coloniser and the colonised is related to the emphasis he puts on adjusting the imperial policies to the liberal creed. For him, the continuity of the British Raj depends on this.

Maugham follows in the footsteps of Forster in his belief in the necessity of democratic compromises as well as tolerance for salvaging the empire. Mutual understanding and sympathy with the natives cannot be achieved unless there is the fundamental

"democratic feeling" (CT: 94). This feeling expresses itself through considering the natives in equality with the colonisers at certain moments. For him, equality before justice should also be the basis of any colonial situation. In "The Outstation", Mr Warburton is aware that the Malays are sensitive when they are treated as inferior to the white race. When Cooper comes to assist him, he regrets to learn that he is arrogant and lacks "sympathy for the natives" (CT: 125) and "very quickly realised that the Malay disliked and feared him [Cooper]" (CT: 125). As his superior, Mr Warburton advises him to adopt a different attitude towards the natives, or he would be overthrown by them. In order to ensure the continuity of the English domination of the Malays, it is important that the young imperialists learn from their predecessors, especially the liberals. Cooper who "was a Colonial" (CT: 144) adopts an arrogant attitude towards the natives. The word *colonial* implies that he is a kind of Kiplinesque character who blindly conforms to the coloniser/ colonised dialectic and ignores the possibility of compromise between the natives and their white subjects. He does not attempt to sympathise with the natives while Mr Warburton resembles Forster's Fielding in his endeavour to sympathise with them the better to control them. He knows that the "Malays are sensitive to injury and ridicule [as well as] passionate and revengeful" (CT: 140). He does not stop advising Cooper to adjust his behaviour to the character of the people under his command.

Maugham makes Cooper an arrogant and stubborn imperial agent in not changing his behaviour. Like Forster, he aspires to show the chaos which results in this arrogance towards the natives. In "The Outstation", he shows the chaotic result of being haughty with the natives. Cooper "had been killed in his sleep" as a consequence of haughtiness with the natives, especially in not accepting Abas's desire to pay a visit to his family. As a consequence of the murder, it would be a normal answer to sentence him for a harsh verdict. In order to avoid clashes with the natives, Mr Warburton sentences Abas neither to

imprisonment nor to death penalty. He rather finds a kind of *democratic* compromise which satisfies the natives and the ruler alike to maintain order within the station. This is a way of saying that to uphold the Empire in place, the imperialists should relinquish to some rights and privileges in the outposts of empire and especially forget about their racial prestige. Forster in "What I believe" defines democracy as a regime in which "the individual is important, and that all types are needed to make a civilization. It does not divide its citizens into the bossers and the bossed" (TCD: 79). If this definition is transposed into an imperial context, it certainly suits Maugham's focus on the democratic compromise as a strategy of containment.

An analogical conclusion that must be drawn here is that Maugham through the compromise he finds in regard to Abas and Forster's attribution of a native judge to lead the Aziz/ Adela case conform to one of the most important principles of English liberalism, namely their "genius for compromise" (Briffault, 1938: 71). Earlier than Forster and Maugham, Franklin H. Giddings wrote a kind of pamphlet on the British Empire and its ideal of democracy. In "the Democratic Empire" he remarks that in the case of the British Empire, democracy and imperialism could not be dissociated. The British Empire has known a "democratic community" (1900: 3) in its colonies. Maugham and Forster are certainly informed about the necessity of perpetuating this "democratic empire". In sum, they are similar in their vindication of the necessity of adopting liberal policies towards the colonised subjects. This idea of democracy goes hand in hand with the liberals' quest for peace between the colonised and the coloniser in order to maintain the imperial system. Against this idea of democracy and liberal policies and in accordance with the conservative credo, Kipling says:

> I assert unhesitatingly that the Civil Service in India is the preserve–the pet-preserve—of the aristocracy of England. What the democracy—what does the masses—get from that country which we have step by step fraudulently annexed? (MWWBK: 67)

To explain further Maugham's liberal attitude towards the imperial affairs needs an

answer to the question 'who is who?' in "The Outstation". Cooper considers himself as a Liberal. He does not "give a row of pins for a **lord**" (CT: 123). He believes that he is one of those who "want a business government by business men" (CT: 123; emphasis added) not the aristocracy of England. Mr Warburton, on his part, is a member of the nobility. He is an Eton graduate and "never lost his love for titled persons and paid careful attention to the announcements in The Times" (CT: 115). As such, he is a Conservative to the core. Yet in the colonial context, he is more liberal than the true liberal. This is shown in the way he deals with the natives to whom he is very judicious and respectful, which is a manner through Maugham criticises the foundation of empire on conservative principles. For him, it is better to be Conservative at home and yet Liberal in the imperial affairs than the opposite.

Despite the similarities between Maugham and Forster, Maugham's writings are also informed by a romantic project of escape to the outposts of empire, and this is the second attitude that he adopts with regards to empire. This romantic idea of empire is tightly linked to the liberal one. I can argue that the romantic idea is an aspect of liberalism as the liberty of the individual is given prominence over the community. Therefore, in his fiction there is a category of people who struggle against the constraints of their societies and others who have managed to leave their homelands to establish peaceful lives in the Far East. However, some of these characters have the tendency to react negatively to the exotic environment. In *Of Human Bondage*, Philip Carey, the main character, is depicted as a constrained English individual. As an orphan, he suffers from three major ailments: his club-foot, his poverty and his sexual disorientation. Throughout his life, Philip is harassed by these constraints. At school, he is forced to undergo a permanent oppression and humiliation from his classmates and teachers who always consider him as *other*. His exclusion because of his clubfoot touches on every aspect of his social and school life. In the classroom, his handicap becomes the subject of mockery among his classmates and teachers who consider him as a mere object of

entertainment. He is not authorised to participate in extracurricular activities because of his deformity. When the students resume studies after vacation, the first thing they do is to talk about where they went, what they did and what they saw, but Philip stands apart. He is always isolated, and his life becomes quite monotonous.

Because of his difficulties, he starts to consider the Orient as an opportunity for escape and becomes acquainted with the idea that it allows liberty of action and psychological uplift. It is through his aesthetic interests in the Orient followed by his adult resolutions to travel there that the primordial place the Orient occupies in his life is given full vent. Philip's first contact with the Orient came by way of literature and art. As a child, there grew in him an interest in reading travel books and contemplating exotic pictures as a way of alleviating his daily difficulties and sorrows. He does the same thing when he feels the extremes of his unrequited love for Mildred. He thinks of looking at pictures that would take him far away into distant countries. Early during his childhood, Philip created for himself a world of his own in which the Far East is idealised.

As Philip has always led a solitary life, he prefers refuge at reading travel books and admiring paintings about distant countries. He has particular interest in Oriental classics like *The Arabian Nights* and cultural products like the Persian carpet. Both of them have fallen upon his hands almost inadvertently, but he has grown attached to them very much. The kind of feeling he reaches when he is imaginatively and aesthetically transported in space from the West to the Orient is that of existence and liberty. He is particularly captivated by the tales and the people of *The Arabian Nights* and the colours and motifs of the Persian carpet. In the beginning, what consume him most are the pictures in the *The Arabian Nights* for he is attracted by the colours and sensuality of Oriental objects and the Oriental castles. His interest grows from the pictorial to the textual:

> One day a good fortune befell him, for he hit upon Lane's translation of *The Thousand Nights and a Night.* He was captured first by illustrations, and then he began to read,

> to start with, the stories that dealt with magic, and then the others; and those he liked to read again and again. He could think of nothing else. He forgot the life about him. He had to be called two or three times before he would come to his dinner. (HB: 37)

Philip has also an aesthetic appreciation of Western texts about the Orient and paintings like those of Paul Gauguin. Through these Orientalist cultural forms Philip receives a foretaste of the Orient. He learns about the extent to which the individual feels free and how life becomes easy and worriless. He also shapes an idea about the impact of the exotic environment on the artist. Said speaks about a category of writers for "whom a real or metaphorical trip to the Orient is the fulfilment of some deeply felt and urged project [and whose] text is therefore built on a personal aesthetic, fed and informed by the project" (1995: 158). In the case of Maugham, early at his childhood he had an urgent desire to go to the Orient. In *Of Human Bondage*, it is the *metaphorical* trip that Maugham makes, and it comes through the appropriation of texts and paintings from or on the Orient. It is through Philip that Maugham manages to make this *metaphorical* trip. Later on, he resolves to make the *real* trip to the Orient, what manifests itself later in his Far Eastern tales like those in *The Casuarina Tree* are whose setting is the exotic East (Jonas, 1959: 96).

Therefore, his Far Eastern tales portray the retreated life of some Europeans that are at odds with their native environments. In contrast to the Europeans who are driven to the Orient by their so-called philanthropic desires, there are some others who leave their economic and social difficulties in Europe to find harmony in the Orient. Some view the Orient as "the door of opportunity". For instance, Captain Nichols, in *The Narrow Corner*, makes his voyage to the Orient to affirm himself socially and economically. When he was in Europe, he used to be constantly humiliated by his wife because of his poverty. Consequently, he heads to the Orient for self-improvement and self-fulfilment. He wants to establish his own wealth through hard work, which would make him self-confident. Maugham depicts another category of men who suffer in their marriage. He pays special attention to men who are daily humiliated by

their wives and so retreat to distant countries. Captain Nichols in *The Narrow Corner* got married to a woman of a rich Liverpool family. She constantly humiliates him by underestimating him and overestimating herself; she always considers herself superior to him since she is richer than him. Within marriage, Nichols feels as *other* because of his wife's class-consciousness and her constant day-to-day reference to his poverty and her wealth. Captain Nichols confesses:

> I've been married twenty years, and it's been nag, nag, nag, all the time. Very superior woman, my missus, that's what began the trouble, she thought she demeaned 'self by marrying me. Her father was a big draper up in Liverpool, and she never let me forget it. She blamed me because I couldn't get a job. Said I liked being on the beach. Lazy, idle loafer she called me and said she was fair sick workin'erself to the bone to give me board and lodgin' and I didn't get a billet soon [...] Now this is quite *infra dig*., if you know what I mean, just between you and me: you don't know where you are with women. They don't behave like 'uman beings. Would you believe it, I've run away from 'er four times. […] I'd bet every penny I 'ad in the world that she wouldn't find me. Like looking for a needle in a bundle of 'ay. (NC: 50-51)

The link between Nichols's escape to the Orient with Maugham's idea of Liberalism can be explained by the idea that through Nichols's wife Maugham exposes the haughtiness of the British middle class towards the poor classes. His escape to the Orient to find peace and harmony away from this arrogance denotes Maugham's allegiance to the liberal ideas and criticism towards the conservative superior classes towards the poor classes in Britain. While Captain Nichols escaped to the Orient because of the daily humiliation he received from his wife, in the Orient he is loved by Louise as an Oriental prince is loved by his enchantress:

> A faint breeze rustled suddenly the leaves of the trees and a ray of sun found its way through them and danced for a moment by his side. He thought of Louise and her ash-blonde hair. She was like an enchantress in an old tale whom men loved to their destruction. She was an enigmatic figure going about her household duties with that steady composure and with serenity waiting for what would in due course befall her. He wondered what it would be. He sighed a little, for whatever it was, if the richest dreams the imagination offered came true, in the end it remained nothing but illusion. (NC: 206)

It follows that Captain Nichols went to the Orient out of extreme misery in his conjugal life, blaming the class consciousness that regulated the social life of the people and the materialism of his society. In the Orient, one can escape the constraints due to class.

Another way of criticising the Conservative mind is through Dr Saunders, who is driven to the Orient by his personal project, which is two-sided. On the one hand, he settles in the Orient in order to follow his vocational career in medicine. On the other hand, he wants to solve the problem of his warped sexuality. As soon as Saunders graduates from Cambridge, he decides to travel to the Orient, which offers him the opportunity to practice medicine. He is depicted as an unordinary individual. (NC: 23-24) Also, he follows up the dictates of his sexuality. As he loves men, he views the Orient as the land in which he can live a normal sexuality. The novella is marked by a profound interest in homosexuality. Not only is Dr Saunders attracted by some of his fellows and the Orientals but he is also repelled by some others, depending on their physical aspects. He is especially obsessed with teeth, which either give the most exquisite smiles in a man or rather render him the most repellent. Certainly the interest in Dr Saunders's sexuality is the result of the Conservatives' campaign against "homosexuality" as a "great threat to the individual" (Aughey et. al., 1992: 154). As it was not evident to be a homosexual in a repressive conservative society, it was necessary to go to the Orient and embrace sexual freedom. Maugham takes his character to the Orient to make him escape from the constraints of the traditional mind of the Conservatives. Robert Lorin Calder provides a psychoanalytic analysis of Maugham's writing which focus on the culturally exhausted English men and women who struggle for freedom from "physical ties, financial dependence, or the restraints of time and place". (1972: 1) Their search for "a deeper liberation" (Ibid.) is embodied in the persons of Captain Nichols and Dr Saunders.

C. Conrad's Liberal [Anti-]Imperialism

While Kipling and Forster adopt conservative and liberal attitudes, respectively, Maugham's attitude is liberal like Forster, but with an escapist tendency. Conrad, on his part, is divided between imperialism and anti-imperialism. Though the writers share in the imperial consensus, the duality of Conrad's life and art makes it indisputable that pro-imperialism

interweaves with anti-imperialism in his writings. This is not only a consequence of his Polish background as victim of the Russian oppression but also the result of his artistic life as a *fin de siècle* writer and as a modernist ahead of his time, to borrow the words of his contemporaries. If considered in the light of his status as victim of the Russian oppression of his motherland, Conrad's fiction certainly fits in the discourse of opposition to empire in criticising imperial practices and sympathising with their victims. Paul B. Rich remarks that "liberal anti-liberalism" (1990: 35) came of age at the turn of the nineteenth century and early twentieth as it is illustrated by J. A. Hobson's *Imperialism: a Study* (1902). Also, when considered in the light of *fin de siècle*, Conrad's fiction, too, fits in the spirit of scepticism and decadence that characterises this period. These two elements make of his fiction a vindictive critique of European imperialism which he directs against the Europeans' hypocrisy and decadent spirit along with their imperial ideologies and imperial practices.

To approach Conrad from an anti-imperialist standpoint requires reference to Said's concept of the *culture of opposition* to empire. Said claims that "opposition to a dominant structure arises out of a perceived awareness […] on the part of individuals and groups outside or **inside** it that, for example, certain of its policies are wrong" (1994: 289). Nowhere is this most significant than in *Heart of Darkness* and "An Outpost of Progress", where he instils this "perceived awareness" through which European imperialism is considered critically. Each of these narratives can be considered as a *voyage* inside European civilisation and imperialism as part and parcel of internal criticism. The "voyage in" (Ibid. 295) is Said's concept for the culture of opposition to imperialism. It suggests the rise of anti-imperialist awareness on the part of individual writers *within* the imperial structure.

