

**MISCEGENATION AND BEYOND**  
**A STUDY OF**  
**INTERPERSONAL RELATIONSHIPS**  
**IN ANGLO-INDIAN FICTION**

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by

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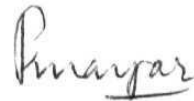
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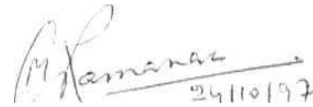
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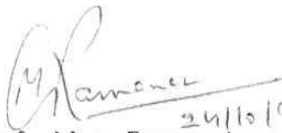


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FOR  
MY PARENTS  
IN  
REVERENCE

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Surely, an **idiom** should never incline toward racism. It often does, however, and this is not altogether fortuitous: there's no racism without a language. The point is not that acts of racial violence are **only** words but rather that they have to have a word. Even though it offers the excuse of **blood**, colour, birth - or rather because it uses this naturalist and sometimes creationist discourse - racism always betrays the perversion of a man, the "talking animal". It institutes, declares, writes, inscribes, prescribes. A system of marks, it outlines space in order to assign forced residence or to close off borders. It does not discern, it **discriminates**.

JACQUES DERRIDA: "RACISM'S LAST WORD"

CHAPTER - 1

INTRODUCTION: SCOPE, AIM, METHOD

Ronald **Merrick**, a character in Paul Scott's The Raj Quartet (1966-75), has the following to say about the real nature of the British **Raj** in India. His **comments** provide an insight into the actual attitudes that governed policies and **relationships** in the **Indo-British** encounter. The passage is worth quoting in **full**. Kumar is reporting Merrick:

He [Merrick] said people talked of an ideal relationship between his kind [**the British**] and ray kind [the **Indians**]. They **called** it comradeship. But they never said anything about the contempt on his side and the fear on mine that was basic, and came before any comradely feeling . . . He said the true corruption of the English is their pretence that they have no contempt for us, and our real degradation is our pretence of equality . . . The permutations of **English** corruption in India were endless: affection for servants, for peasants, for soldiers, pretence at understanding the intellectual or at sympathising with nationalist aspirations, but all this affection and understanding was a corruption of what he **called** the calm purity of their contempt.... (Scorpion; 307-311)

This particular passage is to a large extent the starting point for my exploration of interpersonal encounters in Anglo-Indian fiction, i.e., fiction written by English writers using India as a setting.

The Merrick passage contains within itself a number of assumptions and attitudes which the British held about India and her "natives". This can be seen as a culmination of several developments - political, social and cultural - over the last hundred and fifty years.

The study seeks to explore how relationships of the Raj are manifestations of British attitudes, ideals and theories of India, colonisation and race. The study is thus an attempt to sketch a genealogy for Paul Scott's depiction of brutality in Indo-British relationships.

Relationships form the subject of almost every novel. When the novels deal with the conquest and colonisation of one nation/people/race by another and when the characters belong to different races or cultures these relationships assume a larger significance. Are such cross-cultural, racial relationships free of politico-social implications? Are they purely "personal"? Are the relationships permeated by the "will to power"?<sup>9</sup> The present study explores relationships within the Indo-British encounter in terms of such questions.

Specific representative texts in the genre are read closely for the purpose.

The study is based on the following assumptions. First, the Indo-British "encounter" (and the term is used devoid of any pejorative sense) can be studied at the level of human encounters. This means that it is a study of the interpersonal relationships between the Indians and the British in terms of miscegenation. Second, the study assumes that "the personal is the political", to borrow a phrase from contemporary rhetoric. This assumes that occurrences at the level of "simple" interpersonal relationships are grounded in the context of British rule in India. The domestic scene is a metaphor for the national one. Third, the sexual motif (rape, seduction, homoeroticism, sadism, repression) plays an important role, especially psychological, in the interpersonal relationships of the Raj. The sexual angle is seen as dovetailing with, and influencing the psychohistory of racial relationships between the Indians and the British. Fourth, the relationships evolve and change with the gradual progress - both in extent and nature - of the Raj in India.

Miscegenation is defined by the Oxford English Dictionary as a sexual union between members of different races. The term by itself stresses more on the sexual liaison between individuals and less on the socio-political

union. The study proposes to use this erotic motif to look at larger issues. Hence other kinds of relationships of the Indo-British encounter are studied, marking a movement from the intimate-sexual to the psychological and socio-political.

The British Raj in India adopted many strategies of domination. The study explores these methods of power and hegemony within the context of interpersonal relationships. It assumes that power plays an important role in all relationships of the Indo-British encounter. Or in other words, relationships of the Raj carry with them the marks of conquest - violence, oppression, brutality, contempt and hatred.

To decipher these marks of conquest the study focuses on numerous types of relationships. Certain key types may be listed as follows: parent - child, or the "ma-baap" motif. This translated into English means: "I am your father and your mother" (Hereafter the Indian term will be used to denote this type of relationship). The other types may be listed as follows: teacher - student, missionary - heathen, officer - subordinate, protector - protected. It shows how these relationships bolster notions of Western superiority even at the domestic or local levels.

The study adopts both a diachronic mode of analysis and

a synchronic one. While studying the development of the particular theme of **relationships** in the genre, the contexts of production are also noted. Thus the **relationships** are placed within the context of **socio-political** ideas and economic and legal developments in the history of British rule in India. For obvious reasons, the study takes into account the "history of **ideas**" on the European continent which provides the intellectual climate of the Raj. Hence the novels are foregrounded against the **socio-cultural** background of its age of production.

Chapters Two and Three deal with the relevant contexts for a study of the theme of **interpersonal relationships**. Chapter Two explores certain issues and perspectives about Anglo-Indian writing. This chapter quickly sketches developments in British attitudes from about the time that Sir Thomas Roe and Captain Hawkins came to India, i.e., from 1600 to 1947. Suitable parallels and illustrations from the writings of European thinkers are also drawn. Chapter Three sketches the genre of **Anglo-Indian** writing. The chapter looks at the tradition of the **representative** texts chosen for detailed study. The two chapters together provide both the **socio-political** and literary background for the study. This background becomes foregrounded in subsequent chapters on individual texts. By necessity, the chapters move

between the text and the context so as to provide a more complete picture of the author's location vis a vis the genre and other relevant contexts.

However the study has excluded from its ambit discussions of the "other collectivities" such as class and gender. Though the study looks at the feminisation of the native and the Orient, a full account of the engendering effects of colonisation has not been undertaken. Where works like Kumkum Sangari's Recasting Women (1989), Andrew Parker's Nationalisms and Sexualities (1992) and Penelope J. Corfield's Language, Ideology and Class (1991) address the specific issue, my study is more broadbased in its scope. It undertakes a study of the entire gamut of relationships of the Raj. Where necessary references are made to the problems of class and gender in colonialism, especially as they affect interpersonal relationships.

Five representative texts form the basis of the following five chapters. Chapter Four studies Philip Meadows Taylor's Seeta (1870). The text has been chosen for its context: the 1857 "Mutiny". The novel written in the Romantic mode is important because it combines an exploration of family tension with the socio-political ones. I see Taylor's novel as embodying a "dependency complex". O. Mannoni in his Prospero and Caliban (1956) has argued that in

colonialism the Westerner nurtures a dependency complex in the native. This makes the native weak, vulnerable, child-like and hence dependent upon the strong, adult and dependable Westerner (Mannoni: 66). Cyril Brandon cultivates a "dependency complex" in Seeta. This is clearly a strategy for attaining power over the native. The novel's Orientalising features: the effeminate and/or villainous native, the hypermasculine and just Westerner, are studied as enmeshing and influencing all relationships in the text.<sup>2</sup> Taylor's tale is seen as rejecting the possibility of miscegenation and is hence regarded as an Imperialist text.

Maud Diver's Lilamani (1910), chronologically a later text in relation to Kipling, is chosen next (chapter Five) for various reasons. Even though chronology is convenient, the present ordering is based on the thematic unity between Diver and Taylor. Hence a synchronic view of the discourse is useful here. Kipling's text, as will be demonstrated, departs from the Romantic tradition of Taylor and Diver. Therefore the study of Diver occupies a prior place to Kipling here. Diver's novel, while continuing the Romantic tradition, explores various aspects of miscegenation. While traditional notions of the native and India persist, the novel moves further in a temporary acceptance of miscegenation. The Lilamani - Nevil Sinclair relationship with overtones of the

West's Christianising impulse, native subjugation and dependency is studied in detail. The various angles to the relationship, other than the sexual one, are also analysed. These include aspects like those of the ma-baap - child, teacher - pupil, Christian - heathen and some others.

Chapter Six deals with Rudyard Kipling's classic text Kim (1901). The text is notable for its reversals of the teacher - pupil, parent - child, official - subordinate roles. The novel's portrayal of Kim's development into a Sahib is tinged with some sense of disappointment, especially for the loss of Kim's good natured innocence. Kipling's novel is seen as a transition text precisely because it combines the Imperialist themes of its predecessor texts with the criticism of the Raj of later ones. The subtext of Kim is also, therefore, of equal importance in locating Kipling's text in the genre.

Chapter Seven takes as its subject E.M. Forster's much acclaimed novel A Passage to India (1924). Forster's novel makes a definite criticism of the Raj. It abolishes the myth of the asexual Englishwoman (as seen in texts like Taylor's or Diver's). Forster's humanist text depicts the Raj as having degraded both the Indians and the English. The text sees the personal as always imbedded within the political. Forster however tries to soften the true harshness of the Raj

by suggesting a humane relationship beyond and above any cultural, racial or national differences.

Paul Scott's The Raj Quartet is studied in chapter Eight. Scott's work, it is argued, represents the most trenchant criticism of the Raj. It sees the Raj as based on ignorance, evil, illusions, racial prejudice and as violating the Indian nation, psyche and culture. The sado-masochism, violence, racial hatred, which informs proponents of officialdom is seen as the true nature of the Raj. The text apotheosises illusions of the Raj's invincibility, of the camaraderie between the Indians and the British and of the philanthropic mission of the West.

Chapter Nine provides a brief survey of the Indian responses to the theme of **miscegenation**. It takes as sample texts R.K. Narayan's The Vendor of Sweets (1967), Kamala Markandaya's The Nowhere Man (1974), Raja Rao's The Serpent and the Rope (1958) and Ruth Praver Jhabvala's Heat and Dust (1975). Narayan's novel is seen as avoiding any detailed examination of the **Indo-British** encounter in its portrayal of the Mali - Grace **relationship**. The Nowhere Man depicts native subjugation and hence is seen as accepting the Raj notions of Western superiority. Raja Rao's philosophical novel The Serpent and the Rope is an ambiguous text. The novel on the one hand shows a symbolic Eastern victory over the West

(Ramaswamy's wedding to the princess, for example). Simultaneously, however, on the other hand, it shows an orthodox Brahmin's ardent desire for Europeanisation. Jhabvala's Heat and Dust resembles Forster's novel in its portrait of an amoral West. I argue that Jhabvala also paints the Raj as dishonest and cruel.

A brief summing up of the arguments of the previous chapters is also provided at the conclusion of chapter Nine.

## NOTES

1. In **this** volume, **see** especially essays by David Washbrook, "'To Each A Language of **His** Own': Language, Culture and Society in Colonial India" (179-203) and Farzana Sheikh, "The Language of **Representation**: Towards a Muslim Political Order in Nineteenth Century India" (204-226).

2. The study has found it useful to employ Edward W. Said's formulations on Orientalism. **While** taking note of recent critiques of Said, such as Aijaz Ahmed's In Theory: Classes, Nations, Literatures (1994) and Lineages of the Present: Political Essays (1996), or Rosane Rocher's essay "British Orientalism in the Eighteenth Century: The Dialectics of Knowledge and Government" in Orientalism and the Postcolonial Predicament: Perspectives on South Asia (1994), the study has not incorporated the same **into** its reading of **Raj** fictions.

## CHAPTER - 2

### ANGLO-INDIAN WRITING: PROBLEMS AND PERSPECTIVES

Surveying the "literature of imperialism" (the term is from Allen Greenberger's The British Image of India, 1969), one comes across various themes and preoccupations in the British representation of India. This chapter looks at some of the problems and issues of Anglo-Indian writing and seeks to locate them in the socio-cultural and intellectual climate of the relevant age. Chapter three will make a diachronic study of the development of British attitudes to India. The attitudes are studied in the context of interpersonal relationships. The literary manifestations of the same forms the basis for such an analysis. The British arrived in India as traders, the last of a host of Europeans - the Portuguese, the Dutch and the French. By 1618 Surat became the headquarters of the English East India Company (EIC). Bengal became the chief trading centre and Calcutta was founded in 1691.

Mughal decline had commenced. This decline attracted a lot of attention from the English. "Its fate was naturally the first object of attention for both Indians and the new arrivals", notes Percival Spear in India: A Modern History (1972, 173). The study of this decline coincides with, and probably initiated, the first preoccupation addressed in

Anglo-Indian writing: that of India's **backwardness**. The early attitude of awe for India's beauty and wealth combined with a feeling of contempt for India's **primitivism**. India was seen as a **disintegrating** society. Thomas Roe, ambassador to Jahangir's court, noted **this** state and wrote:

All in these kingdoms **[India]** will be in combustion ... Laws they have none written. The kyngs judgement bynds who sits and gives sentence **with** much patience once weakly both in capital and criminal cases ... He **[the king]** is every man's heir when he dyeth **[since the ruler is owner of all land in the kingdom]**.  
(qtd. in Mukherjee: 9)

Indian culture had stagnated. It apparently was not even a nation. Years later J.R. Seeley in The Expansion of England (1881-82) claimed: "There was no India in the political sense ... The word **[India]** was a geographical expression, and therefore India was easily conquered...." (161)

The English attributed India's backwardness to the absence of private **property**. This emphasis on private property as an index of civilisation was derived from thinkers like John Locke (1632-1704), Thomas Hobbes (1588-1679) and Montesquieu (1681-1755), and articulated forcefully later on by J.S. Mill (1806-1873).<sup>1</sup>

The Orient's **emotionalism** and despotic monarchies were regarded as the cause of **its** depraved state. Montesquieu commented **in** The Spirit of the Laws (1748) that the Orientals had a "greater need of a **wise** legislator than the peoples of our own" (235). Francois Bernier, whom Montesquieu regarded as an authority, wrote:

[It is] owing to the miserable system of Government, that most towns **in** Hindustan are made up of earth, mud and other wretched materials; that there is no town which, **if** it is not already ruined and deserted, does not bear evident marks of approaching **decay**. (qtd. in Mukherjee: 11-12)

Thus the literary works of the age combined feelings of awe and **contempt**.

As the British position **in** India stabilised and expanded, their self confidence grew. In their **relationships** with the Indians, both sides had benefitted, but the British were seen **in** a better light. As self esteem grew, the early notions of superiority burgeoned **into** arrogance and contempt for the Indians. Their success in trade and the general deference from the Indians raised such confidence. The Westerner's talents were seen as "original" **in** the arts, sciences or technology. The Indian merely imitated

this original. Ahsan Jan Qaisar in The Indian Response to European Technology and Culture: A.P. 1498-1707 (1982) makes a similar argument. An illustrative quote from Terry, a traveller, is provided to support this contention. Terry wrote in 1614: "the truth is, that the natives of that monarchy [the Moghals] are the best apes for imitation in the world..." (Qaisar: 17). Pelsaert the Dutchman and Orington the English chaplain also remarked on the Indian ability to imitate and their singular lack of talent in creating anything original (Qaisar: 17-18).

When the Englishmen had been employed by the Indian nobility their [English] talents were eulogised. And when the English hired Indians as servants they found themselves masters to the natives. This induced a sense of superiority and was a prologue to the master-slave relationship witnessed later in the heyday of the Raj. This relationship which always granted a superior-master status to the Westerner was to inform all other Indo-British relationships. It also helped create the hegemonic nature of the Raj. Philip Mason in The Men Who Ruled India (1985) quotes Sir Joshua Child (the East India Company director) who, as early as 1685, could write confidently of "the foundation of a large, well-grounded secure English dominion in India for all time to come" (Mason: 20).

Arrogance, self confidence and the desire to acquire wealth marked the Englishman of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century. **This class** of Englishmen consisted mainly of adventurers who were in India to make a fortune. They were the Nabobs whose primary motif was plunder. **Shamsul Islam** in Chronicles of the Raj (1979) paints the Nabob as a dacoit figure who was unscrupulous and cruel (7). The Nabob was exemplified by those like Robert **Clive** and Warren Hastings (Michael **Edwardes** subtitles his book on Hastings "King of the Nabobs", 1976). The Nabob was described by Macaulay as "a gentleman with a tawny complexion, a bad liver and a worse heart" (qtd in Dodwell: ix). Thus even their fellow countrymen viewed them as unpleasant characters.

The Nabobs plundered India's wealth by any means fair or foul. India provided **opportunities** which England could never have. In the England of those times wealth marked and provided any **social** status. Class distinctions were hardening in the England of the time. Edward **Royle** notes that "social **differentiation** was well underway by [the] **mid-eighteenth** century in England" (Royle: 23-4). If these men had stayed on in England progress up the social ladder **would** have been slow, if at all. These were the men who really furthered Britain's imperial enterprise in India. Nirad C. Chaudhuri actually calls Robert Clive "Clive of India". Joseph

Schumpeter in Imperialism (1960) wrote of these early imperialists as follows:

Colonial empires were not conquered by the state but by adventurers, unable to find a footing at home [England!], or men drawn into exile ... private imperialists. (18-19)

The Nabobs intended to make a fortune in the East, return to England and occupy higher societal roles, such as peerages, members of Parliament that accrued <sup>2</sup> from wealth.

The greed for wealth was not, however, the only motivation for the "private imperialists". The thirst for adventure and the thrill of the unknown, exotic East drove them on. This psychological impetus has been seen as an essential feature of Imperialism by Richard Rorty (1991). Rorty writes:

The love of the exotic ... has been a progressive element in Western culture. The best and most helpful element in the high culture of the West is the Romantic desire to acquire ever new identities. (Rorty: 19)

The adventure fiction of the age, as Hugh Ridley has demonstrated in Images of Imperial Rule (1983) reflects the Imperialist tendency of the Englishman of the time. Like

Rorty, Ridley argues that the Eastern landscape was symbolic of the exotic writers' need to escape from the monotony of English life. The land of snakes, fakirs, princes and elephants, thus far "seen" only through literature was now explored in reality. Ridley thus effectively collapses the distinction between colonial literature and colonial enterprise. Nigel Leask in British Romantic Writers and the East: Anxieties of Empire (1973) has also demonstrated how writers like Southey, Byron and Moore combine the elements of **adventure-escapism** with the pathological "anxiety" towards **empire-building**.

The Nabob was therefore an adventurer and a Romantic. The psyche of the coloniser has been analysed by **O.Mannoni** in Prospero and Caliban. Mannoni argues for a "born coloniser" who seeks to fashion a self in the colonies, since he is practically persona non grata at home. Personal tragedies and identity crises had made life difficult in Britain. A good example could be Robert **Clive**. A **schizophrenic** with suicidal tendencies, Clive was doomed to failure in England. Yet out in India he became a "hero", who ruthlessly and with clinical efficiency consolidated the British empire. **Mannoni's** argument thus helps us to question the very nature of early British colonialism. It was not an accident, nor any **philanthropic** mission, but was driven by ego, cruelty and **greed**.

It is therefore no surprise that the Nabobs detested the Indian way of life. Hastings touring Bengal in 1772 found "an exhausted country ... much oppressed" (Edwardes, Hastings: 48). The Nabobs were corrupt and unscrupulous, believing, like Hastings, that "softness of heart was a mortal disease in eighteenth century India" (Edwardes, Hastings: 62). However, the Nabobs were not really liked back in England. Their brash lifestyles and arrogance were despised by the other English (we have already noted Macaulay's comments about them). Dr. Samuel Johnson, for one criticised the Nabobs' character. He attacked the unscrupulous Nabobs for their avarice, seeing Clive and his men as bandits. Johnson's remark on the suicide of Clive is illustrative of his feeling: "a man [Clive] who acquired his fortunes by such crimes that his **consciousness** of them compelled him to cut his own throat" (qtd. in Boswell 3: 350).

From the **mid-eighteenth** century things altered. The Company had thus far regarded war as "so contrary to **[it's]** interest" (Moorhouse: 35). But now war became essential if Britain was to retain and expand her influence in India. After numerous wars like Plassey (1757), Buxar (1764), the Mysore wars (1767-69, 1780-84, **1790-92** and **1799**) British supremacy was well entrenched in India. The capture of

Bengal by Hastings in 1772 made the British invincible, because Bengal was the most important trading centre in India. From now on the State began to regulate the Company's activities. **This** was required because a lot of wealth and political stability depended on a planned approach. State intervention in Indian affairs began **in 1767** when the British Parliament Acts required the East India Company to pay annual sums into the exchequer. With this "the state claimed its share of the Indian spoil and asserted its rights to control the sovereignty of Indian territory" (Ilbert: 41). The Regulating **Act** of 1773 appointed Hastings the first Governor-General of India. A Supreme Court was **also** set up. British presence had shifted its purpose from trade to politics. Michael Edwardes in British India, 1772-1947 (1993), sees this age as a crucial one in the Imperial enterprise. Edwardes believes that the Battle of Buxar (1764) was the pivotal event of the age. He writes:

[the Battle of Buxar **marked**] the real foundation of British dominion in India ... As a result of the battle, the company ceased to be a Company of merchants and became a formidable political force. (Edwardes, British: 22)

From the **last** years of the eighteenth century, especially with Hastings, there was a "moral awakening" of Britain, as

Islam puts it in Chronicles of the Raj (10). From now on the chief concerns of the East India Company, George **Bearce** argues, centred around patronage, commerce and governing India (Bearce: 37). An increasing feeling of "imperial responsibility" prevailed. This responsibility was of uplifting the heathen, savage and backward native. The attitude of responsibility hence led to the civilisational mission which eventually climaxed with the **Clapham Sect**. Missionaries poured into India in sharp contrast to the previous century. The London Missionary Society, set up in 1795, despatched its first missionary, Nathaniel Forsyth, to India in 1798. After the Charter Act of 1813 the influx increased. By 1851 there were 19 such societies, excluding the unattached missionaries operating from 222 mission stations (Renford: 171-2). The missionaries were to play a major role in the development of Western education in India.

The **Conservatives** led by Edmund Burke and Pitt (Sr.) continued to have the previous generation's fascination for India. These "**metropolitan Orientalists**" (the phrase is **Moore-Gilbert's**) regarded India as "a people for ages civilised and cultivated" (Burke: 111). But the natives were still seen as weaklings and "**aboriginals**" (Burke: 113). The major preoccupation was therefore the upliftment of the primitive native. Burke wrote:

It will be a distinction honourable to the age that the rescue of the greatest number of the human race [India] that ever were so grievously oppressed **from** the greatest tyranny that was ever exercised has fallen to the lot of abilities and disposition equal to the task.... (125)

The **Conservatives** were echoing the theory of Oriental despotism and degradation voiced earlier by Bernier, Montesquieu and Tavernier as noted above. The **Conservatives** also added another element to the conceptual terrain of thought about the Orient. By rejecting the "oppressive" rulers of India, they justified the "benign" British presence. Since the **natives** were "weak", "**child-like**" and "oppressed", the British took it upon themselves to improve their lot. The Orient was the "Other". It was a binary opposition installed within the discourse: the child-like, effeminate, savage Oriental as contrasted with the adult, masculine, advanced Westerner.

**This** move of creating the "Other" camouflaged and silenced voices raised back **in** England of England's own problems. England was moving rapidly **from** an agrarian society to an industrial one. The working classes lived in miserable conditions. Family life had been disrupted due to the work schedules like factory timings, lack of privacy in

homes etc. Women were **also** recruited for work. **This** was seen as a breakdown of the private family units - something held dear by the British. V.G. Kiernan suggests in The Lords of Human Kind (1969) that there might have been a guilty feeling in English minds about the changes occurring at home (qtd. in Thornton: 11). These changes entailed a great deal of physical and mental hardship. Before the soul searching for such consequences of "progress" could reach alarming proportions the spotlight was shifted onto the "Other" - the Orient. "By thinking the worst of their subjects they avoided having to think badly of **themselves**", notes Kiernan (qtd. in Thornton: 11-12). Mannoni, arguing on similar lines in Prospero and Caliban says that colonisation helps to remove the Westerner's inferiority complex as he lorded it over the natives. The presence of an "inferior" helped provide a **psychological** boost to the Westerner. He could now view himself as a better person.

However the Conservative zeal to reform did not consider tampering with the religious life of the Indians. The Conservative approach to civilising the native was based on a different principle as we shall see. The portrayal of the "feminine" East implied a Western masculinity. From this view developed the later "**ma-baap**" ("I am your father and your mother") role of the English in India. **This** role

was grafted onto and developed along **with** a certain psychology of the coloniser. Mannoni argues that the coloniser by creating a "dependency complex" **in** the native helped **his** own ego, identity and eventually his **social** status. Any and all **relationships** of the native with the Englishman gave a superior status to the latter. Mannoni goes so far as to say that the colonialists lived by the "natives' need for dependence" (Mannoni: 66). **This** dependency complex was at the heart of the coloniser's method after the seventeenth century. The improvement of the native provided a motivation for the British. Their "**responsibility**" drove them on. However this progress could not be attained without a thorough knowledge of the Orient's customs and religions. Thus the motivation provided by the presence of the "Other" had two dimensions: to study and understand the "Other"; and subsequently civilise it. **This** was the task of the Westerner in India. By the eighteenth century the Westerner had made the Orient a subject of intensive "study". Supported by **establishment** of institutions like Haileybury in **1805**, British "readings" of India became more popular. India was more than just an adventure. **This** was a departure from the Nabob attitude. India was a profession, a subject worthy of study, **interpretation** and analysis. Sanskrit and the Indian languages, customs, climate, topography, Hindu and Islamic **laws** were taught to future

rulers. The English civil servant was thus to be an official who "knew" the Indian way of life, its history and state of affairs.

"Orientalising" thus accompanied political enterprise. As Edward Said has argued, knowledge precedes governance. Acquiring knowledge of the East was ostensibly to enlighten the West's ignorance of this "dark arena". This attitude is illustrated in Dr. Samuel Johnson's famous request to Hastings regarding his (Hastings's) task in India. Hastings, according to Johnson, would have to

Increase the learning of his country [England] ... examine wisely the traditions and histories of the East ... and that at his [Hasting's] return we [the other English] shall know the arts and opinions of a race of men from whom very little has hitherto been derived. (qtd. in Boswell 4: 69)

This "knowledge" was provided by scholars like H.T. Colebrooke, Charles Wilkins, Robertson and William Jones. These were the real "Orientalists", in Said's sense of the term. An examination of the literature of the age reveals how the knowledge was "formulated" as hypothesis, provided "evidence" and thus became established as "truth", even though it created, in reality, **stereotypical** images of **the**

East. The knowledge thus provided by "**authorities**" like James Mill was used by politicians and civil servants to reform India. The entire British approach after the eighteenth century was hence based on such incomplete, even false knowledge. We shall look at the flaws in such **authoritative** texts as Mill's a little later.

It is hardly surprising, therefore, that later British rulers in India laboured under an illusion. The illusion was: that they (the British) were in India because India was weak and backward. This was the notion provided by their "study" of the country. The British alone had the sagacity and resources to improve India's lot. As twentieth century novelists like E.M. Forster and Paul Scott were to show, this was an illusion based on ignorance, and an exaggerated sense of their own importance.

Upliftment of backward India meant Westernising it. Members of the **Clapham** Sect: Charles Metcalfe, Charles Grant (Jr.), William **Wilberforce**, Josiah Pratt, Zachary Macaulay, William Bentinck and later Thomas B. Macaulay. "**Englishisation**" was promoted in three areas: education, technology and religion. This concern with **Westernisation** in nineteenth century British India was an outcome of Britain's own **transformation** during the Industrial Revolution. Britain hoped that like herself, even the backward nations could

benefit if their way of life was modelled after England's. Richard Rorty in Cultural Otherness (1991) terms this a "culture of social hope" as opposed to a "culture of endurance". Rorty believes that the West was influenced by the hope that science and technology would transform human existence (Rorty: 20-21).

On the religious front therefore, Christianising the heathen was Britain's aim. This was probably the most touchy and controversial area of Indo-British relations of the age, the Conservatives having left religion well alone. The Charter Act of 1813 allowed missionaries into India. The missionary aim was two-fold: conversion of heathens to Christianity, and educating them on Western lines. This approach was to have enormous consequences for Britain.<sup>4</sup>

Westernisation, paradoxically, did not try to collapse the us/them distinction. The Indian Civil Service, for example, indoctrinated its personnel with the idea of keeping their "Englishness" and the dangers of "going native". Britain's pride lay in its overseas deputees, and the deputees ought to live upto Britain's expectations and ideals. The English were to Westernise the native and make him similar to an Englishman. However caution was to be exercised here. The Englishman himself should stay "pure". Thus the opposition of "I/Other" remained.

Much of such indoctrination and idealism was inculcated by the English school system and institutions like Haileybury. The English public school, Kathryn Tidrick notes in Empire and the English Character (1990) instilled the "flamboyant cult of manliness" (218). Philip Mason has argued likewise in The English Gentleman (1982). Mason writes:

[The student at the public school] learned to do as he was told without question; later he learned to take it for granted that he would be obeyed. He learned to punish and encourage. He learned in short to rule.  
(170)

The system was thus teaching pupils to be rulers. Its indoctrination reinforced notions of Western superiority and native primitivism. Future rulers were to subscribe to, and passionately believe in, these formulations instilled by their education. It is no surprise therefore that such schools produced hardened imperialists like Auckland and Ellenborough.

The system also provided a lineage, and thus unquestionable justification for continuing the tradition and fulfilling a duty. This generation of imperialists looked up to the largest colonial enterprise before them: the Roman

Empire. They saw themselves as the heir to this ancient Empire. **Suhash Chakravarty** in The Raj Syndrome (1991) writes:

The ruling **class** in England] ... carefully contrived the fantasies of a modern Roman Empire. It was construed that the imperial obligation of Rome had been inherited by the British. **This** attitude becomes admirably expressed in Kipling's "A **British-Roman** Song" where he hailed the '**Imperial** fire of Rome' as a divine dispensation fallen 'on us, thy son'.  
(Chakravarty: 23-24)

There was however a fear in some quarters about the usefulness of this "legacy". Some **like** Auckland, Hardinge and **Ellenborough** laboured under the ideal of their **invincibility** and the "illusion of permanence", to use Francis Hutchins's phrase. Reformers of the age advocated caution so as to preserve present positions. They approached their endeavours more **modestly**, admitting that British experience in India had been too short for anyone to ascertain what was best for India (Bearce: 120). People like Elphinstone believed in an inevitable future departure **of** the British from India. Sir Charles **Metcalf** wrote as early as 1829:

Empires grow old, decay and perish. Ours in India can hardly be called old but seems destined to be short lived. We appear to have passed the brilliancy and vigour of our youth, and it may be that we have reached a premature old age. (qtd. in Joshi: 16)

It was to be a **perspicacious** remark, for within 30 years Britain faced India's first "Mutiny" in 1857.

The caution of some of these "Sahibs" - as the 19th century Englishmen were called (as distinct from the early "Nabobs") - could possibly be explained by their geneology. In contrast to the Nabobs who did not belong to English society's "creamy layer", the Sahibs usually came **from** old respected families. They were trained to be "gentlemen" - stoic, chivalrous, correct, liberal and **hardworking**. They were relatively more honest since wealth was **not** a primary motive for these already rich men. There was more idealism to serve and improve the lot of the "poor" heathens. Most "**established**" upper-class English families had "**representatives**" in India. CA. Bayly in Imperial Meridian (1989) mentions a dozen such respected families who sent their sons or other relatives to India. The **Beauforts, Moiras, Cavendish-Bentincks, Fitzroys, Castlereaghs, Maitlands, Elliots, Macartneys, Edmonstones, Elphinstones,**

Wellesley\*, Cornwallises, and Fitzmaurices were the more prominent among them (Bayly: 134-5).

The philosophy of his time influenced the ideology and actions of the Sahib in India. The influences came from various disciplines. The "final" ideology or perception may be summed up as: reform and strong Government. The values that helped make this view were: the liberalism of Jeremy Bentham (1748-1882), James Mill (1773-1836), humanism of Rousseau (1712-1778), Tom Paine (1737-1809), economists like David Ricardo (1772-1823) and Adam Smith (1723-1790), demographers like Thomas Malthus (1766-1834) and the political philosophy of J.S. Mill (1806-1873) and T.H. Green (1836-1882).