Before dealing more deeply with Conrad's African narratives, the analyses carried out on *Lord Jim* in the previous chapters make it necessary to start with its [anti-]imperialist stance. In contrast to the myth of the benevolent and altruistic English philanthropist like Jim

in *Lord Jim*, Conrad depicts a myriad of European outcasts engaged in criminal activities in the Orient, who work in collaboration with another category of people present there only for loot. Through them, the ideal that the European powers are engaged in the Orient in a civilising mission is a pure lie. The majority of the European people in the Orient are associated with hypocrisy and treachery. In *Lord Jim*, Conrad makes a sharp contrast between the benevolent and altruistic Jim and the treachery of his fellow Europeans, Brown and Cornelius. Far from being in Patusan to take the ideals of justice and civilisation to the local people, the two white men are engaged in criminal activities to extort the natives and enrich themselves. Jim ends up almost inadvertently in Patusan, but he manages to gain the confidence of the Patusans given his contributions in establishing peace and justice there and helping them to get rid of their despotic rulers. Soon Brown and Cornelius desire to overthrow him from his privileged status and lead them back to the former state. Knowing that the Patusans are subservient to the political expertise of the white people, they start to plot against Jim to lead them to desolation and institute themselves as the new despots of Patusan. Their treachery does by no means conform to Europe's pretence of the civilising mission in the Orient. Yeow (2009: 78) states that given Jones's, Brown's and Cornelius's betrayal of "the aura of racial prestige and moral superiority" of the white race they are considered as "the miscreants of the West", and this embodies a "covert critique of Empire" in the novel.

The hypocrisy of the European is also prevalent in the *Patna* episode of *Lord Jim*. It should be reminded that the aim of the white subjects on the *Patna* is to command the ship and help the Orientals make their safe pilgrimage to Jedha. The nobility of the mission stands for Europe's altruistic and benevolent missions in the Orient. However, when danger occurs to the ship, they no longer bother about the life of their Oriental shipmates, egoistically thinking only of saving their lives. They abscond from the ship without any human thought for the Oriental passengers they let down. This act of cowardice is proof enough of the

deceptiveness of their mission. This reveals that they are not in the Orient for what they suppose to be nor do they care about the Orientals. When danger befalls upon the *Patna,* they "[battle] against the unthinking might of nature, or the stupid brutality of crowds" (LJ: 72). They only answer their inward drives so that only the fittest could survive the shipwreck.

The revelations of the shipwreck of the *Patna* show that the Europeans miss their task of working for the natives. The presence of the commander of the ship and the other white subjects onboard is not really connected with their supposed goals. The German's motivation in commanding the ship is not to help the Orientals make their pilgrimage but rather business. In a conversation between Jim and the German engineer, Jim notes how selfish and unphilanthropic the latter is:

> You're far too mean, b'gosh. You would let a good man die sooner than give him a drop of shnapps. That's what you Germans call economy. Penny wise, pound foolish. (LJ: 23)

The Germans are disposed to let people in need die for the sake of gain. In an imperial context, too, they can abuse the natives and squeeze them and their resources off.

It should be noted that Conrad draws a clear distinction between the Europeans of English nationality and those of other nationalities. He associates virtue with the English and vice with the other Europeans like the German and Dutch characters. Much has been said about Jim's virtuous deeds in *Patusan,* whereas the Germans and Dutch of the novel are mainly depicted as treacherous Europeans pretending to be in the Orient for noble objectives. Brown is another white agent of the treacherous kind. The moment he learns about Jim's ascent to power he begins to think about how to overthrow him and take his place. Cornelius informs him that killing Jim would enthrone him to extort the natives and enrich himself: "All you have to do is to kill him and then you are king here" (LJ: 277). Thus, he collaborates with the evil forces of the land under the command of Kassim. The celebration of the British brand of imperialism in Malaya in contrast to the Dutch one makes Conrad's contemporaries call him "'the Kipling of the Malay Archipelago" (*Spectator,* No. 14, Quoted in Sherry, 1997: 47).

Arguably, a parallel with Kipling's vision of the Russian and French imperialists might be drawn here. Kipling is similar to Conrad in that he views the Russians as unscrupulous empire builders. They "bear guns, but they bear also chains and levels and compasses" (K: 296). They are inclined to use whatever means to subdue the Indians, using the sword or the word to put them under the "chains" of enslavement. Thus, it is imperative to "[g]o north and see what those strangers do" (Ibid.). While the Russians and the French are depicted as enslaving imperialists, the British Government is viewed as "the source of prosperity and honour" (K: 317). However, Kipling's critical representation of the former has nothing to do with anti-imperialism. It rather serves his jingoist celebration of the British Raj.

Concerning Conrad's African narratives, his anti-imperialist stance is supported by his harsh critique of the imperial project and its practices. Marlow states that "[t]he conquest of the earth, which mostly means the taking it away from those who have a different complexion or slightly flatter noses than ourselves, is not a pretty thing when you look into it too much" (HOD: 31-32). He doubts about the Company's civilising mission of "weaning those ignorant millions from their horrid ways" and thinks that it rather "was run for profit" (HOD: 39). His doubts are gradually confirmed as he advances into the "heart of darkness":

> There was an air of plotting about that station, but nothing came of it, of course. It was as unreal as everything else – as the philanthropic pretence of the whole concern, as their talk, as their government, as their show of work. The only real feeling was a desire to get appointed to a trading post where ivory was to be had, so that they could earn percentages. (HOD: 54)

He considers the "philanthropic pretence" of their mission as absurd, for the outposts of empire are peopled by European hypocrites, pretending to be agents of civilisation, missionaries and pilgrims only to make their greed and avarice wear a legitimate garb. The pilgrims are viewed as "faithless pilgrims" that are engaged in an "imbecile rapacity" for ivory (HOD: 52). In a similar way, in "An outpost of Progress", the idea of hypocrisy is associated with Kayerts, who is expressly reproached of being both a hypocrite and a slave dealer by his associate Carlier (OP: 265).

For Conrad, the imperialists are not only hypocritical in the false objectives of their imperial mission but they are engaged in wicked and inhumane practices in Africa, as well. Marlow insists on the material and human destructions that these practices bring to Africa. This makes him express his sympathy with the victims of empire. To begin with the materialistic aspect of the enterprise, the European railway building, for instance, is associated with such terms as "waste of excavations", "inhabited devastation", "decaying machinery" and "objectless blasting" (HOD: 42). These terms not only denounce the material destruction of the land the Europeans are conquering but they also denote an idea of decay in European progress. Some other descriptions which are mainly related to economic imperialism are explicitly concerned with this compassionate conscience of the writer. This idea is given a fuller expression by the liberal thinker, J. A. Hobson, whose *Imperialism: A Study* (1902) "attacks imperialism for its heartless economies, its export of capital, its alliance with ruthless forces, and its facade well-meaning 'civilizing' pretexts" (Said, 1994: 290). Conrad depicts the real work performed by imperialism's "ruthless forces" in the African "wilderness" to dissociate the imperial project from its supposed altruistic and philanthropic mission. It follows that Conrad attacks what he calls in "Geography and Some Explorers" the "vilest scramble for loot that ever" (LE: 24) destroyed the worlds and lives of many people.

In *Heart of Darkness*, his critique of the economic enterprise is matched with the ivory business. Criticism of this imperialism is reinforced by his association of the word "ivory" with death. "It was as though an animated image of death carved out of old ivory had been shaking its hand with menaces at motionless crowd of men made of dark and glittering bronze" (HOD: 99), says Marlow. By depicting death, Conrad also shows that the imperialists do not take their civilisation to the "dark" places. This supposed civilisation is detrimental to these places and their people. John G. Peters states that Conrad "often portrays the civilized as detrimental to the uncivilized" (2004: 56). The most prominent example where this is shown

is Marlow's description of the "grove of death" (HOD: 47) in the Outer Station:

> They were dying slowly – it was very clear. They were not enemies, they were not criminals, they were nothing earthly now, -- nothing but black shadows of disease and starvation, lying confusedly in the greenish gloom. Brought from all the recesses of the coast in all the legality of time contracts, lost in uncongenial surroundings, fed on unfamiliar food, they sickened, became inefficient, and were then allowed to crawl away and rest. These moribund shapes were free as air – and nearly as thin. (HOD: 44)

The word "now" in the above quotation essentially shows that the white imperialists have taken "starvation" and "disease" instead of civilisation and progress to Africa. Their coming to Africa under the pretexts of the civilising mission is detrimental to the lives of the Africans. Before their coming, they were leading a life of their own, and they came to trouble their harmonious lives and bring them death, disease and starvation.

Another consequence of the economic aspect of empire building and the ivory business is the enslavement of the black natives, which Conrad condemns. Slavery as an imperial practice is explicitly denounced in "An Outpost of Progress", where Kayerts stammers out that it "is an awful thing" (OP: 262). In *Heart of Darkness* and "An Outpost of Progress", Conrad displays an abolitionist perspective, already mentioned in the non-fiction section of this chapter. Conrad is against slavery and any other form of exploitation, especially when they are pushed to the extreme for the sake of personal profit. He associates the ivory business and the Company with the atrocious exploitation of the natives. In *Heart of Darkness*, the enslavement of the natives is disclosed in the process through which the natives are transformed into slaves, "each [having] an iron collar on his neck, and all were connected together with a chain" (HOD: 43). From the expressions "whacked the old nigger mercilessly" (HOD: 34), a "nigger was being beaten nearby" (HOD: 53) "starvation [and] dying slowly" (HOD: 44), one reads an abolitionist Conrad who reveals the abominable treatment of the black slaves: they are punished; they are starved; and sometimes they are left to die because, starved and enfeebled, they no longer serve the interests of the Company.

In "An Outpost of Progress", these issues are immediately related to slavery and the

slave trade. Carlier's and Kayerts's solitude makes them aware that they are just agents working for an enslaving company. Carlier says: "[y]ou are a slave-dealer. I am a slave-dealer. There is nothing but slave-dealers in this cursed country" (OP: 265). This issue of slavery or "forced labour", Rich argues, came at the turn of the nineteenth century, and the "liberal critics of imperialism" immediately started a critique of such colonial policies (1990: 35). The sympathy Conrad expresses towards the suffering of the natives as he identifies with them makes him pose as an Abolitionist. While the Company considers them as "criminals" or "cannibals" to justify the atrocity of their treatment, Conrad identifies with their suffering using the word "fellow[s]" (HOD: 40, 67). "Perhaps", says Marlow, "you will think it passing strange this regret for a savage" (HOD: 87).

A second aspect of Conrad's anti-imperialist position concerns his subversion of the imperialist ideology, especially as it was appropriated by King Leopold in the establishment of his rule in the Congo. Much attention is primarily paid to civilisation and progress which are basic in imperialist ideology. Conrad reveals the true nature of these self-attributed features of the white race. John W. Griffith argues that *Heart of Darkness* "responds to and subverts many of the common assumptions of his time regarding the ascendancy of European civilization [and] ridicules the way in which the word progress […] has become subsumed in imperialist rhetoric" (1995: 83-84). Providing a pretext for colonisation and geographical expansion for a long time, Conrad shows that they have no standing as European pretexts to expansion and dismantles them.

This distortion is also expressed through the European imperial agents. For instance, Kurtz is initially portrayed as the civilised European par excellence. He is viewed the "universal genius" (HOD: 58). He must be important to make Marlow questioning: "[w]ho is this Mr Kurtz?" He is "the prodigy", answers the brick-maker (HOD: 55). He is associated with many qualities and virtues, among which are civilisation, "eloquence" and the ethics of

work. Conrad distorts these attributes by making Kurtz slide back into savagery. One important point that challenges Europe's pretension to civilisation is the depiction of Kurtz as an agent of civilisation descending the ladder of evolution once in the wilderness. Brian W. Shaffer argues that Conrad's fiction "peels away civilization's 'varnish and gold plating' to reveal the 'cracks' in its foundation, the contradictions in its logic and language" (1993: 5). This challenges Europe's hierarchical ideology that the white race is superior to other races. Kurtz's descent into barbarism and savagery is embodied in the "savage sight" of the "heads drying on the stakes under [his] windows" (HOD: 97). Marlow is shocked and disillusioned by such a shameful sight being the product of the civilised and idealistic Kurtz. Kurtz, the "universal genius" who went to Africa with "moral ideals", has fallen in the wilderness. His moral degeneration is illustrated by his characteristic post-scriptum –"Exterminate all the brutes" (HOD: 87). This symbolises the decline of Europe's ideals of taking civilisation and all the virtues to the so-called primitive races. The imperial enterprise is rather detrimental to them. Progress, science and pity are smokescreens invented by the West to justify conquest.

Kurtz, who went to Africa as an agent of progress, represents the degeneration of the Western values of progress and civilisation. Once in the "heart of darkness", away from his own culture, he is no longer serving the cause of progress. His only desire is the gratification of his "various lusts" (HOD: 97). Conrad's interest in the descent of Western civilisation is further illustrated by his depictions of Carlier and Kayerts in "An Outpost of Progress". Initially portrayed as agents of the civilising work in Africa, Conrad mocks at them by showing the absurdity of their quarrel about sugar and Kayerts's murder of Carlier. This is one way among many which vehicles the sliding back of the civilised man into barbarism. The descent of Kayerts and Carlier is paralleled with Makola's ascent to civilisation. He is portrayed as "a civilised nigger" (OP: 260). This juxtaposition can be considered as a counterargument against the imperialist ideology of the inferiority of Europe's Other. In short,

Conrad reverses aspects of this ideology: the white imperialists turn to resemble the so-called "savages", whom they are supposed to be different from and the Africans' capacity to espouse civilisation in its Western sense is shown. J. W. Griffith asserts that Conrad subverts "the meaning of words such as 'civilization' and 'progress'" (1995: 93).