Rousseau argued that the savage in his natural habitat was motivated only by his selfish needs. The larger good of the community was never his concern. In such cases, a "social contract" entered into by the State - Government with the people was necessary for the sake of the whole community. This closely paralleled the prevalent British idea that they were in India to provide a just government since the savage natives were incapable of governing themselves rightly. The liberal and Utilitarian Bentham argued that "greatest good of the greatest number" was possible only by legislation. Legal sovereignty was essential for the progress of society.

Reforms could therefore **only** be implemented **after** securing political power (Sabine: 611-633).

J.S. Mill (1806-1873) argued that restraining the powers of rulers was difficult. As a solution to **this** problem he advocated the presence of a legislature whose interest was identical with those of the country. **This would** mean that members of the Government have no motive for using their power other than in the general interest (Sabine: 630-633). The similarities between **Mill's** argument and British attitudes in India are **striking**. The British in India had always argued that they ruled out of **unselfishness**, for Indian interests alone, seeing her as "the white man's burden", in Kipling's terms.

Liberals like T.H. Green and J.S. Mill stressed the idea of the individual's liberty to perform freely, unless this action caused injury to others. The liberals argued that governments functioned to ensure such a free society where the individual could develop **his** moral character **unrestrained**. Education was the most important contributor to **social consciousness**. Freedom of expression was considered vital for individual development. States, **said** Green, worked as a positive agency, in Benthamite fashion, using legislation to contribute to a positive freedom (Sabine: 655-663).

The attitudes and actions of English reformers in India may be seen in the context of these views. William Bentinck before leaving for India sought Bentham's blessing and said: "I am going to India but I shall not be Governor-General. It is you that will be Governor-General" (qtd. in Joshi: 18).

Developments in British policy in nineteenth century India were therefore governed by such liberal-humanitarian-Utilitarian views. Import of slaves was banned in 1811, possibly as the extension of the right to freedom. In 1832 purchase or sale of slaves between one administrative district and another was prohibited. The abhorrent customs of human sacrifice and female infanticide were duly banned. Thuggee, the barbaric cult of murder-robbery had always revolted the British. Between 1831 and 1837 the army and the police intensified their campaigns against Thuggee. Liberalism's advocacy of the freedom of expression manifested itself in the introduction of the Free Press in 1836. William Bentinck introduced a legislation banning Sati in 1829. In 1823 Raja Ram Mohun Roy had requested the then Governor-General Lord Amherst to set up a college suitable to a developing India. Roy envisaged the college's function thus:

[as] promoting a more liberal and enlightened system of instruction embracing natural philosophy and the

sciences, instead of the proposed Sanskrit college in Calcutta. (qtd. in Rajeshwari Sunder Rajan: 300)

Macaulay's Minute on Education (1835) dismissed Persian and Sanskrit learning as useless. This marked the entry of Western education in India. In 1854 Charles Wood's despatch recommended the setting up of a Department of Education. The Universities of Bombay, Calcutta, Allahabad, Madras and Lahore were set up between 1857 and 1887. The aim was to set up a native ruling class "Indian in blood and colour, but English in taste, opinions, in morals and in intellect" (Macaulay: 116). The other reason for educating the Indians was, as Gauri Vishwanathan's essay in The Lie of the Land (1992) argues, to cut British expenses by recruiting natives to work for the government: "Teaching was subordinated to the larger educational enterprises: working more for bureaucratic selection" (Vishwanathan: 29-41).

Western-educated Indians however caused more problems for the British. Eventually, the Westernised Indian had a love-hate relationship with the Englishmen. In literature the "Babu" became a character for ridicule, and his relations with the British seems to alternate between grovelling passivity (Hurree Babu in Kim) and angry rebellion (Dr. Aziz in Forster's A Passage to India). George Woodcock in Who Killed the British Empire? (1974) believes that Western

education of Indians contributed a great deal to the Empire's downfall. Woodcock comments: "One cannot **rule** indefinitely according to **Curzon** and teach according to Milton and Shelley" (327). The education of the Indians provided access to the ideas of freedom, fraternity and democracy as expressed in the texts of the British liberal **thinkers**. **This** awareness **also** brought to the **Indians'** notice the discrepancy between theory and practice. They realised that the British government in India did not adhere to the principles advocated by **its own** thinkers. **This** awareness sparked off **dissension**.

With the Benthamite turn in English **political-social-legal** philosophy, Utilitarian thinking influenced British policies in **its** colonies. **Eric Stokes** in **The English Utilitarians and India** (1982) says that the reform movement was the joint result of the merchant, the manufacturer and the missionary (47-8). We have already noted the rapid expansion of the missionary strength in India. The merchant **class** was driven by the lure of wealth. The manufacturer found India a rich source of raw materials and a market for British products. **Fieldhouse** calls the **post-1860s** phase the "second imperialism" when laissez **faire** economics, policies like "imperial preference" and extensive expansion marked the **Raj** (Fieldhouse: 5).

The Britisher was now a "competitionwallah", as G.O. Trevelyan called him. The "competitionwallah" was a civil servant who had to pass an exam to get into the Indian Civil Service. The manufacturer, merchant and the civil servant decided that if there was a technological revolution in India on the lines of Britain's own industrial revolution, the English would make a fortune. Simultaneously, the missionary would be trying to induce "moral" upliftment of the natives. This is what Lugard called European Imperialism's "dual mandate": Europe's own industrial class's benefit and the native race's progress to a higher plane (qtd. in Betts: 119). The "competitionwallah" had thus moved farther than the Nabob, a mere plunderer, and the Sahib who was the complete, idealistic English gentleman. It is in this age that technological progress, on the lines of Britain's Industrial Revolution begins. The Railways, Post and Telegraph, industries, all began to take root and expand.

The Mutiny of 1857 changed British perceptions radically. They had expected gratitude for their contribution to India's "progress". It was forgotten that "progress" had destroyed Indian handicraft industry, created class barriers among Indians by the industrial-trade setup. The caste system, which provided a support to the Indian, was

vigorously attacked by the British. **Anti-missionary** feeling also gathered **momentum**. By 1857 there were 200,000 Christians in India, as Michael **Edwardes** notes in British India (131). Disaffection among sepoys, the Zamindars and the poorer Indians spread.

The Mutiny aroused feelings of betrayal in British hearts. Their god-like images, the "**ma-baap**" role, their **technological-educational** mission had all been rejected by the Indians. The concept of the native as an "innocent" disappeared, to be replaced by a view of him as treacherous and ungrateful. The child-Indian had turned against the parent-Englishman. The violence of the Mutiny upset British expectations of a glorious empire in the East.

An **understanding** of the **psychological** root of the Mutiny may be gathered from **Rollo May's** work Power and Innocence (1972). May first provides the etymology of the word "innocent". It is derived from "in-nocens" or "not harmful". The Englishman viewed the native as innocent and child-like. The father image of the ruler had a "nutrient power" as of the parent over the child (May: 109). **This** made the child's violence inexplicable to the British "**ma-baap**". Rollo May argues that such aggression was the result of self-assertion being blocked over a period of time and marks a movement into positions of power, into another territory, and

therefore **self-definition** (May: 40-43). The Mutiny can therefore be seen as the Indians' first expression of their desire for **independence**. It was the first move towards taking the power of government away from British hands. The Mutineers had actually re-installed Bahadur Shah Zafar as Emperor at Delhi.

Eventually the British began to accept their share of **responsibility** for the Revolt. They realised that their policies may not have been entirely blameless. Thinkers were locating the Indian problem within Britain's own policies and attitudes. Karl Marx in The First War of Indian Independence (nd) said that the Mutiny was "only the reflex, in a concentrated form, of England's own conduct in India" (94). Such a criticism provoked a rethinking of approaches to India on the part of the British. The British began to reconstruct and revise their policies.

There was however no question of **relinquishing** India. Leaders like Canning and Disraeli realised that Britain could not **afford** to lose India. Joanna Trollope in Brittanica's Daughters (1983) quotes Disraeli:

There may be grave questions as to the best mod\* of obtaining wealth ... but there can be no question that the best mode of preserving wealth is power. (20)

Britain intended to alter its **attitudes, and** make structural changes in **administration**; in short do anything to retain its most valuable possession.

Structural changes resulted **from** a marked distrust of the natives, "the mutiny mentality" as Charles **Allen** describes it. There was a radical **centralisation** of authority. The army, where the revolt had begun, was restructured since **its** potential as a centre of dissension was finally recognised. Karl Marx had written;

In creating a native army of 200,000 men kept in check by an English army of 40,000 the British **simultaneously** organised the first centre of **resistance....** (42)

The English realised this tactical error in 1857. Before the revolt the proportion of European troops to Indian sepoys was 1:9. By 1863 there were 62,000 British soldiers and **125,000** Indian. A **1:2** ratio was carefully maintained in Bengal, and elsewhere **it** was 1:3 (**Moorhouse: 106**). Brahmins and Rajputs were kept out. Recruitments were communal. In sharp contrast to earlier attitudes (as expressed in **W.D. Arnold's Oakfield**) the officers tried to get better acquainted with Indian soldiers (**Spear, India: 278**).

The East India Company was held responsible for the disaster. In 1858 a Bill transferred power **from** the Company

to the Crown. In 1873 the East India Company was formally dissolved. The "New Imperialism" had begun. The "New Imperialism" had a double feature. It was more hardened, Imperialist and **discriminatory** than the previous age - a direct result of 1857. It was also more avaricious, necessitated by Britain's move towards acquiring a position of global economic supremacy. Lenin in Imperialism as the Highest Stage of Capitalism (1939) has argued that this rapid Imperial expansion coincided with Britain's progress towards a capitalist economy (Lenin: 22). The Victorian Age therefore saw a resurgence in British confidence.

This confidence resulted in a more **discriminatory** attitude, as noted before. The "Otherness" of the Orient was emphasised. The language of racism was now forcefully articulated. This language first emerged from the scientific community. The discourse of racism had its origins in the biological sciences, specifically evolution theory and **anthropology**. Post-1857 years of British rule were influenced by Darwinian theories (Origin of Species appeared in 1859). **Anthropological** and ethnological studies were developing fast. Christine Bolt in Victorian Attitudes to Race (1971) points out that all theories contributed to the essential notion that the Indians were inferior. They offered "scientific" evidence to support their claim. James Hunt in

his annual address to the **Anthropological Society** of London noted:

Statesmen may ignore the existence of race antagonism: but it exists **nevertheless**. They may continue to plead that race **subordination** forms no part of nature's laws: but this will not alter the **facts....** (Bolt: 4)

The Journal published by the **Anthropological Society** of London claimed:

Everywhere the inferior organisation makes way for the superior. As the Indian is killed by the approach of **civilisation**, to which he resists in vain, so the black man perishes by that culture to which he serves as a humble instrument. (qtd. in Bolt: 20)

Social Darwinists like Houston Chamberlain (1855-1927), Karl Pearson (1857-1936) and the rise of Fascist and Nazi ideologies made emphatic demands for racial "purity". They rejected any possibility of **miscegenation** as a cultural contact. There was, on the European front, a tendency to isolate races to maintain their pure identity. The British antagonism towards their subject races, their increasing aloofness, emphasis on "**Englishness**" therefore is no

surprise. The "Other" was inferior, animal-like, subhuman; and the British superior, and civilised. **This** meant that "scientifically", racism was "proved" true. The discourse helped the rulers to **rule** over the "savage" native in an inhuman manner because the "animals" required such harsh treatment. James Morris in Pax Britannica (1984) expresses this **view**: "But in an empire so firmly based upon racial differences it was inevitable that people were sometimes treated as less than human" (143). The English fear of **miscegenation**, contact with Indian at intimate levels, or even of official relationship was reflected **in** their reactions to the Ilbert **Bill (1883)** and the Bengal Tenancy **Bill (1883)**.

On the Indian side, the response to much aggressive "Englishing" was the rise of militant nationalism. Dayanand Saraswathi (1824-1883) and Swami Vivekananda (1863-1902) were the chief leaders. Ashis Nandy in The Intimate Enemy (1989) argues that this development was out of necessity. Cultural co-optation **in** the encounter requires **identification** with the aggressor according to Nandy. Indians like Vivekananda saw their salvation in being more like the British. They therefore resurrected the militant ideology in the traditional Indian concept of state craft (Nandy: 7). The militant nationalists hoped to gain freedom and recognition

from the British by their "**Britishness**". In becoming like the British, it was hoped, the Indian identity **would** be respected and **acknowledged**.

The founding of the Indian National Congress (INC) in 1885 was an important step in the progress towards India's **self-assertion**. This move, initially regarded as a "safety-valve" by A.O. Hume (one of the INC's founders), was not popular **with** the other English. However, **self-confident** men like Curzon had doubts as to the degree of threat posed by the INC to the British empire. Curzon wrote to Lord Dufferin: "In my belief the Congress is tottering to **its** fall, and one of my great ambitions **while** in India is to assist it to a peaceful demise" (qtd. in Spear, India: 318). According to Spear, Curzon did India a favour, by "**transforming** nationalism from a set of individual opinions into a nation wide movement" (316).

The Curzon kind of self confidence led the English to **reject** everything Indian in order to retain their **Englishness** (Greenberger: 15). It also meant that a rapprochement between the two races was ruled out. Kipling's view that the East and West cannot meet illustrates this attitude. In the twentieth century writers like Paul Scott, George Orwell and E.M. Forster blamed the English for their insularity which prevented any real mixing of the races. Trenchant

criticism of the Raj and **its** perpetrators began to a limited extent **with** Kipling and moved to more overt expression in **Forster** and Scott. Even **if** post-1947 writers like Farrell, John Masters and Paul Scott felt nostalgic about the **loss** of empire, they did not flinch **from** apportioning the blame between English policy and personality. These writers **with** their critique combined **with** a sense of loss for Britain's erstwhile empire mark the climax in the "literature of imperialism".

## NOTES

1. John Locke had argued that society and government were formed mainly to protect private property. Montesquieu the French thinker, placed the cause of Oriental **primitivism** with the despotic rulers, material poverty and the general Eastern climate. In The Spirit of the Laws Montesquieu illustrates Edward Said's argument in Orientalism that both the hypothesis and "proof" of Oriental backwardness was provided by the same paradigm. Montesquieu, quotes the travelogues of Jean **Baptiste** Tavernier and Francois **Bernier** as "proof". Tavernier wrote: "A hundred European soldiers would have little difficulty in routing a thousand Indian soldiers" (qtd. in Montesquieu: 234-5).

2. The newly rich Nabobs returned to England, acquired land and became part of the landed gentry. They usually had blacks or Indians as servants, a legacy of their days in India. **This** was seen as fashionable and allowed the "rich planter or Nabob to maintain in the home community the standard of living which he had enjoyed overseas, without the cost of English servants" (Royle: 76). Col. Mannering in Sir Walter Scott's Guy Mannering (1815), Robert **Clive** and Warren Hastings are examples.

3. Some idea of the "condition of England" during **its industrialisation** can be gauged from Patrick Colquhoun's

statistics of 1796. Colquhoun calculated that 67% of the total population of England and Wales were of the lower orders and commanded a mere 24.9 % of the total income (Royle: 81). A study of the consequences of industrialisation such as alienation, disrupted family life, religious dilemmas, psychological trauma, sexual repression can be found in Trevor May's An Economic and Social History of Britain, 1760-1970 (1987).

4. Raymond K. Renford in The Non-Official British in India to 1920 provides statistics to illustrate the rapidly expanding base of Christianity in India. The 4000 Indian Christians in the Punjab in 1880s grew to 163000 by 1911. In Uttar Pradesh the Methodists grew to 104,000 between 1901-1911. India also boasted the largest number of foreign missionaries at work in any non-Christian country - 5200. Renford says that there was growing missionary influence upon Indian society and the government in this country (Renford: 196-97).

5. Daniel R. Headrick in The Tools of Empire (1981) points out that technological progress in colonies was both necessitated and facilitated by British imperialism. The search for raw materials, then markets, the availability of wireless, armaments, transport were results of Britain's own industrialisation and in turn helped their penetration into and across colonies. A similar study is undertaken by Zaheer

Baber in The Science of Empire: Scientific Knowledge, Civilisation and Colonial Rule in India (1996). Baber explores the interactions which helped transmission of scientific knowledge between India and other civilisations. He also analyses the role of scientific development, especially in the nineteenth century, in the consolidation of British empire in India.

## CHAPTER - 3

### RAJ FICTIONS: THE LITERARY SITES OF **IMPERIALISM**

The early British arrivals in India saw a degraded, poor and barbaric nation. The early traders and ambassadors like Sir Thomas Roe had been well received by Indian nobility. Indeed much of the intercourse between Indians and the English was at the "court circle" (ladies being exempt, on both sides). Ahsan Jan Qaisar in The Indian Response to European Technology and Culture AP 1498 - 1707 suggests that this level of contact was based on curiosity about the exotic on both sides (17). But the British had a commercial purpose behind this **inquisitiveness**. The Indians were enamoured of European art, and the British lavished such gifts (Qaisar: 8-9). There was thus an automatic compulsion on their part to consider themselves "better" when Indian solicited their favours. Trading concessions apart they were "wealthy" - in terms of material prosperity and knowledge. Frequent discussions were held between the two in court circles. Prince Dara Shikoh and Father **Busi, Danishmand** Khan (a Mughal noble) and **Bernier**, Jahangir with Sir Thomas Roe and Capt. Hawkins are examples. Bowrey's venerated expositions on the science of eclipses to the Brahmins are also illustrative (Qaisar: 9-10).

Qaisar suggests that this early relationship **was** a

cordial one. It helped the British to increase their self-confidence. **This** however led to increasing arrogance too, as we shall see. It must however be noted that the "prevailing ethos [upto the eighteenth century] was not yet **imperialist**". The focus was on trade and commerce alone. Even so, these early years carried within them the germs of a future colonial government (Rocher: 216).

It **is** therefore clear that British attitudes and policies were helped by a certain amount of local support. Ronald Robinson in his influential essay "Non - European Consolidation of European Imperialism: Sketch for a Theory of Collaboration" terms such local supports "**collaborative mechanisms**". These mechanisms are the "linkages" which furthered the relationship between natives and the outsiders. They may be between indigenous elites drawn into cooperation with European industrial classes. These elites were **also** connected to the rigidities of local interests and **institutions**. Thus the chain was forged: local interests - indigenous elites - European industrial classes. **Most** of these local supports came from **non-commercial** oligarchies and landholding elites (Robinson: 117-140).

The Mughal nobility's welcome to the early **English**, eventual granting of trade concessions, revenue collection rights were part of such a **collaborative** mechanism. It

was obviously the relationship at court levels which helped the **establishment** of the Raj.<sup>1</sup>

There were other levels of contact outside the elite classes. The mercantile group - brokers, traders, bankers, transporters, **guards -was** directly involved with the British for trading activities (Qaisar: 10-14). However this relationship did not extend to the Indian artisans. The relationship was for purely commercial purposes.

Indians **also** hired Europeans for various jobs - **artillery-men**, gunfounders, jewellers, navigation experts and physicians. Francois **Bernier**, Manuci, Claude **Maille** were reputed physicians in the service of various Indian nobles.

The Indians were usually employed by Europeans in a menial capacity. A retinue of Indian servants was found in most British homes. In fact one of the notable features of the Nabob **age** in India was this penchant for numerous domestic servants. Isabella Fane in her **Letters** (1985) provides an example: "the number of servants my father keeps, who wait upon him and me, is sixty eight, and this is reckoned a **small** number for the commander - in - chief" (101, emphasis Fane's). Percival Spear in **The Nabobs** (1980) describes the hierarchy, from the headservant "**Khansamah**" to the waterman. The troupe included: the daragah (**gomustah**),

the *jamaidar*, the *palanquin-bearers*, the *headservant* (in the houses, the *babachy* (*bawarchi*) or cook (usually Muslim), the *khitmatgar*, the *hookah-bardar*, the *mali*, the groom, grass cutter, dogkeeper, *horsebreaker*, camel driver, water carrier, doorkeeper, waterman. There were also occasional servants like the tailor, waterman, barber and if they wanted a boat - a steersman, a bowman, and a number of rowers (Spear: 53-5).

Thus praise and deference from the Indian and their own "master" position vis-a-vis their servants helped English self esteem and the superiority complex which culminated as racialism and arrogance in the master-slave relationship.

Two major features mark the relationships of the early Raj. One was the non-existence of contact between upper class Indian ladies and European males. European ladies too had only minimal dealings with Indian men, even of the nobility. Henry Dodwell notes in The Nabobs of Madras:

The [English] man mixed with all ranks of Indians, while they [the English ladies] seldom saw ...Cany]... but their servants and their attitudes and influence were never healthy. (201)

Ashis Nandy has argued that the English ladies were more racial minded and they constantly saw Indian males as threats. The fear of rape by a native was always present. They

also saw the native males as rivals for the Englishman's affections (Nandy: 9-10).

Kenneth Ballhatchet in Race, Sex and Class Under the Raj (1980) and Ahsan Jan Qaisar in The Indian Response to European Technology and Culture, A.P. 1498-1707 note separately that sexual relations were restricted to the British soldiery and the Indian women at the lower end of the social hierarchy (Qaisar: 14). The British soldier who usually hailed from the English lower class was allowed to visit Indian prostitutes. Higher officials could however only "content themselves with British wives, for rulers should be aloof from the people..." (Ballhatchet: 2).

Not surprisingly, therefore, interracial marriages were rare. The Portuguese and Dutch had, early in the seventeenth century, prohibited such marriages. British ostracism of "mixed" couples and their resultant Eurasian progeny came much later. The first recorded British interracial marriage was of John Leachland and Manya (1615-35). Their daughter Mary also married an Englishman, William Appleton (Qaisar: 117).

The second notable feature of the relationships of the early Raj was the camaraderie between the English and the Indian Muslims. The English excluded Muslims in their

**categorisation** of the natives as villains. The Thomas Roe - Jahangir friendship **was** the earliest example of the bonhomie that prevailed. Thomas Roe and Capt. Hawkins were **Jahangir's** drinking and hunting companions. The English viewed Islam more tolerantly. Bishop Reginald **Heber** wrote **in** 1824-25:

The good qualities of the Hindus ... are, **in** no instance that I am aware of, connected with, or arising out of, their religion ....

Heber believed that the Muslims have a "far better creed". He **also** mentioned his preference for Persian literature over Sanskrit (qtd. **in** Dyson: 231). Tavernier wrote that the Muslims had less barbarous practices than Hindus. He was appalled at the practice of Sati and found that the Muslims had been equally horrified. He wrote: "The Governours who were Mussulman held **this** dreadful custom of self destruction in horror and **did** not readily **give** permission" (qtd. **in** Josh1: 97).

Such a shared view of Hinduism helped a better relationship between the Muslims and the English. Their Judaeo-Christian **roots** and the mutual feeling of being outsiders in India probably helped. The British hence took care to befriend the Muslims. An example of the British attempt to improve terms **with** the Muslims **in** India is

provided by Percival Spear in The Nabobs. Spear notes that the Company's chapels were kept free of all images so as not to offend Muslim sentiments (128).

Literary examples of this working relationship are to be found throughout Anglo-Indian writing. Kasim Ali Herbert Compton in Philip Meadows Taylor's Tippoo Sultaun (1840), Cyril Fielding - Dr. Aziz in Forster's A Passage to India (1924) and the Sarah Layton - Ahmed Kasim half love-affair in Paul Scott's The Raj Quartet (1966-1975) are illustrations. Likewise, villains and caricatured stereotypes in Anglo-Indian tales are Hindus: Byron's Giaour is a Brahmin, Beckford's villain in Vathek (1786) and the mutineer-dacoit in Taylor's Seeta, Azrael Pande, are Brahmins, Prof. Godbole in Forster's A Passage to India and Hurree Babu in Kipling's Kim are stereotypes meant mainly to amuse.

If the dominant themes of the early Raj and the age of the Nabobs were India's wealth, weakness, barbarity, the British emphasis was on commercial gains. The literature of the early Raj reflects these themes. John Dryden (1631-1700), England's Poet Laureate between 1670-1689, described the enormous "gains" to be had from the East. When Bombay was gifted as dowry to Charles II, Dryden wrote in "Annus Mirabilis" (1667) of the "Fleet from India, fraught/With all

the riches of the rising sun" (Dryden 1: 63, l. 193-94). He also ridiculed Indian barbarity and emotionalism. During Dryden's times - the Age of Enlightenment - scientific temper was regarded as the true way of life. They rejected sentimentality and emotionalism. In "The Hind and the Panther" (1687) he wrote of the Indian who runs "muck [amok] at all he meets" (3: 196, l. 1188). However, he regarded the Indian wife's act of Sati as a brave one, and used it to symbolise courage: "In death undaunted as an Indian wife" (3: 136, l. 442).

Joseph Addison (1672-1719) wrote Oriental tales like "The Story of Helima and Abdullah", "Vision of Mirza" and "Hilpa, Harpath and Shallum". Alexander Pope (1688-1744) in his famous "Essay On Man" (1733) described the barbarous Indian as one "whose untutored mind sees God in clouds or hears him in the wind" (Pope: 244, l. 199-100).

The classic text of this age, and one of the most popular novels in English literature, was Daniel Defoe's Robinson Crusoe (1719). Hugh Ridley in Images of Imperial Rule arguing on the basis of Mannoni's theories finds in the Crusoe - Friday relationship the archetype of colonial relationships. This novel along with Jonathan Swift's Gulliver's Travels (1726-27) combines the antecedents of the Anglo - Indian novel: the exotic-adventure tale of the

mysterious East. Writers in the genre from Philip Meadows Taylor to John Masters have their roots in the tradition of the adventure novel of the eighteenth century.

The early adventurer-Nabobs had a deprecatory view of India, even if they admired and craved its wealth. They were unscrupulous and villainous. They also lived luxuriously. They treated their servants badly and indulged in excesses of food and drink. Henry Dodwell's The Nabobs of Madras and Percival Spear's The Nabobs provide detailed descriptions of the lavishness of the Nabob's life in India. Dodwell writes of the Nabobs: "The costume of eighteenth century Madras was as gay as, nay, greater than that of contemporary England". The Nabobs "were inclined to overdo their grandeur". Dodwell notes that a lawyer in India owned 71 pairs of breeches and 81 waistcoats. He writes:

Such exotic custom, such ill-judged gaiety of clothes, such big houses and so many servants, ensured a reputation for tastelessness and exorbitant expenses.  
(182-185)

The Nabobs, like the early English arrivals kept intercourse with natives to a minimum. However soldiers continued to visit native prostitutes. Ballhatchet informs us that such interracial liaisons were encouraged. The



of A Nabob (1785) and the anonymously authored The Disinterested Nabob (1785) are a few examples. A poem "The Nabob" (1785) aptly subtitled "Asiatick Plunderers", satirised the age:

Clime, colour, feature, in my bosom find  
The friend to all  
Why rob the Indians and not call it theft<sup>7</sup>

'gainst

Low thoughted commerce! heart corrupting trade. (qtd. in Sencourt: 214)

The Nabob's attitude of arrogance and contempt made him treat the native badly. This meant that the role of the "master" adopted by the Nabob never implied benevolence. The reinforcement of the master-servant ethos both in India and England bolstered British opinions regarding the natives. The natives were seen as untrustworthy and primitive. Though the English found them useful, there was a growth of hatred and contempt against them. Part of this came from the habitual subservience with which the servants treated the Nabobs. Part of it may also be attributed to Britain's own social problems of the time. England was rapidly becoming a place of refuge for those fleeing the continent's religious persecution. They increased England's members but did not

add to the economic output (**Royle: 68-9**). It is possible that this **led** to racial tension, especially if **the** English saw them as a threat to their economy and social fabric. They were seen as competitors with Englishmen for **England's** resources. One recalls that this scarcity of opportunity had driven the Englishman abroad. The seeking of alternative pastures and resources had begun Imperialism.

The rising anti-native feeling was also turned onto the Eurasian **community**. They were increasingly treated with **contempt**. Liaisons with Indians were discouraged at all **levels** now. One of the reasons for this was that **more** English women began coming out to India in the 1780s. In 1791 a rule was framed which prevented the Company from employing Eurasians. People like William Chaplin felt that respect for the Englishman in the minds of the Indians would be **diminished** by the presence of **"Europeans** of the middling or lower classes". Eurasians were seen as "sharing the vices of both races" (**Bal I hatchet: 96-100**). The mothers of Eurasians, far from being a "matter of consequence" (as they were around the **1680s**, quoted above) were abhorred as wicked and impure. This change in attitude towards **miscegenation** began at a **time** when the notion of the "sentimental **family**" developed in England. Domesticity and privacy became keywords in English morality and society. Therefore the idea of

keeping the family English, closed and pure also developed alongside (Royle: 55-6). Sexual liaisons with native women were seen as against English morality and family life.

Though there was a strong tendency to reject native customs and values, there was an undercurrent of reformist zeal. This became more prominent in the **Sahib-missionary** age of the 1840s. As the role of the Sahibs and the reformer-missionary grew after the Charter Act of 1813 the contempt for India was replaced by sympathy for its **primitivism** and poverty. It was argued by those like Burke that upliftment of the natives was **England's** duty.

**Conservatives** like Burke advocated reform, but reform with caution. Burke did not want to interfere in the religious affairs of natives. He argued that the governing of India should be based "upon their [India's] own principles and maxims and not upon **ours...**" (Burke: 114). Therefore between 1750 and 1813, missionaries were discouraged from **coming** out to India. The **administrators** were suspicious of the **missionaries**. The priestly class, though belonging to the ruling race, was in close contact with the native. The Nabobs, whose attitudes prevailed in the years between 1750 - **1800**, preferred minimal contact with Indians. Therefore the missionary role was seen as incompatible with the interests of the ruling race

(Ballhatchet: 111). In 1808 the Court of Directors actually instructed Lord Minto on the behaviour of the missionaries. The injunction read:

It will be your [Lord Minto's] bounden duty to vigilantly guard the public tranquility from interruption and to impress upon the minds of all inhabitants of India, that the British faith, upon which they rely for the free exercise of their religion, will be inviolably maintained. (qtd. in Edwardes, British: 95)

The aim was therefore to "preserve".

The reformist zeal especially after 1800 (we have noted the huge influx of missionaries after 1813) stemmed from the British view of Indians as weak, effeminate and child-like. Burke saw them as "the softest in their manners of any of our race, approaching almost to feminine tenderness..." (Burke: 113). William Jones recorded that even the poetry of the natives reflected their weak nature. He wrote: "the general character of the nation is that of softness, love of pleasure, indolence and effeminacy" (10: 348). James Mill, whose The History of British India (1817) became a guide book for future Orientalists, saw a primitive civilisation in India, with the "rudest and weakest states of the human

mind..." (1: 461). Indian civilisation had stagnated. Mill wrote:

In beholding the Hindus of the present day, we are beholding the Hindus of many ages past; and are carried back, as it were, into the deepest recesses of antiquity. (1: 483)

The feminine, child-like East therefore needed progress, to be provided by the masculine West which acted on the "ma-baap" principle ("I am your father and your mother"). Future reformers and Sahibs were to don the mantle of the "ma-baap" for their civilisational mission.

The heathen native was the child - dependent upon his/her parent, the Englishman. This "dependency complex", as Mannoni calls it, fostered and was foisted by British self-confidence and sense of superiority. Thus, this complex informed all levels of contact and relationships between the Indian and the Englishman. It helped to assign a superior status to the Westerner at all times. The native was thus student, child, female, subordinate, heathen, oppressed and vulnerable. Correspondingly, the Westerner was teacher, parent, masculine, superior, blessed, saviour and protector. All these roles are played out in the relationships of the Raj. The literature of imperialism portrays such relationships.

The Herbert Compton - Kasim Ali relationship in Taylor's Tippoo Suldaun makes Compton the military (official) and moral superior. In Taylor's Seeta Cyril Brandon is the **protector-magistrate** for all villagers and is protector and lord to Seeta. In Kipling's Kim the older, wiser Oriental Lama is protected, guided and even taught by the much younger but English Kim. Lilamani in Diver's novel of the same name sees her husband Nevil Sinclair as her "lord and King". Paul Scott's Raj Quartet shows Westerners such as Edwina Crane, Ronald Merrick, Col. Layton, Sarah Layton in varying degrees of superiority over the natives - at personal or professional levels. Such examples could be multiplied.

The foisting of the "ma-baap" role onto themselves was a **justification** and a procedural necessity for the British. It helped both explain and expand their presence. The explanation was obvious: in the relationship between the two, the Englishman was the better, hence was the protector **father-figure**. This was necessary to protect the oppressed, primitive and weak native. It facilitated expansion by winning the Indians over. The introduction of reforms like Western education, the missionary drive, and the use of **administrative** machinery required a **collaborator**. To borrow Gramsci's argument, the expansion could take place mainly through consent, rather than coercion. The subjects were

convinced of their **subjection**, seeing it **as** a natural order of things. Hence the natives were willing to accept the superior role of the Westerner. **This** acceptance was conscious and voluntary. The British did not need to use excess force to **this** end. The native, thus convinced, came to see the Westerner as a God, sent to protect them. An illustrative example of this enormous **psychological** hold of the Westerner over the native may be found in Taylor's The Story of My Life. A fierce **Beydur** who has caused major troubles to the soldiers is confronted by an unarmed Taylor. Taylor orders the Beydur to surrender. The Beydur who is **in** a position of greater advantage meekly surrenders to the unarmed lone Englishman (150-151).