In parallel to the sliding back of the imperialists' ideals, Conrad works out the theory that the Orient can rely upon itself to a certain extent. This is the main subject of "Karain: a Memory", which is a celebration of an Oriental ruler named Karain. In this short story, Conrad depicts Karain as a native ruler who could protect his people against external assaults during "those unprotected days" when the survival of the fittest was the ultimate rule (KM: 37). As Karain "summed up his race, his country, the elemental force of ardent life, of tropical nature" (KM: 41) for his valour and courage, devotion and sacrifice, intelligence and organisation, his people can be self-reliant. Karain is likened to the enlightened work of Westerners like Lord Jim. Like Jim, Karain is considered as the protector of his people. He is venerated by them in the same way as Jim is venerated by the Patusans for his philanthropic mission of protecting them against internal and external assaults. *Lord Jim* shows the dependence of the Orientals on the Westerners, but "Karain: a Memory" departs from this dependence. With Karain, they can protect themselves. His people find in him "their war-chief" (KM: 38), so he "was treated with a solemn respect accorded in the irreverent West only to the monarchs of the stage, and accepted the profound homage with a sustained dignity" (KM: 40). He gives his people "wisdom, advice, reward, punishment, life or death, with the same serenity of attitude and voice. He understood irrigation and the art of war—the qualities of weapons and the craft of boat building [and he could] negotiate more tortuously than any man of his race" (KM: 42). He is endowed with virtues that have long been denigrated to the colonised people. Therefore, he is venerated by his fellows and admired by Marlow and some other well-intentioned Westerners who "came to like him, to trust him,

almost to admire him" (KM: 52). But it should be kept in mind that some of Karain's troubles begin with the arrival of the first European imperialists just like Jim's. This is to say that Conrad criticises the interference of the wrong-intentioned Europeans in the life of the Orientals in bringing them disorder rather than order. The word *memory* in the title "Karain: A Memory" denotes some kind of regret on the part of Conrad. He celebrates the glorious time of the rule of Karain and laments its loss with the arrival of the Dutch.

Through Karain, Conrad empowers the Orientals and through Kurtz he makes the Europeans slide back. Conrad's aim is to show the deceptiveness of the civilising mission in the non-Western world. He attacks it by means of demeaning it and revealing the truths that lie behind it. In this context, Parry states that "the reiteration of received phrases such as the heavenly mission to civilize, the noble, exalted cause […] serve to mock imperialism's grandiloquence" (2004: 132). The civilising mission in Conrad's texts is not effective. Since the Europeans are characterised with degeneration, criminality and savagery, they could not carry out the civilising work to which they are supposed to be devoted. Kurtz, Carlier and Kayerts can be considered as Conrad's devices to display the disintegration of civilised values and to show that outside the civilised context every human being is prone to savagery and barbarism as they answer only their desires and instincts. Once in the wilderness, they are not conformist with the so-called European ideals neither do they adhere to any civilised values. This detachment from these European values can be allotted to the absence of control by the European powers and the danger the wilderness presents to the civilised European. For example, one significant passage in "An Outpost of Progress" clearly sums up the focus on individual experiences and thoughts instead of the civilised crowd:

> The courage, the composure, the confidence; the emotions and principles; every great and every insignificant thought belongs not to the individual but to the crowd: to the crowd that believes blindly in the irresistible force of its institutions and its morals, in the power of its police and its opinion. But the contact with pure unmitigated savagery, with primitive nature and primitive man, brings sudden and profound trouble to the heart. To the sentiment of being alone of one's kind, to the clear perception of loneliness of one's thoughts, of one's sensations – to the negation of the

> habitual, which is safe, there is added the affirmation of the unusual, which is dangerous; a suggestion of things vague, uncontrollable, and repulsive, whose discomposing intrusion excites the imagination and tries the nerves of the civilized nerves of the foolish and wise alike. (OP: 250-251)

Conrad tries the civilised European in the heart of "difference". Away from the safety, morality, control and ideals of Europe, its imperial agents are troubled by their loneliness and the environment they do not understand. The sentiment of being lonely brings them to behave instinctively rather than socially. The change of context and human nature are two factors behind this. Outside the European context, human nature predominates over ideals and civilised values. Kurtz's ideals are eclipsed by his greedy and instinctive nature. Though he is portrayed as Europe's child, going to the Congo as an "emissary of pity, and science and progress" (HOD: 55), his contact with the "wilderness" brings troubles to his personality. He is 'rebarbarised' in the sense that he does not behave on the basis of European values and ideals but rather on the basis of instinct and greed. His only motives are his Intended, his ivory and his station, i.e. instinct and material greed.

In "An Outpost of Progress", through Carlier's and Kayerts's dispute over sugar Conrad shows the nonsense of the civilised Europeans when they are away from their own civilisation. Being lonely and isolated from any contact with their European fellows for a long period, their nerves are uncontrollable to the extent that they absurdly quarrel, hence one killing the other. Away from the civilisation context and,

> out of the great silence of the surrounding wilderness, its very hopelessness and savagery seemed to approach them nearer, to draw them gently, to look upon them, to envelop them with a solicitude irresistible, familiar and disgusting. (OP: 263)

This quarrel also shows that their behaviour is primarily based on instinct rather than ideals. Away from their civilisation, the Europeans are susceptible to any kind of temptation. Their supposed ideals and rationality are fictional and out of context

Not only does Conrad criticise European imperialism for what negative it brings to the non-Western people but also for its negative impact on the imperial agents. A common theme

in his fiction is the alienation of the imperial agents. They are alienated by the environment in which they evolve and the imperial companies they serve. In the Orient, they are cut off from their own mother lands and do not understand the environment which surrounds them. In *Lord Jim*, two topics through which this alienation is developed are the solitude of the European in the Orient and their captivity. Through them, he criticises the enthusiastic celebration of Empire common to writers like Kipling who considers India as "the jewel in the crown". Notwithstanding the merit of Jim's actions and his success in Patusan, they are overshadowed by his loneliness and alienation. In Patusan, his Englishness fades away since it is void of English people to remember him of his country. The only white men he meets prove to be treacherous in thinking only of enriching themselves through extortion. The ideals on which the European imperial project is premised are but the shadows of a dull machination so that Jim is deceived by the immorality of his fellows in the Orient. Despite his achievement,

> the blind trust of men, the belief in himself snatched from the fire, the solitude of his achievement. All this, as I've warned you, gets dwarfed in the telling. I can't with mere words convey to you the impression of his total and utter isolation. (LJ: 206)

Isolation is not the only consequence of empire building. Jim constantly feels himself captive of the environment and his own principles. His solitude is the result of the absence of his fellows. Despite his solitude and the sense of captivity he feels in Patusan, as an ideal ruler devoted to his subjects, he can by no means leave them. There are many instances of the novel in which he attempts to leave Patusan because of its dangers, but he always returns. For instance, he was held captive by a group of pirates boarding his ship as he was crossing the river. Jim is an eternal captive of Patusan, for no Englishman is there to make him feel secure and the land seems to ally with the people in order to imprison him for life:

> The land, the people, the forests were her accomplices, guarding with vigilant accord, with an air of seclusion, of mystery, of invincible possession. There was no appeal, as it were; he was imprisoned within the very freedom of his power, and she, though ready to make a footstool of her head for his feet, guarded her conquest inflexibly – as though he were hard to keep. […] even Tamb' Itam allowed himself to put on the airs

> of uncompromising guardianship, like a surly devoted jailer ready to lay down his life for his captive. (LJ: 214)

In the light of the study of Conrad as a reluctant imperialist, it is clear that he favours the British Empire and is very critical towards the other European empires. In *Heart of Darkness*, he obviously distinguishes between European imperialism and English one. When Marlow enters in the office in the Company headquarters in Brussels for interview, he sees,

> Deal table in the middle, plain chairs all around the walls, on ne end a large shining map, marked with all the colours of a rainbow. There was a vast amount of red – good to see at any time, because one knows that some real work is done in there, a deuce a of lot blue, a little green, smears of orange, and on the East Coast, a purple patch, to show where the jolly pioneers of progress drink the jolly larger beer. However, I wasn't going to any of these, I was going to the yellow. (HOD: 36)

The colours stand for the banners of the European powers as they repartitioned Africa, and he sums them up as follows: *red* for Britain, *blue* for France, *green* for Italy, *orange* for Holland and *yellow* for Belgium. He is favourable to the British Empire since for him "some real work is done" in Africa and elsewhere while the other powers are not doing real work in the non-Western world. Though Conrad does not name King Leopold's empire as such, his African narratives provide enough clues of his critique of this empire. Also, he names the French Empire, whose wars in Africa he associates "with a touch of insanity" calling the natives "enemies" for no evident reason but their economic interests. (HOD: 40-41)

Having the Victorian readership in mind, Conrad redeems British imperialism by associating to it the idea of the civilising mission and the idea of efficiency. Robert Hampson argues that he "had a fairly clear conceptualisation of the nature of his immediate readership: conservative and imperialist in politics" (1996: 66). He does not distance himself from the imperialist atmosphere of his age and the belief that the British race is responsible for taking the blessings of civilisation and progress to other races. However, there is no relationship between his "redeeming idea" with the other imperial powers. This is why in *Heart of Darkness*, for instance, he harshly criticises Belgian imperialism in the Congo, which stands for European powers as a whole. Insofar as he writes as a victim of imperialism, he displays

his anti-imperialist position through, for instance, a harsh criticism of Belgian imperialism. This critical attitude towards Belgian imperialism in the Congo makes him part and parcel of the brand of Liberalism which is against the establishment of empires only for the sake of domination. Though Conrad sustains a positive view of the British Empire, he adheres to Gladstone's belief that empires when they only participate in the dissipation of ill and harm (1950: 284) in the world have no reason to stand and are not liable to popular support. It is important to remark that the Liberals expressed their anti-imperialism only when the establishment of empire brought harm rather than progress to the colonial world. Therefore, Conrad associates the British Empire with integrity and the other European empires with wickedness.

To sum up, we can say that the four writers' fiction and non-fiction are "wordly" in the sense that they are deeply steeped in the ideological debate among conservatives and liberals. They draw on conservative and liberal ideologies in significantly different manners while keeping a consensus on the necessity to maintain the empire. In other words, the means are different but the end remains the same in their attempt to transpose domestic policy from the centre to the periphery. As I have tried to illustrate, it is in the form that the four writers' ideological stains are the most evident. For example, we see at full play medieval law of primogeniture in the form of the "Grand Tour" that Kim takes across India. This reminds us of that first Medieval English Empire that Henry II surveyed by creating what English history refers to as Grand Tour. By serving the Empire with the help of the lama, Kim takes officially possession of what is stated in the imperial "will" or statement. The liberal attitude of Forster expresses itself in the pedagogic turn of his narratives. We move from the Grand Tour to the Class-room, from the survey to a close study room or scientific laboratory to make us see human experiment with friendships across racial lines.

Maugham's brand of liberalism has as its source an urge to escape the various social

or economic constraints at home. In the manner of an Edgar Quinet, Maugham defends liberalism in the Orient, that is in the imperial periphery for its therapeutic function with regard to all the discontents of civilisation at home, the handicapped like himself, the badly married, the displaced aristocrats and so on. Conrad's liberalism can be traced to the liberal education in which he was brought up as a child. It finds its expression in a qualified anti-imperial attitude based on a doubtful ethics that distinguishes the good imperialism of the British and the bad species of imperialism of the other Europeans countries. This critical attitude towards empire is also rendered in a discursive practice that turned up-side-down in its reference to the cross-materialism and decadence at home in Britain. In the last analysis, Conrad can be looked as a Thomas Arnold's *Discipline* who does not avow his affiliation. In the next chapter, we shall show how Arnoldian concept of culture and aesthetics penetrates the four writers' fiction and non-fiction.

Notes and References

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CHAPTER SEVEN

The Writer as Aesthete and as Imperialist: The Individual Talent and Empire

The present chapter is based on T. S. Eliot's analysis of the dialectic between "Tradition and Individual Talent". Eliot argues that in the work of any writer, there are "aspects [...] in which the least he resembles any one else" (1942: 24). However, in the same work "the most individual parts [...] may be those in which the dead poets, his ancestors, assert their immortality most rigorously" (Ibid.). He calls the former *individual talent* and the latter *tradition*. For these concepts, Said uses *particularity* and *sovereignty* as taken within the framework of the European imperial traditions. (1994: 79) He claims that each imperialist narrative involves "a vision of a moment" and "has its particular genius, as does each geographical region of the world, with its own overlapping experiences and independent histories of conflict" (Ibid). At the ideological level, the individual text is likely to merge with one or the other of the imperialist policies and the discourse which accompanies them. However, the individual text procures its distinction only through the aesthetic theory and the individual talents it involves. The history behind the particular *moment* captured by the writer dictates the kind of imperialist message to convey.

Consequently, as Kipling, Forster, Maugham and Conrad are inscribed within the British imperial tradition, their narratives differ from each other and the remaining texts of the tradition through their respective aesthetic theories and talents. There is a close relationship between the concepts of tradition and the individual talent in the sense that they serve each other. The issue of empire gives full vent to these aesthetic theories and the latter allow the writers carve their own places as authors, part and parcel of the tradition. Arguably, as almost every part of this thesis is linked to representation, the metaphorical/ allegorical aspects of the writers' works have more connections with their ideas of empire which are more traditional. Yet, there are other experimental aesthetic devices that make every writer different from the others.

Non-Fiction

A. Empire and the Writers' Aesthetic Theories

To sort out the workings of the writers' aesthetic talents upon their imperial ideas in their non-fiction requires saying that their aesthetic theories are also developed in these works. In their non-fiction writings, they shape their aesthetic theories in the same way as they express their imperialist stances. The aesthetic theories are discernible from their contributions to literary theory and criticism. For instance, they sketch out their theories in the writer's notes, the prefaces to their fictions, and their essays in criticism. The same theories are put into practice in their epistolary and travel writings in the same way as it is done in their fictions.

Before Kipling came to poetry, he excelled in novel writing and passed through journalism. His reporting to *Civil and Military Gazette* and *Pioneer* took him throughout India to write essays for the magazines. As an itinerant journalist, he wrote a collection of articles for the two magazines, published later on as *From Sea to Sea; Letters of Travel* (1899) and other such writings. In this collection, he argues that the globe-trotter, a name he gives to an itinerant journalist, is the one who sets himself the purpose of visiting every inch of the Empire and then write about it. It is out of his different experiences as a journalist that he took his material for his later fiction. Though the style of the journalist is that which is plain, there is no doubt that he complicates it when necessary not for the sake of it but rather for the sake of formal beauty.

About literature, he asserts that the writer should be endowed with "the magic of the necessary word" (BW: 7). Diction, for him, is essential. He reasserts that "the magic of literature lies in the words, and not in any man. Witness, a thousand excellent, strenuous words can leave us cold or put us to sleep, whereas a bare half-hundred […] can still whole nations into and out of captivity, can open to us the doors of the three worlds" (BW: 6). In

terms of diction, Kipling believes that words can make people act and react towards things. The power of discourse lies in the word and the impact it has on the reader. Therefore, as a committed imperialist writer, there is no denying that his diction is minutely chosen in order to reach the propagandist effect of an imperialist discourse, obtain support of the British Raj and raise the nationalist feeling in his English reader.

As fiction is one of the most important constituents of literature, Kipling has also his own theory about it. For him, "[f]iction is Truth's elder sister" (BW: 300) in the sense that it is the mirror of people's experiences, and it touches on every field like history, biography, philosophy, dogma and politics, all of which take their roots from fiction. (BW: 300) The importance he grants to the symbiosis between fiction and politics in terms of truth not only shows that he is more like the realist writers of Victorian Britain but also reinforces his engagement with the British imperial establishment as a historical reality. In short, Kipling does not establish a clear-cut separation between literature and politics as liberals would try to do later without success. For him, "literature" is just journalism in another form or medium. It is enlisted for the information, defence of Empire. It provides an ideological platform from which a wider audience can be reached. "All art is propaganda, but not all propaganda is art", an English writer tells us, but it seems that such distinctions between art and propaganda does not seem to hold true in the case of a Kipling, for whom all types of writing are committed to the defence of imperialism.

Forster is also a journalist, but he distinguishes himself from journalists like Kipling by applying liberal separation between literature and politics. His theory is mainly concerned with the importance he attaches to order. In "Art for Art's Sake" (1949), he claims that a work of art whatever its nature has an internal order, order that should be transposed to the external world. This order "is an internal stability, a vital harmony, and in the social and political category it has never existed except for the convenience of historians" (TCD: 99). He

considers that except in art, order has never existed as "the past is really a series of *dis*orders" (TCD: 99). The world has known succeeding upheavals and a series of ups and downs, so "order in daily life and in history, order in the social world and political category, is unattainable under our present psychology" (TCD: 100). It is only attainable in the "aesthetic category" (TCD: 101). Forster's theory is that order is attainable at the level of art. For him, the artist has power to legislate:

> He legislates through creating. And he creates through his sensitiveness and his power to impose form. Without form the sensitiveness vanishes. And form is important to-day, when the human race is trying ride the whirlwind, as it ever was in those less agitating days of the past, when the earth seemed solid and the stars fixed, and the discoveries of science were made slowly, slowly. Form is not tradition. It alters from generation to generation. Artists always seek a new technique, and will continue to do so as long as their work excites them. But form of some kind is imperative. It is the surface crust of the internal harmony, it is the outward evidence of order. (TCD: 103)

Many concepts have their importance in Forster's conception of order. The social and political world has only known disorder as a result of human nature and its tendency to be greedy, ambitious and ego-centric so that there is the idea of "the survival of the fittest". This worldly disorder can be amended if modelled on the order of the aesthetic world.

As empire, power and politics very often go hand in hand, Forster's conception of the political world can be matched with his conception of the empire and the relation between the colonised and the coloniser. His attitude towards empire is liberal in the sense that he is moderate about imperial relations and favours dialogue between the coloniser and the colonised in order to instil harmony and ensure imperial continuity. This kind of attitude is so important in the period of imperial unrest the British Raj was experiencing in the early twentieth century. The establishment of dialogue is only possible if the Raj was ready to change imperial policies. Forster's view is that as order is possible in art by distancing form from tradition (TCD: 103), it can also be possible in the imperial world through changing the traditional jingoist imperial policies with more liberal ones. The concepts of *order* and *art for art's sake* are more modernist than traditional. He is to be classified among the modernist

writers though he adheres to some aspects of the literary tradition of his forebears. In the last analysis, we can say that Forster's artistic claims in his non-fiction makes us think that he takes the direction of the Romantics in the affirmation for the artist's intervention in the public life as a legislator and shaper of a chaotic reality into order. This artistic or aesthetic stand corresponds to the turbulent times in which he wrote his articles and fiction. It can rightly be said that he postures as a latter-day Shelly posted to the Empire to speak on behalf of setting a new order of life in order to salvage it.

Conrad departs from Forster's romantic or romanticist idea of the artist as legislator by adopting the sceptic attitude of the pioneering modernist. His aesthetic theory takes different facets. First, for him the novelist "lives in his work. He stands there, the only reality in an invented world, among imaginary things, happenings and people. Writing about them, he is only writing about himself" (PR: xv). The novelist writes about personal experiences, which he transforms into the experiences of imaginary people in an imagined world. What happens to his imperialist undertakers is the mirror of his own experiences as imperial agent in the service of the Merchant Marine of her Majesty's Queen Victoria. Some of them happened to him, others to the people he met in the outposts of empire. This is why, for instance, Marlow recurs throughout many of his tales starting with "Karain: A Memory" through *Lord Jim* and *Heart of Darkness*. Conrad's experiences as a servant of the British Crown in the Merchant Marine are mirrored in him; his impressions about the imperial enterprise and its servants are those of Conrad. His fictional work shows a kind of reluctance towards empire on the part of Marlow, which encompasses Conrad's. It is, therefore, some truth on the part of the artist. Also, for Conrad, there is some asymmetry between the work of the artist and that of the politician/ imperialist, as both pursue ambitions. However, Conrad is first and foremost an artist rather than a politician, for the politician pursues his ambitions through "climb[ing] upward on the miseries and credulities of mankind" (PR: xx), whereas the artist's ambitions

"can hurt no one" as they belong to his "interior world where his thought and his emotions go seeking for the experience of imagined adventurers" and where "there are no policemen, no law, no pressure of circumstance or dread of opinion to keep him within bound" (PR: xx). He redeems the artist from the aspect of his art which may resemble that of the politician in the same way as he redeems British imperialism and very harshly criticises that of the other European powers. It is also a way of redeeming the aspects of his work which are considered as purely imperialist.

About his own art, he states that it "may be defined as a singleminded attempt to render the highest kind of justice to the visible universe, by bringing to light the truth, manifold and one, underlying its every aspect" (PNN: vii). The writer as artist should to a certain extent be faithful to the real world. However, he does this with an appeal "to that part of our being which is not dependent on wisdom; to that in us which is a gift and not an acquisition—and, therefore, more permanently enduring" (PNN: viii); the artist appeals to the idiosyncrasies of the reader rather than what is governed by tradition. The single-mindedness of the act of writing procures the artist the distinction he or she merits. Conrad states: "[m]y task which I am trying to achieve is, by the power of the written word, to make you hear, to make you feel -- it is, before all, to make you see" (PNN: x). He adopts modernist techniques to portray real life situations and the individual experiences. Therefore, in his colonial fiction, he attempts to portray the real life of the colonised and the coloniser alike as well as what is really done out there in the name of civilisation, appropriating techniques that allow the reader's senses experience them as if he or she were there. It is the spatialisation of the fine or aesthetic arts that we witness in Conrad's artistic claims.

Maugham's aesthetic theory is developed in his *The Summing Up* and *Points of View,* where he claims that a work of fiction should conform to three basic principles: lucidity, simplicity and euphony. (SU: 26) Since his fiction is mainly concerned with the life of the

ordinary man and woman, he does not aspire to be "a stylist" (SU: 28) exclusively. Therefore, even his colonial fiction tends to be simple and lucid. However, these should not be mistaken to involve the absence of figurative language, for his fiction involves an appropriation of imagery and figurative language to represent the colonial experience and flesh out the imperialist discourse. The gist of these is easily grasped, for they are neither far-fetched nor hyperbolic. They are part of the daily language used by the ordinary people. Though Maugham is relatively traditional in terms of style in conformity with the preceding generation of short story writers, he uses techniques endemic to art in his writing to carve himself his place as a modernist. These are individual experimentations through which he sets himself apart. He writes in "The Short Story" that every writer of short stories follows a way that "accords with his own idiosyncrasies" (PV: 142). But these idiosyncrasies ought to conform to the main objective of the "realist" portraying the "real life" of people (PV: 143). Despite the realism of his stories, he aspires to belong to the "modern school of the story", and as such he wants "a story to have form" with conclusions that rise questioning. (WN: 268) As a modernist writer, the ideal for him is to write stories that do not finish following a linear plot like the realist tradition. In short, Maugham's aesthetic theory reminds us of what Roland Barthes calls "Writing Degree Zero". The reader is supposed to see through his fiction that is invaded by light. However, he uses the light of realism in the manner of an impressionist painter, with a play of light and its various shades instead of a hard sociological reality. The simplicity that he claims for his art is not all that different from that of Wordsworth or Coleridge.

B. Empire and the Aesthetic Elements

No matter the differences in the aesthetic theories of the four writers, they remain deeply entrenched in the general cultural theory expounded by Mathew Arnold in *Culture and Anarchy*. The stylistic or aesthetic variation from one writer to another is a matter of putting

the "old wine" of empire in new bottles because these variations emanate in the final analysis in the cultural matrix. This is evident in the speech figures that they deploy to describe the Orient. Non-fiction, for Spurr (1993: 2-3) appropriates certain rhetorical devices like "symbol and metaphor" to propound a colonial discourse that springs from the cultural matrix of the centre. For instance, in the first letter of the November-December 1887 series of Kipling's *From Sea to Sea; Letters of Travel* (1899), Kipling uses the Taj as a symbol of India, the 'jewel upon the British crown'. Its architectural beauty and splendour stands for the important place India occupies in the British Empire. It "was the Ivory Gate through which all good dreams come", "the aspiration fixed" and the "sign made stone" (WPVRK SSLT: 6). It symbolizes the different aspirations that the English people might have in their Indian experiences: political power, economic freedom, tourism, careers, and so forth. However, as Orientalist writers are sceptical about anything Oriental, there is in Kipling some scepticism as to the perfection of the place he describes. Even if the Taj has beauty and splendour, the fact remains that it can as well be deceiving in a vision of a moment:

> It may be, too, that each must view the Taj for himself with his own eyes, working out his own interpretation of the sight. It is certain that no man can in cold blood and colder ink set down his impressions if he has been in the least moved. To the one who watched and wondered that November morning the thing seemed full of sorrow […] And in the face of this sorrow the Taj flushed in the sunlight and was beautiful, after of the beauty of a woman who has done no wrong. (WPVRK SSLT: 6-7)

Forster is quite similar to Kipling in his choice of the lighthouse of Alexandria as a metaphorical device; his most pertinent choice of aesthetic devices is perhaps most represented in his *Pharos and Pharillon* (1923). The lighthouse of Alexandria, which is regarded today as one of the world's marvels, is the most important metaphor that is used for imperialism's sake. Forster persists on the point that the lighthouse was established by the Greeks in Alexandria so as to enlighten the environment surrounding the city. This idea of light also stands for the "torch", which is brought by the Greeks to enlighten the so-called dark people of their extended empire. Before the coming of Alexander the Great to Egypt, the

latter had already lost its glorious Pharaoh's past, but with the annexation of Egypt to the Greek Empire, it started to know light again. This is a way of saying that Egypt had always known glory thanks to the intervention of the West. The proposition is reinforced by the emphasis put on the destructive nature of the Ottoman Empire upon what was already built by the Greeks and the Romans. Forster remarks that midway between the Greco-Roman occupation of Egypt and the modern European ones, Egypt knew a period of decline and darkness because of the Ottoman Empire, which is far more Oriental than Western in attitude and policy. Throughout history, the Western powers brought light to Egypt, and this is represented by the Alexandrian lighthouse.

Forster makes of the lighthouse a combination of artistic and scientific work to expose the Western mind and its aesthetic and scientific enlightenments. He writes that the Greeks succeeded to make "a wonder to the world […] and the arts combined with science to praise their triumph" (PP: 17). It also opposes the Western technical expertise to Oriental archaic methods. He stipulates that there "may have been hydraulic **machinery** in the central well for raising the **fuel** to the top; **otherwise** we must imagine a procession of **donkeys** who cease not night and day to circumambulate the spirals with loads of wood upon their backs" (PP: 18; emphasis added). There is no dispute that the words "machinery" and "fuel" on the one hand and "donkeys" and "wood" on the other are not birds of the same feather as the first two words stand for Western technical facilities whereas the second two words represent Oriental primitive ways. The first combination denotes Western technological expertise whereas the second stands for the Oriental archaic means of production; the word "otherwise" indicates the extent to which the Western know-how is progressive and the Oriental regressive.

Another image of importance that both Kipling and Forster use in their non-fiction about India is the "iron horse". The *iron horse* is an expression that is invented by the writers to refer to the train and its advantages, and it is inspired from the Indians' popular

expressions. It has imperial undertones. As the Indians did not know the train before the coming of the English, they had no term for it so that with its introduction to their life by the English they associated the word 'horse' with its connotation of speed with 'iron', the material with which the train is made and on which it moves. The expression, when used in an imperialist discourse, shows the extent to which the Indians owe the English this wonder means of transportation. About Udaipur, Kipling claims that its governor has no determination to bring the "iron horse" (WPVRK SSLT: 60) to his jurisdiction to keep it isolate from the British Raj and perpetuate his autocratic rule whereas in states like Jeypore, the rulers are enough willing to let the railways cross over to bring English progress.

Forster himself devotes a whole essay on the metaphor of the "iron horse" in India. In "Iron Horses in India" (1913), he re-tools the iron horse as a metaphor for India. He compares the state of the trains to that of India: within the train as in India, there is bribery; generally, the "appliances" of the trains do not function ordinarily or not at all like India's so-called backward state; not so much importance is given to punctuality because of the general tendency to ignore of the importance of time in India; the majority of the passengers behave quite bizarrely; and especially India's caste feeling is perpetuated within the trains. Forster writes: "as the train goes forward, traversing an immense monotony and bearing every variety of class, race and creed within its sun-backed walls, it may serve as a symbol of India herself" (PTOUW: 221).

About transportation in the colonial world, Conrad uses metaphor to relate the state of the routes to that of the inhabitants. In his C*ongo Diary*, he writes: "route very accidented. Succession of round steep hills. At times walking along the crest of hills" (LE: 246). This implies that the state of the route is natural and has not been changed by the advanced work of the people. Conrad projects the state of the route on the state of the people of the Congo as primitives and savages, in the natural state. As for Maugham, for instance, one image of

importance is in the beginning of "The Saint", when he says, after "a dull, hot drive along a dusty, bumpy road, bumpy because the heavy wheels of the ox-driven wagons had left deep ruts in it" (PV: 57). The expression '*ox-driven wagons'* refers to the backwardness of the Indians' means of transportation. Except at English-ruled states where the motor car and the train were introduced, in native states such means are very scare so that people are forced to move from place to place using archaic ways such as wagons driven by animals. This had been the way in pre-Industrial Revolution Europe. There is intertextuality between "The Saint" and the notes Maugham took when he visited India in 1937. He uses the expression *ox wagon* (WN: 264) to describe the state of the native transportation means on the way from Bida to Hyderabad. Maugham through this image goes far in saying that these transportation means are the cause of the deplorable state of the roads throughout native states like Madras. The impracticability of the ways is the result of the frequent passage of the wagons with the animals.