Another step in Britain's Imperialist movement in India was its "**Orientalising**" of India. The East was studied and analysed. Future civil servants were bred on "**authoritative**" texts like James Mill and William Jones. Jones's essays were prolific and ranged across many subjects. He wrote on the poetry, religions, **laws** and customs of the natives. **Jones** referred to those Orientalists who engaged in "**forensick** and professional studies" as "scholars" (qtd. **in** Mukherjee: 44). Like Burke and the **Conservatives**, Jones too found the native soft, effeminate and indolent. As "proof" he cites a historian Mr. **Orme**, "who believes that original inhabitants

have lost very little of their original **character**" (Jones 3: 31).

Authorities like Jones and Mill relied upon travelogues for proof of their theories. The travelogues **themselves** were written up as **"authentic"** and **"scientific"**. Francis **Buchanan's** three **volume** travelogue A Journey From Madras through the Countries of Mysore, Canara and Malabar (1807) has an **illuminating** subtitle: "For the Express purpose of **Investigating** the state of agriculture, arts and commerce; the **religion**, manners and custom; the history natural and civil and antiquities" (emphasis mine). Other such **"scientific"** and "definitive" works were **Halhed's A Code of Gentoo Laws** (1776), A Grammar of the Bengal Language (1778), Alexander **Dow's The History of Hindustan** (1768-72), T.Z. **Holwell's A Review of the Original Religion and Morals of the Ancient Brahmins** (1779).

A good deal of attention was paid by the British to government, land revenue and succession rights in India. **Scrafton's Reflection on the Government of Hindustan with a Short Sketch of the History of Bengal** (1770), Charles **Wilkins's A Translation of a Royal Grant of Land by One of the Ancient Rajas of Hindustan** (1781), Colebrooke's A Digest of Hindu Law on Contracts and Succession (1798) and Jones's

works on Mahomedan law of succession (1782, 1792) are examples. Raymond Schwab in The Oriental Renaissance (1984) has provided a chronological list of such "Orientalist" research writings, translations and academic activities (30-33, 51-2).

Numerous translations, accompanied by detailed commentaries, of Persian and Sanskrit works were also made. Charles Wilkins's translation of the Gita (1785) and The Hitopadesha (1787) and William Jones' translation of many Indian poems including "Shakuntala" (1789) were popular. An idea of the popularity of these works can be gauged from the fact that between 1790 and 1807 there were five reprints of Jones's "Shakuntala" in Britain,

An entire institutional setup developed which facilitated the study of the Orient. The Society of Antiquaries (1751), the Asiatick Society in Calcutta (1784) and the Dutch Batavian Society in East India (1778) were the prominent ones. In 1814 the first Chair of Sanskrit was established at the College de France. In 1833 H.H. Wilson occupied the first Sanskrit chair at Oxford. Cambridge and Edinburgh set up Chairs for Oriental studies (Schwab: 78-79).

This interest in "studying" the Orient did not however improve relationships. The Indian was a **subject** of study, not

to be shown affection. It **is** a telling comment on the reality of the Raj, when we note that the first Indian member of the **Asiatick Society** joined **only in 1829**, nearly 50 years after **its** founding. This was Europe's second Renaissance, one which Edgar **Quinet** in **1841** termed the "**Oriental Renaissance**". It refers to the revival of a fifteenth century Renaissance atmosphere in Europe. This was due to the arrival of Sanskrit texts in the continent (Schwab: 11-13).

**Miscegenation** and liaisons with Indian women, once recommended by British officers for their soldiers were now banned. The increasing number of patients of sexually transmitted diseases alarmed the officials. The annual proportion of venereal disease (V.D.) cases ranged from 32 - **45%** among European troops and **only 2 - 4%** among Indian ones. For example at Bellary incidence of V.D. went up **from** a range of 3 - **4%** strength during 1830-'35 to 29 - **39%** during 1836-'37 (**Ballhatchet**: 22-23). In 1844, **in a bid** to curb the soldier - nautch girl association, the police introduced a tax on them (**Ballhatchet**: 26).

Social intercourse between the Indian and the British at higher levels continued. European ladies, arriving **in** increasing numbers, however did not socialise with higher class Indian ladies. The "purdah" system of the zenana continued to keep the high **class** Indian ladies away. On the

other hand European ladies now began to intermingle freely with Indian males. Percival Spear writes that they (English ladies) "had no scruples about mixing with men whose wives remained in purdah" (Spear, Nabobs: 133).

At official levels things were changing. Indians began to be excluded from higher administrative responsibilities. People like Cornwallis followed Hastings in believing that the natives were inherently corrupt. As was the case during Hastings's time, more Englishmen were recruited. The strength of the non-official English in India also increased rapidly.

The Romantics in Britain continued to approach India as a mysterious place. The East was a theme, and characters from the East peopled Romantic tales. Coleridge's "Kubla Khan" was about an Oriental king. Shelley wrote "Alastor" and Lord Byron "The Giaour" and "The Bride of Abydos". Minor poets like Robert Southey ("Kehama" and "Thalaba"), Thomas Moore ("Laila Rookh") and William Cowper ("Truth") also sought inspiration from the Orient. Novelists like William Beckford in Vathek (1786), Sir Walter Scott in The Surgeon's Daughter (1827) and the novels of Philip Meadows Taylor were also using the East as source material.

Certain stereotypes abound in Romantic writing on the

Orient. Influences came from travelogues like Marco Polo's and Bernier's, as John Drew demonstrates in India and the Romantic Imagination (1987). Lord Byron, Southey and Beckford peopled their tales with Eastern villains. The "Giaour" in Byron and Beckford were Brahmins, portrayed as treacherous. Taylor portrays high caste Hindus as villains in his novels. Examples are Moro Trimmul in Tara (1863), Azrael Pande in Seeta or the thugs in Confessions of A Thug (1839). Thomas Moore bases his long poem "Laila Rookh" on Tavernier's travelogues. Moore described India as a place of wild beauty and wealth. His extravagant imagery is illustrated by the following lines: "waters clear as the lake of Pearl, glade covered with antelopes". There is also a description of Lahore city where "showers of confectionary" are cast among the people making the city a "place of enchantment" (qtd. in Sencourt: 306-7). William Cowper uses India to symbolise asceticism. In "Truth" (1780-81) Cowper describes a Brahmin who

kindles on his own bare head  
 The sacred, fire, self torturing his trade.  
 His voluntary pains, severe and long,  
 Would give a barbrous air to British song.

(1: 282, 1. 99-100)

Edmund Burke and William Jones saw the natives as soft, child-like and effeminate, as seen above.

Writers like W.B. Hockley and W.D. Arnold combined their Romantic vision of the Orient with a certain **disillusionment**. To the sensitive among the Sahibs British **commercialism** seemed savage and unworthy of a great nation. In Hockley, **Sencourt** detects "a profound sense of ... cynicism and villainy..." (393). Pandurang Hari (1826), The Zenana (1827) The English in India (1828), The Vizir's Son (1831) and Memoirs of a Brahmin (1843) constantly portrayed the Indian as treacherous. There was also a cynical **view** of the British approach and **its** effects on the natives [the **view** of the native - as - villain however excluded the Muslim, as we have noted earlier on].

The Sahibs wanted reform for the Indians. They accepted the Conservative view of India's backwardness. The Sahib's approach to reform was based on texts like James Mill's A History of British India or William Jones's essays.

One needs, therefore, to look at these influential texts which governed British attitudes of the age. James Mill's A History of British India, accepted as an authentic source of information, is replete with fallacies. **Mill**, like most authorities of his time, relied on second - hand accounts such as travelogues of Robert **Orme**, Francis Buchanan

and Major Renell. He **also** relies upon the work of artists like William Hodges (in India from 1780-1784) and Thomas and William Daniell (in India between 1784-1794 and 1769-1837 respectively). Mill himself **did** not visit India.

Mill writes that the **laws** and institutions of India "could neither begin nor exist, under any other than one of the rudest and weakest states of the human mind" (1: 461) While **acknowledging** that India **did** have a great civilisation he believes **it has** since decayed. He refers to India's despotic **monarchs**, the caste system, and the lack of money currency as signs of a **decadent** culture. These were the areas where the British eventually introduced reforms.

Mill argues (influenced, here, by Cranford's Sketches) that surgery and medicine are unknown in India (1: 481). Mill **is** obviously ignorant of works like Charaka Samhita or Ayur-veda which dealt exhaustively with the science of medicine even in ancient **times**. Mill argues that Indian rulers were despots (1: 481). Tales of **Tipu's** cruelty were carried to England and were the first descriptions heard of India on outboard bound ships (Spear, Nabobs: 43). It is ironic that a historian ignores **his** own nation's history with **its** regicide and bloody civil wars when accusing Asians of despotism. **His** attack on India's lack of coin currency **is** also unwarranted. For centuries before the arrival of the

British India had had currency. At various points in history the Mauryas, the Kushans, the Guptas and the Mughals introduced the currency system, as has been recorded by travellers like Megasthenese (circa 300 B.C.), Fa-Hien (410 A.D.), and Hieun-Tsang (635-643 A.D.). Mannoni's argument regarding the colonising psyche is useful to understand Mill's attack on the Indian caste system. Mannoni argues that the coloniser has a "psychologically inferior personality" and the native a "psychologically dependent one" (86). In the Indian context the caste system provided support for people within a particular caste (vertical **discriminations** however remained). For the native security and social status was located inside his own caste and was usually **unchangeable**, since caste came with birth. In English society class evolved out of the economic system where property decided social positions. Classes were, in contrast to caste, **mobile**, as people tried to move higher up the ladder. Conflicts were thus quite common. **Industrialisation** had wrought this condition on England. Reference has already been made to the issue of the "condition of England" debate in England.

The national turmoil was deflected by talking about the "barbarous" East. As Mannoni argues, there was a guilt complex regarding **industrialisation**. By showing Eastern

society as being worse, authorities like Mill suggested, by **implication**, that England was yet better off.

Governors like Thomas Munro (1820-1827) and Mount Stuart Elphinstone (1817-1827) combined the Romantic view of the Orient **with** a Christian missionary zeal. They found India stagnant. Elphinstone wrote, echoing Mill: "the character of the Hindoo **is** probably much the same as when **Vasco-da-Gama** first visited India" (qtd. in Joshi: 15). They were however cautious and, like Burke, wanted to proceed slowly with reforms. They believed that the choice and timing of **Westernisation** lay with the Indians themselves. Such a choice in favour of **Westernisation** was made by people like **Raja** Ram Mohun Roy. Roy pleaded fervently for Western education and opposed the setting up of a Sanskrit College. Roy's "Letter on English Education" (1823) **is** illustrative of the enthusiasm in some quarters for **Englishisation**. Roy **wrote:**

**This** seminary [Sanskrit College] can **only** be expected to load the minds of youth with grammatical niceties and metaphysical distinctions of little or no use to the possessors or to society ... no improvement can be expected from inducing young men to consume a dozen years of the most valuable periods of their lives in acquiring the niceties of the **Byakurun** or Sanskrit Grammar. (139-140)

This generation of British administrators was aware that Britain would eventually need to leave India. Elphinstone wrote: "It was better to have an early separation from a civilised people than a violent rupture with a barbarous civilisation" (qtd. in Bearce: 141).

People like Munro and Elphinstone emphasised the importance of the native in administering India. Britain built up cadres of Indian officialdom, especially after the competitive Indian Civil Service exam was thrown open to Indians. The army, as Philip Mason, has described in A Matter of Honour (1976) consisted mainly of Indians. Official relationships between Indians and the English improved, though Indians were still kept out from top posts. This reflected the reality of the Raj. When Satyendranath Tagore passed the exam to become the first Indian to gain entry into the Indian Civil Service in 1870 it caused much heartburn. Geoffrey Moorhouse in India Britannica (1986) points out that as late as 1915 only 63 Indians had entered the Indian Civil Service, a direct result of the lowering of the age limit. The "Indianisation of the [Indian] Civil Service] was delayed by British selfishness, fondness and fear though they recognised that one day India would have to be restored to the Indians", notes Moorhouse (112). Obviously the civilising mission did not include equality in

official **relationships** and recruitment on its agenda, **The** Indian "naiks" could not hope for higher ranks, though their courage (especially that of the Sikhs') was much admired by the British. It could thus be argued that there was only a minor improvement in **Indo-British relationships** in this phase.

The spread of Western education became rapid from the mid-nineteenth century, especially under the leadership of the **Clapham** Sect. Missionaries **also** poured in. Societies like the Society for Propagation of the Gospel (SPG), Church Missionary Society (CMS), Society for Propagation of Christian Knowledge (SPCK) were set up. The **main** role of the missionaries was in the field of education. The missionaries believed that the improvement of natives had two dimensions: conversion to Christianity and English education. Robert Renford writes: "Education was seen as one of the main ways to bring the benighted Indians into the light and so to the Christian faith" (178). The Calcutta Conference of **1882-83** saw active **participation** by missionaries in arguing for education for the Indians. **This** was also the year that the Indian Education Commission was set up. Numerous schools and universities came up, as already mentioned above. In a move which **Gramsci** would recognise as hegemonic, the education of the Indians furthered Imperialism by teaching them Western

texts, Western concepts and Western ways of looking at the world and themselves. As Gauri Vishwanathan and Rajeswari Sunder Rajan have pointed out in their works English literature as an academic discipline was first introduced in India, not in England!

If education was producing a Westernised Indian class, it **did** not alter the emerging official "**codes**" of the English. Kathryn Tidrick in Empire and the English Character argues that by the 1840s the first signs of a distinctive governing ethos emerges. This ethos owed much to **evangelicalism**. The conception of authority was rooted in the evangelical cult of personal example (Tidrick: 3). The man out there, or the "man on the spot" became more important than the central office (Tidrick: 203). D.K. Fieldhouse has termed this as "**sub-imperialism**" in Economics and Empire, 1830-1914 (1976). The European settlers expanded into the environment and individual **administrators**, soldiers, missionaries came to see **local** problems with **local** not metropolitan eyes (Fieldhouse: 80-81).

The man on the spot was trained to be stoic, gentlemanly and learned in Indian culture, languages and laws. This was the true "Sahib": a heroic, **uncomplaining** Englishman working in adverse conditions and making enormous sacrifices of family and health for the sake of improving

India. This selfless, philanthropic attitude is well illustrated in the words of Lord Elphinstone: "the most desirable death for us to die of should be ... in the improvement of the natives..." (qtd. in Joshi: 16). People like Henry Lawrence, whose heroics became famous in the 1846 Lahore riots, and General Charles Gordon, who went unarmed to battle, became heroes for the English in India. Such deification is illustrated in the lines written on the death of General Gordon in Sudan:

Too late ' Too late to save him,  
In vain, in vain they tried.  
His life was England's glory  
His death was England's pride.

(qtd. in James Morris, Command: 512)

As has been discussed before, such a cult of manliness was instilled by the English public school system. The school system also, however, encouraged and strengthened class distinctions. As Royle points out, school education "completed the exclusion of poor local boys from Harrow, Rugby ... for the gentry did not send their children to be educated in the company of tradesmen's sons..." (361). Ronald Merrick in Paul Scott's Raj Quartet is a good example of a character with such a background. Merrick who hails from a lower class, educated at lesser schools, finds himself

less acceptable to other Englishmen even in India.

The Sahibs in India were more interested in reform rather than in accumulating wealth, thus differentiating themselves from the Nabobs. They wished to improve the heathen lot through Westernisation and Christianising. The missionary-pagan relationship was therefore an important one in this age.<sup>4</sup> References to Indian, especially Hindu, religion are always derogatory in tone. In Taylor, a representative writer of the age, we find the Muslim being barbarous (Tippoo Sultaun), or Brahmins as cruel villains (Seeta). In the military area things seemed to have been better. Herbert Compton and Kasim Ali in Taylor's Tippoo Sultaun respect each other's courage and military mind, even though they are enemies. Taylor in The Story of My Life praises the valour and consummate military skills of the Beydurs, though they are fighting him. A certain collaboration, or meeting point, is also possible in this area. For example, when the British sought allies in their numerous wars in India, the ally was usually Muslim or Sikh. As pointed out earlier there was a workable and working relationship between the Christian and the Muslim.

The Sahib is a common character in the literature of the time. He is upright, courageous and fair minded, endowed with a "Burkean sense of responsibility" (Bearce: 101). Dr.

novels. But her Western governess **is** unwilling to accept her **(Lilamani's)** preferences. The emphasis is on **scientism** - in this case Audrey's insistence that **Lilamani** train to be a doctor - rather than on **emotionalism**.

Writers **like** Toru Dutt (1856-1877) and Henry Derozio (1809-1831) exemplify Indian writers who imitated and were heavily influenced by English literary styles. As Susie Tharu in her essay "Tracing **Savithri's** Pedigree" (1989) has argued about Toru Dutt's "**Savithri**", the portrayal of Indian **women** was through Western eyes. Western concepts of morality, virtue and sometimes, beauty, influenced these authors (Tharu: 255-267). Gayatri Chakravorty **Spivak's** essay "The Burden of English", likewise reads Rabindranath **Tagore's** tale "**Didi**" as embodying an Indian acceptance of Imperialist ideology and as actively **participating** in the construction of the colonial subject (Spivak: 134-157). Thus Orientalism made Orientalists out of Orientals too. The powers **intellectual, cultural, moral and political,** to use Said's terms, "takes over" the native. They are then "**disciplined**" into accepting the hegemony by Western education.

The Western educated Indian hobnobs **with** the British in a very fluid **relationship**. He **is** a tragic character rejected by the Indians for being too English and by the British for being Indian after all. The relationship **with** the British,

as Hari Kumar discovers in The Raj Quartet, is transient. Being totally "Englishised" does not mean acceptance by England.

This was the paradox in the British emphasis on Western education. As Shamsul Islam notes in Chronicles of the Raj, the "Babus" were held in contempt by the British (Islam: 19), since they seemed to be imitations of the real Sahibs. It also ran contrary to their Romantic concept of the weak, effeminate Indian. That stereotype united the peasants and lower classes (Islam: 19-22). Another reason for the eventual rejection of the Westernised Indian was the way the Indian utilised his education. They had been educated to serve British interest. But now they had begun to use their learning to protest against the Raj, in a manner reminiscent of the Caliban-Prospero situation in Shakespeare's Tempest. This was also encouraged by yet another British reform - the Free Press. A.P. Thornton in Imperialism in the Twentieth Century (1978) says that "the politics of complaint" by the subjects of the empire was usually adopted by the educated classes (41). He points out that between 1907 and 1917 students formed the largest element of the population in Bengal jails. Lord Morley remarked that "the raj in India would be a sorry affair if it trembled before a pack of unruly collegians" (qtd. in Thornton: 95). Henry Derozio is

a good example of how English language and aesthetics were utilised by students and teachers to inculcate the nationalist spirit. Derozio's poems like "To the Pupils of Hindu College" illustrate this incipient nationalism. He describes the awakening of India thus:

Sweet loosening of the spell that binds  
Your intellectual energies and powers  
That stretch (like young birds in soft summer hours)  
Their wings to try their strength. (Derozio: 1)

In a poem titled "The Harp of India" Derozio pleads for such an awakening of **CONSCIOUSNESS**:

If thy notes divine  
May be by mortal wakened once again,  
Harp of my country, let me strike the strain. (1-2)

This nationalist spirit was an important feature of nineteenth century imperialism. George D. Bearce identifies four main aspects of nineteenth century imperialism : (1) exalting the character and increasing the **effectiveness** of some authorities in Indian affairs; (ii) **strengthening** British military forces in India; (iii) developing the Indian economy as a foundation for **consolidation** of British power in India; and (iv) **strengthening** the authority of the Governor - General. The British **also** preferred the Crown's control over

India especially after the disastrous expansion policy of Auckland and **Ellenborough** in the Afghan wars (1838-42). The development of industries produced a certain social structure. It made the working class a distinct section of society. In India the role of such a class as the non-officials (merchants, bankers, **professionals**, planters) was important for Britain's interactions with the Indians. In the "**indigo disturbances**" of 1859, the missionaries supported

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Indian ryots. They worked out of a genuine concern for the menial worker on the plantations. Renford writes of the missionary approach:

Though strongly **paternalistic** and anglicist in their attitudes to their converts, they [**the missionaries**]... often sided with Indians against their non-official fellow country men in areas of interracial **conflict**. (32)

Racial solidarity was expressed over government policies against non-officials. The government, which believed that the non-officials placed "too little **value** on Indian lives" (Renford: 35), was accused of partiality toward natives. The reasons why the government behaved in a more pro-native manner during the last decades of the nineteenth century can be understood in the context of the 1857 Mutiny.

The Mutiny of 1857 was a watershed in **Indo** - British

relations. Various events led up to it, as Christopher Hibbert in his The Great Mutiny, India 1857 (1978) details. Technological progress in India such as Railways (1853), underwater telegraphy (1839), steamer service (1834) had occurred rapidly. However traditional industries like handicrafts suffered badly. The anti-missionary feeling increased due to conversions. The sepoys were unhappy with the racism in the army. Ban on native practices like Sati roused bitterness. The Indians viewed British concern as interference.

Much of the conflict of this age was due to British attitudes. Bearce argues that the encounter between the East and West came to be seen as that between "old and new" (Bearce: 7). India was the old, stagnant "curio" to be exhibited, drawn and framed. The Daily Mail actually described the colonial procession as "an anthropological museum" (qtd. in Morris, Brittanica: 132). After Giri Deshingkar we could term it a "civilisational encounter" where two cultures meet (282-293). The British rhetoric on this encounter, which reflected actual administrative policies and relationships, stated the usefulness of British presence for India. Ronald C. Benge in his essay "The Colonial Experience" (1972) has commented on this aspect of the nexus between science and administration. Benge

Comments:

What is more relevant is the nature of the ideas which lay behind immediate administrative and economic policies, and for such purposes the doctrines were supplied ad hoc by the anthropologists ... The anthropologists wanted traditional societies to remain traditional, not merely because if they did not they themselves would have to go home, but because they knew that the kind of development which later did happen might prove to be a mess of pottage. (100-101)

Philip Mason has argued, that British expansion was based on this very rhetoric of "primitive vs advanced". It suggested that this kind of organisation based on political and economic equalisation - of Britain and India - was due to an inherent difference between rulers and ruled, a difference divinely ordained (Mason, Dominance: 3).

The British rhetoric was accepted by the Indian mercantile class, manufacturers and reformers since it helped their respective interests: trade, manufacture, or raising social consciousness. It however collapsed age old social structures. Landowners were dispossessed, property rights were altered and hence changed familial patterns of succession. The problem of succession affected the native kings very badly, especially after the introduction of the

"Doctrine of Lapse". This doctrine stated that a childless ruler could not adopt an heir without the permission of the British. This meant that, effectively, the British could take over the land of any childless native king. The examples provided above all point to the conclusion that technological progress in India was at the cost of destruction of the Indian way of life. As Karl Marx and Frederick Engels wrote in The First War of Indian Independence:

England had to fulfil a double mission in India: one destructive, the other regenerative - the annihilation of old Asiatic society, and the laying of the material foundations of Western society in Asia. (34)

Part of Britain's policies in its colonies arose from its problems at home. Labour unrest was growing with people like Robert Owen beginning to organise labour unions. Underemployment was rampant. Low pay, poor living conditions, diet and medical facilities remained. The percentage of families below the poverty line remained high. The English, under the influence of liberal thinking became convinced about free trade and its benefits for Britain. The laissez faire approach left the British free to engage in agricultural, banking and industrial operations in India (Barnes: 215-217). The Company did not strictly regulate the policies. Commercialism grew stronger and Sahib idealism began to disappear.

Writers like W.D. Arnold detested this inhuman commercialism. In Oakfield (1853) Arnold accused the British of behaving like "mere animals". He called them "unscrupulous and greedy". Arnold wrote:

There is an utter want of nobleness in the Government of India. It still retains the mark of its commercial origins ... the evil is a money-getting earthly mind.

He also deplores their indifference to native problems. The British, according to Arnold, had begun to treat the Indians as slaves: "Fancy talking to an officer of courtesy to a native" (qtd. in Sencourt: 399-403). Thus it seemed almost like a return to the age of the Nabobs. The avarice of the Nabob, his villainy and ill-treatment of the native seem like a rejection of the Sahib approach. The Sahibs were cultured and men of vision who wished to "redeem" India. The Nabob, by contrast, aimed only at personal gain. Even though the Nabobs mixed with the natives, they were seldom courteous. The Nabob's arrogance and greed combined in a contemptuous attitude towards the native.

Arnold's comments provide an insight into how the British behaved with the Indians. A gradual widening of the gap began to take place. The official class, the magistrates, who had grown in confidence with wealth were

arrogant. The **all-important** role of **this** official class can be demonstrated by an example from Philip Meadows Taylor's autobiography The Story of My Life . Here we are shown Indians under British protection. The natives had accepted this protection. Adjudicating on a succession problem Taylor is told by the Rani, as the 7-year old **Raja-designate sits** on his (Taylor's) **lap**: "now you must be father to us all" (138). The **paternalistic** approach continued. The men at Shorapoor tell Taylor: "Now put your hands on our heads and we will be your obedient children henceforth" (140). The **paternalistic** role reinforced British official superiority and self-confidence. It led them to believe that reforming India was easy **if** they stayed **firm**. The native's opinion to the contrary was never considered.

British approach to reform through legislation was a consequence of **this** feeling of **invincibility**. Believing that they could do no wrong, and hoping to help the natives, reformers like Bentinck **proceeded** to ban **Sati**, introduce English education, womens' education and encourage widow remarriage. As **W.D.** Arnold had described, the English were so full of their own aims, ideals and motives that they ignored Indian sentiment as unworthy of **consideration**. While **sub-imperialism** helped better **administrative** control, it did not carry **with it** public support. If the "**ma-baap**" role

helped **Imperialism**, it was also carried forward effectively by their self confidence. The English middle class had always been on the sidelines. But by the mid-nineteenth century they had accumulated wealth through trade and industry. Back home in Britain the middle **class** prospered too. Their political power and influence grew after **enfranchisement** and prosperity. More middle **class** Englishmen came out to India. **This class** did not share the ideals of the Sahibs. They were **in** India for personal interests alone. And since they were not here to "improve" India, their primary purpose was wealth. Hence their **relationships in** India meant nothing more than business. Ashis Nandy has noted in The Intimate Enemy that "it was the middle class who would eventually prove ... the most passionate imperialists of all" (4-5).

Such an established British confidence was mauled in 1857. The English saw it as a betrayal, of a child turning against the parent. Some believed that the Hindus were behind **it**, since the religion itself was barbaric. Sati, child marriage and female infanticide had always repelled the British as the most horrific customs in the world. Thus, in Taylor's Seeta the mutineer is a Hindu, and a Brahmin (Azrael Pande). Pande's cruelty therefore seems "**appropriate**" for a Hindu.

Muslims and Sikhs were regarded more favourably. In J.G. Farrell's The Siege of Krishnapur (1782) the Sikhs and Muslims stand by a beleaguered British garrison. However those like Harriet Tytler believed that the Hindus were not to blame. She wrote: "The Hindus...are...for the most part, a very ignorant and gullible race ... I don't believe a Hindu would have been guilty of such cold blooded atrocities" (110-114).

Bearce has argued that the initial reaction of the British was of dismay and anger (232-3). The anger is seen in works like John Ruskin's The Two Paths (1857-1859). Ruskin wrote:

Since the race of man began **its** course on this earth nothing has ever been done by **it** so **significant** of all bestial, and lower than bestial, degradation, as the acts of the Indian race **in** the year that has just passed by ... cruelty stretched to **its** fiercest against the gentle and unoffending and corruption festering to its **loathsome** **in** the midst of the witnessing presence of a disciplined civilisation - these we could not have known to be within the practical compass of human guilt, but for the acts of the Indian mutineer. (89-90)

Lord Tennyson **in** "Defence of Lucknow" (1879) describes

British heroism during the Mutiny and the reiteration of British ability (right?) to rule:

Handful of men as we were, we were  
English in heart and limb,  
Strong with the strength of the race to Command,  
To obey, to endure. (519, 1.46-7)

He goes on to describe the bestial crimes of the mutineers. Tennyson dwells on the crimes against women and children, of how hospitals were attacked, medical essentials destroyed and so on.

The British were slow to realise their own offensive attitudes towards the Indian. As long as British policy had been **conservative**, the Indians tolerated them, for they were **only** traders. After 1800 everything changed. **Missionaries**, merchants, teachers and reformers touched every aspect of Indian **life** in their misguided attempt to civilise India. The natives were **contemptuously** treated. Indian religion, so sacred to Indian life, was rejected by the missionary. Their rulers ~ the native kings, seen as **demi-gods** by the Indians - were subjugated. British armies were a permanent presence. And, as we have noted **Rollo** May's argument, one cannot sustain the master-slave relationship forever under much pressure. The events of 1857 were thus an expression of a long suppressed resentment.

Eventually the British realised the folly of their misconceived approach. They had not been entirely blameless.<sup>8</sup> Leaders like Disraeli and Canning, spurred by the fear of "losing" India began a policy of **reconciliation** and **reconstruction**.

There was now a deep distrust of the natives. As noted above the Army was restructured to reduce the native element. Power was more centralised after the East India Company was disbanded. Disraeli **led** the drive for expansion and **consolidation** of British power in India. He proclaimed Victoria "Empress of India" in 1877 and coined the famous phrase "The Jewel **in** the Crown" to describe Britain's most valuable possession.<sup>9</sup>

With rising self confidence in the age of Victorian "new imperialism" the new Indian Civil Service recruits grew more aggressive- Dennis Kincaid **in British Social Life in India, 1608-1937** (1973) writes of **this** new breed of Englishmen: "They knew nothing of **pre-Mutiny** life and they were already imbued **with** a busy imperialism" (219). Kincaid argues that their training and competitive spirit strengthened the sense of caste/class. He quotes William Hunter: "I aspire to arise far above the **circle** of fashion. I mean the **circle** of power" (220). It is in **this** phase that leaders **like Curzon** emerged.

Increased racialism marks the post - 1857 Raj. Racialism was inculcated into the Indian Civil Service personnel before they set out for India. It therefore resulted in more segregation between rulers and ruled.

During Curzon's Viceroyalty British contacts with Indians was kept to a minimum (Ballhatchet: 5-6). In 1883 the Ilbert Bill was presented which would allow an Indian judge to try Europeans. The Bill sparked off strong protests from the English in India. Army officers believed that discipline could not be enforced if one of their (English) comrades were to be sentenced by a native judge. Annette Beveridge said it was an insult to submit English women to the jurisdiction of a race of "savages" (Renford: 230-1).

The Bengal Tenancy Bill of 1883 also caused an uproar. The European planters in North India saw it as a threat to their control of native labour. The domiciled Anglo-Indians and Eurasians were anxious at the reservation of appointments in public departments which had previously been open to them. Exclusion of non-Indians from nomination to the statutory civil service and general preference for natives in government appointments were viewed unfavourably by most British. They saw it as a loss of grip on India. One notes here how the post-1857 emphasis worked. The aim was

discipline and control. The Sahib norm of idealism, care and the "civilisational mission" was no longer the value by which the British worked.

A major issue of the time was the role of the Eurasians. Except for a few like Charles Trevelyan most of the top officials were antagonistic to the community. The Eurasians had sided with the British in 1857, hoping to be rewarded with better treatment later. But this was not to be. The English protested against Eurasian appointments. Trevelyan however argued that Eurasians could compete with Europeans, and would be selected for their character and education. Ballhatchet notes that the prejudice, especially in the medical profession, against Eurasians came mainly from the "memsahibs". The English lady had to be attended upon by "a Gentleman as well as a skilful practitioner" (108). It was assumed that the Eurasian, by virtue of his parentage, couldn't be a gentleman.