Fiction

In one of his writings, Max Muller writes that human beings live through metaphors of time but through which they apprehend or perceive their worlds. This seems to be partially relevant to the case of our four writers in their attempt to comprehend the "reality" of Empire. In what follows, I shall try to throw insight into the repertoire from which each of the four writers draw their metaphors and the individual variations they play on them in the affirmation of their own style. Apart from the continuity and discontinuity of figurative language, I shall also analyse the deployment of allegory and symbol and experimentation or mode of self-affirmation.

A. Empire and Traditional Aesthetic Devices: Metaphor, Symbol and Allegory

According to Ashcroft et. al., allegory is an important stylistic device in colonial discourse (2007: 7), and it is traditional as it has an extended history in Western literature. In

Kipling's fiction, allegory is artistically deployed. *Kim* is based on a central allegory premised on other semi-allegories. The central allegory concerns the destiny of Kim to be the ruler of the Indians as an allegory of the British Raj or the fate of the British to perpetually rule over India. Kipling's consolidation of the British Raj is shown through his choice of a young sahib as the "favourite of the stars" to rule over the Indians. The British Raj knows a perpetual renewal. To support this principal allegory, Kipling chooses other semi-allegories, two of which involve Kim's powerful hold of the Zam-Zammah in the opening page of the novel and the relationship between the old lama and the young Kim.

In the opening pages of the first chapter of the novel, Kim is portrayed as a white prince ruling over native boys. This is shown through the exclusive right bestowed on him to destitute "Lala Dinanah's boy off the trunnions" (K: 7) of the Zam-Zammah. Due to his white origin, he is entitled to be the holder of the Zam-Zammah. This semi-allegory involves power and authority on the part of Kim as he "sat, in defiance of municipal orders" (K: 7). As he is white, he does not care about any type of authority, except the English authority, which he would represent and work for later on when engaged in the Great Game as a secret agent. The story of the white boy who has power over native boys is but the story of the British race ruling over the Indians.

As a matter of fact, the British authority in India is related to the Zam-Zammah scene, which opens up the novel. Kipling draws on historical evidence about the political significance of the Zam-Zammah, which is "always the first of the conqueror's loot" (K: 7). He explicitly allocates the power of the Zam-Zammah to the British because they "held the Punjab", and "[w]ho hold Zam-Zammah […] hold the Punjab" (K: 7). The Punjab stands for India as a whole, and the British exercise power over it by virtue of its possession of the Zam-Zammah. In this regard, Booker argues that the opening page of the novel is a "mini-allegory of the workings of the British power in India" (1997: 30). The opening scene is, in fact, a

"mini-allegory" which represents British power in India in the sense that Kim, who "was English" (K: 7), is likened to a prince who has power over the native boys. Kim's white descent allocates him this power over the native boys, which is shown in his authoritative and coercive displacement of the native boy from the Zam-Zammah. This allegorical device is a kind of miniature of the British imperial domination over India. Kim can be considered as the imperial master; he represents British power as a whole. The native boys, however, represent his subordinates. In this scene, there is synecdoche, with the boys standing for the Indians and Kim for the British as their rulers.

The other central allegory of the novel engages the relationship between Kim and the lama. Though Kim is the lama's *chela*, their relationship is, so to speak, grounded on hierarchy, in which Kim is the benevolent ruler and the lama his subordinate. Kim, who stands for Britain, takes care of the old man throughout their journeys. "Do I not safeguard thy old feet about the ways?" (K: 70), Kim asks him. "All earth would have picked thy bones within ten miles of the city of Lahore if I had not guarded thee" (K: 84), he adds. In this context, Hourihan considers that Kim is "the practical leader of the pair" thanks to his "resourcefulness, rationality, and quick wits" (1997: 77). Kim's possession of these qualities and the lama's impotence reinforce the difference in status between the two. This stands for the British superiority and its political dominance over India, which is associated with "inferiority" and subservience to the English. Besides, Kim's care for the lama displays the philanthropic aspect of the British Raj. Through Kim, the philanthropist, Kipling reproduces the ideology of paternalism which was propounded among the Victorian imperialists to justify their geographical expansion to other parts of the world. This ideology has as a grounding the idea that the British are moral fathers for other so-called "inferior" races like the Indians.

It is widely agreed that the use of allegory dates back to the Middle English Literature, and it has been used and developed through time. In the Middle English Literature, there was

a connection between literature and the Church so that literature was conservative as it conformed to the rules of the established religious order. Later in the Renaissance, it was perfected by playwrights and poets to write about the Establishment. Two examples that call to mind are Edmund Spenser and William Shakespeare: in *The Faerie Queen,* Spenser allegorically celebrates the reign of Queen Elizabeth I, when the British Empire knew its first foundation stones; in *The Tempest*, Shakespeare is certainly allegorical of James I's reign and the issue of empire and state. Therefore, the writers', especially Kipling's, use of allegory to celebrate the British Empire is a continuation of a tradition already begun during the Renaissance in the British culture. Kipling's use of this technique comforts the idea of conservatism, for he uses it to develop some of the basic tenets of the conservative view of the British Empire. According to the *New Princeton Encyclopedia of Poetry and Poetics*, allegory involves associating the text with history which suggests that the story engages with the actual historical facts and events (Preminger and Brogan, 1993: 33). The writers, especially Kipling, use allegory to draw parallels with facts about the British Empire and imperial relations.

The semi-allegory of the British Raj is reinforced by Kipling's use of the appropriate symbols. The novel begins with a display of Kim's power through getting monopoly of the gun Zam-zammah, which is a symbol of power in India. This Zam-zammah is one of the most important elements of the Lahore Museum. The museum is a symbol of English knowledge. Taken together, they stand for the dialectic of power and knowledge in Anglo-India, picturing the Indians under the permanent control of the different branches of English knowledge. This can be explained by the fact that the access to the Zam-zammah is made possible only by the museum, i.e. power requires knowledge. Also, by making the museum a "Wonder House" (K: 7) for the Indians, the writer makes it clear that the English have precedence in terms of knowledge so that they are entitled to control them in the same way as Kim bestows on himself the right to sit "in defiance of municipal orders, astride the gun Zamzammah" (K: 7).

In this respect, Zohreh T. Sullivan (1993: 171) argues that the opposition between the Zam-zammah and the museum bears "implications of control and knowledge over the natives".

Another symbol of power is the "Red Bull on a green field", which stands for the British Raj in the sense that the colour red symbolises the Union Jack and its implementation in India. The "Bull" also stands for the British national character, John Bull. The latter is the national personification of the kingdom of Great Britain. It was created by the Scottish writer John Arbuthnot in his "John Bull" pamphlets of 1712. The novel associates this national character with the imperial mission in India to show that the British people are the most appropriate to rule over India. In the sense of this semi-allegory, the mixture between national character and empire can be explained by the natural predispositions of Kim, the white prince, to govern other so-called inferior people. As far as the ideology of the civilising mission is concerned, an important political issue which is symbolically embedded in the novel concerns Kim's quest for "the Red Bull on the green field" (K: 110). This denotes British political power in India and its reference to the civilising mission as its justification. The Red Bull represents the British imperialist agents performing acts of imperial rule over the Indian natives in the 'green fields' of India. From the "red bull" and "green field", one understands a whole ideological formation on the part of Kipling to stress the importance of British rule in India. In this sense, Sullivan claims that this symbol "resonates tacitly in the novel, suggesting its political theme: the British redcoats charging through the fertile 'green field' of India" (1993: 149). Besides, the "green field" implies the 'infancy' of the land and the "ignorance" of its people whose minds are like tabula rasa(s) to be loaded with the British civilised values and education. This supposes that the British are responsible for the mental, moral and cultural development of the natives. Christopher Lane states that "[b]y infantilizing the colonized Kipling found another way to validate Britain's intervention" (1995: 17). Thus, as an ideological formation, the "Red Bull on the green field" displays a political support for the

British imperial system and its implementation in the Indian subcontinent.

The resonance of this symbol in the novel suggests another important point which deserves to be accounted for. It concerns the Victorian commonplace imperialist view of "painting the map red" (Davidson, 1949: 320). The "Red Bull on a greed field" is matched with this idea since Kipling displays British territorial expansion over the Indian subcontinent. By this symbol, he juxtaposes the idea of "painting the map red" with the rhetoric of the civilising mission in order to provide support for British expansionism. He discloses the idea of extending Britain's territory to other parts of the world and change its current map by "painting it red", meaning holding monopoly over it by Britain. The use of colours to show expansion is a nineteenth century landmark of Western expansion to the non-Western world. The colour 'red' refers to the British banner, which is a mark of national implementation in other areas. Arguably, the most pertinent example of this is Conrad's reference to the "Scramble for Africa" in *Heart of Darkness*. Gazing at the map of Africa Marlow argues that among other colours denoting other imperial powers, there "was a vast amount of red – good to see at any time, because one knows that some real work is done in there" (HOD: 36). Kipling like his contemporaries associates imperial expansion with ideology, and he uses the appropriate symbols for that.

The colour red as symbol which looms so large in *Kim* is related to Kim's status as "the favourite of the stars", another symbol that stands for the conservative belief in the "divine right of kings". Kim by virtue of his white birth is divinely entitled to be ruler over India and its people. It is a way of saying that the British Raj has all the favours of God. The lama naively believes in Kim's divine status as "the Friend of the Stars" (K: 68). This divine status gives him a kind of supremacy over the lama throughout their journey. The divine right of the British Raj is also embodied in the close connection between the political powers and the religious ones in the novel. Father Bennett stands for the Church, Colonel Creighton for

the political powers of the Raj, and both are engaged in making Kim the ideal servant of the Raj.

To a lesser extent than for Kipling, allegory provides the same scaffolding for Forster's *A Passage to India*. As Forster is an advocate of new ideas in art and in politics, he does not perfect allegory as Kipling does it. Though the structure of the novel is not allegorical, he re-appropriates allegory to defend the interests of the British Raj. As it is maintained within this thesis, his consolidation of the imperial vision is linked to the emphasis he puts on the importance of tolerance and dialogue among the coloniser and the colonised. For him, the continuity of the British Raj depends on this. Re-appropriating a semi-allegory in a conversation between Hamidullah and Aziz, Forster makes it clear that the Indians are ready to continue living under the control of the English on condition that the latter promise friendship and respect for them. Speaking about an English citizen he knew in England, Hamidulla says: "[i]magine how I long to see him and pay his fare that this **house** may be **his**. But it is useless. The other **Anglo-Indians** will have got hold of him long ago" (PI: 14; emphasis added). The meaning of these words is allegorical of the Indians and the British Raj. Hamidulla's house stands for India as a whole and young Hugh Bannister for the Raj and its continuity, which depends only on a change in the consideration of the Indians by the English from arrogance to respect. Hamidualla is ready to share his house with Hugh as the Indians are disposed to share their country with their rulers on condition that there is mutual respect and the jingoist attitude of the Anglo-Indians shifts into a more liberal one.

Forster's *A Passage to India* is replete with metaphorical representations. In the opening chapter, he uses two contrastive metaphors to draw the distinction between the native city with the Anglo-Indian station. The natives dwell in houses that are "down alleys" whereas the civil station is laid "on the second rise" (PI: 9). The words 'down' and 'rise' denote the domination of the English over the natives. The English are allowed a panoramic

view over the natives in order to exert their domination easily. Similarly, in "The Life to Come", the association between the Christian mission and God is contrasted to the native chiefs of the central India tribes. The contrast is between the supreme power vested in the missionaries and the weakness of the native rulers. And these are represented by the *palace* in the case of the native chief and *God* in the case of the missionaries. Barnabas says: "[...] this is my palace and I am great chief". Mr Pinmay retorts, "God is greater than all chiefs" (LC: 72). The natives associate power with material property while the English combine the Church, power and empire. God, in this quote, stands for the Church and the power it has over the natives. The importance given to God in "The Life to Come" is not to be mistaken to reveal a conservative Forster believing in the divine right of kings or the imperialist power to rule a so-called inferior country. It rather reveals the liberal Forster, for the liberals believed in the civilising work put into effect through the Christian mission and the enlightening project.

In *A Passage to India,* Forster appropriates animal imagery as metaphorical expressions. For instance, in one passage in the novel he compares the people of India to the animals of Britain. This is not only racist but also imperialist. He writes: "[m]ost of the inhabitants of India do not mind how India is governed. Nor are the lower animals of England concerned about England" (PI: 111). In this simile, Forster is racist and imperialist, for it denotes the ignorance of the Indians as they are likened to animals that do only care about survival. The fact that he speaks of "lower" British animals is a way of saying that the British race is superior to the Indians.

Despite the imperialist fervour of Forster's metaphorical devices, he expresses his 'anti-jingoist' attitude towards the British Raj through the pertinent metaphorical image of "sand" associated to the Raj in *A Passage to India*. In the end of the "Caves" episode, it is said that "justice never satisfies [the Indians], and that is why the British Empire rests on sand" (PI: 253). The image of sand denotes the idea of sinking. Because the British Raj is

based on erroneous principles, it is sinking slowly but surely as Forster thinks. It is a kind of sand castle that would fall apart at the first blows of wind or water. Arguably, the sand castle stands for the British Raj that would fall apart as a result of a native mutiny if the imperial policies continue to be jingoist.

Maugham just like Forster and Kipling also deploys an allegorical mode of writing underpinned by the play of metaphor and symbol. "Neil MacAdam" dwells upon the metaphor of the ship as imperial state. The denial of the native authority and the empowerment of the English is obvious in the power vested in Captain Brendon, who "commanded the Sultan Ahmed" (NM: 912) of one of the Malay states. "The Sultan Ahmed" is an Oriental vessel commanded by an Englishman. The vessel metaphorically stands for the native state, knowing that the ship has always been a metaphor for the state in Western imagination. Therefore, power vested in Captain Brendon to command the vessel is but a metaphor for English power in the Malay Archipelago. This is similar to the *Patna* in *Lord Jim*, which is also a metaphor for European power in the Orient. As the ship is owned by the Orientals and commanded by a European, there is no denying that it stands for the Orient and its subservience to European imperial command. This idea of ship commanded by Europeans recalls the Platonic idea of the state steered by man in Plato's *Republic*. Man is also represented as captain of his own vessel, the body. To all evidence, it is only the white man who is looked on as capable of being master of himself. Others are let adrift of the sea.