On the intellectual front, relationships fared better. The founding of the Theosophical Society (1875) helped intellectual interaction. Percival Spear in his India: A Modern History writes:

The importance of theosophy was that it was a movement led by westerners which put things Indian on a level

with things western. It thus helped bring the modern Indian **into** equal relation **with** the west.... (294-5)

English education also helped promote Indian nationalism, as noted earlier. Much resentment prevailed on the English **side**, especially after the Congress was formed in 1885. In the age of a resurgent Imperialism, British confidence had peaked. Kipling had suggested in "His Chance in **Life**" that even a drop of English **blood** was sufficient to bring out leadership qualities (1: 95-101). James Morns in Pax Brittanica quotes G.W. Stevens's description of the English:

Fair haired, blue-eyed, spare shouldered and spare jawed ... and steadfast eyes that seemed to look outwards and inwards at the same **time**, they were unmistakably builders - British Empire builders. (219)

The rejection of things Indian due to a return to the old aggressive "Englishised" stance is reflected in the writers of the age. Kipling's Kim, born and bred in India and almost an Indian, finally returns to "**Sahibhood**". In Maud Diver's Lilamani Nevil Sinclair and Lilamani get married. In its sequel Far to Seek (1921) Lilamani is anxious about her son's imminent departure for India. She, an Indian, is afraid that he too might marry a native.

Diver's novel suggests that both Indians and British regard **miscegenation** as a temporary affair, not to be repeated.

By the time of Forster's classic A Passage to India Britain had been through the First World War. Indian nationalism was beginning to make Britain uneasy. Britain's economy had been battered by the war. **Dissatisfaction** at this state of affairs was common in England.

Forster and George Orwell mark this stage of **Imperialism**. Other minor writers **also** questioned the Imperial enterprise. Writers like Edward Thompson in An Indian Day (1927) begin to "register the new British mood towards India, the beginnings of the process of **disentanglement** from India" (Walsh: 164). These writers **blame** the British for the decline of the Raj. Orwell questions the ideal of the "masculine" Westerner who lords it over the "feminine" natives. His "Shooting an Elephant" **is** a satire on such a "hero" (1: 235-242). The English official comes in for criticism. Ronny Heaslop and **Major** Callendar in Forster's A Passage to India are snobbish and full of British official high-handedness. As Ronny Heaslop exclaims so very self righteously:

We are out here to do justice and keep the peace ... we are not pleasant in India, and we don't intend to be pleasant. We've something more important to do. (50)

Non-officials like Cyril Fielding in Forster's A Passage to India or Flory in Orwell's Burmese Days (1935) are better treated. They are shown as the **only** English who can get near the natives. Mrs. Moore's relationship with Dr. Aziz in A Passage to India is a good example of this. Humanists like Forster recognised that the present native dislike of the English stemmed from Britain's attitudes down the ages. Forster in Hill of Devi (1953) wrote that they were "paying for the insolence of Englishmen and Englishwomen out here in the past" (155).

Part of the blame is allocated to the Englishwoman in India. Candler in Siri Ram Revolutionist, Forster in A Passage to India, Kincaid in Durbar and Thompson in A Farewell to India portray the Englishwoman as cruel, **gossipy**, full of self pity and repressed (this **last**, especially in Forster). The **memsahibs**, though defended by writers like Diver in The Englishwoman in India, had attitudes of the "high Raj". As Pat Barr puts it, they were "portentous and proud, snobbish and self **congratulatory**, sentimental and self pitying" (201-2). Barr comments, in a tone similar to Forster's: "We have learned enough since to dislike and distrust it" (Barr: 202). The **Englishwoman**, as Ashis Nandy argues, saw herself as competing with Indian males for the Englishman's affections. **Homoerotic** bonding between the

English and Indian males probably persisted from the seventeenth century when few Englishwomen resided in India.

Homoerotic bonding has been portrayed with varying degrees of intensity and intimacy in Anglo-Indian writing. The Kasim Ali - Herbert Compton bond in Taylor's Tippoo Sultaun is on an "official" level, where Compton is a prisoner of Ali. The camaraderie proceeds from a shared view on battles, and respect for each other's courage. Dr. Aziz and Fielding in Forster's A Passage to India are definitely good friends with an intimacy not seen before at that level of contact. Finally, in Scott's Raj Quartet homoerotic relations between Hari Kumar and Ronald Merrick take on a sado-masochist hue.

Homeroticism in Anglo-Indian fiction is important for its reflection of the power play between India and England. The Fielding - Aziz relationship marginalises both the characters. Fielding is rejected by other Englishmen because he is "pro-native". Aziz is the nationalist, who is suspected by, and suspicious of, the British. One notes the antagonism in the air during his trial. By getting such marginalised characters together, albeit partially, Forster suggests that even strong personal affection between individuals cannot neutralise racial difference. In Paul Scott the Merrick Kumar relationship is a brutalised sexual expression of the

political relations between the two. Merrick as the superior official and Englishman is **obviously** the more powerful of the two. This relation reflects the deep divide. Merrick refers to the **irretrievable** and inevitable differences between the two races as a basic norm in any **relationship**. Thus, with a long lineage before **it**, the Raj Quartet for the first time articulates the brutality and hatred that **lay** behind the Raj.

However, there **is** still nostalgia for the glorious past of the Raj - a hope that things may yet turn out **well**. Mountbatten, touring with the Prince of Wales in 1921 reports a banner greeting them at Aden; "Tell Daddy we Are **All** Happy Under British Rule" (**Mountbatten: 180**).

After 1947 writers like John Masters relived the Romantic notion of the Raj. Bhowani Junction (1954), Coromandel' (1975) and The Ravi Lancers (1972) provided a necessary source of refuge for English in post-World War - II Britain. The Suez crisis of 1950 ended British hopes of further Imperial conquests. There were austerity measures which had not helped to remove poverty till the 1960s. Instability of family **life**, and crime were on the rise and a decline in religiosity and traditional values was noted (**Royle: 215**). The Race Riots in Britain **led** to stringent measures **like** the Acts of 1966 and 1968. Racial feelings ran **high**. John Tyndall, Martin Webster and the Fascist National

Front advocated forced **sterilisation** of immigrants to keep the British race "pure". Nostalgia for the **Raj** provided escape routes from such domestic dilemmas.

Farrell and Scott present the **Empire** as an edifice built on shaky foundations of illusions and **misconception**. Ignorance about India was held to be the cause of the Empire's decline. The Britisher "came equipped **with his** own religion and habits" and hence never really came to know the reality of India. Thinkers began to attribute the failure of the Raj to the system back home, rather than to the colonies themselves. According to G.C. Allen in **The British Disease** (1976) the British **establishment** was the "victim of the English **class** system and the educational arrangements associated **with it**" (qtd. in **Royle**: 392-3). We have already seen how the civil servants and personnel were "trained" at public schools and **Haileybury**.

Paul Scott regarded the abandonment of **Empire** as Britain's betrayal. **Edwina** Crane in the **Quartet** voices this view (Jewel: 72). In **My Appointment with the Muse** (1986) he wrote: "the British at home were quite happy to let it [the Empire] go, **bit** by bit, so long as they weren't pestered by it or about **it**" (92).

Farrell and Scott culminate the criticism of the **Raj**.

Regarding the Empire as a diabolic attempt at subjugation, based on mistaken views, perpetuated and ultimately "killed" by an "indolent, boneheaded and utterly uneducated administration" (Scott, Division: 31), post - 1947 writers signify a radical reversal of attitudes.

Curiously enough they too attribute the failure of Imperialism to the lack of **understanding** on Britain's behalf. Many years ago people like Munro and Elphinstone had argued that thirty years of the Raj was too little a **time** to know India (Bearce: 132). Paul Scott in 1975 echoed similar feelings: "after three hundred years the English really don't understand the Indian **mind**" (Muse: 6-7).

## NOTES

1. Years later the British used similar **local** supports among disaffected elements for purposes of conquest and/or self preservation. Tipu Sultan's downfall was a result of such a system. Another example would be that of the **local** chieftains and particular communities who sided with the English in the 1857 Mutiny. On the other **side**, reformers like Bentinck were greatly encouraged by native support **from** those **like** Raja Ram Mohun Roy, the later moderate leaders **in** the Congress, **Ishwar** Chandra Vidyasagar and **M.G.** Ranade.

2. Raymond Schwab in The Oriental Renaissance **illustrates** this move of Romanticising the Orient as a European phenomenon.

3. Harish Trivedi in Colonial Transactions (1995) elaborates the connection between academics and the institution of literature with colonial enterprise. **Trivedi's** work looks at **representations** of India in English literature. Trivedi **also** reads colonial India in terms of **its** responses to significant texts from the canon.

4. Deenbandhu **Mitra's** play Neeldarpan (1860) and Christine Weston's Indigo (1944) detail the problems of the indigo planters in nineteenth century British India.

5. James Morris in Heaven's Command: An Imperial Progress (1984) makes an interesting connection between Britain's protector and missionary roles. Britain in the eighteenth and early nineteenth century was attacking the institution of slavery. Morris says that though it could not abolish slavery everywhere in the world, its control over the seas helped it to interfere in the movement of slaves from source to customer. In the suppression of piracy the Empire had already assumed a police function. Now its power was harnessed to an evangelical purpose (Morris: 39). Captain William Sleeman's campaign, from the 1820s, to eradicate Thuggee in India was the result of such a combination. Morris writes: "The thug hunting pose was the triumphant confirmation of Christian superiority over the forces of evil and ignorance" (Command: 81).

6. Among the British some viewed their own zeal at reforming Indian society with concern. Russell of the Madras Civil Service, who first reported on the Khond human sacrifice practice in 1836 cautioned: "We must not allow the cruelty of the practice to blind us to the consequences of too rash a zeal in our endeavour to suppress it...." He suggested use of moral influence rather than power to end the evil (qtd. in MasonMen: 124-5). Others like Bentinck, Macaulay relied upon legislation to "cure" Indian society,

and fuelled resentment because the people's opinion wasn't consulted, nor were they educated on the issue.

7. S.D. Singh in Novels on the Indian Mutiny (1980) provides numerous examples of such literature of anger. Flora Annie Steel's On the Face of the Waters (1896) presents a good example of British anger at this "betrayal".

B. An anonymously authored manuscript The Guilty Men of 1857 (1879) squarely blamed the British for "perverting" the "God-given duty to heathen and Christianity" (24). It also blamed Western education for teaching Indians liberal ideas of equality and justice (59). The tone of this pamphlet is frenzied and strongly worded and roundly condemns the Englishmen.

9. Disraeli's pursuit of power is reflected in his literary works too. In Vivien Grey (1826-7) he writes: "I am no cold blooded philosopher that would despise that for which men, real men, should alone exist. Power<sup>1</sup>... what dangers of all possible kinds, would I not endure with a joyous spirit to gain it!" (qtd. in Davis: 15).

## CHAPTER - 4

### PHILIP MEADOWS TAYLOR'S SEETA: AN IMPERIALIST TEXT

Philip Meadows Taylor's Seeta is an Oriental Romance. Taylor's text is set in the context of the 1857 Revolt. This chapter attempts to read Taylor's novel as an Orientalist text where human relationships are irretrievably enmeshed in the political events of the time.

#### I

Seeta is the wife of Huree Das, a prosperous businessman of Noorpoor. Huree Dass is killed in a robbery engineered by his cousin Ram Dass. The robber Azrael Pande is a Brahmin dacoit leader. The case is tried by the acting Deputy Commissioner of Noorpoor - Cyril Brandon. At the trial Brandon is impressed by Seeta's calm beauty. Brandon himself is worshipped by the natives for his uprightness and compassion.

Azrael Pande, an absconder from the Army, is convicted but escapes before the hanging. Nawab Dil Khan of Fatehpur helps Pande escape and even provides refuge to the fugitive. Pande swears revenge on Seeta for his troubles.

Pande attacks Seeta's home, presently the house of a priest, Wamun Bhut. Brandon receives information of the

impending attack and rushes there. Seeta is rescued in time. However, Seeta's son dies and Brandon is injured in the course of the rescue. Seeta nurses him back to health.

Brandon wishes to marry Seeta. Seeta in the course of her nursing also falls in love with Brandon. Brandon approaches Seeta's grandfather Narendra to request permission for the marriage. But being a Brahmin, her marriage, even though she is widowed, remains binding on her.

A scandal breaks out regarding Brandon and Seeta. Azrael Pande uses this as a lever to instigate people to rebel against the English.

The English ladies, scared of Brandon's impending marriage to a native, try to poison Seeta's mind against him. She is led to suspect an affair between Brandon and Grace Mostyn. There is also official displeasure at Brandon's deed. However he refuses to abandon Seeta.

Meanwhile Azrael Pande foments trouble. Brandon and the English detect disaffection in the country. The British at Noorpoor prepare for a rebellion.

The Brandon-Seeta "affair" goes on against this troubled backdrop. Brandon's relationship with a native at a time when the native-ruler equation is in jeopardy is thus a liaison of crisis, in more than one way. Seeta begins to

develop a preference for Christianity.

The Mutiny breaks out. Pande miraculously escapes the British onslaught. The rebellion is crushed and the British recapture Delhi. Pande and the rebels go into hiding in order to recoup their strength. The British manage to survive, though a lot of ill-feeling is generated against the native. In the midst of such conditions of mutual distrust and hate Grace Mostyn and Seeta become friends. Grace and her mother, Mrs. Mostyn, are Seeta's only English friends.

The English celebrate their victory. The rebels attack the house where the festivities are in progress. Seeta dies protecting Brandon. Brandon returns to England and weds Grace Mostyn.

## II

Seeta illustrates the numerous Orientalist structures of thought during the Raj. Its relationships and characterisation offer its readers a miscegenated liaison, but with definite Imperialist overtones.

Cyril Brandon's relationship with Seeta begins under professional circumstances. Seeta is presenting her testimony at Azrael Pande's trial and Cyril Brandon is the acting Deputy Commissioner (59-60).

Brandon first "meets" Seeta through her handwriting. Her writing was "very delicate and beautiful, he [Brandon] had never seen such before, and he marvelled that a woman could have written them" (60, emphasis mine). We are thus already in the midst of the Orientalist conception of the native as a delicate, if beautiful person, whose very handwriting reflects fragility.

Brandon is also told that she is "a strange girl" which raises his curiosity (60). His first impressions are of a beauty with "large dewy eyes ... soft and pleading ... of that clear dark brown which like a dog's, is always so loving and true" (60, emphasis mine). Such a beauty belongs, Brandon remembers, to "Titian's pictures" (61).

Thus the relationship is heralded by images of native weakness, beauty, helplessness and a "framed" glamour. Brandon sympathises with Seeta's enforced widowhood, her injuries and her orphaned son. He praises her strength and emotional certitude in the court as she recalls the traumatic dacoity.

Seeta's own initiation into the relationship begins through hearsay. She had "often heard" that Brandon was "courteous and just" and "harmed no one". Just as Brandon's curiosity has been aroused by her handwriting, Seeta wishes

to meet the man of whom such paens are sung. She hopes: "Surely he [Brandon] **would** do justice and help a widow and her **child**! If she were excited at the thought of appearing **in** an open court, she concealed **it...**" (59).

The **relationship's** essential features are thus given to us at the very outset. The native **would** be weak, vulnerable and true. The Westerner **would** be kind, just, and protective towards her.

When Brandon first sees Seeta, his sight is thus **predisposed** to view her **in** a certain light. His gaze, motivated by curiosity, is a quasi - scientific one. And he finds that her complexion is comparable to any **Western** woman (61). He notes Seeta's features. The description is truly **Orientalist:**

He could not see much of Seeta's figure; but the **small**, graceful head, the rounded arm, the **tiny** foot, the graceful movement of the neck, and her springy **l**ithe step as she had entered.... (61, emphasis mine)

The emphasis, therefore **is** on Seeta's **smallness**, fragility and softness.<sup>1</sup> **Appropriately**, then, Brandon offers protection to this delicate person: "fear not, you are under the protection of the law, and no one can harm you" (62). The **law** here **is** epitomised **in** Brandon. The offer is thus

also a personal guarantee. Thus the non - ontological entity of doctrines and cause are given existence in the Being of the Englishman. Brandon thus sets a personal example, as an individual, for the Imperialist doctrine of **protectionism**.<sup>2</sup>

The protector role is thus donned by Brandon. Naturally, then, he refers to her as "pet", "little wife" or "little one". Brandon has the power to make her happy and give her a new **life**. For Seeta, with her husband and child dead there was "no other vent or object for her love" (115). Thus the attitude of protection (of Brandon) finds its origin in his ability and power to extend it.

The power Brandon possesses may be termed "epistemic power", following Peter Morriss in Power: A Philosophical Analysis (1987). This power requires knowledge to choose and execute correctly. To take the right decision, and implement it the situation or problem must be first studied (Morriss: 53-4). In Seeta, Brandon's extension of protection occurs precisely because he has studied Seeta's problem. Edward Said in his Orientalism (1985) has demonstrated how power in Imperialism is a direct aftermath of the knowledge first cultivated by **Orientalists**. Brandon's power over Seeta obviously proceeds from his knowledge regarding her and his convenient official status. Their relationship is **only** a personal example of the larger games of Empire.

It may be argued, following Mannoni in Prospero and Caliban, that such a situation of power play was essential for the coloniser. Mannoni argues that the coloniser went out to the colonies because he had no scope for success in England. He **also** possessed a strong inferiority complex as a result. Out in the colonies he could assert himself over docile natives and attain some self - confidence (Mannoni: 86). Mannoni's view is admirably illustrated in Seeta. Brandon finds that "in England there appeared to be no chance of distinction except by a lifelong strife" (67). In the colony **this** Britisher finds the chance to move ahead.

The dependence of the native upon the Westerner becomes necessary for the coloniser's ego. The "dependency complex" takes on a **paternalistic** role as the coloniser becomes the "ma-baap" to the child - native (Mannoni: 69).

Here the child is Seeta and is referred to as such by the "parent" Brandon. She is "child like", who, **while** being ignorant **is also willing** to learn. Thus a second level of dependency, that of student upon teacher, is **also** established. Such a dependency makes the native very loyal (Nandy: . 15-16). Brandon thus makes Seeta a disciple child, and their relationship proceeds on this note.

Brandon now wishes to "educate" Seeta. In spite of

being a devout Christian he had gone through the "tedious ceremonials of a Hindoo Marriage", "suffering" the dresses, fireworks and colour (132). Brandon is also an expert on such Hindu rituals, laws and customs. From this knowledge, emerges a desire to change and improve such "disturbing" facets of Indian life. The Indian (Seeta) is an amusement provoking interest in the exotic. Hence "rare", "strange" and "interesting" are epithets frequently used to describe Seeta in Taylor's novel.

Brandon therefore hopes that Seeta would eventually see the "true light": "How often he had prayed that such should be vouchsafed to her!" (273). Seeta's education consists, obviously, in her turning to Christianity. Now the Bible "comforted her] more than the Bhagwat Geeta" (273). As "reward" for her painstaking education, Brandon's love was provided to her. Ashis Nandy has argued that colonialism also worked a system of punishments and rewards. The native is rewarded for his loyalty with the Westerner's protection or love. The native thus makes an effort to win the Western master's approval (Nandy: 3). The old soldier in Kim is also a good example, as we shall see in the chapter on Kipling. This is illustrated in the Brandon - Seeta relationship of teacher - pupil. Seeta who is "simple in regard to all temporal matters" (373) is brought to "a knowledge of the truth" (284).

The native requires education since s/he has been brought up on a wrong diet of Romantic fantasies.<sup>4</sup> In Seeta, the heroine has wide learning. However her knowledge is restricted to love-poetry and classic tales of wifely devotion (such as "Satyawan and Savithri"). This aspect of Seeta's learning influences her relationship with Brandon. Her interest is "the poet's love" (51) and such affections as inspired by poetry influences her dependency on Brandon. She wants him to love her the way it is depicted in books:

Seeta had never loved. She had held her husband [Huree Dass] in respect. She was even proud of him, and he was fond of her - she was his **darling!** But that was not the love of **books....** (51)

Brandon notices her tendency towards such bookish **dramatisation.** At the trial he notes her dramatic gestures and feels: "such a scene might be told in a romance" (65). Seeta complains about her marriage:

His [Huree Dass's] love was **with** his Trade and **his** money ... I never heard of love; I read of **it in** my books ... Do you remember the play of **Malati** and **Mahdava?** That **is** all love, you know; and **it is** so **beautiful!** I can understand **it** now. (155)

She admires Savitri, the mythological heroine of Hindu

tradition. This legendary Savitri had successfully pleaded with the God of death for the return of her dead husband, Satyawana. Savitri **is** thus a symbol of wifely devotion for the Hindus. Seeta frequently tells Brandon that she would **die** without him. Her final martyrdom is thus also quite on the lines of Romances. She had wished often enough that she could give up her life for Brandon. "It is as I wished only to die - for Cyril! - my lord", she exclaims **while** dying (381).

Brandon's initial feeling towards Seeta is of sympathy, more than anything else. There is curiosity, as provoked by an exotic **object**, but not love. One notes that his early offer to Seeta is npt of marriage. He hopes she would just "live with him". The narrator remarks that this attitude was inspired by the notion of the "immoral" native. Taylor **writes:**

I think he felt certain that she would come; and, perhaps, with the common estimate of Hindoo character which too generally prevails, he **did** not **give** the girl credit for higher motives of honour and self respect which might influence her. (113)

Brandon then wants her as a mistress or "bibi", as it was then known. The question of a more permanent relationship is not **raised**.

The implications of having a native mistress were different around the 1850s. Previously such a liaison would not have provoked reprimands from senior British officials. But during Taylor's age things had altered.

Kenneth Ballhatchet in Race, Sex and Class Under the Raj points out that by the latter half of the nineteenth century such interracial liaisons were frowned upon. As late as 1881, English officers were denied promotion if they had Indian mistresses (Ballhatchet: 146-7). Brandon's promotion to Deputy Commissioner is on hold. His struggles of conscience as depicted by Taylor (115-6) are probably more about official consequences than any moral crisis.

After his wedding Brandon earns the disapproval of his relatives, acquaintances and colleagues. He receives a communique from the official who had advocated his confirmation as Deputy Commissioner. The communique informs Brandon that he has "not only set our [the English] laws of morality at defiance, but violated those of the natives who have been entrusted to your care" (238). He is also threatened with dismissal for his native connection.

This reprimand comes at a crucial juncture for Brandon. He has been introduced to the "ideal" English beauty, Grace Mostyn. He is also under pressure from the

social circle where the English women, except the **Mostyns**, detest the "alien presence" in their midst. The views expressed by the English society in Taylor's novel expresses the conditions back in England. Mrs. Smith deplores the lapse of old English morality: "and that's what people bring from England with them, where we know society is growing most immoral" (167). Brandon could have wedded a more suitable girl like Grace Mostyn whose face was "without a shade of guile about it" (170). This fact strikes Brandon too:

It would be a connection which he could show in England and among his countrymen here with pride, and without a moment's apprehension.... (240)

There are other related factors to be noted about Brandon's dilemma. It was not merely a distrust of natives which fuelled such anti - **miscegenation** attitudes. Brandon had deprived an English girl of a husband when he wedded Seeta. Trevor May in An Economic and Social History of Britain. 1760 - 1970 provides interesting statistics which help us view Taylor's text differently. The number of marriageable women in England rose from 2,765,000 in 1851 to 3,228,700 in 1871 (Seeta was written in 1872). By 1871 two - thirds of all women between twenty and twenty - four were single and **30%** of those between twenty - four and thirty-five

(May: 261-62). By the time of Taylor's novel more English women were arriving in India. There was thus a "surplus women" question which probably informs Brandon's problems and those of the other English people **with his** wedding.

Mrs. Smith's comments regarding the "immorality" of the English can also be seen in the context of England's condition of the **time**. Trevor May informs us that one of the allegations levelled against **industrialisation** was that it had destroyed the worker's family. Sexual morality had been affected and unmarried factory girls were encouraged by mill life **into** sexual immorality. They neglected more "womanly chores" like housewifery (May: 58-60). Mrs. Smith's remark suggests that **if** the English society back home was **degenerating**, then it was the duty of those in the colonies to hold up the remnants of their glorious tradition of ethics, morality and decorum. Brandon through his marriage had gone the way of the English society, by behaving like **its** lower classes. Cyril Brandon, one recalls **is** of aristocratic background, and as such his lower **class** misbehaviour becomes abominable and inexcusable. The common soldiery, as Ballhatchet points out, were allowed, even encouraged, to have sexual relations with native women. **This** was a "safeguard" to preserve their strength and vigour, and to prevent "perversions" like **homosexuality**. However

officers had to "prove" their masculinity by abstinence, or by marriage to English women (Ballhatchet: 2, 14).

Brandon does not abandon Seeta inspite of such opposition. This is also an illustration of the "true blooded" Englishman who is faithful to his love. It resembles Herbert Compton's character in Taylor's other novel Tippoo Sultaun. Even so, Brandon is "distracted" by Grace Mostyn's presence to "shut out for the time poor little Seeta and her claims on his love and protection" (240). Eventually Brandon's finer instincts prevail and he remains Seeta's husband - protector.

Seeta is by now completely dependent upon Brandon. Her Aunt Ella and grandfather Narendra have been forced to shun her due to ostracisation by the Hindu society (263-66). Her slow conversion to Christianity signals her submission to Western ways, just when her "Indianness" begins to prove detrimental.

The conversion is a practical move by Seeta to sidestep the problems that ostracisation entails for her. This move reinforces her image of a child-like person with a streak of wisdom. A good illustration is her insistence that her infant son should light Huree Dass's pyre so that he may claim the hereditary rights (43). By turning Christian, Seeta hopes to

be better amalgamated into society. Her intention to visit the Church is thus greeted with joy by other English women:

Dear old Mrs. Pratt and Mrs. Mostyn and Grace said Seeta should sit with them ... they felt the girl's high aims of gratitude and love in all their force, and were content to wait their effects. (257, emphasis mine)

Seeta's conversion is construed as a sign of gratitude for Brandon's noble act in marrying her.

Thus Seeta's relationships undergo subtle but definite changes. There is improvement in her camaraderie with the English society. She also moves up in Brandon's esteem. Religion is therefore a major factor in miscegenation. The ancient Western prejudice against the barbarity of Hinduism (as we have noted in the previous chapter) is an obstacle to a better relationship. However, conversion to Christianity is also not a guarantee of success in miscegenation. This is suggested by the manner in which Taylor escapes exploring the possibilities of such a liaison.

The Brandon - Seeta relationship runs alongside other such intercultural "encounters". These other relationships and characters in the novel provide the textual dimension of a few thematic preoccupations of the post-1857 English mind.

Narendra, Brandon's senior by many years, prostrates before him. Aunt Ella, who regards Brandon as her son, accepts orders from him. This version of "agelessness" proceeds from the institutionalisation of the person. Brandon is not just "Brandon" - the individual, but also the King, the local manifestation of the Monarch. The social order of the place automatically places the white man at the top as the "recognisable authority" (Skillen: 102-6). Thus Brandon is established as a King in his official and personal capacities.

Yet this "placing" does not imply complete native acquiescence. There is a grain of resentment against coercive British policies. Narendra, Aunt Ella and Baba Sahib also evince a distrust of English morals. This is illustrated by their doubts over Brandon's intentions towards Seeta. Aunt Ella actually accuses him of seducing Seeta (120). Baba Sahib is fearful of his master's (Brandon's) misalliance (122). Narendra finds that while the English are "in the main just" they are also very greedy (30).

Such dissidence is effectively overcome in colonialism. Edward Said in Culture and Imperialism (1993) argues that European colonialism worked with this kind of "consented hegemony". Said writes:

For its self image it was best if native subjects express assent to the outsider's knowledge and power, implicitly accepting Western judgements (180).<sup>6</sup>

A simple oral assurance from Brandon is sufficient "proof" of his virtues. Aunt Ella then blesses him for his goodness (121). Brandon tells Narendra "I will not fail. Many men among us have done the same, and I am no better than they". Narendra responds "earnestly": "I need no further proof of your high principles" (130). This almost naive and easy acceptance of the Westerner and his sincerity illustrates Said's argument of the coloniser's hegemonic control.

However all voices do not get submerged. The fear and suspicion of the English was a gradual development in Indian attitudes. From the early acceptance to eventual resistance there was a progression. This "progress" was simultaneous with and perhaps also a result of the changing English attitudes themselves. From the demi-God status accorded to them by the Indians they were now (in the 1870s) perceived as mercenaries. Azrael Pande the robber - mutineer in Seeta voices this change of opinion. Initially the cries of "Jey Ganga Mata" had been followed by "Jey Koompaneer Bahadoor". Pande describes the change this way:

With such cries our fathers went to battle and won a

thousand victories. But that is past. The Koompanee is not as it used to be, it is no longer an incarnation of our gods. It has changed into a mean cheating robber ... They were our fathers and our mothers. But now?  
(147 - 8)

Thus by the 1860s and '70s "much of the gaiety was leaving the empire, also the easy amateurism..." (Morris, Command: 273). There was a more serious and professional tone in British Imperialism, as Morris's quote suggests. The last decades of the nineteenth century was marked by rapid expansion. This was the "New Imperialism" with its rapid expansionist policy. This meant grabbing more land by deposing native rulers. Azrael Pande points this out in Seeta. Pande's comments provide the textual co-relative to the 1833 Charter (renewed in 1860) which enabled any natural - born subject of the Crown to acquire and hold lands in India (Ilbert: 89-91).

There was also a religious dimension to the "New Imperialism". Azrael Pande's speech mentions that "the order is gone out from the new lord Sahib that all Hindoos must become Christians..." (148). He refers to the evils wrought by British laws on Hindu traditions. Pande specifically mentions the widow remarriage proposals of Bentinck. Pande's final instigation to battle and rebellion is through

reference to the forcible use of fat smeared cartridges by the sepoys. Pande points out that such cartridges "pollute" the native (150-1). Pande's attack **is** however not completely untrue. **Ainslie T. Embree in India in 1857** (1987) notes that by the mid-eighteenth century everything **in** India had been changed - "**laws** and manners, customs and usages, political **organisations**, the tenure of property, the religion of the people..." (13). The extent of British influence on all aspects of the Indian's life **is** obvious from **Embree's** description. Thus Pande's vituperative rhetoric was referring to such cataclysmic changes **in** India.

The problem of the cartridges has an interesting **angle**. Most legislation for India was first debated in the British Parliament. However **this** particular issue was not raised **in** the Parliament. Daniel Headrick **in The Tools of Empire** informs us that the Minnie and Enfield rifles, appearing in 1848 and 1853 **respectively**, were first tested in the colonies. The Enfield actually became well known, through notoriety, by **its** association with the Mutiny (88-92). Obviously, the English had not accounted for the native response. **This** oversight may have originated in the self confidence that marked the "**New Imperialism**". The **relationships** of **this** age also, therefore, reflect a certain callousness and lack of compassion.

Taylor's villain in Seeta is a Brahmin - Azrael Pande. The Brahmin, traditionally of the priestly class, is here cast in a new role. Udayon Misra has noted that in both Tara and Seeta the villain is a Brahmin - Moro Trimmul in Tara and Azrael Pande in Seeta (Misra: 98). Azrael Pande is also powerfully built and has "the expression of a wild beast" (4). The "twice-born" and "pure" Brahmin is here the embodiment of evil. The concept of the Brahmin's "twice - born" status is also played upon by Taylor. Azrael Pande has two re-births: he escapes hanging and later survives a major injury.

The heroine Seeta is a "soodra", a "lower" caste in the Indian hierarchy. Her remarriage is acceptable even by Hindu norms on account of her "lower" caste status. Taylor here combines two conflicting views of the native. These are the "Victorian norm of the tractable mild Hindu ... [and] ... the cruel scheming Oriental who needed and only respected strong government" (Bolt: 178). The "mild" Brahmin in Seeta is evil. The heroine Seeta is an aberration. She is as fair as a Westerner, is learned, does not veil her face, remarries, and as a final blasphemous act, takes to Christianity.

The other Taylor villains in Seeta are fundamentalists. The Muslim "equivalent" of Pande is a Maulvi (i.e., a

priest). Pande himself is patronised by Nawab Dil Khan and befriended by Ram Dass. This Nawab is enamoured of Seeta and hopes to obtain her through Pande's help (96, 309-11). The Hindu - Muslim nexus in Seeta is thus portrayed as evil. This alliance actually triggers the revolt. The portrayal of this relationship between the natives suggests a textual "divide and rule" by Taylor. This depiction, along with the portrayal of the Dass family's internal feuds, all sorted out by the Christian Brandon, points to an Imperialist doctrine. Taylor suggests that the Indian social order could not preserve itself without Christian, Western help. This was a "traditional" Raj doctrine. Taylor is here articulating a belief widely held by the British. The Indian society which was disunited and scattered could be brought together only under the single umbrella of British rule and Christianity.

### III

Seeta's relationship with Brandon is thus in the midst of myriad complexities. The dependency - protection, ignorance - enlightenment, paganism - Christianity, feminine - masculine oppositions all configure their liaison.

Yet Taylor does not allow the miscegenated attachment to continue. Having displayed his Imperialist bias through his portrayal of relationships and characters, he refuses to

allow a successful interracial marriage. G.S. Amur has commented that Taylor's resolution of the **miscegenated** alliance appears "a little too facile and Utopian" (Amur: 1-2). Udayon Misra defends **this** conclusion of Seeta **with** the argument that Taylor's "primary **aim** was the exploration of human **relationships** and he was not obsessed **with** finding solutions to racial and cultural problems" (Misra: 101). However, Misra ignores the fact that Taylor is refusing the relationship any chance of success.

Seeta's death, anticipated in a prophetic snapping of her garland at the "wishing waterfall" (243), **is** a convenient device to end the **relationship**. Taylor's text suggests **only** a temporary attachment between races. And **in** the course of even such a temporary relationship the native has to be feminine and/or child like, vulnerable, faithful or dog-like, as Seeta's eyes are described, ignorant and a willing convert to **Christianity**. Even so, no prolonged relationship **is** possible. The native ultimately sacrifices her **life**, desires and **dreams** to the benefit of her Lord and King.

Taylor's text **is** thus wholly Orientalist. We have seen how **relationships** in the novel **unambiguously** cast the Westerner as supreme. It also shows the inherent "**divisiveness**" of Indian society which necessitated Western presence. Taylor's novel is a good example of a **truly**

Imperialist text. Though he has portrayed a **miscegenated** relationship he refuses to carry it further. The suggestion of **miscegenation** as aberration of both the Indian and English psyche, is also our starting point for reading Maud Diver's novel, which takes the "**possibility**" of **miscegenation** a little further.

## NOTES

1. Edmund Burke had referred to the natives as soft and effeminate (113). This was to be a **characteristic** portrayal through all Anglo-Indian writing. The binary opposition being set up was thus obviously that of the delicate, feminine native versus the strong masculine Westerner.

2. Kathryn Tidrick in Empire and the English Character has pointed out that during the Raj the concept of authority was rooted in an evangelical cult of personal example (3).

3. Brandon had initially wanted to paint Seeta (114). It suggests an attempt to capture and frame her for study, analysis and **interpretation**. This is an almost exact anticipation of Nevil Sinclair's opening gambit in his "conquest" of Lilamani in Maud Diver's novel.

4. Writers like William Jones had detected in the literature of the Orient, features of feminine weakness, **vulnerability** and the "softer passions" (Jones 10: 346). This was not, in Western eyes, true education.

5. Edward Said in his Culture and Imperialism (1994) has also made a similar point. Said says that the domestic order was tied to, located in, even illuminated by a specifically English order abroad (90).

6. Frantz **Fanon** in The Wretched of the Earth (1977) argues on similar lines. He says: "In the colonial context the settler **only** ends his work of breaking in the native when the latter admits loudly and intelligibly the supremacy of the white man's values" (33-34). The native thus accepts and enhances the Imperialist values for himself and the Westerner.

## CHAPTER - 5

### MAUD DIVER'S LILAMANI: POSSIBILITIES OF MISCEGENATION

Maud Diver's Lilamani opens up the possibilities of miscegenation to a greater extent. Yet this relationship between the native and the Westerner remains the site of power relations, of domination and subjugation. This chapter seeks to demonstrate how Diver's text of miscegenation is actually contained within the matrix of colonialism.

#### I

Maud Diver's Lilamani is set in the 1890s. It is an Anglo-Indian novel which does not have its geographical setting in India. Most of the tale is set in the French Riviera and England, and to a limited extent in Italy and Egypt.

Lilamani, or "the Jewel of Delight", is the eighteen year old daughter of a Rajput, Sir Lakshman Singh. Sir Lakshman Singh, in spite of strong opposition from his wife and family, prevents Lilamani's marriage to an elderly but rich man. He wishes to save Lilamani from the usual fate of the Indian woman - of illiteracy and early wifehood - and brings her to the Riviera. Lilamani studies medicine under Audrey Hammond. Lilamani's interests lie, however, in poetry

rather than in medicine.

Nevil Sinclair sees Lilamani at the hotel in the Riviera and is swayed by her beauty which differs so radically from that of an European woman. Nevil is an amateur artist and sketches Lilamani as she stands near a balcony. He wishes to paint her. After some persuasion in which Nevil plays upon the father's pride in his daughter, he procures permission to paint her.

During the course of the painting Nevil falls in love with Lilamani. Lilamani too is attracted to him, though her upbringing prevents her from making any overt gesture. Audrey is not very happy at the unspoken intimacy between the two.

Eventually Nevil musters enough courage to propose to Lilamani. He ascertains her opinion of him. Lilamani admits to her feelings of affection but is unwilling to talk to Nevil about marriage. Lilamani believes that her father's consent is necessary. Sir Lakshman points out to Nevil numerous problems such a marriage would entail for both the parties. Audrey also cautions Lilamani along similar lines. Lilamani remains steadfast in her resolve to marry Nevil, on the condition that Sir Lakshman agrees. She is however aware that such a match might mean breaking off from India for

good. Audrey herself is in love with Nevil. She believes (hopes?) that this mutual infatuation between Lilamani and Nevil will not last through marriage. However Sir Lakshman grants his consent. Lilamani and Nevil get married.

Their early wedded life passes smoothly. Nevil takes up his painting more earnestly, encouraged by Lilamani, his artist friend Martino, and novelist Cuthbert Broome. Lilamani remains a "traditional" Hindu wife and treats Nevil as a God. Nevil begins an ambitious project to paint scenes from the Ramayana. Lilamani models for Sita.

Nevil after some prodding by Lilamani informs his sister Jane Roscoe, away in England, of his marriage. Jane, a rather prim and rigid Englishwoman, is shocked at the disgrace to the family. She replies with a strongly worded letter. Lilamani happens to see a portion of Jane's letter and realises that Nevil's family would never accept her. She now fears that Nevil, goaded beyond endurance by his family's rejection of her, may eventually regret the misalliance. Lilamani attempts suicide to avert such troubles for her "Bod". Nevil rescues her in time.

Nevil receives news that his father, Sir George Sinclair, is unwell. He plans to visit England. Lilamani, anticipating a cold and hostile reception, dissuades him from

taking her along. Nevil agrees since he too expects unpleasantness.

Nevil arrives in England and finds his father dead. Relations between Nevil and Jane are strained. At a family gathering Nevil announces his marriage. The family members are scandalised, though they are impressed by Lalamani's beauty. Nevil has shown them his painting of Lalamani. Nevil's younger sister Christine (Kit) stands by him.

Nevil returns to Lalamani. On Sir Lakshman's invitation they take a trip to Egypt. Lalamani enjoys the trip because Egypt reminds her of India. Nevil however does not enjoy it as much. In Egypt Nevil realises that Lalamani is like many other Orientals and no more unique. We shall look at this problem of Nevil's a little later.

Nevil and Lalamani arrive in England. Kit welcomes Lalamani enthusiastically while Jane and the rest of the family receive her (the new "Lady Sinclair") more coldly. Nevil's younger brother George, affianced to Phillippa Weston, is very impressed by Lalamani's beauty.

Lalamani finds it difficult adapting to the English way of life. She is disconcerted by the camaraderie between English men and women who are not "related". The English are in turn amused by Lalamani's worship of Nevil as a "sacred

subject". Jane and Lilamani have minor altercations. Lilamani recalling Jane's letter to Nevil, finds it difficult to be friendly towards her. Nevil makes efforts to reduce the hostility between the two, but with little palpable effect. Lilamani wishes to give Nevil the (Hindu) woman's "ultimate gift" - an heir.

Nevil's Ramayana pictures are lavishly praised by London's artistic circles. Nevil's brother George tries to ingratiate himself with Lilamani. His wife - to - be Phillippa, and Jane believe that Lilamani encourages his infatuation. Lilamani, who regards George as a "brother" quarrels with Jane over the issue.

Lilamani's health deteriorates. The doctor advises Nevil to take her to India or another place away from the cold English weather. Lilamani participates enthusiastically in the Christmas celebrations. She also attends a church service.

Lilamani is pregnant but Nevil is unaware of this. Lilamani tells Audrey the news. Lilamani is anxious regarding Nevil's views on the matter. She believes he may not want a half-caste son. Sir Lakshman and Nevil discuss the possibility of a change of residence for Lilamani's health. Nevil refuses to go out to India, or give up England

for elsewhere. However he is worried about Lilamani's health. His old friend Cuthbert Broome suggests that Lilamani's problems are due to the weather and family tensions.

Lilamani overhears the conversations between Nevil and her father. Hearing Nevil's refusal to go to India she rushes out to commit suicide. Audrey finds Lilamani missing. She informs Nevil of Lilamani's pregnancy and her disappearance. Nevil rushes out and finds Lilamani near the sea where she prepares to plunge to her death. He assures her of his love and his acceptance of the child. He also agrees to go out to India. The novel ends with this promise by Nevil.

## II

Diver's novel is about marriage and miscegenation. The romance of Nevil Sinclair and Lilamani should be seen in the larger context of the Indo-British encounter. The novel's themes reflect various aspects of that encounter in terms of human relationships.

The context of the novel and its themes are crucial to our understanding of Diver's attitudes to race and miscegenation. Diver subtitles her tale "A Study in Possibilities". One of the possibilities discussed is the

marriage of a native and a Westerner. Such an interracial marriage becomes a metaphor for the union of India and England. Thus a study of the Lilamani - Nevil Sinclair romance and the associated relationships provides a context to understand the English approach to intercultural "marriage" at the turn of the century.

Diver suggests that miscegenation could work successfully if there is love. However this suggestion is shot through with various disturbing Imperialist hues. Closer examination of Lilamani interrogates Diver's views of miscegenation and the possibilities of its success.

The novel was written in 1910, and is set in the 1890s. The work appears at a crucial period in Indian history. The age marks a climax of certain phases of the Indo-British encounter as we shall see below.

The nineteenth century witnessed many changes in the British attitude towards India. Various major policy modifications and even reversals had occurred. The approaches of Britain towards India ranged from the Romantic to the Utilitarian, the Reformist to the resurgent Imperialist. To understand the thematic preoccupations in Diver's novel, one must look for the sources of the themes in British attitudes to India.

The early reformers of the Clapham Sect such as William Bentinck, Charles Grant, Macaulay and others wished to improve the "idolatrous" Indian. The ban on Sati was effected in 1829. English education was introduced in 1835. A Free Press was established. The industrialisation of India had also commenced in terms of railways, telegraphy, iron and steel industries among others.

Reforms like the introduction of English education had a tremendous impact on Indo-British relations, especially in the latter half of the nineteenth century. The English were governed by a philanthropic, missionary zeal. The Indian viewed the reforms with suspicion, considering them as threats to his way of life. A new breed of Westernised Indians was emerging. Henry Derozio, Toru Dutt and later Congress moderates like W.C. Banerjee, G.K. Gokhale and others had imbibed English ideas of liberty, fraternity, adult suffrage and equality. The influence of these intellectuals was to be prominent from the 1880s as we shall see a little later.

An important historical event which shaped attitudes was the 1857 Revolt. The hatred and violence unleashed further weakened the already fragile structure of Indo-British relations. Every Englishman and Englishwoman

perceived the Revolt as base ingratitude on the Indian **side**. Writers ranging **from** Flora Annie Steele and Harriet Tytler to the established **literateurs** like John **Ruskin** and Lord Tennyson condemned the Revolt. British trust of the natives disappeared. British attitudes changed from tolerance of the Indians to a more hardened racism.

Racial antagonism was bolstered by arguments from scientific quarters. **Social Darwinists** like Houston Chamberlain and Karl Pearson, and the Nazi and Fascist movements right from their inception emphasised racial "purity". Christine Bolt argues that **with** such burgeoning racism there was no possibility of **miscegenation**. On the contrary they advanced "scientific" theories regarding how and why the "Other" was inferior and different. They projected the cultural **incompatibility** of the East and West. Authorities like James **Hunt** reproached those who believed **in** **miscegenation**. Hunt commented:

Statesmen may ignore the existence of race antagonism, but **it** exists **nevertheless**. They may continue to plead that race **subordination** forms no part of nature's **laws**; but **this** will not alter the facts.... (qtd. in Bolt: 4)

The Mutiny instilled the fear that Britain was losing its control over the natives. **Miscegenation** was seen as

reflecting this loss of control. Englishmen were dissuaded from socialising with native women.<sup>2</sup> Ballhatchet in Race, Sex and Class under the Raj mentions the legislations enacted prohibiting English soldiers from liaising with Indian prostitutes. The 1864 Act to regularise administration and the 1868 Indian Contagious Diseases Act are two examples. Thus after 1857 legislation precluded possibilities of interracial liaisons.

Anti-Eurasian feeling heightened. Though the Eurasians had supported the English during the Revolt they remained neglected. It was believed that they "shared the vices of both races" (Ballhatchet: 100). The Englishman came to believe that racial purity must be maintained at all costs. Mixing with natives was now undesirable. The experience of the Mutiny led them to believe that there could be no leniency in dealing with the Indians.

Statesmen like Disraeli reiterated the need for complete control. Joanna Trollope in Brittania's Daughters quotes Disraeli: "the best mode of preserving wealth is power" (20). The Imperialist drive developed along racial lines and there was "an overt racial condescension that the British had almost never exhibited before the nineteenth century" (Moorhouse: 84).

British antagonism towards Indians was reflected in their reactions to two Bills presented between 1857 and 1900. The Ilbert Bill of 1880 empowered an Indian judge to try Europeans. There was widespread protest by Englishmen who saw this as a retrograde step in controlling India. They also considered it humiliating that an "inferior" race could judge the superior English. Raymond K. Renford in The Non-Official British in India to 1920 (1987) records the reaction of an English lady Annette Beveridge to the Bill. Annette Beveridge saw this Bill as an insult since it submitted Englishwomen to the jurisdiction of a race who were "savages" (Renford: 230-1).

In 1883 the Bengal Tenancy Bill also sparked off English anger. The European planter community believed that the Bill would lessen their control over native labour. The English in India could not visualise the Indian as an equal, far less in the role of a superior - such as that of a judge, for example. In Lilamani one of Jane's principal reasons for detesting Lilamani is that a native would be lording it over her. She reminds Nevil in her letter that there would be a "native mistress at Bramleigh Beeches!" (229). This was the fear of dispossession on the part of the English.

Protests against the two Bills made the Indians realise that Britain would never relinquish her grip on India. It

also symbolised increasing repressive measures and racism. The intellectuals felt the need of a forum to discuss, draw up demands and present them to Britain. This forum was the Indian National Congress, founded in 1885. Ironically, one of its founders was an Englishman, A.O. Hume. The then Viceroy Lord Dufferin saw it as a "safety valve" to contain the increasing nationalist sentiment.

The rise of the Congress was a landmark in Indo - British relationships. The eventual upsurge of nationalist activity had its roots in the Congress. However the early leaders like W.C. Banerjee and Gokhale were moderates who remained friendly towards Britain but demanded certain changes in policy. They advocated increased Indian representation in legislatures, repeal of repressive laws like the Vernacular Act, land reforms and so on.

Lord Curzon's reign as Viceroy encouraged Indian nationalism. The Bengal Partition (1905) saw widespread agitations. There was a spirit of unity among the people. The protests were led by English educated Indians. Henry Derozio's poetry in praise of the motherland was an inspiration. The demand for reforms was voiced by intellectuals who had imbibed Western ideals of liberalism: Vidyasagar, Vivekananda, Dayananda, Gokhale, Satyendranath Tagore etc. Rudyard Kipling in Kim and Forster in A Passage

to India provide good descriptions of the role of the Westernised Indian in Indo - British relations. In Lilamani Sir Lakshman Singh though not a "Babu" is one such Westernised Indian.

This is the larger context of Diver's work. We can now proceed to see how this context is embodied in the themes of Lilamani.

Lilamani appears to be Diver's attempt to make miscegenation a more acceptable and concrete reality. The actual working of the text suggests other "possibilities".

Lilamani's first relationship with Nevil is that of subject/model - artist. He sees her "rather as a possible picture than a possible woman" (4). He is a connoisseur examining an exotic work of art. She interests him as a "sheaf of possibilities".

Diver's portrayal of Lilamani as a "picture" is significant. By painting her, Nevil "freezes" her, and captures her in a frame. Aesthetic intentions apart, it becomes a metaphor for possession. The painting, and thus its subject, "Lilamani" become Nevil's possession. His signature as the artist is a mark of possession.

Painting is also an attempt to understand the subject.

The artist's "eye for detail" is a study. Leseppes, the master artist congratulates Nevil for having captured "the very essence of that India" (382). The idea is that Nevil had understood India, here personified in Lilamani, well enough to portray her effectively.

Lilamani thus becomes the "essential" India. Edward Said in Orientalism has argued that such essentialising is a feature of all Western writings on the Orient. The curious feature of Diver's Lilamani is that it **essentialises** India without ever locating the text within the geographical entity of India. Lilamani is India itself. Thus the **image** of painting, the subject - artist relation become metaphors for Britain's possession of India. The first images that Diver provides - of the artist studying and painting "India" - launches the Orientalist tale.

The subject - artist relationship and the metaphor of painting has another **significance**. The artist having understood his subject paints her. He also **modifies** her, according to his sense of aesthetics. Colour, tone, atmosphere are controlled by the artist. Lilamani is painted as Nevil's interpretation of Lilamani. A very significant conversation reflects this. Cuthbert Broome on seeing the painting of Lilamani exclaims "Good Heavens ~ what a likeness!" At this Martino, the artist, exclaims passionately:

"Likeness ... It is interpretation" (104, emphasis mine).

This is yet another metaphor provided to us. Britain had understood India and now seeks to modify her according to British taste and sensibility. Nevil's "knowledge" of Lilamani provides him with the desire first to possess her and then "Englishise" her. (This is relevant to the other theme of the novel - that of the teacher - pupil, as we shall soon see).

Nevil's relationship with Lilamani pivots around his conception of her as a picture. The picture is that of a child - woman. It is hardly surprising then that he continually refers to her as "little wife" or "little woman". This over - feminisation renders her vulnerable. Lilamani, quiet by nature, brought up in orthodoxy to be demure, becomes completely dependent upon Nevil, her "Lord and King". She forever seeks his approval: "mutely demanding was he satisfied with his Lilamani..." (311). Only at one point does she quietly rebuke his comment. "Why, you're still almost a child yourself - " says Nevil. She retorts: "I am woman" (361).

This vulnerability is the basis of the "ma-baap" theme in Lilamani. Nevil is paternalistic in his approach to Lilamani. As Mannoni has argued in Prospero and Caliban the

Westerner's role of parent re-inforces the dependency of the native (66).

The parent - child relationship while positing the weakness of the native deprives her/him of a will and a personality. This helps Nevil - and the West - to easily "capture" the native as a dependant.

This relationship boomeranged upon the British during 1857. The "children" rebelled and shocked the "parents" the British. In Lilamani, even a slight show of spirit by Lilamani upsets Nevil. When he suggests that Lilamani mend fences with Jane, Lilamani at first refuses adamantly. This "disobedience" and later hesitant acquiescence irritates Nevil. He look "almost sternly" at her which "steeped the whole of her body in one burning blush" (357). The implication is that the assertion of native personality is not welcome or expected and should be something to be ashamed of. The native loses her/his all to the Westerner - as Lilamani does.

Nevil's irritation arises because Lilamani seems to be contradicting his "studied" interpretation of her. The "brute reality" (as Said terms it) of the Oriental nature seems to jar upon the Western perception of it. The Westerner slowly realises that his/her "knowledge" has been superficial.

Diver here attempts to subvert the Western Orientalist approach. By making Lalamani's character "grow" and by showing her increasing **unpredictable assertiveness**, Diver demonstrates the fact that Nevil's "knowledge" of Lalamani **is** shallow. We are **led** to believe that like the Western approach to India, Nevil's relationship **with** Lalamani **is also** based on **illusion**.

Diver implies, through the character of Lalamani, that the Westerner's "knowledge" of India **is** restricted to what India has permitted the West to know. Lalamani's docility and **vulnerability** in the early stages of her relationship with Nevil becomes a "front". Her real self emerges on other occasions - such as in her arguments with Jane and Leslie de Winton. Her knack of gaining Nevil's consent to suit her wishes **also** suggests a strong personality.

However, **it** should be noted that Diver articulates **this** side of Lalamani's personality in Orientalist fashion again. For example, in her argument **with** Leslie de Winton, Lalamani has been quite assertive. Yet she concludes her **side** of the argument **with** "I am not able for discussing sacred subject [Nevil] ... **with** strangers" (221, emphasis **mine**). Later, after an unpleasant exchange **with** Jane, she ends thus: "You are right. Better to speak truth. I will not explain. That **is** all". The next line contradicts the **assertiveness** that

Lilamani has just exhibited. Diver writes: "Then - startled at her own temerity she went swiftly out...." (343)

Diver's "subversion" of the Orientalist view of the native as vulnerable is cancelled out by her revealing Lilamani in her true nature. It turns out, as seen from the above examples, that the real self is also a submissive one. Therefore the subversion actually bolsters the Orientalist view.

On other occasions we see Lilamani alone. On her own, free to reveal her real self, Lilamani is highly emotional, nervous and suffers the absence of Nevil. One concludes that Diver has not really stepped outside the Orientalist methods of (mis)representation.

The "ma-baap" theme is simultaneous with the teacher - pupil one. The parent is also the teacher. The education theme, as one may call it, is predominant in Lilamani. The teacher - pupil relationship begins not with Lilamani - Nevil but rather with Lilamani - Sir Lakshman and Lilamani Audrey.

Sir Lakshman is a Cambridge product. Brought up on Western texts and ideals, Sir Lakshman is a fulfilment of Macaulay's aim: to produce an Indian middle class "Indian in blood and colour, but English in taste, in opinions, in

morals and in intellect" (Macaulay: 112). Sir Lakshman though not of the middle class, voices such opinions as the English wish to hear: praises of the Empire. He supports the relationship of Britain and India as that of "Mother and eldest daughter" (106). He hopes that the Empire would remain because it was good for India. He says: "no worse harm could befall to India than that Great Britain should cease to be paramount power (106). He believes that it was "England who made India what she is" (106).

All the English people appreciate Sir Lakshman. Audrey says: "If modern India produced more of his type we should hear little or nothing of political unrest" (45). Mrs. Despard is of the same view. She comments, with a hint of "sadness" at the present state of affairs in India: "If only there were more men of your mind on both sides how much disastrous friction we might have been spared all round" (106).

The Westernised Indians are pleasing to the English. Nevil appreciates Sir Lakshman as a "capital fellow" (45). Mrs. Despard is pleased and "voiced her approval... and her smile was in itself a reward" (106). However, Sir Lakshman's support of the British puts him in a bind since he has little excuse for refusing the Nevil - Lilamani marriage. Lilamani, persuading him to consent to the marriage uses his

Anglophilic faith. Lilamani asks him:

But Father [Sir Lakshman] are you not forgetting he  
[Nevil] is of the race you admire more than all<sup>7</sup> ...  
And **if from** the heart - how better to prove such belief  
than by giving even your most priceless Jewel to a man  
of this fine race - (137-8)

Sir Lakshman grants consent because **Nevil** is English, and  
he trusts the "word of an Englishman".

**Anglicisation** and Western education **also** produce a  
**schizophrenia** among the Indians. Sir Lakshman illustrates  
**this** cultural divide within the Indian personality. His life  
is torn between two modes of culture and thinking. This **split**  
is visible even **in his** costume. The man's patriotism is  
obviously at odds with **his** feelings for Britain. Diver  
describing his dress says: "**his** own high English **suit** and  
**jade** - green turban aptly symbolic of the dissonance within"  
(15). Sir Lakshman claims that he is "as zealous for her  
[India's] welfare as any Bengal agitator..." (106). He also  
has problems casting aside all Eastern customs. His  
permission for Nevil to paint Lilamani, and later to marry  
her are not easily given.

Sir Lakshman is not completely in favour of the Raj  
either. **Like** most of the moderate nationalists of his **time**

he has seen the fall of English ideals. He speaks of the "degeneration of British ideals especially in the latter half of the nineteenth century". He says:

Such a great land is seeming to lose grasp on those noble ideals of straight forward strength and courage that we learnt in early days to couple with the name of the British Raj. (107)

We have already noted how, by the time of Diver, the British attitude had changed from benevolent tolerance to racial arrogance. This racial arrogance went together with the supreme confidence of the age of resurgent Imperialism. At this point, India was not regarded as anything other than a site. This meant a "rejection of everything Indian to retain their [British] identity" (Greenberger: 15). It was believed that Britain's identity lay in being true English and by keeping a distance from India and the Indians. James Morris in Pax Britannica provides an illuminating statement to demonstrate this degeneration of ideals. Stevens, a reporter of the Daily Mail, described Lascar seamen thus:

They [native seamen] are a specimen of the raw material. Their very ugliness and stupidity furnish just the point. It is because there are people like this in the world that there is an Imperial Britain.

This sort of creature has to be ruled, so we rule them,  
for his own good and our own. (132)

The language of the reporter is a good example of the racist discourse of the time.

Such a rejection may be one of the reasons behind Nevil's growing impatience at Lilamani's Indian mannerisms. He does not understand her husband - worship, her objections to socialising freely, or the emphasis on formalities. Nevil, for example, does not really like the burden of helping out his less prosperous cousin Clara. It is Lilamani who insists. While revealing his lack of true knowledge of Lilamani's Indianness, it also reveals his disappointment at her failure to Anglicise herself completely. The possibility of Nevil "Indianising" himself was remoter because the British had developed a pride in their Englishness and English abilities as Tidrick points out in Empire and the English Character (3, 8, 223).

In a bid to "improve" Lilamani Sir Lakshman takes her to the West. He talks to her of the English way of life and encourages her to learn English ways. He consoles her when she is shocked at the way Englishmen and women dance together. He goes so far as to justify it in a way the English would. Sir Lakshman says:

In their [English] eyes this form of nautch [dance] is harmless as child's play. For them, therefore it is not evil. And in truth it is pleasant enough. (43)

Having brought her out to the West "out of an impasse typical of India as she is today" (15) he now encourages her to "venture along strange paths" (43). Sir Lakshman is therefore the first "English" teacher Lalamani has, so to speak.

Audrey Hammond also plays the role of a teacher to Lalamani. Audrey is the prototype missionary English lady. She calls her sojourn among the natives a "crusade". She dissuades Lalamani from pursuing her own interests like poetry and philosophy. Nevil is shocked that Lalamani is studying medicine. Lalamani herself is wearied of "the way of the brain" (17). One may draw three conclusions from this teacher - pupil relationship. One, the Easterner is too impulsive, emotional and Romantic to be learning "objective" subjects like medicine, and is clearly given to softer "interests". This is evidenced by Lalamani's disgust at the words in the medical lexicon and her preference for the Romantic imagery of poetry <113>. <sup>4</sup> Two, Nevil's shock at Lalamani's study implies a masculine prejudice: "Studying medicine! That beautiful child - ". Audrey gets annoyed at

Nevil's chauvinist comment (11). The third interpretation is that the Westerners give the natives English education because it is good for them (the natives). Reformist zeal is the motive behind this approach. Audrey illustrates this when she hopes that education will uplift the native women. This is the Orientalist method at work, where the native unaware of her/his own good is "redeemed" by the Western teacher.<sup>1</sup>"

The relationship is also illustrative of Macaulay's and Charles Wood's idea that Indians would have to be taught by their own kind for better results. Audrey paraphrases this: "the ideals and aspirations of the west can only be instilled into Easterners by Easterners" (12).

The teacher - pupil relationship is also a feature of the Nevil - Lilamani marriage. Nevil's "tutoring" of Lilamani begins almost at the very opening of their relationship. After Sir Lakshman has officially solemnised the engagement, Nevil tells Lilamani that she should call him "Nevil". Lilamani tells him that according to the Indian custom the wife does not take the name of the beloved. Nevil responds:

But still ... as the promised wife of an Englishman, its only fair - isn't it? - that you should study our customs a little too. (184-5, emphasis mine)

Nevil also teaches her to acclimatise herself to English customs - like being kissed by his brother George (346), the familiarity with which other women treat "her man" (314) and so on.

Lilamani's education had also proceeded through her own reading. However she reads texts which instil in her feelings of wifely submission and passivity - "perfect in devotion and renunciation". She reads the Gospel of St. Paul, the Ramayana and hopes to be as saintly as Sita Devi (172-3).

Lilamani's education receives its final impetus when she accepts Christianity. When she goes to church with Nevil, she finds that the Christian mode of worship is "more simple more solemn than ours [Hindu]. It speaks to the soul" (277). She partakes enthusiastically in the Christmas celebrations. She hopes to eventually share Nevil's religion. Lilamani grieves that she is "not to be one with her husband in so great and vital a matter..." (347). Nevil himself, curiously, is no enthusiastic Christian and is surprised at her apparent fascination for his religion (277). Lilamani hopes that "in due time the change [her conversion] would come" (349).

Lilamani's education is thus a cultural co-optation. Ashis Nandy in The Intimate Enemy has argued that such an

acceptance was necessary for the native. Using Vivekananda as example, Nandy argues that for the Indians salvation lay in being more like the British (6-7). This meant that the native would try to "become" English. By this s/he would be identified by the ruler as "one of us". It might help the native's status and survival, and provide an escape route from the cruelty of subjugation. It meant, simply, adopting the ruler's modes of conduct, or wearing white masks over black skins (to adapt a phrase from Frantz Fanon). Both Sir Lakshman and Lilamani illustrate Nandy's argument. Sir Lakshman turns English to be accepted by them (as we have seen before). For Lilamani it is imperative on two counts. She adores her father and would Anglicise herself to please him. And it is essential if she were to make a successful marriage with Nevil.

Nandy argues that identification with the aggressor is an integral part of the colonial encounter. Though Nevil is hardly an aggressor he is in some sense a conquistador.

Nevil is Lilamani's first real male acquaintance from the Western world. He is also the first Englishman to admire her, and admit his admiration, which is no doubt flattering. Nevil's "aggression" as conqueror is his charm and exotic appeal, by virtue of his race, to a cloistered Lilamani. His obvious admiration, prodigious talent and suave manners sways

Lilamani. The extent of the pervasive and persuasive influence of the conquistador is exemplified when Nevil obtains Sir Lakshman's consent to paint Lilamani (57-60). Nevil also manages to persuade Lilamam to talk to him freely. Audrey notices this with a certain unease and tells him: "Don't talk too much nonsense to her, Nevil. You'll turn the child's head" (71, emphasis mine). This is exactly what happens. The "self restricted" and "self repressed" (Diver's terms) Lilamam falls in love with Nevil Sinclair.

The attraction between Nevil and Lilamani is based on a recognition of mutual interests. They are kindred spirits. Lilamani's identification with Nevil begins with their mutual agreement over mother nature, poetry and philosophy. When Lilamani finds a kindred soul in Nevil "shyness had fallen from her like a cloak" (54). Of course, Lilamani finds it "safer" talking to Nevil ever since Audrey describes him as a brother. The identification with Nevil is easier for Lilamani because Nevil contrasts sharply with the only other English person in Lilamani's life - Audrey Hammond.

Lilamani's education at Nevil's hands helps her feel a oneness with him. She begins to relate to Christianity seeing it as a more soulful religion, appreciates the English custom of Christmas gifts and admires Nevil's sense of aesthetics. Education thus results in the loss of Lilamani's native

attitudes and preferences. The deviations from such a concurrence become the bones of **discontentment** between the two. An example of **this** difference of **opinion** **is** Lilamani's refusal to accept English dancing.

The Lilamani - Nevil relationship **is** also built upon the **verisimilitude** that Nevil finds between their tastes and souls. Nevil's preference for Lilamani arises after **his** association **with** two other women - Audrey and Leslie de Winton.

Audrey Hammond is the serious minded, idealistic Englishwoman. Rarely are we given glimpses of an impulsive Audrey. The dancing scene between her and Nevil **is** one such, (41). She has had "the girlish spirit of enjoyment stolen from her by the strenuous years" (41). She **is** however cautious and avoids **sentimentalism**. Diver remarks about such girls as Audrey:

It **is** a question whether girls of her type ... are not cultivating brain and ego at the expense of the natural emotions; a doubtful **gain** for themselves and the race .... (44)

However, all of Audrey's hardheaded realism does not prevent her from falling **in** love with Nevil. She does not confess her love and Nevil **is** too infatuated **with** Lilamani to notice

Audrey. And when eventually Nevil does notice a different Audrey the thought crosses his mind. However he dismisses it as "an impertinent ebullition of masculine vanity" (158).

Leslie de Winton had also been a strong candidate for the role of Lady Sinclair. Nevil himself had admired her Western qualities: "strong irregular features, lithe body and hint of power in reserve". He had been fascinated by her "to the verge of obsession". Yet the match does not materialise (323).

Diver suggests that it was purely coincidental that Nevil left England and thus scuttled any marriage plans. Nevil's probable marriage with Leslie had not been either planned or deliberately avoided. Nevil himself talks of a "timely separation" which prevented the marriage. But for such a twist of circumstance, Diver implies, Leslie de Winton would have been Lady Sinclair (323).