Like Kipling, the title of Maugham's collection of short stories *The Casuarina Tree* is a symbol that bears more than one imperialist meaning. He explains his choice of this title by one of the popular beliefs concerning the casuarina tree:

> Of the Casuarina tree they say that if you take in a boat with you a piece of it, be it ever so small, contrary winds will arise to impede your journey or storms to imperial you life. They say also that if you stand in its shadow by the light you will hear, whispered mysteriously in its dark ramage, the secrets of the future. These facts have never been disputed; but they also say that when in the wide estuaries the mangrove has in due time reclaimed the swampy land from the water the Casuarina tree plants itself and in its turn settles, solidifies and fertilises the soil till it is ripe for a more

> varied and luxuriant growth; and then, having done its work, dies down before the ruthless encroachment of the myriad dinizens of the jungle. (CT: v)

First, the *casuarina tree* stands for British rule in the Malay Archipelago. The implementation of this rule in this area aims at serving the natives in the same way as the casuarina tree "plants itself and in its turn settles, solidifies and fertilises the soil till it is ripe for a more varied and luxuriant growth". The power of the tree to fertilise the soil and solidify it denotes the English intellectual capacities and technological means of transforming the lives of the Malays from *deprived* and *deplorable* to lives full of ease and abundance and improve their environment. He states:

> And I remembered that the Casuarina tree stood along the shore, gaunt and rough-hewn, protecting the land from the fury of the winds, and so might aptly suggest these planters and administrators who, with all their short-comings, have after all brought to the peoples among whom they dwell tranquillity, justice and welfare. (CT: vi)

Second, the tree also implies the sacrifice of the English in their missionary work in the Orient. As the tree is considered as a bearer of bad fortune, so are the English imperilled in their missionary work. Throughout *The Casuarina Tree*, Maugham emphasises the dangers that happen to the English residents in the Malay Archipelago. He explicitly intends the use of the casuarina tree as "a symbol of [the] exiled lives" of the English. These exiled English residents are also forced to cope with a myriad of problems that arise out of the colonial contact: the dangers of the climate such as malaria, the dangers of the jungles, the problems that derive from the cultural clashes and so on.

It is in relation to the idea of danger and insecurity that Maugham appropriates other Malay objects as symbolic of native power, hence imperial insecurity: in "Before the Party", Harold was murdered by a *parang* (a Malay sword); Gallagher in "P & O" died because of Malay *magic*; and Cooper in "The Outstation" was killed with a *kris* (another Malay sword). The *parang*, the *kris* and the native magic are symbolic of native power and the prospect that imperial power can be overthrown by the rise of native power or the flaws within the imperialist agents. Each and every Malay object is used to murder white imperial agents. The

parang and *kris* are used by the members of the white community as decorative objects suspended in the walls of their dwellings. Maugham seems to show the extent to which these objects of desire can be dangerous. It also implies that the colonial world as a desired world can be dangerous to the colonising powers if only the natives decided to rise against their power, profiting from the inefficiency of some servants. In relation to the idea of imperial insecurity, Maugham uses another symbol, namely Harold's photo in "Before the Party". When Harold was at the heyday of his imperial service, his wife suspended it proudly at her dwelling, but as soon as he dies out of drinking, his "photo has disappeared" (CT: 20). It is out of extreme anguish against Harold's transgressive behaviour that she withdraws the picture. This withdrawal is significant of the possibility of the end of the empire if such behaviour on the part of the imperial agents continues to exit in the colonies.

In terms of metaphorical discourse with an imperialist intent, Conrad uses the technique of the binary opposition which consists in putting one word in an immediate opposition to another. In *Lord Jim*, he writes about an Arab woman "covered from head to foot, like a corpse with a piece of white sheeting [who] had a naked child in the hollow of each arm" (LJ: 20). In this quote, there is a clear-cut distinction between the veiled woman and the nakedness of her child. The aim of such a binary opposition is purely imperialist. Conrad remarks that the Arabs behave backwardly towards woman as their status is very inferior and treat their children badly as it is embodied in the nakedness of the child. He develops the paradox that the Arabs bother about covering their women completely not to let them expose any inch of their bodies whereas they do by no means endeavour to cover their children from cold or heat. In the same quote, he compares the Arab women to the dead bodies to imply that they have no right to speak or to participate in the outer world, and as such needed the caring attention of the English. In this sense, he reproduces the ideology that the British were "protectors" of Oriental women (Metcalf, 1994: 94). The nakedness of the

child shows the need of the Orientals to be 'clothed' by the imperial authority.

As opposed to this use of metaphor for the sake of the imperialist enterprise, in *Heart of Darkness*, he mixes up metaphor with irony to show the heinous and awkward aspects of it. A pertinent example is related to the Brick-maker. The latter metaphorically stands for Europe's missionary enterprise of bringing comfort to the non-Europeans. However, Conrad is ironic towards the fact that he does make no bricks (HOD: 53), as if to say that the Europeans are not doing real work in Africa to improve the lives of the natives. What they do instead is to destroy both their lives and their environment. This destruction is most obvious in the representation of Kurtz as "a pestilential fellow" (HOD: 64). This metaphor represents Kurtz not as a missionary agent but as a man carrying pestilence to Africa. It is a way of saying that the imperial enterprise that Kurtz represents is a decimating one, for it brings death to the people of Africa for the sake of ivory.

Like Maugham's use of the *kris*, *parang* and magic as markers of the monstrosity of the colonial world, in "An Outpost of Progress", Conrad appropriates the image of the "Evil Spirits" that rule the land in a symbolic way. He claims that the colonial world is controlled by a power unknown to the white race and which endangers their life at any time. The fact that the natives like Makola (OP: 249) have some power in the understanding of and co-existence with these spirits adds to the isolation of the two white agents around the "impenetrable bush" (OP: 249-250). Nevertheless, Conrad differs from Maugham in that he uses very experimental techniques to show the effect of this dangerous environment. Kayerts and Carlier are isolated and cut off from their original environment. Therefore, Conrad depicts some scenes of fear around them using two aesthetic devices, being impressionism and expressionism. The former is associated with the fog image that follows up Kayerts's deepest feelings of fear as a result of the death of Carlier's and the provision that he is to face the wilderness alone. The second concerns the beating of the drums by the natives, which reveals

in an increasing way the two white men's descent into the primeval fear. In the beginning, they are optimistic as to the prospect of the coming of the streamer to take them away from "the unusual, which is dangerous" to the "the habitual, which is safe" (OP: 250-251). But as time passes and the prospect that the streamer would never come, their fears become stronger. As a consequence of their isolation in the "wilderness", the beating of the drums by the natives becomes more forceful. It is twice said about them that during nights "they were disturbed by a lot of drumming in the villages" or "could hear their [the natives'] shouts and drumming" (OP: 257, 259). It is out of fear that the tragedy wrecks upon them: the quarrel and the accident which results in Kayerts's killing of Carlier. There is intertextuality between Conrad's use of the sound of the drums to signify the fears of the white race in the unknown colonial world and Forster's use of the echo in the Marabar caves. Mrs Moore has viewed the Marabar caves as an attractive place that she has to visit to see what she calls 'real India'. However, the caves' "terrifying echo" is so repellent that she decides never to visit them again (PI: 145-146).

In sum, the analysis of the four writers' mode of writing can be qualified as a basically allegorical mode propped by a shared repertoire of metaphors and symbols. History is overlooked for the search of the supposedly universal values of allegory. The emphasis on the universal as allegorical at the expense of the particular, the historical or the concrete or the local speaks of the strong hold that the general ideology of empire had on the authors' imagination. Metaphor involves comparison, and as it is said at the beginning of the section, restrains apprehension and perception of the world by its communal characters. The comparison at the heart of metaphor is instilled with a value judgment that diminishes the Oriental and upgrades the Occidental. Paradoxically, as Said remarks in his *Culture and Imperialism,* tradition is a precondition for artistic creation. It is in it that authors forge their talents. Without human imagination, it will soon be overtaxed and exhausted. In what follows,

I shall try to demonstrate how each of the authors deploys the common repertoire of symbols and figurative language in his own peculiar manner to imagine the empire or to affirm his belonging to the imperial tradition.

B. Empire and the Individual Talent: Language and the Modernist Experiments in Style

Critiques like Frank Kermode consider Forster as a Symbolist. He structures *A Passage to India* in such a way as to convey the necessity of following a liberal imperialist attitude in Anglo-India. This is achieved through the symbolic structure it follows and the importance given to order. For him, the role of the artist or the writer is to show through his or her art that order in art can be transposed to order within society. The artistic or aesthetic dimension of *A Passage to India* is related to its liberal attitude. For this purpose, he divides the novel into three parts with three different settings following a three-element plot.

The first relates to the crucial question of the novel concerning friendship between the natives of India and the members of the Ruling Race. This is developed in the first part of the novel labelled "The Mosque". The second is a kind of climax, which tries this friendship and reveals an imperial reality that is only avoidable if the jingoist and conservative imperial policies are changed into liberal ones. The climax is developed in the part of the novel labelled "The Caves". The third brings about some enlightening views on how to change these policies in the Anglo-Indian imperial context, and it is developed in the third part of the novel labelled "The Temple". Forster's liberal stance towards empire is shown through the three-element setting that makes up his liberal imperialist idea of the Orient. He creates a kind of aesthetic order (TCD: 101) which he considers central to any text. This artistic order is embodied in the three different but related settings of the novel, and it serves as a premise for another type of order: the political order (TCD: 99). In the novel, political order concerns harmonious relations between the ruler and the ruled in the British Raj. Kermode (1966: 90-

91) states that a characteristic of Symbolist artists is their interest in order and unity and Forster's novel falls into this Symbolist trend in its expression of a sense of order in art.

The symbolic structure of the novel is reinforced with Forster's infusion of several symbols in it. The names given to its three parts are symbolic. The mosque represents the sensibility of the Muslims of India and their desire for respect by the Anglo-Indians. These two traits are exposed by the questions raised in the first part. The sensibility of the Muslim Indian is first and foremost shown through Dr Aziz and Mrs Moore in the mosque episode (PI: 21). Aziz's reaction towards Mrs Moore's intrusion into the mosque bears witness to this sensibility. Aziz reacts to it in such a way as to blindly ask respect of the holy place. The natives' desire for respect on the part of the Anglo-Indians is also expressed in Aziz's desire to mix up with them. Nonetheless, Forster is ironic as to their disposition to differentiate respect and hospitality from intimacy. In a conversation between Hammidulah and Mahmoud Ali about Mr Turton, he tells us that the Muslims are mistaken in their conception of intimacy. Hammidulah declares: "we were once quite intimate. He has shown me his stamp collection" (PI: 13). For the Muslim, the act of showing something of value is an act of intimacy, whereas in reality it is an act of hospitality.

The word "caves" is essential for Forster's liberal stance. It expresses the superficiality of the interest of the members of the ruling race in India. Instead of human relations with its people, they are only interested in what it contains as objects or places. Forster is ironic towards this superficial desire to see "real India". For instance, Mrs Moore "goes and sees it, and then forgets she's seen it" (PI: 31). This shows how superficial the concern is; there is no real interest in India. This lack of interest in the Indians does not serve the good of the empire. Miss Quested is tricked by the "echo" of her object of desire, so she humiliates one of the most sensible Muslims in India. She also puts the Raj in turmoil as the humiliation of Aziz awakens the seditious spirit of the Indians.

In order to establish harmony between the Indians and their rulers, Forster advocates the latter's liberal attitude. The word "temple" of the third part stands for this attitude. The Buddhist temple is a metonymy for the teachings of Buddhism, one of which is the idea of universal love and tolerance. It is said that "the universal lover", Shri Krishna, "saved the world [and all] sorrow was annihilated, not only for Indians, but for foreigners" (PI: 283). Shri Krishna does no exclusion in protecting every soul and every heart that beats even not for Him. Thus, in the Anglo-Indian imperial context, this idea of universal love needs to be followed to steer harmony between the ruled and the ruler and ensure imperial continuity. The temple and its ideal of "universal warmth" (PI: 281) are directly linked to politics through the visit of the Rajah to see the Birth ceremony. It is said that no one "greeted the Rajah, nor did he wish it; this was no time for human glory" (PI: 282). The ruler and the ruled alike are united by the ideal of universality. Therefore, if only the British ruling race and the ruled Indians adopt the same behaviour harmony would reign throughout the Raj. The idea of tolerance was later on taken by George Bernard Shaw in his *The Adventures of the Black Girl in her Search for God,* where it is recognised that the colonised and the colonisers "are members of the same body of mankind, [hence] members of one another" (1932: 28). Arguably, the ideal of universality and tolerance as it is developed in *A Passage to India* is epitomised in the interest put on the cow in *The Longest Journey* (1907). In India, the cow is holy in conformity with the principles of Hinduism. In this novel, the solution to the cleavage between classes is associated with the cow. The cow "was attractive. If she was there, other cows were there too. The darkness of Europe was dotted with them, and in the Far East their flanks were shining in the rising sun" (TLJ: 8). Ansel, one of the protagonists of the story, believes in the cow and its importance while the others do not. The sacredness of the cow improves things in the East as opposed to the darkness of Europe with its intolerance.

It follows that views about Forster's place in the history of ideas vary according to the

perspectives from which he is considered. If considered in the light of his liberalism, "his fictional manner is Victorian" (Bradbury, 1966: 3). However, though liberal and hence to be classified as realist, his texts are also modernist especially *A Passage to India*, thanks to which he came to be regarded as a "modern symbolist" (Ibid.). Certainly, the concern in the future of the Raj belongs to the nineteenth century Anglo-Indian fictions of empire, but the way this is viewed is modernist to the core.

While Forster confirms to the Symbolists through the structure of *A Passage to India*, one Symbolic technique is discernible in Maugham's *Of Human Bondage*. The novel set in Europe is mainly concerned with the romantic or escapist aspect of empire building. Probably, at the aesthetic level, the novel displays an interest in the Orient by the use of a structural image through which Maugham voices the romantic aspect of the adventure in the Orient. This structural image concerns the Persian carpet which denotes the wonders of the Orient at different levels. Philip's friend Cronshaw informs him about the wonders of the East that could be found in the museum. Philip is informed that the Persian carpet could supply him with an answer to his inner quest or the meaning of life:

> Have you ever been to the Clungy, the museum? There you will see Persian carpets of the most exquisite hue and of a pattern the beautiful intricacy of which delights and amazes the eye. In them you will see the mystery and the sensual beauty of the East, the roses of Hafiz and the wine-cup of Omar; but presently you will see more. You were asking just now what was the meaning of life. Go and look at those Persian carpets, and one of these days the answer will come to you. (HB: 213)

This quote implies that the Orient is full of riches and colours as they are found in books like *The Arabian Nights*. Through the carpet, one can contemplate different motifs and patterns that testify to the glory and richness of the Orient; these patterns and motifs inspire from the Oriental natural environment.