In Lilamani Nevil recognises a long lost part of his self. She is, in sharp contrast to Audrey and Leslie, soft featured, delicate and emotional. Unlike the two she is more interested in poetry and philosophising rather than in subjects like medicine or money. Nevil sees reflected in her his own artistic passion, the romantic spirit and a streak of impracticality. This is the usual phenomenon in the East

West encounter. The West sees in the Orient those qualities present and repressed in it. The East is the dark half of the West, the "Other". India, and in this case Lilamani, was the Jewel in the British Crown. It is the mystique which reminds the English of their own exotic past. As James Morris describes it, India recalls for Britain "[its] own cultures of totem, mystery and chieftaincy" (Morris, Brittanica: 505). Lilamani is described in such terms as signifying mystery, temporality and the romantic: "moonbeam incarnate", "fire and dew", or "bud". Nevil's romantic nature finds in Lilamani the fulfilment of a dream. Hence the images are also dream-like. They lend an air of unreality to Lilamani, in the same way as a picture cannot capture the entire reality of the subject. This Shelleyan shadow of that immortal idol of Nevil's thought is ethereal. All these features "conspired to give her an alluring air of unreality" (3).

Part of the unreality of Lilamani can be attributed to Nevil's incomplete "knowledge" of her. His perception of India colours his vision of Lilamani. It is Sir Lakshman who provides this image in another context. Sir Lakshman tells Lilamani: "we see through one glass, they [the English] through another" (43). The reality of Lilamani is invisible to Nevil because his vision is clouded by the Westerner's prejudices and opinions of the East.

This unreality - reality **clash** and Nevil's lack of true understanding introduces tensions **into** their **life**. **Nevil, in his** certainty that **Lilamani** can be moulded **into** Lady Sinclair - Christian and English - **is** surprised that the Indian woman survives in her. He therefore does not understand Lilamani's desire for a child.

Lilamani's dream **is** to provide Nevil an heir. She is shocked at Nevil's apparent indifference to this aspect. Nevil with a child-like **possessiveness** tells her: "I am in no hurry to share you with anyone..." (362).

We are given the reason for Nevil's lack of enthusiasm at the thought of fatherhood later. He admits that he had been bothered by the idea of half-caste children: "six months ago I confess I shrank from the idea of a son handicapped by the stigma of mixed blood" (422). He is troubled by the thought of a Eurasian heir to **Bramleigh** Beeches.

We could place another **interpretation** upon Nevil's fear of tainted progeny. Nevil who had believed he "knew" India and Lilamani has begun to realise that **this** knowledge was not complete, that his relationship was not a clear-cut picture. He has not been in as complete a harmony with India as he had hoped to be. It **is** possible that India as a presence had been very distant for **him**. A Eurasian heir **and**

Lilamani (if his efforts at Westernising her proved less than successful) would have made the East - West dissonance sharper. Therefore he is not very keen on handling a Eurasian child who would possess the same unpredictable and unknowable qualities of Lilamani. It might compound his ignorance of India.

Nevil's acceptance and knowledge of India is restricted to Lilamani. India is never a threat to Nevil so long as it remains "distilled" in Lilamani. Like myths, India is acceptable because it is so distant. The distance even lends it some mysterious charm. Nevil is merely feeling what most Britons did during the Raj. Paul Scott writing many years later was to speak of this pathetic indifference of the Britons to the Raj ideal. Scott wrote:

The British at home were always quite happy with their Empire and quite happy to let it go, bit by bit, so long as they weren't pestered by it or about it. (Muse: 92)

The Orient and India becomes a real material presence during their trip to Egypt. Nevil had earlier "absorbed much and observed much that was invaluable to an artist who aspired to interpret the East" (284). His interpretation is Lilamani. In Egypt, however, he is shocked at the "naked"

Orient, that was far from his formulated paintings. **The** biggest shock was to find that **Lilamani**, far from being a unique "specimen" was like many other Orientals. Diver writes:

[Nevil] could scarcely endure the sight of those other Eastern women who, in a dozen trifling ways, so subtly reminded him of his wife, robbing her, thus, of the unique quality that was for him an essential part of her charm. (284)

Nevil begins to realise that he judged India and hence Lilamani hastily. He had not realised that India **exerted** such a strong influence on his wife. As he tells Cuthbert **Broome**, he is surprised that she still craved for India (375). Nevil makes the mistake which England herself had committed: that of **essentialising** and "interpreting" India far too quickly. Nevil had known Lilamani all of six weeks before he "interprets" and marries her. The bond has developed before either had gauged the other thoroughly. The same situation held for England vis-a-vis India. Statesmen like Munro and Elphinstone had argued that Britain had been in India for too short a time to "know" her (qtd. in **Bearce**: 132).

After the parent-child, teacher-pupil, artist-subject

relationships there are other **relationships** which figure quite prominently in the text.

The teacher-husband is **also** master-owner. Lalamani, as has been noted, addresses Nevil as "Lord and King". The address signifies the dual aspect of their **relationship**. Nevil is God-Like hence "Lord", the Christian reference being obvious. More significant is the title of "King". This becomes symbolic of England's rule over India. Imperialist Nevil - England is the master-owner of the subject Lalamani-**India**. One can thus say that marriage is a metaphor for the Indo-British relationship.

The "ownership" syndrome is not, at least initially, related to property. Nevil's "possession" is Lalamani. However, after succeeding to the estates of **Bramleigh** Beeches Nevil's long dormant pride in his family and and property comes alive as a strong attachment to his lands. This attachment is that of a possessor over **his** possessions. Diver refers to **this** "will to possession" as an essential feature of the British race itself, thus making them Imperialists by tradition. Diver comments: "A new sense hitherto **dormant**, the sense of possession, inherent in his [Nevil's] race ... And it was **his** own. **All** his own" (256, emphasis mine). This leads Nevil to reject **Sir Lakshman's** request to go over to **India**. Nevil says: "you must consider

that I am an Englishman, with peculiarly strong ties binding me to the country" (411).

**Lilamani** is obviously a possession. We have discussed the significance of **Nevil's** painting of Lilamani as an expression of Nevil's desire to possess. A significant **remark** made by George (Nevil's brother) brings out the Imperialist in them all. George calls Lilamani "Jewel" because it "comes more natural to an Englishman, and they couldn't possibly have picked any thing more appropriate" (310). The reference to India as the Jewel in the British Crown is obvious.

Lilamani, as a possession is to be "inspected" at social gatherings and parties (296, 313). The impression is of an exotic item being displayed, commented upon and judged. Leslie de **Winton** goes so far as to say: "I couldn't induce myself to believe in Nevil's wife till I'd seen her in the flesh" (344, emphasis Diver's).

This possession is also a social liability, as **Nevil** discovers. Few people invite them to dinner and **social** gatherings have a palpable tension because of **Lilamani's** presence.

**Jane** and Phillippa Weston also find her a liability in another sense. They find George Sinclair obviously

infatuated with his sister-in-law. They see **Lilamani** as a "harem type" and promiscuous by nature. The same issue crops up **with** regard to Ronald, Nevil's young cousin.

Jane and **Phillippa** believe that Lilamani actually encourages these other men. George too, in a jocular **vein**, makes a veiled remark about the Eastern woman's notorious promiscuity: "When it comes to that type, the purdah [the veill] has its advantages, huh? No **risk of complications** -" (308).

Mannoni and Nandy have argued that Englishwomen were more racist than the men. They [the **Englishwomen**] saw both native men and women as rivals for the Englishman's affection. Though the homo-erotic bond between the native male and the Englishman isn't explored by Diver, the other prejudice is valid. Phillippa and Jane both see Lilamani as having first ensnared **Nevil**, and now proceeding to do the same to George. Jane believes it may be deliberate because "no right minded woman fascinates men **promiscuously** without knowing **it...**" (390).

The Lilamani - Nevil marriage thus runs through a range of relationships: **ma-baap** - child, teacher - pupil, artist - model, owner - subject, each having a definite co - relation to the British relationship **with** India.

### III

In Diver therefore, marriage is a definite possibility - but a rarity. **This** becomes emphasised when **Lilamani** in Diver's sequel Far to Seek (1921) disallows her son from going out to India. Lilamani herself an Indian is afraid that her son might marry a native. This fear on **Lilamani's** part suggests Diver's views on interracial liaisons. Diver seems to suggest that the Lilamani - **Nevil** relationship **is** an exception to the **rule** of interracial **incompatibility**. It must not be repeated. By making a native involved in such a marriage herself articulate this opinion, Diver has rejected the possibility of **miscegenation** as an acceptable, recurring **phenomenon**. Diver's text, cast in the **mould** of an Oriental Romance, however sees marriage as a metaphor for power. The conquest of Lilamani is a textual symbolism for Britain's conquest of India.

The final meek subjugation of Lilamani to **Christianity**, Western traditions and her "Lord-king" is remarkable. Marriage here is never "equalised" since in any **miscegenated** relation the Western partner has to be in a position of authority. Diver thus suggests that **miscegenation** can be considered and carried out only if the native is willing to "lose" her/his self (to use **Ashis Nandy's** terms) **in** the relationship. Diver thus moves beyond Taylor who escapes this "conclusion" by killing his heroine Seeta. Marriage and liaisons are thus conquests and relations of power.

## NOTES

1. Lata **Mani** in her essay "Contentious Traditions: The Debate on Sati in Colonial India" in Recasting Women (89-126) has effectively demonstrated how British "research" into Indian rituals led to a body of discourse and eventual **legislation.**

2. Ballhatchet notes that racial feeling increased alongside insecurity. "The extent of their [British] minority in India became clear with the inauguration of regular census" (**Ballhatchet:** 5-6). Thus **miscegenation** came to be seen as "giving in" to the native and **also** losing their special status: racially, culturally and nationally.

3. A.P. Thornton in Imperialism in the Twentieth Century tells us that between 1907-1917 "students formed the largest element of the population in the jails of Bengal". Lord **Morley** wrote to **Minto** mourning this situation, adding "the raj in India would be a sorry affair if it trembled before a pack of unruly collegians" (Thornton: 95).

4. Edmund Burke had actually referred to the people of India as "the softest in their manners ... approaching almost to feminine tenderness" (Burke: 113). William Jones **in his** "An Essay on the Poetry of the Eastern Nations" speaks of the "softer passions" expressed **in** Oriental languages (10: 346,

348). The prevalent notion was that Orientals tended towards effeminate subjects like poetry rather than practical disciplines. Audrey's **admonishment** of **Lilamani** is a reflection of this view, i

5. The "**requirements**" of the native in terms of subject of study, or his/her needs were never inquired into. A few of the reformers were however cautious. Lord Elphinstone wrote: "I shall think I have done a great service to this country if I can prevent people Ci.e. British] making **laws** for it until they see whether **it** wants them". William Bentinck also suggested that British glory in India "must be based on Indian happiness" (**Moorhouse**: 64, 71).

6. Audrey Hammond is also a precursor of **Adela** Quested in Forster's A **Passage to India**. The theme of the "asexual" Western woman is put under question when we see Audrey's reactions to **Nevil**. This anticipates Adela's repressed sexuality in Forster's novel. Forster demolishes this myth about the Western woman more effectively than Diver. The prolepsis is however noteworthy.

## CHAPTER - 6

### RUDYARD KIPLING'S KIM: THE TRANSITION TEXT

Rudyard Kipling's Kim (1901), a classic in English Literature, is a "transition text" in the genre of Anglo-Indian writing. Kim marks a departure from the Romantic Orientalist tales of Meadows Taylor, Walter Scott and Maud Diver whose Lilamani, chronologically speaking, is a later text. Kim also anticipates E.M. Forster and Paul Scott by its subtly interrogative subtext which picks flaws in the Raj enterprise.

Kim is an interesting study because of this "oppositional" text - subtext structure. The first part of this chapter analyses Kim as the playground of myriad relationships embedded in an Imperialist text. The concluding part unravels the oppositional subtext of Kim.

#### I

Kim is **Kimball** O' Hara, the son of Annie Shott and an Irish soldier Kimball O' Hara. His mother dies of cholera when he is very young. His father, a wastrel, succumbs to opium soon after. Kim grows up as a native in Lahore. He mixes freely with the natives, speaks the vernacular fluently, being particularly adept at abuse.

Kim's closest friend and a father - figure is **Mahbub Ali**, a Pathan horse - dealer who doubles as a spy. Kim is **Ali's** informer and messenger - boy. In turn **he** is given remuneration - "as much as eight annas ..." and "**beautiful** meals all hot from the **cookshop** at the head of the serai" (25). Kim also enjoys some sort of protection under Ali.

A venerable old Tibetan Lama arrives in Lahore and befriends Kim. Kim holds the Lama in awe. Even so, he jests with the Lama and has fun at the old man's expense. Kim persuades his friends in Lahore to provide food and shelter to the Lama.

The Lama searches for a mythical "River of the Arrow" which "washes away all taint and speckle of sin" (16). The old Lama intends to travel through India till he finds this River which would free him from the "Wheel of Life". Kim who finds the Lama intriguing is rather sceptical of the quest. He accepts the role of a "chela" [**disciple**] to the Lama. With his enthusiasm for new experiences Kim sets out with the Lama on his quest. The Lama believes Kim would lead him to the River. As **J.M.S. Tompkins** points out in The **Art** of Rudvard Kipling (1959), Kim is based on this theme of double quest: that of the Lama for his River and of Kim for his Becoming and identity (21-24).

Kim's personal quest is for an identity which he thinks was vouchsafed by his father. His father had left him a parchment with the Regiment's (to which Kimball O' Hars (Sr.) belonged) clearance certificate. He had boasted that one day the Colonel of his Regiment with its insignia of the "Red Bull on a green field" would come for Kim. This boast assumes prophetic status for Kim: "Perhaps they will make me a King" (24). He hopes to conduct his personal search along with the Lama.

Mahbub Ali entrusts Kim with a secret message for an English officer, Col. Creighton. Creighton, along with one Lurgan, runs a British spy network which operates under various fronts like the "Ethnological Survey" and an antique shop. This espionage activity has two main objectives: to watch potential trouble makers among the Indian princes, and to thwart any Russian movement into British India. This network is nicknamed "The Great Game", which is a misnomer, for it is "played" in real earnest.

The Lama and Kim traverse numerous places along the Grand Trunk Road. Fellow travellers who venerate the Lama as a holyman frequently provide food, shelter, and information about the River's possible locations.

A chance encounter brings Kim into contact with his

father's Regiment. The chaplain Father Victor and Arthur Bennett decide that Kim cannot remain native any longer. He should be properly educated in an English school. Kim has no inclination to be disciplined and wants to follow the Lama. The chaplain and the Lama overrule Kim's wishes. The Lama promises to fund Kim's education so that he may become a "Sahib". The Englishman hopes to utilise Kim's "nativity" to turn him into a spy.

Kim is admitted into St. Xavier's school while the Lama proceeds on his quest. During holidays Kim goes out to the Lama. Kim finishes his schooling at St. Xavier's and at Lucknow. Creighton recruits him as a spy and Hurree Babu instructs him in the intricacies of the "Great Game".

Kim utilises his travels with the Lama to spy on events and people. The Game traverses the Gangetic plains and moves up into the Himalayas. There they encounter an Englishman and his French companion. Kim **surreptitiously** extracts secret maps and **incriminating** documents from the two. The papers reveal that a few Indian princes are plotting with the Russians against the British. Kim's work fetches him acclaim and he is now a full fledged spy, and a Sahib.

The Lama realises his delusion in searching for Nirvana and the River. After a near tragic death in a river, the

Lama realises that his salvation **lay** in preparing and helping his **fellowmen** toward salvation. He abandons his search and proposes to spend his days in the welfare of others.

## II

**J.M.S. Tompkins** has called Kim a "nakedly **picaresque**" novel (25). Kim is a **bildungsroman**, tracing the growth of a boy into a Man. **Kim** contains all the elements of a Romance too. Following Northrop Frye's criteria from The **Secular Scripture** (1976), these elements of the Romance are easily **discernable** in Kim: mysterious **birth**, prophecies, **foster** parents, pirates (in this case, spies), **confrontation** with death, and recognition at the end. Kim's birth is undated. His parents are both dead, and his foster parents are people like Mahbub Ali and Lurgan. There is a prophecy, **as we have** already noted, of his destiny. He mingles with spies, faces death and finally emerges triumphant, donning the identity of a Sahib.

**Relationships** in the novel revolve around Kim. If relationships "**revolve**" around Kim, the "Wheel" is a prominent image in the novel. As Francine E. Krishna has pointed out in Rudyard Kipling: His **Apprenticeship** (1988), the Lama, Kim and the "Great Game" are all linked by Kim. Being (for the Lama) and Becoming (for Kim) are both on the

Wheel of life (Krishna: 166, emphasis mine). Kim's attainment of his identity as Sahib occurs through his interactions with others. To understand Kim's "becoming" we need to look at the numerous characters in their relationships with Kim.

The main relationship in the novel is that of the Lama and Kim. It not only forms, materially, the bulk of the narrative, but is also the pivot on which other relationships turn.

Kim's first impression of the Lama is characteristic of a child. He beholds the Lama as a new object: "he is no man of India that I have ever seen" (11, emphasis Kipling's). His curiosity articulates as his rapid questioning of the Lama: "What is your caste? Where is your house? Have you come far?" (11). Kim finds the Lama "entirely new to all his experiences". He thus decides to "investigate further, precisely as he would have investigated a new building or a strange festival in Lahore city" (19).

Soon, however, Kim finds the Lama a lovable, fatherly figure. Kim's relationship with the Lama now transforms itself into a teacher-pupil and father-son bond. Kim provides food for the Lama, washes his feet, arranges shelter and behaves as a dutiful son.

The Lama regards Kim as a good disciple. He often tries to instruct Kim in "the Way", the Buddhist philosophy of life. The Lama attempts to wean Kim away from his materialist view of life. Kim is however not very enthusiastic about such a **spiritualisation** and prefers the pleasures of the material world.

A major turning point in their relationship is Kim's encounter with his father's Irish Regiment. To Kim's horror even the Lama decides, along with Father Victor and Arthur Bennett, that he should be placed in a school. The Lama is convinced that such an education is appropriate for Kim, whom the Lama finally recognises as a "Sahib and the son of a sahib..." (103). The Lama offers to pay the amount required for Kim's schooling.

This marks a shift in the roles of the Lama and Kim. Thus far the Lama has been Kim's teacher. Now he becomes more of a patron. He believes that he (the **Lama**) had mistakenly assumed the role of **Kim's** teacher. He realises that a Sahib must be taught as a Sahib. He thinks: "So then it is not seemly that he should do other than as the Sahibs do. He must go back to his own people" (103). With this the role of teacher shifts temporarily but crucially to St. Xavier's and the English education system. The implications

of this movement for Kim and the other figures become very significant, as we shall see.

The Lama is also a father figure to **Kim**. When he provides for Kim's education he performs a filial **responsibility**. The Lama also acts as a protector or father to Kim on certain occasions. It **is** the venerable presence of the Lama that saves Kim from abuse and assault. The incident with the ticket collector is **illustrative**. Kim has deliberately bought tickets for a station other than the one to which the Lama wants to go, in order to save money. The collector prepares to throw him out. The Lama is alarmed that he was to lose his "chela" (disciple): "What - what is this? He must go to Benares. He must come with me. He is my chela..." (38). He appears so very helpless that the other passengers feel sorry for him and not for Kim. They pay the difference in fare themselves and allow the pair to be restored to each other (37-40). Kim thus uses the native veneration of the Lama for his own purposes. Kim parades himself as the Lama's "chela". He then obtains food and such material benefits. He even grants "blessings" on the Lama's behalf.

The Lama in turn adores Kim. In spite of his (**Lama's**) obvious frailty and need for support he allows Kim to join school. This is a purely **paternalistic** gesture on the Lama's

part. Kim, for all his apparent **frivolity**, cares for the **Lama**. Kim believes that the Lama needs his **(Kim's)** help. He is anxious about the old man's well being. He pleads with the Lama not to place him in school. When the Lama proves adamant Kim pleads: "At least go back to the **Kulu** woman, otherwise thou wilt be lost upon the roads. She will feed thee till I run back to **thee**" (105).

Kim is also dependent upon the Lama. He is fascinated by the Lama's spirituality and comes to regard him as a teacher. "I am thy chela", exclaims Kim often. Kim expresses their mutual dependence when he says: "Thou leanest on me in the body, Holy one, but I lean on thee for some other things..." (295).

Even though the Lama is in the role of the father, Kipling does not **simplistically** reduce the relationship to that of the "**ma-baap**". He alters the roles of the Lama and **Kim**.

The Lama, senior in years and learning, is a child-like figure. His general incompetence in practical life is child-like. He mistakes a courtesan for a nun, much to Kim's amusement (39). The learned teacher finds **even** an ordinary Museum curator a "Fountain of Wisdom" (15). He does not gauge the chaplain's animosity towards the heathen (himself)

when the chaplain refers to him as a "beggar" (100-102). He is surprised that education is "sold" by the Sahibs: "Do they give or sell learning among the Sahibs?" (106). Later he queries: "the more money is paid the better learning is given?" (106). The Lama is hopelessly lost in the intrigue of the "Great Game". He nearly drowns after mistaking Mookerjee's warning shout to be the River's "call" (312). He even makes an offer to convert Mahbub Ali. This devout Muslim is shocked at the blasphemy (309).

Thus when the Lama is a child, Kim turns a father figure. This alteration of roles is Kipling's Imperialist bias. Kipling makes a very young boy a father to the older, native Lama. Thus Kipling has placed the Westerner in a superior position by a simultaneous infantilising of the native and paternalising of the Westerner. The Western discourse of native weakness and vulnerability is articulated here. The incapacity of the native justifies the presence of the supportive Westerner.

If the Lama stands as the spiritual teacher to Kim, Mahbub Ali is another kind of teacher - father. The Pathan horse-dealer hires Kim as a spy. Mahbub Ali initiates Kim into the "Great Game". However their business relationship is tempered by affection too. Mahbub Ali sends Kim on spying missions. But he warns Kim of possible dangers. He also

conceals the real content of the messages from **Kim**, because such knowledge could jeopardise Kim's safety. Mahbub Ali provides **food**, money and shelter to Kim on occasion. The horse-dealer is also the only person to whom Kim does not lie. Mahbub Ali is sure of Kim's integrity and loyalty to him. Col. Creighton hires Kim for the "Great Game" based on Mahbub **Ali's** assurance that Kim is ready for it (141-2, **183**).

Kim repays his debt as son (to Ali) by saving Mahbub **Ali's** life. He overhears a conspiracy to murder **Ali** and quickly informs him of it. The knowledge helps the Pathan to save himself in time (152-3).

Mahbub Ali launches Kim's career as a spy. Using the Pathan's contacts Kim infiltrates bazaars, military camps, villages and offices. It is Mahbub Ali who conducts a sort of graduation ceremony for Kim. He gifts Kim his first firearm, a set of expensive garments and addresses him as a son. When Kim genuflects to pay his respects, Mahbub Ali forestalls him: "My son, what need of words between us"? (186-7). The father-son relationship is here acknowledged by **Ali** and Kim.

Hurree Babu is another of Kim's teachers. This Westernised Bengali is a master spy in the "Great Game", **codenamed R-17**. Hurree Babu, along with Lurgan and Huneefa

train Kim in the art of make-up and disguise. He teaches Kim the art of measuring. Hurree Babu gifts Kim a pill-box as a token of appreciation of Kim's powers of disguise and acting. He hopes that the medicines in it will be of help to Kim if he were to fall sick. Like Mahbub Ali's gift of the costumes and gun, Hurree Babu's gesture is also that of a teacher rewarding a proficient student (179).

Kim holds Hurree Babu in awe because the Babu is a wanted man and is identified only by a codename.

If only, like the Babu, he could enjoy the dignity of a letter and a number - and a price upon his head! Some day he would be all that and more. (177)

Kim who is officially Hurree Babu's subordinate seeks the Babu's approval. The Babu, like a teacher, praises his pupil's good work at the "Great Game": "I shall embody your name in my verbal report" (302). But his appreciation does not prevent him from pointing out flaws even in his expert pupil: "when next you are under the emotions please do not use the Mohammedan terms with the Tibetan dress" (304).

In the final phase of the "Great Game" it is Hurree Babu's ingenuity that saves the Lama and Kim from death at the foreigner's hands. Again, the Babu becomes a father figure to Kim, like Ali. Hurree Babu first befriends the

Russian and Frenchman masquerading as an "agent for His Royal Highness, the Rajah of **Rampur**" (257). Under the influence of drink **Hurree** Babu speaks **deprecatingly** of the English. However, it is unclear whether he is really drunk and speaking truthfully or if he is only putting on an act (one must remember that Hurree Babu is an excellent actor). The episode goes like this:

He became thickly treasonous and spoke in terms of sweeping indecency of a Government which had forced upon him a white man's education and neglected to supply him with a white man's salary...

Later, apparently sober again, Hurree Babu tries to rectify his derogatory remarks. Hurree Babu now says: "He loved the British Government - it was the source of all prosperity and honour..." (257-8).

After Kim's fight with the foreigners, they prepare to shoot him and the Lama. It is Hurree **Babu's resourcefulness** that saves the situation. He quickly leads the Russian and Frenchman away, convincing them that the villagers would kill them for hitting the holy Lama: "If you shoot they will descend and annihilate us. I have rescued the gentleman, sar. This is particularly dangerous" (263). Hurree Babu's ingenuity also results in the foreigners leaving their

baggage behind. It is from this baggage that Kim procures the **incriminating** documents.

Though the relationship between Hurree Babu and Kim begins as **teacher-pupil**, they become colleagues towards the conclusion of the tale. Though Kim "was disposed just then to reverence the Babu" (269), it is Kim who retrieves the **all-important conspiratorial** papers. The planning had been Hurree Babu's but Kim's execution of the plan is perfect. Hurree Babu acknowledges Kim's talent as a colleague when he says: "If I had done it myself it would not have been better ... I wish I had their papers also..." (271).

Kim becomes Hurree Babu's colleague only later. But prior to this, he is treated as an equal by another spy - E 23. This establishes Kim's reputation in the eyes of the Colonel and Hurree Babu. Kim's rescue of E 23 (216-224) comes in for praise from Hurree Babu: "I come to congratulate you on your **extraordinary** efficient performance at Delhi". He also obtains the Colonel's and **Lurgan's** pleasure (239). With this performance Kim graduates from an amateur to a **professional**. In fact Hurree Babu does use the word "graduate" in his praise (237). This marks a shift in Kim's **relationships** with E 23 and Hurree Babu. He becomes their colleague rather than their student. It is this shift which provides Kim further opportunity to establish himself. After

his clever handling of E 23 he is given the onerous responsibility of going into the hills. It is here the denouement of the "Great Game" occurs and Kim becomes a full Sahib.

As we have seen, all of Kim's relationships help him in his growth from a street urchin to a Sahib. This education of Kim is the framework of the novel. One needs to look at the contexts within which these teacher-pupil relationships of Kim are played out to understand how they build Kim's personality.

The teacher-pupil relationship has various "backgrounds". The Lama - Kim relationship develops in the context of the quest for the River by the Lama and the "Red Bull on a green field" by Kim. The teacher-Lama cautions Kim on the unreal world of material life: "this is not vision. It is the world's Illusion, and no more" (91). This spiritual Lama needs the support of the worldly Kim. The Lama himself realises the use and dire need of money when he hears of the amount needed to educate Kim. He becomes quite business-like with the chaplain and procures the address of Kim's school where he (the Lama) could forward the funds (106).

The end to their respective quests are different. The

Lama has sought the River as his source of Nirvana. His entire life has been devoted to scriptural study and the pursuit of enlightenment. The much awaited Nirvana comes in a totally unexpected form. The teacher becomes a pupil to the world of "Illusion". The Lama admits: "the boat of my soul lacked direction, I could not see into the cause of things" (311). He realises the misdirected quest. Nirvana, he perceives, lay in the material world. "It is here! It is behind the mango-tope here - even here!" (312). He has finally become enlightened: "I am free, and sinless!" There is Nirvana even in the wheel of life, and it is not man's need to be freed of the Wheel: "Just is the Wheel! Certain is our deliverance!" (312). The Lama realises that his own salvation lay in leading others (like Kim) to salvation. "I will return to my chela, lest he miss the Way..." (312-3). This is the Lama's own lesson as a pupil. Benita Parry notes in Delusions and Discoveries (1974):

The Lama grows through out the tale. From the early simplicity to his stature as a mystic and as a complete man is confirmed when he renounces Nirvana out of concern for others. (246-247)

Kim's quest for the Red Bull of his prophecy leads directly to his entering the formal system of education. The Irish regiment enrolls him, against his wishes, in a school.

Kim had not gone on his quest before, even if he was aware of his prophecy. His search is initiated only when the Lama enters his life. The Lama thus provides the crucial first step in the education of Kim.

Kim's search for the Red Bull does not end when he finds the Bull. It marks a new beginning for Kim. It is here that Kim's potential as a spy is first noted by the British. The decision to train him for espionage is also taken here. To begin with, he is enrolled in a school.

St. Xavier's is the first scene of Kim's formal education, to be followed later by Lucknow. The insistence of Father Victor and Bennett, and to some extent the Lama, that Kim be properly groomed as a Christian prevails over his protests. The Christianising impulse leads them to ignore the fact that Kim has no religion of his own. To the chaplain all true Englishmen should be true Christians. They are shocked at the Lama's and Kim's espousal of Buddhism: "But this is gross blasphemy!", cries the chaplain (101). Bennett is totally unmindful of the Lama's religion and his feelings for Kim. He prepares to offer him a rupee, as if to a beggar (102). Kim is under pressure to forsake the "heathen" Lama, and the Englishmen are in no doubt that as the son of a Christian he is morally bound to do so. Kipling describes it thus: "there was a look in Bennett's eye

that promised ill for Kim when he should be relaxed to the religious arm" (102).

The English insistence on **Christianising** Kim leads to his incarceration at St. **Xavier's**. Part of the funds for Kim's **education**, and his travel costs, are to be borne by the Government as embodied in the Ethnological Survey.

At St. Xavier's, Father Victor hopes "they **will** make a man o' you' ... a white" (130). The public school teaches him diverse things. He learns arithmetic, writing and cartography. The atmosphere here teaches him something else. He has learnt to wash and eat at a common table. He is beaten and ridiculed but learns not to complain (130). He learns therefore to be a stoic Englishman - which is expected of him. Kathryn Tidrick in Empire and the **English** Character writes of how the English schooling system "instilled the flamboyant cult of manliness" in **its** students (Tidrick: 218). Kim's education illustrates this. He learns to be brave, **uncomplaining** and loyal. Philip Mason in The **English Gentleman: The Rise and **Fall** of an Ideal** notes:

At such **schools**] a boy learned to do as he was told without question, later he learned to take it for granted that he would be obeyed. He learned to punish and to encourage. He learned in short to rule.  
(Mason: 170)

When Kim tells the Chaplain that he did not wish to become a soldier Bennett snaps at him: "you will be what you're told to be and you should be grateful that we're going to help you" (105). Kim is trained to be observant (as evidenced by his expertise in cartography) and calculative, to be sharp enough to identify friends from foes. We are told:

His training had given him some small knowledge of character, and he argued that fools are not given information which leads to calling out eight thousand men besides guns. (129-130)

Kim learns, thus, to be the true Sahib in a manner reminiscent of Taylor's Cyril Brandon and Herbert Compton. It is after such an indoctrination at St. Xavier's and Lucknow that he is officially inducted into the "Great Game".

If the public schools provide formal education for Kim and the Lama imparts spiritual instruction, Kim's other relationships also educate him. As a vagabond on the streets of Lahore he is Mahbub Ali's messenger-boy. He learns very early in his youth the utility of keeping his knowledge to himself, or delivering it to the right ears, at the right price: "It was intrigue of some kind, Kim knew; but its worth lay in saying nothing whatever to any one except

Mahbub..."(25). It is Mahbub Ali who recommends Kim to Col. Creighton and Lurgan, the English spy-runners. The final "investiture ceremony" of Kim with the costume and the gun is also performed by the Pathan.

Mahbub Ali has also been Kim's protector and teacher as seen before. The Pathan's crucial role in Kim's education is demonstrated on another occasion. Kim tries to run away from school to Mahbub Ali. But the Pathan brings him back. Kim sees this as a betrayal by his protector: "Kim beheld Mahbub Ali frying in flame for his treachery..." (121). Mahbub Ali assures Kim of the benefits of school and that he (Kim) would not be forced to be a soldier (123).

Kim later discovers that Mahbub Ali's advice proves sound. He becomes skilled in measuring, cartography and arithmetic. These skills make him an invaluable spy later on. Mahbub Ali therefore becomes Kim's patron-teacher in a manner similar to that of the Lama: by furthering the cause of his education.