Besides, metaphorically speaking, as the carpet gives an answer to Philip's ontological question of what life means, the Orient allows the Europeans to find satisfaction to their different quests as imperialists, adventurers, travel writers, artists and so on. The literary

traveller or the artist, for example, as he states "gets a peculiar sensation from something he sees, and is impelled to express it and, he doesn't know why, he can only express his feeling by lines and colours" (HB: 242). The "lines and colours" involve the patterns and motifs that are found in the finest Persian carpets that are celebrated in *Of Human Bondage*. Also, as the answer to Philip's question is that man "was born, he suffered, and he died" (HB: 523-524), so he had at least to take profit from "the pleasure of his aesthetic sense" (HB: 524). The fact that the Persian carpet is prevalent gives it the merit of being considered structural, as the story vacillates around what it connotes in terms of freedom for the individual.

Conrad has an imperialist attitude quite different from the others', especially the anti-imperialist aspect of it. It is he who brings insightful ideas concerning what really happens in the outposts of empire, celebrating the British Empire but critical of the other European empires. His novel insightful ideas are accompanied with an experimental style that makes of him a modernist before the Modernists. In this regard, his contemporaries were aware that he was ahead of his time. His friend, Hugh Clifford, wrote an essay about his genius saying:

> Mr Conrad's books, I say it without fear of contradiction, have no counterparts in the entire range of English literature. They are peculiarly, arrestingly original. That is their key-note, their greatest distinction, alike in their thought and in their manner. The matter is in a sense, the common property of all the world, and of that section of the world which has roamed widely; but, from the outset, the reader is made conscious of an intensely individual point of view, a special outlook upon life, of a constructive imagination working upon lines different to those common to Englishmen, of a profound comprehension of the psychology of a certain class of character […] The manner as opposed to the matter is even more striking, even more original. It is whole unlike that of any writer who has hitherto used the English language as a vehicle of expression […] curiously free from the trammels of recognised convention.
>
> (2009: 96)

Clifford considers Conrad as a writer ahead of his time both at the level of the ideas he advocates and the aesthetic theory he develops. Therefore, there is a relationship between his insightful ideas about empire with the aesthetic devices he adopts for that purpose.

Conrad's reluctant imperialist attitude is better illustrated in *Heart of Darkness*, and for this he chooses a double-narrator framework. This is a technical device adopted so as to

draw a distinction between the mainstream European imperialist attitude and his personal vision of empire. The frame narrator of the story represents Europe in its flawed stereotypes and artificial representations of the non-Europeans whereas Marlow represents Conrad, thanks to whose journey to the Congo he manages to get another vision of what was happening there. In the beginning, the frame narrator describes the river Thames with enthusiasm, but Marlow remains cautious in saying that "darkness was here yesterday" (HOD: 30). In the end of the story, the frame narrator learns from Marlow's insights into European imperialism.

It follows that the frame narrator celebrates the British Empire. He makes reference to its glorious past through its "great knights-errant of the sea" (HOD: 29), who served the Empire through different manners, often engaging "the sword" and sometimes "the torch" (HOD: 29). To bring forth the riches of the Far East and other parts of the world, they either followed the means of peace through maintaining the civilising missions or got loot by means of war against natives or other forces. This happened in the New World with the resistance of the Indians and their extermination by the English at the time of the First British Empire or the restoration of peace by bestowing on the Indians some modern technology in exchange for their natural resources and property. Parry claims that the words of the "primary narrator [...] can appear to be a portentous extolment of Britain's imperial might and the glory of its colonial endeavours" (1983: 24).

As for Marlow, who is conceived in Conrad's fiction as "a protagonist able to distance himself from current orthodoxies and contemplate dissident alternatives" (Ibid. 83), his reluctant attitude is better shown in the distinction he draws between the British Empire and the Roman Empire. Conrad draws a parallel between ancient Roman civilisation and the previously barbaric Britain with his contemporary Britain and Africa. He seems to say that Britain is not primitive anymore but rather a civilised land while Africa is at its "primitive state". The irony is that he condemns the Roman conquest of the Britons but redeems

contemporary British imperialism under the pretext of the civilising mission:

> What saves us is efficiency – the devotion to efficiency. But these chaps were not much account, really. They [the Romans] were no colonists; their administration was merely a squeeze, and nothing more, I suspect. They were conquerors, and for that you want only brute force […]. They grabbled what they could get for the sake of what to be got. (HOD: 31)

This presupposes the idea that Conrad agrees to a certain extent with the imperial activities of Britain by redeeming it with the idea of efficiency. Nonetheless, throughout the novella, Marlow keeps associating the unnamed King Leopold's Congo with grab, starvation and murder in order to compare it to the Romans. He does not redeem the brutal and inhuman activities engaged in the outposts of this particular "conquering" European empire. Chris Bongie states that "the colonist, as opposed to the conqueror, is redeemed by the 'idea'; it forms the necessary complement of 'efficiency'" (1991: 42). The conquerors like France and Belgium, for Marlow, are detrimental to the lives of the natives, so they are to blame.

In *Lord Jim*, Conrad makes use of a double setting framework, onboard the *Patna* and in Patusan. Though there is almost no direct relationship between the two settings, Conrad manages to connect them artistically. What happens on the *Patna* provides the background for Jim's Patusan story. The Orientals of the *Patna* and the people of Patusan are similar to each other in their need for the intervention of the Europeans for their welfare; Jim becomes the leader of the Patusans, and the *Patna* is commanded by a German captain. Their dependence is mainly shown when the whites cease to be their protectors and the circumstances that become of that. When danger befalls upon the *Patna* only the whites survive as they saved their lives without any care for the Orientals. At the Patusan episode of the novel, Jim leaves the people of Patusan and lets them on their own devices to face every sort of danger. Conrad has a two-sided aim in choosing this double setting framework. On the one hand, he reinforces the idea that the people of the Orient are always in need of the protection of the West. On the other hand, he manages to show a second view as to what is really happening in the outposts of empire. The Europeans' betrayal of their principles shows some hidden truths

behind the imperialist pretexts of protecting the so-called weak races of the earth and enlightening them in order to establish empires and acquire materials.

In *Heart of Darkness*, Conrad makes a playful use of words that construct and deconstruct nineteenth century imperialist certainties. Arguably, an analysis of his playful diction should better start with the analysis of the title, *heart of darkness*, which bears more than one meaning. On the one hand, the *heart of darkness* represents the darkness of the so-called primitive life of the African people as they are represented in colonialist literature. In this perspective, the voyage along the Congo River is viewed as a journey into the *heart* of primitivism and savagery. On the other hand, the journey is viewed as a journey into the *darkness* of the *heart* of the European imperialists and their hypocrisy as revealed through Kurtz and the Pilgrims. *Heart of Darkness*, Parry writes:

> registers its manifold preoccupations in a title which by signifying a geographical location, a metaphysical landscape and a theological category, addresses itself simultaneously to Europe's exploitation of Africa, the primeval human situation, an archaic aspect of the mind's structure and a condition of moral baseness. (1983: 20)

Therefore, to criticise the imperial practice and nineteenth century European imperial ideology, Conrad refers to appropriate aesthetic devices. The most representative of these devices are symbolism, impressionism and expressionism all of which are parts of his binary thinking and which contribute in the making of his dual attitude towards imperialism. Symbolism and irony, which are interrelated, are prevalent in *Heart of Darkness* and "An Outpost of Progress". As a modernist aesthetic device, impressionism is appropriate to express one's anti-imperialist position and effect criticism of the imperial project.

As far as the use of symbols is concerned, Conrad paradoxically juxtaposes opposites in his fiction to denounce the whole imperialist project in Africa. The most significant binary opposition is light/ dark, which is a forceful symbol that Conrad uses to criticise Europe's imperialist project. Indeed, the association of light and dark permeates *Heart of Darkness* to serve as a symbol of the lies and the hidden truths of the imperialist project in the so-called

Dark Continent. The first part of the opposition stands for Europe's propagandist desire to bring civilisation, progress and all the virtues to the so-called "dark" places of the earth. The second symbolises Europe's greed for material profits and corruption. His use of the "whited sepulchre" and "black wool" symbolises the wrong drive of the Belgian imperialist project in the Congo. The "whited sepulchre" and "black wool" are ironic symbols, for they involve Conrad's ironic treatment of the European enlightened principles of the missionary impulse that is associated with the imperial enterprise. The city of Brussels, which can stand for Europe as a whole, is a metropolitan city of greed and corruption. Its inhabitants are white in appearance but dark inside; they are corrupt and hypocritical. Its rulers pretend to send agents to the peripheral world in the name of the civilising mission, but the truth is that the "Company was run for profit" (HOD: 39). This ironic treatment of Brussels is a criticism of Europe's imperialist ideology since empire does not involve philanthropy but rather human sacrifice in the name of profit.

With regard to impressionism, as a modernist technique it is adequately used by Conrad to voice his anti-imperialist ideas. It uses the effects of light and its shades to reveal the individual experience of each character and his or her inner thoughts and feelings. The individual is not considered as an organic part of a whole. With *Heart of Darkness*, this is matched with the solitude of Mr Kurtz. Detached from the values of Western society, he is immersed in the heart of "difference" in which his human nature is the prime interest. This follows that he is revealed to be completely different from his European fellows. Instead of being the civilising agent of Europe, he becomes the worst type of the savage he has the vocation to civilise. Conrad's primary purpose in doing so is to attack Western civilisation as an imperialist ideology. He tells the imperialists that the ideals on which they base their colonisations are out of context. In the wilderness, these ideals are no longer things certain and cannot provide any justification for the conquest and exploitation of other peoples. Their

imperial ideology has no foundation because its principles are flawed. Neither science and progress nor the idea of taking civilisation to "dark" places can justify colonisation and exploitation.

To emphasise the uncertainties of Western civilisation and values, Conrad makes an impressionist use of light and its shades. In *Heart of Darkness,* there is a passage in which Marlow captures the uncertainties which the novella presents in what John G. Peters calls "the white fog incident" (Peters, 1998). This concerns the scene where Marlow describes the blinding white fog in the Inner Station. Marlow says: "[w]hen the sun rose there was a white fog, very warm and clammy, and more blinding than the night" (HOD: 73). The fog image makes the readers doubtful about the civilising work in the Congo and European civilisation. The fog prevents Marlow and his shipmates momentarily from seeing what is happening behind it. They cannot see the exploitation of the Africans in the name of civilisation and progress. This impression of uncertainty would make the readers doubtful about the civilising mission and sceptical about the imperial enterprise. Soon the exploitation that takes place in the central station is seen by Marlow, and this is associated with the fog: "the savage clamour swept by us on the river-bank, behind the blind whiteness of the fog" (HOD: 76-77). The fog becomes "thick" as they approach Kurtz's dwelling, which announces a more savage sight. As soon as Marlow starts to see the reality behind the "philanthropic pretence" of the Company, he compares the moment to the removal of "a veil" form his "eyes" (HOD: 80). Therefore, Marlow's doubts are accompanied with this image of the fog which blinds him in the same way as it enlightens the reader about the concerns of the imperial enterprise. This impression performed through the image of the fog can be considered as a method of "seeing otherwise" (Levin, 2008: 26), which allows the reader to consider the story from different lenses like the opposition between the imperialist perspective and the anti-imperialist one.

Conrad's criticism of Western civilisation is all the more interesting when it is

performed following cubist multidimensional figures. In *Heart of Darkness*, he turns the traditional conception of space up-side-down in order to show the existence of a second point view different from the maintained one. In relation to European imperialism and the traditional ideals of progress and civilisation associated with it, the descriptions Marlow makes of the outer station gives the impression of regress rather than progress:

> I came upon a boiler wallowing in the grass, then found a path leading up the hill. It turned aside the boulders, and also for an undersized rail-way truck lying there on its back with its **wheels in the air**. The thing looked as dead as the carcass of some animal. I came upon more pieces of decaying machinery, a stack of rusty rails. To the left a clump of trees made a shady spot, where dark things seemed to stir feebly.
> (HOD: 42; emphasis added)

One of the standards through which the progress of a nation was measured in the nineteenth century was the modern means of transportation, and the train was the most representative of these. The rail way truck which is normally on its wheels is now turned up-side-down to remark that another reality exists in the outposts of empire. The idea of decay and rust adds more emphasis on the regress of Western civilisation.

Conrad uses another artistic element in a mixture between impressionism and cubism. He writes: "I noticed a small sketch in oils, on a panel, representing a woman, draped and blindfolded, carrying a lighted torch. The background was sombre – almost black. The movement of the women was stately, and the effect of the torchlight on the face was sinister" (HOD: 54). The cubist aspect of this scene is that Conrad upturns the idea of the civilising mission; the light it is supposed to take to the so-called dark corners of the earth has no effect but a gloomy one. The woman herself is portrayed as a blind one to show the blindness of the imperialist agents who go overseas to serve false ideals and only to satisfy the greed of the imperialists. The impressionist mixture of light and dark associated with the "lighted torch" exposes its blinding effect on the conquered races and the conquering ones.

Concerning Maugham, he favours three main aesthetic features: simplicity, lucidity and euphony. (SU: 29) These three elements also help shape his liberal imperialist attitude

and his romantic conception of the imperial life. It has to be noted that his texts are not complex nor do they involve complicated images. The imperialist attitude of his texts is expressed through dramatic dialogues and suggestive language. In *The Narrow Corner*, a dialogue between Dr Saunders and Captain Nichols reveals what his absence would mean for the natives who are in need of his medical know-how. It is said: "I can't leave all my patients for three solid months" (NC: 13). On the one hand, this indicates the devotion of the doctor to his native patients. On the other hand, their doctor's three-month absence would mean health difficulties for the natives. Maugham's sentences in his stories are also suggestive. There are several passages in the novel which suggest the primitivism of the colonised subjects. One passage reads as follows:

> A mangy dog sniffed about some offal over which a swarm of flies was buzzing and looked for something to eat. Two or three chickens scratched about in the roadway and one, squatting, ruffled her feathers in the dust. Outside the shop opposite, a naked Chinese with a distended belly was trying to make a sand castle out of the dust of the road. Flies flew about him, settling on him, but he did not mind them, and intent on his game did not try to brush them away. Then a native passed, with nothing but a discoloured sarong, and he carried two baskets of sugar-cane suspended to each end of a pole balanced on one shoulder. (NC: 15)

There are many suggestive words in this quote. To start with, the repetition of the word *fly(ies)* puts forward the idea of dirt associated with the colonial world. This is reinforced by the fact that the "naked Chinese child" does not care about them. The nakedness of the latter implies the idea of primitivism, and Maugham makes the other native almost naked, *with nothing but a discoloured sarong*, for this purpose. It is said of the child's belly that it is *distended* because of starvation. This shows that the people of the Malay Archipelago are deprived and in need of the English to fight against famine. Another passage reads as follows: "[t]he few persons they passed, Malays or Chinese, walked quickly as though they were afraid to awaken the echo" (NC: 87); the expression *as they were afraid to awaken the echo* denotes the superstition of the Orientals.