Much of Kim's education occurs within the locale of the "Great Game", and "on the Road". He learns to be a reliable messenger for Mahbub Ali. Later at Lurgan's he is tested for his mental strength. Lurgan's attempt at hypnotising him fails and Kim passes the test. Lurgan is impressed and

graduates Kim, so to speak (169-70). Lurgan thus becomes one more father - teacher to Kim.

Kim picks up the art of disguise from Hurree Babu, **Huneefa** and **Mahbub** Ali. These three also assume the role of teachers to Kim. This talent helps him to save the life of a fellow - spy, E 23. He also aids in the escape of E 23 from policemen and inquisitive fellow travellers like the Jat. Even the Lama is fooled. Kim also uses this encounter to obtain information from E 23 (219-224). Kim's performance comes in for praise from everyone - Hurree Babu, Col. Creighton and Lurgan.

The "Great Game" thus teaches Kim courage and craftiness. However, the company of the Lama provides an outlet for Kim's compassionate nature too. Towards the end of the "Game", Kim's bondage to the Lama grows stronger. Kim learns of love from the Lama. This is expressed by his first query upon regaining **consciousness** after a long illness: "Where is my Holy One?" (219, emphasis mine).

Thus the characters develop in certain contexts. Development of character informs and is informed by the **relationships** of the characters. The "mechanics" of the relationship is also dependent upon the **characterisation** of **personalities**. Kipling uses duality and contrasts as his

method of characterisation. Contrasts also influence relationships, holding opposing characters together. A look at Kipling's methods of portrayal would be appropriate at this stage.

Edward Said in Culture and Imperialism (1993), borrowing from the anthropology of Victor Turner, terms characters like Kim "liminal figures". Such figures help maintain societies by holding together and alternating between the rigid social hierarchy and its opposite - the marginal figures. No society, Said argues, can be run totally controlled by either side alone. Stability requires a connective figure (Said: 170-174).

Kim provides the bridge between the spiritualism of the Lama and the world of Mahbub Ali and Creighton where human life has little value. Kim alternates between both worlds. As Shamsul Islam has argued in Kipling's "Law" (1975), Kim is attracted to both worlds but does not identify himself completely with either. For Kim the two worlds complement each other. However, Kim does make a certain choice in favour of one world, as we shall see later. He helps the Lama seek his Nirvana while using this quest to fashion his own career. Throughout the tale Kim's movements in the Lama's company intertwine with those of spys, villains and tricksters. The incident on the train with E 23 shows how the worlds merge in Kim.

Kim has just cured the Jat's child with a mixture of Hurree **Babu's** pills, chants and mesmerising talk. The Jat regards Kim as a saviour. The Lama, who is also impressed by Kim's performance as medicine - man, and Kim are enjoying the adulation of the Jat who now takes care of their material needs. The entry of the injured Mahratha (E 23, as a fugitive) brings this world into collision with another. Kim discovers a fellow spy. Kim's focus now shifts from the Lama and the Jat onto E 23. E 23 reveals that he is in mortal danger. Kim is quick to grasp the situation. He portrays E 23 as a **sinner**, an injured man, who now seeks repentance as a **"bairaag" (renunciate)**. He thus allays the suspicion of the Jat. Kim then disguises E 23 as a "sadhu" (holy man) and helps him escape (211-228).

For a few hours the train becomes the stage for the collision of two worlds. Kim alternates between the "good" world wherein he cares for the Lama or heals a sick child and the "bad" one where he conspires and hatches diabolic plans.

Kim thus alternates his roles throughout the novel. Son-father, **pupil-teacher, pupil-colleague**: these roles are all inhabited for certain periods of time by Kim. Other characters too alter, and transform themselves in contact with Kim. We shall consider this in more detail when we look

at Kipling's Imperialism.

Kim brings together, through his **relationships**, characters who stand in contrast to himself. Even when they are not in opposition, a certain "otherness" is perceived which helps Kipling portray Kim more clearly.

The Lama is the very antithesis of Kim's usual **circle** of acquaintances. The Lama's spiritual world is at odds with the world Kim inhabits. It is this very unusual spirituality of the Lama that draws Kim to the old man, as we have noted **earlier**.

The learned and meditative Lama finds the curator of the museum a "Fountain of Wisdom" (15). He also regards Kim as a very **knowledgable** person.

The Lama whose religion advocates love towards all fellow beings is actually alone and friendless, but for Kim. The Lama's meditative approach actually isolates him. **This** is in contrast to Kim the "imp" (as the Lam\* calls him) who is the "Little Friend of all the World". The Lama is usually silent and solitary in crowds. Kim on the other hand is comfortable in any gathering. He is the "life and soul" of the entire compartment in the train (141). He gets along with menials and high caste women like the Sahiba.

The Lama, who is Kim's teacher, proves to be **the** impractical one. As we have seen, it requires all of Kim's ingenuity to procure meals and lodgings for them. This teacher is described thus by Kim: "He does not know anything", adding immediately: "He is my master" (99). The Lama asks of Kim: "What does thou not know of this world?" (94)

The elder Lama is the child before the "father" Kim. The Lama himself claims frequently that "surely old folk are as children". The real child, Kim, thus assumes the father's role.

**Mahbub** Ali also stands in contrast to Kim. He is the **quintessential** businessman - sharp and ruthless. He is, in the true tradition of a Romance, a "dark" figure, the polar opposite of the good Lama. There is none of Kim's frivolity in him. He is quick to grasp situations. He does not, like the Lama, indulge in **contemplation**, but acts quickly. When Kim informs Mahbub Ali that he is setting off for Benares, the Pathan immediately seizes the chance to help his own **business-interests**. He suggests that Kim can carry a message for him since "**Umballa** is on the road to Benares..." (27). Realising that Kim needs money, he slips in **the** temptation: "If thou wilt carry a message for **me** as **far as Umballa**, I will give thee money" (27). Kim himself learns the art of

bargaining from Mahbub Ali. The Pathan does not give charity: he extracts good work for his money. Later Kim plays a similar game with the Pathan. Kim tells him after delivering a piece of information: "There is no need to **tell** more than is necessary at any one time. Besides, I did not then need money for **sweetmeats**". Even the Pathan is shocked at **Kim's** ruthless bargaining (160).

To find out how other characters **like** the Lama and Mahbub Ali stand as contrasts to Kim, one should look at Kim himself in closer **detail**. He is not the innocent boy trapped in All's wicked world. Kim is adept at extortion. He insinuates himself into the hearts of women and obtains their help, the Sahiba and the Woman of **Shamlegh** being examples. Kipling's portrayal of Kim as the "**innocent** abroad", to borrow a phrase from Mark Twain, does not quite carry **conviction**.

However there is an element of the child in Kim's **make-up**. This is the duality of Kim's personality. Not only does **Kim** stand as a contrast to other characters, he is himself made up of contrasts. He is a funloving and frivolous character while **simultaneously** serious and devious. From the childish pranks of Lahore town he slips easily into the role of a spy. The uninterested student at St. **Xavier's** is transformed into a **skilled** cartographer. On the train, the

entertainer Kim metamorphoses into a professional make-up **artist.**

The duality of Kim's personality includes such disparate elements. The duality helps him to straddle the two worlds **with** ease, as we shall see.

Kim is fascinated by the Lama's **spirituality.** Kim, however, is deeply aware of monetary needs. Kim's movement between materialism and spirituality parallels the geographical movement between the flat plain and the high peaks of the Himalayas. This is the unifying role of Kim himself, as Nirad C. Chaudhuri has pointed out **(47-53).**

As Kim moves from "**liminality** to domination" (Said: 170-174), his personality **accommodates** other personae. Though Kim finds the Lama's spiritualism appealing he does not forsake his own materialist outlook. Rather, he expands his vision, like the Lama, to **accommodate spirituality.** A good example of this change is his reply to **Mahbub Ali's** query of "Who are thy people?" Kim replies: "This great and beautiful **land** ... I would see my Lama again. And, further, I need money" (150). One notes how cleverly he coalesces both the Buddhist perception of love for everyone and his material needs. The Lama believes in doing good for its own **sake.** Kim cures the Jat's child of an illness. **The Jat** wishes to

make a payment for this. Kim does not intend to involve the Lama in such sordid **transactions**. He whispers to the Jat:

Go, meet us again under the big railway bridge and for the sake of all the Gods of our Punjab, bring food curry, pulse, cakes fried in fat, and sweetmeats. Specially sweetmeats. Be swift! (213)

Kim **also** becomes very conscious of the fact that he has no religion. Though aware of castes (his first query to the Lama is "What is your caste?") he was never troubled by his lack of such **affiliations**. His education, at various levels, leads him to ask "What am I? Mussalman, Hindu, Jain, or Buddhist? That is a hard knot" (158). His spiritual interests are confronted with diverse views like Christianity at St. Xavier's and the Lama's Buddhism. His discussion with the Lama on "action" (231) recalls the tenets of Hinduism and especially Krishna's lecture on the same to Arjuna in the Gita (Parry: 248).

The child in Kim also clashes with the spy. He starts spying for Mahbub Ali for monetary benefits and to satisfy his spirit of adventure. Much later he realises the full implications of the "Great Game":

**Well** is the Game called Great! I was four days a scullion at **Quetta**, waiting on the wife of the man

whose book I stole. And that was part of the Great Game! From the south ... came up the Mahratta, playing the Great Game in fear of his life. Now I shall go far and far into the North playing the Great Game. Truly, it runs like a shuttle throughout all Hind. (244)

Kim's development is also notable in the way his treatment of women changes. He is the coquettish, lovable boy who is respectful towards ladies in order to procure food (20-21). By the time he meets Lispeth Kim is already a professional spy. He now detests seeking favours from women. He asks:

How can a man follow the way of the Great Game when he is always pestered by women? ... When I was a child it was well enough, but now I am a man and they **will** not regard me as a man. (278)

Kim realises he is being unfair, that he ought to be grateful, but his new - found ego prevents this. He is "angered where he should have been grateful". He tells Lispeth rudely: "I need thy blessings as much as I do thy curses. It is my order and none of thine" (287, emphasis **Kipling's**).

Thus Kim acquires a less-likable side to his character.

From the harmless boy-spy, he becomes a professional - willing to kill or maim. **Mahbub Ali** actually sends him out to the "Great Game" with the **gift** of a gun. Ali prays: "Please God, thou shall some day kill a man **with** it" (187). In spite of the Lama's preaching of peace, love and **non-**violence, Kim is angered enough to kill. He **injures** one of the men who attacks the Lama and says: "I kicked him in the groin as we went downhill. Would I had killed him!" (266) He fires a few shots from the gun but no one is killed (264).

Kim's education in the "Great Game" thus adds a villain's facet to his lovable traits. It is the "Great Game" which becomes Kim's religion and culture. It is within the context of the "Game" and its progress that Kim's character develops. The "Game" also develops the fissure in his personality as we have seen - spirituality vs materialism, child vs spy, lovable imp vs villain - and leads to his existential dilemma.

Ashis Nandy in The Intimate Enemy says that colonialism has a sub-culture **with** certain codes of **its** own. These codes alter the original cultural priorities on both sides and are shared by the rulers and the ruled. It brings together the recessive elements in the two opposing cultures (2).

Kim's dilemma occurs because of the codes of the "Great

Game". His profession prevents him from "playing" as a child. The material demands of the "Great Game" conflict with his obvious fascination for the Lama's **spirituality**. The codes of the "Great Game" try to unite the disparate worlds like childhood - spirituality - morality - humanity with those like treachery - deviousness - violence - subterfuge. People like Kim partake of both these worlds, in the murky arena of the "Great Game".

This conflict leads to his **outcry**: "Who is Kim? What is Kim?", voiced repeatedly. The self doubt is the result of his education received from diverse sources like the Lama, **Mahbub** Ali, St. Xavier's, Lurgan and the "Great Game". He would remain a child but becomes a spy. He wishes to be native but is made a Sahib. This conflict in Kim throws up the oppositional subtext of the novel as we shall see.

We can now proceed to see how Kim's development is wrapped up in an Imperialist ethos. Kim's conversion from native to Sahib is not the **only** evidence the novel provides for Kipling's Imperialist vision.

Kim's unhindered spatial progress through India is, for Edward Said, an Imperialist symbol. Said argues in **Culture and Imperialism** that it suggests a Briton's right of way to traverse India (Said: 192). Said's example is relevant. Kim

unites India through his movement across its geographical terrain. The Englishman controls the lands and hence **is** free to travel across them.

Such symbolisms abound **in Kim**. The novel opens **with** just such an image: "He sat, in defiance of municipal orders, astride the gun **Zam-Zammah** on her brick platform opposite... the Lahore Museum". The gun is "always first of the conqueror's loot..." says Kipling. The conqueror's identity becomes clear in the next sentence:

There was some **justification** for Kim, he had kicked **Lala** Dinanath's boy off the trunnions, - since the **English** held the Punjab and Kim was **English**. (7, emphasis mine).

The Grand Trunk road unites India **geographically**. It connects diverse elements: "a river of life" carrying people and goods along **its** "stately corridor seeing all India spread out to left and right" (67,73). On the road travel "Brahmins and **chumars**, bankers and tinkers, barbers and bunnias, pilgrims and potters" (67). The entire Indian social spectrum is on display here. The groups **are** often "incessantly sparring" (76). Kipling thus presents a **mosaic** of groups which cannot be held together except by the unifying ordeal of travel. **This** illustrates **Bryan Turner's**

argument in Marx and the End of "Orientalism" (1978). Turner argues that for the West **this** diversity of Oriental society meant a **flaw**, a weakness. It also, quite **conveniently**, prevented formation of a coherent opposition to colonial rule (Turner: 39-40). Kim **is** the Imperial ruler who cleverly exploits this mosaic. Kim manipulates India's caste feelings to his own ends. He mocks people: "Yuh! It is only a **pahari**" (76), and "Trust a Brahmin before a snake and a snake before a harlot, and an harlot before a **Pathan...**" (123). **Kim's** actions unwittingly cause slight tensions between India's social and religious groups. His preference to follow the "idolator" Lama irritates Mahbub Ali (193). The Jat is angered at Kim's concern for a Mahratha (219-221). The Hindu boy at Lurgan's **is** envious of Lurgan's attraction for Kim (170-171). Kim himself utilises all social trappings. He befriends the Buddhist Lama, works for the Muslim Mahbub Ali, gets a Christian education at St. Xavier's, serves Col. Creighton, and is colleague to the Bengali Hurree Babu. Thus from each unit of the mosaic, Kim gains something.

Kim's expertise at cartography is also a relevant example. He becomes proficient at mapping and measuring (186). He repairs an **old**, illegible map (186-7) and is praised for it. Edward Said sees Kim's "healing" of the map as Orientalist (Said, Culture: 194). The Britisher explores,

defines, draws and charts India to understand her better. This is followed by the **establishment** of British rule.

Kim's education at St. Xavier's makes **him** an Orientalist. He begins life at St. Xavier's against his wishes. Then he cultivates it as a new experience. His interest is that of an academic or scientist who wishes to explore newer experiences. **His** immediate thought on joining St. Xavier's **is**: "if the Sahibs were to be impressed, he would do his best to impress them. He too was a white man" (107). Kim had always dreamt of his father's prophecy coming true. He hopes **that** when he meets the "Red **Bull** on the green field" a Colonel **would** come for him. "And then, perhaps they **will** make me a King" (24). Kim's dream is symbolic of the wish and **will** to rule.

Kim loves new experiences. **This** thrill for the new is his very life, as Angus Wilson notes (129-30). It could be argued that this symbolises **Kim's** desire to acquire an identity. This desire has been seen as symptomatic of all Imperialist ventures. The Westerner hopes to transform himself in the Other **land**. The philosopher Richard Rorty has the following argument about **this** feature of colonialism:

The love of the exotic ... has been a progressive element **in** western culture. The best and most hopeful

element in the high culture of the west is the **Romantic** desire to acquire new identities. (19)

Yet Kim's experiences do not make him a Muslim or a Buddhist; it makes **him** a Sahib.

Experience is education for Kim. Formal education for him is at St. Xavier's. We have already noted how the English public school prepared a colonial ruler. A feature of **Kim's** education at St. Xavier's is that part of the funding comes from the Government itself, represented here by Col. Creighton. To adapt **Gramsci's** argument, the state, becomes an "educator", helping to create a new civilisation (Hoffman: 64). Kim is the product of this **civilisational** mission of institutions **like** St. Xavier's. It could also be argued, after **Gramsci**, that any **social** group (or, in this case, an individual) first exercises leadership before acquiring governmental power. It becomes dominant after exercising power (Hoffman: 68-69). Kipling's text illustrates Gramsci's argument. After his education Kim is placed onto the Road, the "Great Game". He starts as a subordinate to Hurree Babu. It **is** after the exercise of his intellect, courage and ingenuity, as with E 23 and the foreign spies, that he attains the stature of Hurree Babu's colleague, if not his superior. He is now as "a **fish** controls the water he swims in" (190).

The education theme in Kim also offers other Imperialist visions. As Edward Said has argued in Orientalism, the Orientalist is a person who seeks knowledge of the Orient in order to dominate it (40,160). The Englishman coming out to India is trained not only to rule but also to study India. Col. Creighton, the mastermind of the "Great Game" is an Ethnographer. His dream is to join the Royal Society. He is a keen academic for whom "no money and no preferment would have drawn ... from his work on the Indian Survey". He is fascinated by "Asiatic cults and unknown customs" (191). Lurgan studies Indian habits, religions and collects antiques (164-52, 174). Their ability to run the spy network is a result of their knowledge of India. Approval for Kim is sought from such experts on India. It is they who certify to Kim's attainment of abilities to enter into the "Game".

Even the Lama endorses the value of Western education. The white Kim, a future Sahib, "must go back to his own people" (103). The Lama regards the Westerner's knowledge as superior, for he addresses the English curator of the Museum as a "Fountain of Wisdom", and believes his own books could not help his quest (15-16). Kim is thus behaving as a true Sahib: learning about India preparatory to ruling her. In fact this development of the hero is anticipated early in the novel. Kim regards the Lama as an **object** to be studied:

This man was entirely new to all his experiences, and he meant to investigate further, precisely as he would have investigated a new building or a strange festival in Lahore city. The Lama was his trove, and he proposed to take possession. (19, emphasis mine)

English education thus brings out the colonial in the Westerner. Mannoni in Prospero and Caliban argues that the colonial situation provides an opportunity and space, for the predestined colonial to develop latent and repressed complexes of the European psyche (Mannoni: 97-109). Kim who has already "**conquered**" the gun, itself a tool of conquest, at Lahore, lords over Chotalal and Abdullah. He easily wins women's hearts and represents, overall, the incipient Imperialist. His experiences at St. Xavier's and the "Great Game" develop this latent colonial tendency till he becomes a complete Sahib.

English education for the Indian, on the other hand, has not helped them. Hurree **Chunder** Mookerjee **is** the Westernised Bengali Babu. He is pompous and proud of his usually **ungrammatical** and mispronounced English. He admits: "I am only Babu showing off my English to you. All we Babus talk English to show off" (200). He reads Shakespeare, Burke and Wordsworth, and recommends English education to Kim. He

says: "Also a man might go far ... by strict attention to plays called Lear and Julius Caesar..." (178-9). Kipling portrays the Westernised Hurree Babu as a comic figure. **This** is a stereotype for Anglo-Indian **fiction**. The British had introduced English education in India to produce a middle class "Indian in blood and colour but English in taste, in opinion, in morals and in intellect" (Macaulay: 116). Unwittingly it also caused the rise of Indian nationalism. **This** rise of nationalism, coming in the wake of the 1857 Mutiny scared the British. Educated **intellectuals like** Derozio, **W.C.** Bannerjee, Gokhale and Tilak appeared in British eyes as threats to the **Raj**. James Morris describes the British attitude thus in Pax Britannica:

Though the British had launched the Western system of education in India and colonies, they distrusted the products of this. They saw the product as perhaps an eventual threat to their supremacy. (141-2)

To reduce the degree of threat the educated Indian is represented variously. He may be a ludicrous figure - epitomised by Hurree Babu, a "villain" like Ahmed Kasim in Paul Scott's Raj Quartet, or a mixture of both in Dr. **Aziz** of Forster's A Passage to India.

Hurree Babu's "treasonous" mumblings of having become a

"**sorry figure**" (257-8) may carry **more** truth about his condition under the Raj. A sorry figure is acceptable to the British, as **Shamsul** Islam argues in Chronicles of the Raj. Islam argues that during Kipling's age the British preferred the Indian to be illiterate and therefore harmless peasants, tribals and decadent princes. The "**ryot**" and "rajah" who posed little or no threat to the Raj formed British stereotypes. The Westernised Babu became the stock figure of ridicule (**Islam: 7**).

The senior, educated Hurree Babu fails to obtain the precious documents from the Russian. It is Kim who succeeds, thus illustrating **Kipling's** Imperialism. It is the English boy who wins and not the native man.

If the "Great Game" is the chief drama in **Kim**, Kipling underplays the purposes of the "Game". As noted earlier, the Game serves two aims: to thwart a possible Russian advance into British India, and to keep a watch on disaffected Indian princes. The "Game" is thus simply an Imperial exercise to guard and, if possible, expand British territory. The numerous references to maps, measuring, geography, are not coincidental if we understand the true nature of **Imperialism**: conquest over newer areas. **Kim** is trained for just this Imperialist purpose. I suggest that this reflects Kipling's favourable view of British colonial enterprise.

Imperialism meant more than mere acquisition of territory. It was the foisting of a new civilisation upon another. Thomas Hodgkins argues in "Some African and **Third World Theories of Imperialism**" that Western expansion in the Oriental nations has been barbarous, substituting valid Oriental civilisation for Western barbarism (93-116).<sup>6</sup> Kim provides evidence for **this** argument. If Kim **is** educated within and by the "Great Game", it also adds a negative aspect to his personality, as we have seen before. He has become capable and willing to **kill**. Within the confines of the "Great Game" human life has no **value**. As E 23 informs Kim: "We of the Game are beyond protection. If we die, we die. Our names are blotted from the book. That is all" (218). The **depersonalisation** of the participants in the "Game" of Imperialism is illustrated by the fact that they do not use names. Hurree Babu is R 17, another spy is E 23. Kim himself yearns for a "letter and a number" (177). The Russian, who is obviously a player in Russia's "Great Game", is **disrespectful** towards the Lama, going BO far as to hit him (263). Hurree Babu, the jolly Bengali Babu, an **M.A.** (as he proudly announces) is keen to kill. He is surprised that he hadn't been ordered to poison the Empire's enemies out of hand. "It is all your beastly English pride", he says (242). The "Great Game" thus allows **its** players to vent their latent

repressed frustration, and gives them a chance to overcome their inferiority complex. Mannoni argues that colonialism allows "predestined colonials" with "misanthropic neuroses" to vent their inner repressed fears. Thus a man with an inferiority complex gets over it by lording it over the natives. This is frequently manifested as savagery and violence (Mannoni: 97-109). Kim demonstrates **this** theory. The "Game" is more than an education for Kim, it enrolls him as a soldier in the "competitive struggle between developed nations", to adopt Thomas Hodgkins's description of Imperialism (92-3). He is thus reduced to a pawn, **while** becoming a colonial.

Kim provides **propagandists** for the "Great Game" and British Imperialism. If **Westernisation** was seen as a civilising mission, the "Great Game" is seen as a protective crusade for British India, and therefore for Indians. Kipling gets two Indians to voice support for British **rule**. An old soldier bemoans the madness of the Mutiny. He had remained loyal to his British masters and had been rewarded with the "Order of the British Empire". He is still "privileged" by visits from **commissioners** who recall his sterling services (62-3). Ashis Nandy sees such a loss of native self as a **characteristic** trait of colonialism. Nandy writes in The Intimate Enemy of a system of inner rewards and punishments,

which helps manage dissent (Nandy: 2-3). This system helps in the submission of the self completely. The old soldier mouthing praises of the Empire illustrates Nandy's argument. He is "rewarded" for his services by the visits. He has internalised this system and carries on from there.

Hurree Babu who is "treasonous" under the influence of liquor regrets his indiscretion when sober. Hurree Babu **claims:**

He [Hurree Babu] loved the British Government - it was the source of all prosperity and honour, and his master at Rampur holds the same opinion. (258)

It is unclear if Hurree Babu is being truthful or just playacting. The ideas presented are however significant on any account.

The two examples mentioned above support Edward Said's argument in Orientalism that Imperialism needed native support to survive:

For it's [Imperialism's] self image it was best if native subjects express assent to the outsider's knowledge and power, implicitly accepting western judgements. (180)

We have also seen how the Lama **believes** in the

Curator's "higher" knowledge, and how **Hurree Babu craves** to be recognised by Col. Creighton.

All characters in the novel revolve around Kim. The Lama depends on Kim. **Mahbub Ali**, Hurree Babu, Col. **Creighton** all succeed **in** their "Game" because of Kim. Considering that Kim is the youngest and least experienced of all, his success over everyone else suggests a pro-British **bias** on Kipling's part.

Kim wins **in** every aspect. His triumph ranges over numerous "pitfalls" for the usual Englishman in India. His first obstacle is his origin. He is not English, but Irish. By homogenising Ireland and **England**, Kipling makes a definite political statement. Even an Irish boy can succeed in India. Kipling blurs the crucial distinction between the Irish and the British. He attributes **only** minor **distinctions**, and that **only** negative ones in "favour" of the Irish. Kim's **acquisitiveness** and love of money are readily labelled as Irish traits (19, 45). Other than these **flaws** Kim **is** almost English.<sup>7</sup>

Kim's success lies in remaining sexually **disinterested**. The myth of the asexual Westerner is very evident in the novel. Kim is obviously an attractive boy. It is suggested that **Lispeth** makes advances towards Kim. She **asks**

**flirtatiously** for a reward in return for services: "Shall I show thee how the Sahibs render thanks<sup>7</sup>" she asks Kim (287). Yet Kim remains "pure" and resists **Lispeth's** advances. In lieu of Kim's sexual liaisons there are numerous "male bondings" in Kim. Ashis Nandy argues that **homoerotic** bonding was common between English men and the native males (9-10). The father - figures in Kim do not fit the roles of homo - erotic partners to Kim, but the bonding between them is evident. **Mahbub Ali** is Kim's patron, employer, provider and later on, almost a father. The Lama is Kim's teacher and father through out. At the Regiment, Father Victor allocates such a role to himself and decides Kim's future for **him**. Hurree Babu is Kim's official superior and makes significant appearances to guide Kim. Col. Creighton and **Lurgan** also become Kim's father - figures in their capacity as his employers.

Kim's retention of his untouched Englishman image falls in line with the stereotype in Anglo-Indian writing. The English male is in danger of being seduced by native women. Their only hope is to stay stoic and faithful to their cause and to their women. Herbert Compton in Taylor's Tippoo Suldaun is an example. If there is a **relationship**, the English male is dominant, wiser and the gentleman. **Cyril** Brandon in Taylor's Seeta and **Nevil** Sinclair in Maud Diver's

Lilamani are examples. In Kim, the Kim-Lispeth encounter **is** the closest Kipling comes in portraying a sexual liaison. Kim **is** rude to Lispeth and angry that he has to seek favours from her. He kisses her and she **is** grateful. Recalling incidents from her past (in Kipling's story "Lispeth" in Plain Tales from the Hills) she asks him: "You **will** come back again?" (288). The dependence of the native upon the Westerner is suggested in her agonised query.

Kim triumphs in a symbolic victory of Western ideals over Oriental ones. The Lama, the epitome of Oriental learning, spirituality and ideas, abandons **his** quest. He now decides to seek Nirvana in the material world rather than through metaphysical **contemplations**. Since the West is materialist and practical the Lama's acceptance of the material world as real seems to acknowledge the "truth" of Western ideas. The fact that the embodiment of Eastern ideals - the Lama - is a weak, old man is also significant. **This is** so since the hero who represents Western ideals **is** young and energetic. The dependence of the former upon the latter furthers the significance of the **representation**.

The role of language in Kim's attainment of Sahibdom is also an example of Kipling's Imperialist bias. Kim speaks the vernacular fluently. He detests English schools. He also regards the Indians as "my people". We are told

emphatically that Kim's use of native language is "by preference" (7) and not through coercion. He **is** thus near-native, and feels at one **in** India through a shared language. **This** illustrates what Rollo May argues **in** Power and Innocence ;

Language arises from an underlying web of potentiality for understanding, a shared structure, a capacity to identify with the other. (66)

Kim is assimilated **into** India through **this** "shared structure" of the vernacular. His fluent use of **local** languages and his "dark" skin, help him pass off as a native. An illuminating incident is the scene with the carriage driver in Lucknow. The driver, believing **him** to be a fresh - from - England Sahib - boy, is rude to **him**. Kim then "in the clearest and most fluent vernacular ... pointed out his [the driver's] error" and then "perfect understanding" is established (133).

It **is** however curious that Kim does not use the vernacular to pass a crucial test. Lurgan **is** attempting to hypnotise **him**. Kim is on the verge of succumbing. Kipling describes his change and recovery thus:

So far Kim had been thinking **in** Hindi, but a tremor came on him, and with an effort **like** that of a swimmer before sharks, who hurls himself half out of water, **his**

mind leaped up from a darkness ... and took refuge in  
the multiplication table in English! (169)

Obviously for Kipling, salvation lay in retaining one's  
English identity.

As Kim develops his identity, other characters too  
change their personalities. As Angus Wilson points out, all  
characters in Kim have certain flaws. Yet they all "improve"  
on contact with Kim (Wilson: 131). The **Sahiba** end the  
courtesan become more generous in providing food and shelter  
to Kim and the Lama. The Jat has his arrogance broken down  
and becomes **humble**. The Lama climbs down from his lofty  
ideals and decides on serving the human race. The hardened  
**Mahbub** Ali softens and behaves in a fatherly manner towards  
Kim, as seen in the investiture ceremony (186-7). **Lispeth**,  
the Woman of Shamlegh, forgets her pride and status to  
actually seek Kim's good will and affection.

Kim is thus the focus of a changing world. By making  
the Westerner the pivot of such a change, Kipling suggests  
that the entire earth and human race revolved around the  
British Empire.

### III

Kipling's Kim also provides an **oppositional** subtext of

the **main** text. With **this** the **clash** within Kipling himself is presented to us. He attempts to mellow down the Imperialist colours of **his** work by providing subtle criticisms of the **Raj**. As **Benita** Parry has **said**, Kipling tries to reconcile **his** "blind racial rage and a delight in things **characteristically** Indian" (Parry: 208).

**Kim**, as we have seen, **is** almost a native. He has so assimilated Indian culture that he could even "lie **like** an Oriental" (30). Kim's mastery over the vernacular **is** matched **only** by **his** adaptability to Indian **circumstances**. He begs using native techniques of promising blessings, or **resorting** to the usual plea: "My father is dead my mother **is** deed - my stomach **is** empty" (26). His **superstitious** beliefs and swearing are **truly** Indian. He likes to speak in the vernacular "by preference" (7). Kim **is** so much a native that in moments of great emotion he **exclaims not** in English but in the native language: "**Shabash**" or "Hai Mai" or "Allah be **mercifull**".

Kim is also cognizant of the working of the native mind. He talks religion **with** the devout, and business **with** Mahbub **Ali**. He passes the **time** of the day equally comfortably **with** girls of ill-repute and the venerable Lama. He **is** proficient in preying on native weakness. By addressing Mahbub **Ali** as a "black man" he dents the **Pathan's**

pride (149). He calls a farmer a "Mali" (51). He **plays** on the native **fear** of curses all through the tale.

He does not share the British obsession with memories of the Mutiny. He appreciates Lucknow city, and the native carriage driver tells him "many astounding things, where an English guide would have talked of the Mutiny" (133).

Kim learns more from the bazaar than in the portals of St. Xavier. Kipling's attitude towards Kim's education is ambiguous. While it is suggested that English education may help Kim, it is **also** feared that Kim may lose his uniqueness. Creighton recognises **this** and sends **him** off to the school with this warning: "There is a good spirit in thee. Do not let it be blunted at St. **Xavier's**" (132). Everything **in** St. Xavier's is "usual" (137). In contrast, his experiences in the bazaar and elsewhere are **extraordinary**. Kipling comments that if permitted "he could paralyse St. Xavier's with the description of his experiences" (178). He is also looked at condescendingly by other English boys for being a **near-native**. English snobbery is clearly faulted here by Kipling (138). Kipling with heavy irony paints the school as a kind of prison: "The Gates of learning shut with a clang" (136). At school Kim is taught that "One must never forget that one is a Sahib" (138). Kipling implies that it may be English education which is responsible for the creation of the Sahib.