The French painters like Paul Gauguin had influence on Maugham. This makes him

adopt one of their devices, namely impressionism. Maugham uses impressionist devices to reinforce his view of the Orient as an exotic locale which allows escape. In "Neil MacAdam", he describes the beautiful effect the sun in the exotic East has upon the newly arrived MacAdam. It "shone upon the varied scene with a hard, acrid brilliance. He was confused. He thought it would take him years to find his bearings in this multi-coloured and excessive world" (NM: 913). Again, Neil, who "knew his Conrad almost by heart", was surprised by "the blue milky sky [and the] little white clouds on the horizon, like sailing boats, becalmed, shone in the sun" (NM: 917). This implied to him "space and freedom" as the "country offered him a gracious welcome" (NM: 917). The impressions Neil had in his first touch with the Orient are similar to Maugham's. In *A Writer's Notebook*, he writes out the impressions of wonder and beauty he receives from the effects of light and colours upon the exotic environment. In Macassar Harbour, he is marvelled by the sight of the sunset "magnificently, yellow, then red and purple; and in the distance a little island grown over with coconut trees floats in radiance" (WN: 215). Mandalay by moonlight "has a beauty which you can take hold of and enjoy and make your own [and it] is a beauty suited to all seasons and all moods" (WN: 218). These are just some instances where Maugham uses the effects of light and colour to express his own sensations of the attractive Orient.

In the case of Kipling, though he has been classified as the most traditional of all the writers studied in this thesis, in relation to culture and language, there is certainly much of the individual talent in him. In his fiction, he uses native words like *garb, chela, fakir,* and so on. These testify to the English mastery of the life of the people they conquer even at the linguistic level, which is of great importance to the perpetuation of this domination. The writer's mastery of the Hindi is immediately contrasted to the natives' intricate use of English. Throughout *Kim*, one keeps encountering natives endeavouring to speak in English, but the English they speak is far from being correct. The use of the native dialect of English with its

erroneous structures is but an element that would testify to their inferiority towards the English. Instances of the native dialect of English are Mahbub Ali's use of the words *offeecially, unoffeecialy* (K: 295) and Huree Babu's *faceelities* (K: 297) and *opeenion* (K: 298). Kipling changes the spelling of these words in order to stress the natives' "peculiar pronunciation" (Shahane, 1973: 130). Shahane argues that "Kipling's intentions [...] are to expose and ridicule the Babu's ways of expression" (Ibid.). It follows that this dialectic between the English command of Hindu and the Hindus' inability in English reinforces the proposition that the British are the superior ruling race, the Indians their subordinates. When two Europeans, one Russian and the other French, encounter Kim, the lama and Huree babu, their use of English language is immediately contrasted to Huree Babu's. It is said that they "spoke English not much inferior than the babu's" (K: 315). This implies that it is not because English is foreign to the Indians that they speak it in an inferior way. It rather depends on their lack of predispositions to master foreign tongues while the two Europeans are endowed with these capacities so that their mastery of English is more accurate than that of the Indians. In this view, Kipling is highly involving his individual talent for the sake of power.

Kipling also appropriates Indian astrology to predict the promising future of Kim. This is motivated by his will to make his novel a boy's adventure story full of magic and the fantastic to make it read by the English children. Young readers of his fiction are expected to identify themselves with the boy and to aspire to such positions themselves. This would ensure imperial continuity which is one of the central motivations of Kipling's Indian fiction. Besides, the use of the horoscope, an Indian craft, by the writer to show the promising future of the boy denotes his appropriation of the culture of the 'Other'. This is to show that the British in India have mastery over the different spheres of Indian life. Spurr argues that colonial discourse is characterised by the desire to "appropriate territory, while it also appropriates the means by which such acts of appropriation are to be understood" (1993: 28).

Kipling's fiction shows British appropriation of the Indian subcontinent. This appropriation is illustrated by the writer's appropriation of astrology as an aspect of Indian life and culture.

Kipling appropriates other Indian cultural artefacts to emphasise the workings of English power in the Orient. In "The Man Who Would Be King", the two protagonists aspire to get access to the command of the natives of Kafiristan by disguising themselves as "heathen" (MWWBK: 175) and appropriating native manners to be accepted by the people as theirs and then perform their acts of imperial rule. For instance, they shape their heads into "patterns" (MWWBK: 175) in the manner it is done by the natives. Shaping their heads into patterns is a cultural attribute typical to the people of Kafiristan, and anyone who does not do it is not allowed any intercourse with them. Dravot and Carnihan know that in order to have power over them they ought to get access to their minds; this comes only through the establishment of communication. Therefore, they resort to this cultural artefact which not only allows them to establish communication but also to command them in enthroning themselves in Kafiristan. When communication is established, Dravot refers to another cultural artefact, namely "rubbing his nose respectful with his own nose, patting him on the head, and saluting in front of it" (MWWBK: 177). Instead of shaking hands with him in the Western manner, he rubs his nose with the Chief's, the natives call idol, to get his confidence, which is also important to the impending imperial domination. This manner of saluting is far from being Western, but Dravot chooses the native one in order to gain the confidence of the chief, which is so much important for their imperial control of the natives. In adopting this attitude, they show that they are masters of native cultural artefacts.

It follows that allegory, symbolism and metaphor are predominant features of the four writers' fiction. It is true that each of them confines more or less to the aesthetic modes prevalent in his own time, "realism" for Kipling, and "modernism" for Conrad, Forster and Maugham. Conrad can be seen as a pioneering modernist. However, the way they apprehend

the Orient is fundamentally allegorical in the sense that the actions and characters are given a higher and therefore a transhistorical and universal dimension of significance. Experimentation with style and mode of writing as in the case of Conrad becomes just a smokescreen for not saying the unspeakable, and a device for salvaging the idea of empire. It can be said that the allegorical forms the four writers use conceal the real message since they allow authors like Conrad and Forster to escape confronting the hard reality of Empire and for Kipling and to a lesser extent for Maugham to continue its celebration by an appeal to the values behind Western, Christian allegory.

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Conclusion to Part III

The analysis of the interplay of the imperial tradition and the individual talent shows that the text is largely determined by the cannon of the British imperial statecraft in the last quarter of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth. Our four writers through their fiction and non-fiction subscribe to the politics of Empire whose game was largely acted by economic competition for markets and areas of political influence. The defence of the old empire of India and the Oriental areas beyond had often been invoked in Britain's bid for annexing territories in strategic zones in Africa in order to protect them from protectionism by other Empires. The old idea of an Empire of free trade or informal empire gives way to a territorial empire. It is in this context that our four writers produced their fiction and essays. The sense of crisis has made them enlist themselves in the defence of Empire under the existing banners of the different but similar ideologies of Empire. Hence, we see Kipling refurbishing the Conservative imperial attitude of Disraeli and his later successor Salisbury by a jingoist approach to imperial affairs. On the other hand, we can see Forster trying to sell in the manner of Gladstone and later of Chamberlain imperialism for democracy.

As for Conrad and Maugham, they wrote disparagingly of stock jobbing imperialism, of other nations, but they spared the British brand of Orientalism as a liberal and romantic idea that redeems the whole enterprise of empire building. In their representation of the Orient, the four writers can be said to have exchanged the search for individual originality for talents in the material sense as money. Their aesthetic experimentation with style is of a smaller importance in comparison to those allegorical forms on which they stamped their names as individual authors.

General Conclusion

> Most important, such texts can create not only knowledge but also the very reality they appear to describe. In time such knowledge and reality produce a tradition, or what Michel Foucault calls discourse, whose material presence or weight, not the originality of a given author, is really responsible for the texts produced on it.
>
> (Said, 1995: 94)

This is what Said writes about the dialectic of the imperial tradition or discourse and the individual talent in his seminal work *Orientalism.* It puts in a nutshell the argument developed in this thesis that has sought to demonstrate that Kipling, Forster, Conrad and Maugham are inscribed within a tradition that has largely determined their vision of the Orient and the Oriental man. What has emerged out of the analysis of their fiction and non-fiction is a lack of what Bakhtin calls 'a clash over the referent', a clash over the referent of the Orient and the Oriental man and woman. I have tried to relate the shortage of overt or hidden polemics over the British Empire to the fact that as cultural productions their writings were enabled or made possible by the general culture of Empire that predetermined during their day. The "prison house" of Orientalism/ imperialism puts the four authors on the track of monologism in things concerned with the Orient and the Empire. Unless the writers confirmed to this monologism, they would not have been able to circulate their discourses to an audience brought up on the tradition of Empire.

The dialectic of tradition and individual talent in the case of our four writers turns short. Contrary to Hegel's dialectic, it does not involve a thesis/ antithesis that resolve themselves in a synthesis followed up in its turn by an antithesis. What we have instead is a reshuffling of a similar idea about the Orient vehiculed by a discourse of consensus about the necessity or urgency to maintain the Empire both for the good of the centre and the periphery. Not surprisingly, what matters for Kipling, Conrad, Forster and Maugham is not the material reality of the Orient and the Oriental man but the "weight" or burden of duty to be enlisted for serving the Empire that tradition has placed them in a context marked by economic, political,

social crises at the domestic and international levels. The allegiance to art and universal humanism comes second to the allegiance to the country and its imperial interests when the latter were threatened by the economic protectionism of other European imperial countries and the economic and social problems at home.

This being said, I have attempted to demonstrate that the writers' fiction and non-fiction are marked by a brand of realism that Said refers to as "radical realism". This realism is not as an effect of reference to the objective existing reality of the Orient that Kipling, Forster, Conrad and Maugham, each in his own manner, tries to disguise, but as to an internal system of reference that constitutes imperialism and Orientalism as a discourse or a tradition. In other words, the *hors texte* does not hold much consideration in comparison to intertextuality or the intertext in our four authors' writings. In a whole chapter, I have referred to this attitude that gives their intertext the effect of the real as a "textual attitude". It is at the basis of the imaginative geography of the Orient that is the hallmark of their works. The textual attitude is shown at work in the dialectically opposed representation of the West and Western character in the active narrative or "telling" mode whereas the Orient and the characters associated with it are portrayed in the mode of showing as vision. The former appear as active social and political agents whereas the latter give the impression of tableaux vivants. In other words, the white characters are flesh and blood characters while the Oriental ones are wax figures fabricated as a spectacle for Western audiences. The latter's speech and actions when they appear on the stage of our four authors' fiction sound and look like the speech of ventriloquist and puppets.

It is not solely in the imaginative geographies and the theatrical representations of the Oriental man that I have detected the traces of the Orientalist and imperialist discourse in Kipling's, Forster's, Conrad's and Maugham's writings. Irrespective of the "personal" positions towards Empire, I tried to show that their discourse is steeped in the prevalent

human and natural sciences of the time such as those developed by the nascent science of anthropology, the ethnography of race, the philosophy of time, biology and political economy. So, in another whole chapter, I have referred to these as another possible source of intertext that provided the lenses through which the Orient is "peeped" at. The vision that the writers unfold to the readers is ultimately a laboratory vision that makes a small case of the outside reality. Situated outside the centre, out there in the periphery, the Orient is also associated with all kinds of marginality that concerned the Victorian imperial society or culture. The extrapolation from the domestic to the imperial luminal spaces has not astonished me because, as Said tells us, the Orient is modelled or fabricated or invented not for the consumption of the Orientals but for that of a predominantly white made community or classes in Europe. Hence, we see that Kipling, Forster, Conrad and Maugham extend the discourse usually attached to the abnormal, i. e. the insane, the poor, the women, the diseased and so on to the Orient and the Oriental. The extrapolation has made the Orient look like the "New Poorhouses" wherein the "lazy" natives are put back at work; it also looks like an asylum where mad people, the native, need to be interned; it looks like a school in open air wherein the natives must be educated in order to grow civilised and so on.

Just like marginals at home, the Orientals abroad need to be studied in order to be better controlled. This is the major assumption that underpins the four writers' representation of the Orient, and that I have sought to analyse in another separate chapter. Said tells us that Orientalism involves a dialectic of power and knowledge. The epistemic quest in our writers' fiction and non-fiction is closely related to the will for power over the natives. Each of the four writers has foregrounded, in his own manner, the disempowerment of the Orientals, a disempowerment legitimated on the grounds of despotic nature of Oriental rulers and the lack of a rational traditional exercise of power in the Orient. The disempowerment of the natives is

accompanied by the empowerment of the white representatives of empire judged to be more considerate in the use of power for the advancement of civilisation.

In the two final chapters, I have come back to the place that individual talent occupies in its dialectic of imperial tradition by emphasising the aesthetic theory that informs the conception that each and every writer has of the empire. Among other results, I have drawn attention to the extent in which the writers are deeply interpellated by the politics of imperialism. The strong interpellation exercised by this politics has given little ground for the manifestation of ethics in the representation of the Orient. I have envisaged the imperialism or Orientalism in the form of a continuum, with conservatives at one end and the liberal one at the other. The Conservative attitude is best expressed by Kipling and the Liberal by Conrad, with Forster and Maugham placed in-between. Regardless of the differences as to the ideology in the name of which the writers are committed to the Empire, the historical sense of the imperial tradition reminds the four writers as to which side they belong in the encounter between the East and the West. Paradoxically, this deeply felt historical sense of European imperial writers have made their fictions and non-fictions read as allegories of Empire. The allegorical mode of writing becomes, to paraphrase Barthes, words in another context, a mode of historical solidarity with a threatened empire, through the transcendence of the time of crisis that menaces it. So no matter how we qualify the personal style (realist or modernist) in which the writers circulated their works, that style does not fundamentally question the existence of the Empire. Instead of the "clash over the referent", we have what Bakhtin calls "stylisation", the variation of style as a matter of putting the "old wine" of Empire in "new bottles" of emerging new modes of fiction and essay writing.

I shall finish this thesis by going back to the beginning chapter on methodology. In my application of Said's postcolonial theory on the four writers' fictions and non-fictions, I have gradually realised that Said's *Orientalism* reads as a critique of romance similar to the one

that Northrop Frye carried out is his “Secular Scripture”. Hopefully, I have managed to explain that the “Secular Scripture” of the Orient is the one romance that Kipling, Forster Conrad and Maugham have adhered to in spite of their differences in ideological background and personal experience. The “Secular Scripture” of the Orient still has a firm hold over today’s Western imagination when one looks at the way the affairs of the Orient (the Middle East) are covered in diverse media in the West.

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