Lispeth's betrayal, recounted from Kipling's earlier story, demolishes the idea of the English gentleman. The English male is apparently no longer true to his word. The stereotype of the promiscuous native woman is also questioned. Lispeth's fidelity is revealed when she says: "My Sahib said he would return and wed me ... but he never returned". She has remained true to the memory of her Sahib: "I have never set eyes on a Sahib since". She tells Kim, in a verbatim recollection of her diatribe in "Lispeth": "Thy Gods are lies: thy works are lies, thy words are lies" (285-6).

Hurree Babu's admission of being a "sorry figure" after an English education is revealing. It can be interpreted as the irrelevance of English education for the Indian. He is a misfit, except when serving the British government.

This criticism of English education is also implied when it transforms Kim from a "good" boy into a less-likable "man". Martin Seymour-Smith in Kipling (1969) believes that Kim does not choose between the Way of the Lama and the "Great Game". Smith suggests that the conflict remains unresolved since we do not know what Kim will become when he grows into a man. I think this irresolution that Smith detects is not really valid. Kim has become a Sahib with his

success at the "Great Game". He has already chosen the world of intrigue and violence. The text provides enough examples to support this argument. We have seen how he becomes rude and ready to kill. The Sahib **is** not a God-like figure, but a villainous creature. **Kim** is now treacherous, devious and without chivalry and this **is** reflected in his brutal behaviour towards LISPETH. If education was meant to improve, English education appears to have failed in **its** objective. **This** may be Kipling's implication in Kim.

The old soldier who stayed loyal to the British during the Mutiny is proud to receive British **commissioners** who come to do him "honour". The soldier's replies to the Lama's incessant questioning reveal the tragedy of this hero-worship of the British. The old soldier says:"and we talk of old skirmishes, one dead man's name leading to another". The Lama asks:"And **after?**": the soldier replies! "Oh, afterwards they go away, but not before my village has seen" (63). Kipling implies that such values of loyalty do not seem relevant because the old man is not looked after by the British for his loyalty. He has stayed among his people with this realisation: "At the last I shall **die**" (63).

Another striking criticism of colonialism in Kim is the portrayal of the Chaplain Victor and Arthur Bennett. Christian religion is shown as intolerant. Bennett actually

ridicules the Lama and treats him like a beggar. They **dismiss** the Lama's religion as a "gross blasphemy" (101). It is illustrative of **Aime Cesaire's** argument in Discourse on Colonialism (1972): for Imperialism the equations read Christianity equals civilisation and paganism equals savagery (7-13). The chaplains are so sure of what the boy requires that they overrule his protests. He is finally incarcerated in St. Xavier's. Angus Wilson goes so far as to say that in Kim, "the narrow - minded Church of England padre may truly be said to be the villain of the book" (Wilson: 79). Charles Carrington makes a similar point in Rudyard Kipling: His Life and Work (1978). Carrington notes that Englishmen have a less prominent role in Kim. Or, when they do - as in the case of the chaplain, they are shown in unpleasant light. The focus, says Carrington, is on Kim's relation with four natives - **Mahbub Ali**, Hurree Babu, the Sahiba, and the Lama (Carrington: 426). Noting that it is this action of the **chaplain's** which transforms Kim into the less - than lovable Sahib, one may say that Wilson's argument is Kipling's contention too.

If Kim is a tale of quests, **it** is India which unites the quests. It is in the geographical space of India that Kim "achieves" a becoming. Thus the role of India in making a Westerner needs to be underscored. When Kipling makes

colonised India the site of a boy's attainment of manhood, success and identity, he **is** providing a favourable account of the country. Here on the Grand Trunk road, in the bazaars or the Himalayas, **with** the Wheel "eating, drinking, trading, marrying, and quarrelling - all so warmly alive" (230), Kim becomes complete. Kipling's text thus provides a positive India too, where the Westerner finds himself. In conclusion, we may argue that Kipling's tale steps out of prevalent Imperialist discourse. Though this discourse is the dominant one in Kim, there is evidence to suggest that Kipling was not completely happy with it.

This subtext and variant reading of Kim places the novel as a transitional text between Orientalist **discourse** on the one hand and the critique of Imperialism on the other. The ambivalent location of Kim provides us with a starting to look at the more overtly **anti-Imperial** Forster, and his successor Paul Scott.

## NOTES

1. This provides an example of Said's argument regarding Orientalism. Knowledge - ethnography, study of Indian culture, its art - all led to the eventual marriage of Knowledge and Power. The Raj, whose political **superstructure** depended on such an "epistemological" base, **is** symbolised in the subterfuge of Creighton and Lurgan. The "Ethnological Survey" and antique shop provide "knowledge" for the **spying**, which is an Imperialist enterprise.

2. In another tale, "His Chance in Life", Kipling emphasises this feature of Imperialism. Kipling notes that even a small percentage of English blood (in **Michele**, the hero of the story) brings out leadership qualities (1: 93-101).

3. **Paradoxically** it is the reduction of the man to a mere number which Kim seeks as identity. It is possible to see in this a symbol of the Raj itself. The Raj which dehumanises coloniser and colonised has as its tools mere numbers and letters. The individual **is** thus unimportant in the giant wheel of the **Raj**. One can **also** suggest that the **individuality** of the person does not matter because s/he is only a tool as the Raj works **its** way onward.

4. Kim's creation of dissension among the various castes is also symbolic of a fundamental feature of the Raj: "divide et impera", or, divide and rule.

5. Kipling in his much anthologised poem "Gunga Din" had actually depicted such a "harmless" Indian. A "bhisthi" (water-carrier) is referred to as a "better man" than the English. One could read this as demonstrative of Shamsul Islam's argument. Islam believes that the illiterate and poorer Indian was acceptable as a "better" Indian precisely because s/he was no threat to the Raj. An educated Indian who raised uncomfortable questions and demands was not liked by the British (Islam: 6-8).

6. Aime Cesaire in his Discourse on Colonialism has argued that colonialism made brutes out of both coloniser and colonised (11-13). Cesaire thus argues for the allround debilitating effect of colonialism. This parallels and extends Hodgkin's argument to include the degradation of the White "master" under the ill-effects of colonialism.

7. Edward Said in Culture and Imperialism has made a similar point. Said notes that Kipling makes a "loyal" Irish subject triumph in Britain's colony (170-174).

**E.M. FORSTERS A PASSAGE JO INDIA: THE HUMANIST (RE)VISION**

E.M. Forster's A Passage to India (1924) may be accorded the status of a "best seller" among Anglo-Indian novels. Its success, both as a novel and in David Lean's motion picture, has rendered it a classic, spawning numerous articles and books.

A Passage to India grew out of Forster's visits to India in 1912 and 1921. As secretary to the Maharaja of Dewas he came in professional and personal contact with numerous Indians and English officials. The novel was to be Forster's translation into prose of his spiritual, moral and physical understanding of the country. The context of the novel was provided by his friendships with J.R. Ackerley (the author of Hindoo Holiday), Syed Ross Masood, the end of the disastrous First World War, the Amritsar massacre and Khilafat movement in India. As he wrote A Passage to India "the British empire and its misdeeds were much on Forster's mind" (Furbank: 111).

**I**

A Passage to India deals primarily with the visit of

two English ladies, the older Mrs. Moore and the younger Ms. Adela Quested, to Chandrapore, India. Adela, we are told, is slated to marry Mrs. Moore's son Ronny Heaslop, the Magistrate of Chandrapore. Chandrapore as a town has nothing of significance to recommend it. Forster describes dead and decaying relics which consort with numerous gardens, bazaars and the English civil station. However, the general impression is of a dull and lifeless town which "presents nothing extraordinary ... The very wood seems made of mud, the inhabitants of mud moving" (7).

In the first part of the novel, titled "Mosque", Forster presents the characters and initiates relationships. Adela and Mrs. Moore hope to see the real India. The other English in Chandrapore, consisting mainly of officials, have little affection for Indians. Ronny Heaslop who is Mrs. Moore's son by an earlier marriage, hopes to marry Adela. He is the city Magistrate. Adela and Mrs. Moore are befriended by Dr. Aziz, a native Muslim. Cyril Fielding, the English Principal of the local school, is a "wrong 'un" among the English because he mixes freely with the Indians. The Nawab Bahadur, and Mahmood Ali are the other characters introduced. Prof. Godbole is a Brahmin mystic-priest whose conversations and songs are rarely understood. At a tea party, Dr. Aziz invites Mrs. Moore and Adela to accompany him to visit the

Marabar caves - Chandrapore's only real "sight".

Part Two, titled "Caves", deals **with** the sight - seeing trip. Fielding and Prof. Godbole miss the train and are left behind. Mrs. Moore finds the caves **unimpressive** since they lack paintings or sculptures. She feels **claustrophobic** after the first cave and prefers to **sit** out the rest of the tour. Adela goes **into** a cave by herself. The events which occur here are narrated **only** later. Adela has apparently been molested by Dr. **Aziz** in the cave. Adela **is traumatised** and puzzled by the echoes and her own unreal "**molestation**". She soon becomes Aziz's nemesis when he is accused of attempted rape. **Aziz** is put on trial and a riot rocks Chandrapore. At her crucial deposition, however, Adela absolves Aziz of any crime. She admits that **Aziz** never followed her into the cave, and hence could not have molested her. She withdraws all her accusations and charges. Mrs. Moore who leaves India prior to the trial dies enroute to Europe. She is badly shaken in her faith and retreats **into** a world of her own. Adela breaks off her engagement to Ronny and leaves for England much ridiculed by the other English **in** Chandrapore. **Aziz**, disgusted, quits his **job** and goes away to Mau, a native princely state. Fielding returns to England.

Part Three, **titled** "Temple" , brings Fielding back to India. He has married Stella (Ronny Heaslop's half-sister)

and has a child. He visits Aziz and **Godbole** at **Mau**. Both of them had lost contact **with** each other over the years and time had changed them. Aziz is now a fervent **anti** - Raj nationalist. Fielding finds **it** more difficult to renew his friendship with Aziz. The two part as friends, though not completely at ease with each other. Godbole the Brahmin remains his own unperturbed self throughout the tale.

## II

A Passage to India is a significant text for the study of Anglo-Indian relations. **Forster however** denied that the novel was about politics. He wrote:

The book is not really about politics ... It's about something wider than politics, about the search of the human race for a more lasting home, about the universe as embodied in the Indian earth and the horror lurking in the **Marabar** caves and the release symbolised by the birth of Krishna. (qtd. in Singh: 192)

**Forster's** biographer P.N. **Furbank** argues that Forster **depoliticises** A Passage to India by pushing it "out of **time**", (Furbank: 106). George Orwell in **his** essay "Kipling" has deduced correctly that Forster used India at two levels of thought - the literal earthy reality and the **transcendental** level. The literal India with **its** nationalism and the

transcendental cosmic clarity towards which all humanity is striving (Orwell, Essays 2: 187). The tale however becomes a space where the personal becomes irretrievably yoked to the political. A study of the interpersonal relationships in A Passage to India therefore helps us towards a better understanding of this phase of the Indo - British encounter.

All themes and relationships in A Passage to India are subsumed under and inscribed within a framework of certain identifiable super themes, or "ur-themes".

Critics like Avtar Singh in The Novels of E.M. Forster (1986) and Gertrude M. White (1994) in "A Passage to India; Analysis and Revaluation" (134-6) identify the motif of separateness - isolation as Forster's primary concern. Individuals are isolated from each other within their community, professions and relationships. Barriers prevent fulfilment in any kind of relationship. In attempts to pull down such barriers, they are actually reinforced, as we shall see. Paradoxically, this "division theme" unifies relationships in A Passage to India.

If isolationism is the hallmark of all individual interactions, Forster also attempts to transcend such barriers. A Passage to India explores a possible flight above these divisions onto a plane where distinctions either merge

or are erased. Avrom Fleishman has argued that the caves with their "being and nothingness", Godbole's Hinduism, Aziz and Mrs. Moore with their own brands of spirituality and aesthetics are attempts at such flights (qtd. in Singh: 208-9).

Transcendence is also achieved through Forster's use of ambiguity and negations. Anticipatory passages, such as the opening description of Chandrapore, invoke disharmony. Later crucial visionary passages, such as that of the echoes in the Marabar Caves, nullify them or at least re-open the paradoxes.

John Colmer in his essay "Promise and Withdrawal in A Passage to India" (1979) locates a dominant pattern in the novel. Colmer argues that a pattern of expectation and promise, followed by disappointment and withdrawal runs throughout Forster's text (Colmer: 117-128). Such a pattern works not only in the dialogue and plot but also structures the relationships, as we shall see in the illustrations later.

Dr. Aziz and Cyril Fielding have heard of each other and Aziz recognises the latter by sight. Their friendship begins at a tea party hosted by Fielding. Aziz arrives early while Fielding is still dressing. Fielding's opening remark, "Please make yourself at home", sets Aziz at ease. An easy

camaraderie develops. Fielding tries to visualise Aziz's looks since **Aziz is** hidden **from** view **while** Fielding dresses inside. There **is** a climax to their friendship right there when **Aziz** lends Fielding **his** own collar-stud (64-5). **This** sharing of a personal effect brings them together, both physically and emotionally. Fielding, Forster comments, "was not surprised at the rapidity of their intimacy" (65).

Fielding visits **Aziz** when the latter is ill. And **Aziz** actually displays his dead wife's photograph to him - a rare privilege. **Aziz** tells Fielding: "you are the first Englishman she has ever come before" (116). They are comfortable with each other, and Aziz feels no **embarrassment** in indulging in crude innuendoes. Thus their relationship is inaugurated at a deeply personal level. **This** is basically **Forster's** focus in the novel: a human relationship within the political setting of the Raj. Their intimacy is obvious when Fielding actually criticises a fellow Briton to a native. Fielding calls **Adela** Quested a "**prig**" and as "one of the more pathetic products of Western education" (119). **Aziz** cautions Fielding to be more guarded in his speech, and thus dons a protector's role. He tells Fielding: "Speaking out may get you **into** trouble" (120). Forster describes this new role of Aziz thus: "And abruptly he [**Aziz**] took up a new attitude towards his friend, the attitude of the protector who knows the danger of India and is admonitory" (120).

With this piece of advice Aziz has established himself as a kind of patron saint over the Englishman. However this relationship **is** a result of affection. "I trust he won't come to grief", hopes **Aziz** (122). It **is** Fielding who confers **this** status on **Aziz**, because "it was difficult for him [**Aziz**] to remain in awe of anyone who played **with** all **his** cards on the table" (122). Forster however re-asserts the basis of their friendship with an authorial comment **in** the last paragraph of the chapter. Forster writes:

But they [**Aziz** and Fielding] were friends, brothers. That part was settled, their compact had been subscribed by the photograph, they trusted one another, affection had triumphed for once **in** a way. (122)

When Aziz is accused of having molested **Adela**, Fielding stands by **him**. With **this** gesture he completely antagonises the British club. He goes so far as to say: "If he [**Aziz**] **is** guilty I resign from my service; and leave India". He resigns from the club immediately (189-90). Fielding suddenly reverses the protector role back to himself. **Hamidullah** and the other Indians are grateful for his support (174-5). He receives petitions on behalf of Aziz and discusses **possibilities** with the Indians.

**After** Aziz is acquitted, things turn sour in their

relationship. Fielding wants Aziz to exempt Adela from paying **compensation**. Aziz, now an unforgiving man, refuses to accept Fielding's humane explanation: "She really **musn**'t get the worst of both worlds" (253). Aziz comments in a fervent manner:

The 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. (251)

Adela is shunned by the other English in Chandrapore for absolving Aziz. Fielding provides a place of refuge for her. This angers Aziz, and Fielding is annoyed at Aziz's comments regarding Adela. Aziz "resented him making up to this particular woman, whom he still regarded as his enemy" (271).

Fielding returns many years latter to a rather cold reception from Aziz. Aziz is under the impression that Fielding had married Adela. But Fielding had actually married Stella, Ronny Heaslop's half-sister. Fielding attempts to attain the warmth of their old intimacy, but Aziz rebuff\* him. Fielding then grows "more official; he was older and sterner" (300). When he realises Aziz's **misapprehension** (regarding himself and Adela) he becomes "more friendly, but scathing and scornful" (301). Both of them have changed.

Fielding takes a more conservative **view** of India and the Raj, while Aziz is a staunch nationalist. They realise that **as** long as the **Raj** exists personal **relationships will** be subsumed under it. No fulfilment is possible within such a framework. As Aziz articulates vehemently at the conclusion of the novel: "we shall drive every blasted Englishman into the sea, and then ... you and I shall be friends" (322). On such an ambiguously hopeful note their friendship remains.

The Aziz - Fielding relationship is notable for the deeply personal level at which it works initially. **Forster** allows the relationship to be inaugurated on a purely human plane. **This** effect is achieved by a master - stroke of **Forster's**. When **Aziz** and Fielding first meet they do not see each other, though they are **only** a few feet apart. Fielding is dressing behind a door when Aziz comes into the house. "Please make yourself at home", is Fielding's first statement. **Aziz** responds: "May I really, Mr. Fielding? Its very good of you", and "**His** spirits flared up" (63). As they carry on a conversation their mutual liking increases and a friendship is established. It is important to note that the initiation of friendship occurs when, by virtue of **circumstance**, there is a "blindness" to looks or colour. Aziz and Fielding thus perceive each other better when they cannot see physically. Forster subtly suggests that on an

individual level, ignoring colour and race differences, one may hope for a meeting. The Aziz - Fielding introduction is markedly similar to the manner in which Aziz meets Mrs. Moore. Mrs. Moore is also in shadow, at the Mosque and is therefore unseen (20). Aziz and Mrs. Moore **also** develop a beautiful relationship eventually.

Forster's suggestion that rapprochement occurs when humans respond **spontaneously** is highlighted when, later in the tale, Aziz and Fielding drift apart. By now, both Aziz and Fielding have become aware of their politics, race and status. Aziz who once "took no interest in politics" (106) has turned nationalist. Fielding has begun to have doubts regarding India's nationhood. Ideological differences creep in when the individuals **allow** thinking and reason to dominate spontaneity and feeling. Aziz now lumps Fielding with all Englishmen and in doing so alienates Fielding the individual. He cries: "clear out, you fellows ... we hate you most..." (322). Fielding on his part mocks Aziz's nationalism. Awareness therefore divides people and isolates them. Forster thus subsumes a working relationship into a separation - motif, where the best of friends set up barriers between themselves.

The Aziz - Fielding relationship is also a **success** because the Muslim - English equation had always been sound

as we have noted in the previous chapters. **Forster** himself admitted that at a personal level he preferred Islam to Hinduism. In 1921 Forster wrote to his Aunt Laura:

The Hindu character is almost **incomprehensible** to us. The more I know the less I understand. **With** the Muslim it is different. When after the nightmare of **Gokul Ashtami**, I stood on the minaret of the Taj in Agra, and hear the evening call to prayer **from** the adjacent mosque, I knew at all events where I stood and what I heard ... They [the Muslims] may not be as subtle or suggestive as the Hindus, but I can follow what they are saying. (Furbank: 99, emphasis Forster's)

Aziz thus gets along with Fielding and Mrs. Moore. Fielding finds **Hamidullah**, the barrister, "pleasant and amiable". They "were fairly intimate..." (111).

The Muslim - English amiability is contrasted **with** the divisive feelings between the Indian Hindus and Muslims. In Chandrapore, writes Forster, "every street and house was divided against itself" (106). **Aziz** wants India to get back the glory of **Alamgir** and of Moghal India. Godbole the devout Hindu thinks that England took India from the Hindus and not from the Muslims (67). **Aziz** ridicules the Hindus as "slack" with "no idea of society" (69). When Fielding and Godbole

miss the train to Marabar, it is blamed on Godboles extended rituals (131). When Aziz and Das greet each other Aziz thinks: "I wish they [the Hindus] did not remind me of cowdung". Das in turn thinks: "Some Moslems are very violent" (267).

Aziz's trial brings the Hindus and Muslims together in a show of solidarity. Aziz is defended by a Muslim pleader and a Hindu barrister. However it is an uneasy alliance, and doubts remain as to whether it would last. Aziz, who is now a hero, asks Das if the entente would last. "I fear not," replies Das, who, Forster notes, "had much mental clearness" (267).<sup>2</sup>

The Aziz - Fielding relationship also carries strong homoerotic overtones. Their relationship, as noted before, begins with a physical intimacy. When Aziz lends Fielding his collar-stud a personal touch is introduced. Though Aziz is never made out as a homosexual we are shown him consorting occasionally with Nureddin who is "effeminate" with "pretty lips", and whom Aziz "always liked" (99-100). We have noted Ashis Nandy's argument in The Intimate Enemy that the Western male established a homoerotic bonding with Indian males, unconsciously or consciously. This made the English woman a competitor for the affections of the English males and hence more racist (Nandy: 9-10). Forster's portrayal of

a subtle male bonding does not however directly relegate the English woman to racist status. Forster instead proceeds to demolish the myth of the asexual, beautiful and idealist English woman (as exemplified by Amy **Compton** in Taylor's Tippoo Sultaun or Audrey Hammond in Diver's Lilamani). We shall look at **Forster's** strategy in the discussion of the Aziz - Adela relationship.

Aziz in his homoerotic relation with Fielding has a tendency to both **lasciviousness** and cruelty. In a conversation with Fielding he offers to procure a woman for him. His crudely worded statements offend **Fielding's** sensibility. **Aziz** also makes cruel remarks about Adela's features and Fielding does not approve of this either (120). Aziz's rather obnoxious sensibility comes to the fore on occasion, as when he yearns for carnal fulfilment (101, 103). After the trial, an embittered Aziz is asked by Fielding to forego the monetary **compensation**, since it would ruin Adela. Fielding offers to procure an apology from Adela. **Aziz** makes rather unpleasant remarks about her yet again (253). **Aziz** also displays jealousy when he hears that Adela is staying at Fielding's house (272-3). After the trial Aziz finds himself in a morally superior position - as a victim rather than the perpetrator. He then patronises Fielding regarding his relationship **with** Adela (272-4). This streak of cruelty and

childish envy adds a certain imperfection to Aziz's character.<sup>3</sup>

If the Aziz - Fielding relationship **is** initiated across barriers, it ends with the **reinforcement** of their differences. Transcendence occurs in the case of the Aziz Mrs. Moore **relationship**. In this relationship **Forster** portrays attempts at **reconciliation** of cultures by looking at **similarities**. These similarities overrule and transcend differences. **This** anticipates similar efforts by Daphne Manners and Hari Kumar/Harry **Coomer** in Paul Scott's The **Raj Quartet**.

The Aziz - Mrs. Moore meeting occurs in a mosque. Aziz has repaired to the mosque after being snubbed at the English club. He enjoys the peace of the place and is re-reading the epitaph on a tomb. Mrs. Moore suddenly appears **in** the darkness. In the first few minutes **Aziz** reproves her for being in the holy place. However Mrs. Moore's **consideration** in leaving her footwear outside and her interest in seeing the mosque calms Aziz. Mrs. Moore's statement, "God is here", pleases **Aziz**. The relationship **is** suddenly pleasant. It is to be noted **that, as** yet, they have not seen each other clearly, both being in shadow (20-23).

As we have observed in the case of the **Aziz** - Fielding

introduction, Forster works with great subtlety in initiating the **Aziz - Mrs. Moore relationship**. Mrs. Moore encourages an easy relationship **with** her positive statements about the mosque. **Aziz** is happy at her interest. Both get **into** a conversation on personal matters **like** family, children, and in the case of Mrs. Moore - criticism of a fellow Briton, Mrs. Callendar. **Aziz** also freely criticises the English, well aware of Mrs. Moore's nationality but also aware that she empathised with him.

Aziz and Mrs. Moore transcend barriers. **This** is helped by their obvious admiration for art and music. Both enjoy the beauty of the mosque. Indeed, **Aziz** actually refers to it as "our mosque" when in Mrs. Moore's company **(143)**. Mrs. Moore recalling that early meeting **comments**: "And how happy we both were". Aziz believes then that "friendships last longest that begin like that" (143). Mrs. Moore had wanted "to be one with the universe" (208).

**Mrs.** Moore "evolves" in India. She begins to realise that

Though people are important the relations between them are not, and that in particular too much fuss has been made over marriage; centuries of carnal **embracement**, yet man **is** no nearer to **understanding** man. (135)

As for Aziz he adores Mrs. Moore, especially because he had "surmounted obstacles" in developing the relationship (143). And Aziz, like Mrs. Moore moves beyond emphasis on **relationships** and specific individuals. He vows

CTo3 compose a new song which should be acclaimed by multitudes and even sung in the fields. The song of the future must transcend creed. (208)

Aziz also decides that he should "see more of Indians who were not Mohammedans" (208). In Mau he puts his new resolution into practice when he announces to the **predominantly** Hindu population: "I study nothing, I respect everything" (292).

Thus, the Aziz - Mrs. Moore relationship suggests a theme of transcendence. **This** theme culminates in Mrs. Moore's elevation to the status of a divinity in Chandrapore. She becomes "**Esmiss Esmoor**" and **this** name is a chant at Aziz's trial. The name, Forster writes, "burst on the court like a whirlwind" (224). An English woman is adopted, "travestied", as Forster describes **it** (225), into a legend, goddess and a cult. Two tombs come up with her name on it (256-7).

Forster thus proclaims an overcoming of barriers when

he makes Mrs. Moore a cult figure. Mrs. Moore, who **emerges** as the most humane character in the tale is the only one who escapes the tribulations of the **trial**. It is Mrs. Moore who realises: "all this rubbish about love, love in a church, love in a cave, as if there is the least **difference...**" (201-2). Mrs. Moore who discovers this **universalising** feature of love is able to transcend her own race, colour, nationhood and religion. This occurs when she is deified by Chandrapore. The person who understands India best for its truth about love and humanity, **is** sanctified. Mrs. Moore **embodies** Forster's stirring sermon in Howards End:

Only connect! ... Only connect the prose and the passion, and both **will** be exalted, and human love will be seen at its highest. Love in fragments no longer. **Only** connect, and the beast and the monk, robbed of the isolation that is life to either, **will** die. (365)

However this "**connection**" disorients Mrs. Moore **and** she eventually dies a troubled lady.

The theme of isolation and division works **in** the Mrs. Moore - Aziz relation too. Ronny Heaslop and the other English in Chandrapore do not appreciate Mrs. Moore's obvious liking for Aziz. Ronny thinks Aziz has been "impudent". He is also afraid that such a relationship might prejudice **Adela**

in favour of the Indians. He says: "It would be tiresome if she started crooked over the native question" (31-2). Mrs. Moore's refusal to see **Aziz** as guilty also alienates her **from** Ronny and the other Britons. **Like** Fielding, Mrs. Moore who gets along well with Indians is isolated among her own people. In attaining a unity of sorts on one side, Mrs. Moore flounders on the other.

The expectation and promise of seeing the "real India" ends in a surprising fashion for Mrs. Moore. She is disappointed when her Christian faith fails to explain the mystery or the "muddle" of India. She cannot understand why Englishmen need to "pose as Gods" (50). Her Christian belief - "God has put us on the earth in order to be pleasant to each other. **God...is...love**" (51) - helps to strike up a beautiful relationship with **Aziz**. However in the caves where everything **is** absorbed as "bourn", her faith is put to the test. Here "hope, politeness, the flowing of a nose, the squeak of a boot, all produce **\*boum'**" (147). She realises truly that distinctions collapse, greatness is nothing, being equates with non-being. In spite of her faith this "double vision", where "the horror of the universe and **its smallness** are both visible at the same time " (207), is too much for her. John Sayre Martin in E.M. Forster; The **Endless** Journey (1979) suggests that the echo and **claustrophobia** which

trouble Mrs. Moore are symbolic of her own spiritual muddle. Her crisis of faith peaks in the Caves and leaves her broken (Martin: 149-152).

Mrs. Moore's withdrawal - **from** India, from **relationships**, and eventually from life - **is** a result of both disappointment and fulfilment. She has encountered the truth about the universe, but the truth is too much for her mortal mind. In this paradox the "super theme" of promise - expectation and disappointment - withdrawal is played out. Mrs. Moore's **death-as-withdrawal** echoes Forster's statement in Howards End:

Truth being alone is not halfway between anything. It is only to be found by continuous excursion into either realm; and though proportion is the final secret, to espouse it at the outset is to ensure sterility. (365)

Not surprisingly therefore the cause of Mrs. Moore's tragedy is attributed by Forster to the fact that the English "got everything out of proportion", as **Adela** admits (Passage: 98).

If Mrs. Moore seeks a spiritual and metaphysical oneness like Godbole, Adela Quested seeks a more rational, earthy one. Adela who wishes to see the "real" India assumes the role of an **investigator**. However she is too quick to generalise. For example, she thinks **Aziz** is India. Forster **comments:**

In her ignorance she regarded him as '**India**', and never surmised that **his** outlook was limited and his method inaccurate, and that no one is India. (72)

It is this quick-to-judge approach fostered by their schooling system which characterised the British in India. Indeed Fielding calls **Adela** "one of the more pathetic products of western education" (119). Towards the end, Adela realises that "reason", and "learning" had failed her, especially in **understanding** India. She comments sadly:

All the things I thought I'd learnt are just a hindrance, they're not knowledge at all. I'm not fit for personal **relationships**. (197)

Adela's upbringing has **also** taught her to suppress her instincts. Western education cultivated repression. Adela's relationship with **Aziz** causes problems because of such repression. Mrs. Moore first talks of Aziz to Adela as a nice young man. Adela quickly remarks: "This sounds very romantic. You meet a young man in a mosque, and then never let me know!" (30). Aziz is obviously attractive to her, though she is herself quite plain. Aziz wonders "how God could have been so unkind to any female form" (68).

If there is attraction **it** is entirely from Adela's side, because **Aziz** who finds her ugly is "entirely

straightforward" in his attitude to her (68). McBryde, who specialises in "Oriental pathology", remarks that the darker races are physically attracted by the fairer but not vice versa (218-9). This statement is obviously untrue in the case of Aziz - Adela, for, as someone points out cruelly in the court, the lady is "uglier than the gentleman" (219).

Adela is in a crisis over her marriage to Ronny. She is not in love with Ronny but has agreed to wed him. It seems problematic to her that she is to marry someone she does not love. Thoughts of her marriage and love haunt her on the trip to the caves.

Repressed as she is, Adela in all probability hallucinates the "rape" in the caves. Critics like Jeffery Meyers, Benita Parry and Gramsden have argued likewise that the event in the cave is a result of her repressed sexuality (Singh: 212-13). She is attracted to Aziz, they are in close physical proximity, he has been nice to her, and she is troubled by her lack of love for her fiance. Mannoni has argued in Prospero and Caliban that rapes in colonial encounters are "pure projections of the unconscious". Mannoni notes that it is always the daughter, sister or the neighbour's wife who is the victim, not one's own. This is ridding oneself of the guilt of sexual attraction) by putting the blame for his bad thoughts on someone else

(Mannoni: 110-121).

Part of such a "projection" can be attributed to the **homoerotic** bonding between the Western and Indian males. And a good part of it is explained as repression, with **its** resultant Freudian **wish-fulfilment**.

Aziz and Fielding are close to each other. Aziz **is in** tears when Fielding misses the trip to the caves. **Adela** and Mrs. Moore are more than comfortable with **Aziz**. "We shall all be Moslems together...", Mrs. Moore remarks (131). Adela assures him, **in an authoritative** tone of voice: "Nonsense, go to your carriage. We're going to have a delightful time without them" (132). Adela is obviously happy because she would now get Aziz's full attention. Mannoni argues that this is a natural situation in **colonialism**. Due to the homoerotic bond, the white woman sees herself as a rival to the Indian male. She also constantly seeks to impress upon the white man that there can be no comparison between herself and the native woman either. Because of her envy of the native male, she becomes tyrannical. **This** is due, Mannoni says, to her unconscious urge to control a male figure. This becomes more overt because the native has a dependent personality (Mannoni: 110-121). We have already noted how Adela **authoritatively** commands Aziz.

Adela's unconscious envy is attributed in part to her own bad looks. Her lack of **attractiveness** may have instilled an inferiority complex in her. Forster comments: "Her body resented being called ugly, and trembled" (Passage: 219). This produces aggression to overcome the sense of inferiority. This point has been elaborated by Rollo May in Power and Innocence. May argues that jealousy is a **possessiveness** in direct proportion to the impotence of the individual (117). In the caves Adela is the **only** woman. Her looks are less emphasised in the darkness of the caves. And Aziz has been nice to her. All these contribute, along with her repression, to the recipe for a **hallucination** and a Freudian **wish-fulfilment**. Adela probably turns a friendship into a sexual motif **unconsciously**. The mystery of the incident in the Cave is hinted at in Forster's other writings. In an interview Forster had commented :

When I began Passage I knew that **something** important happened in the Marabar Caves and that **it** would have a central place in the novel - but I didn't know what it would be ... The Marabar Caves represented an area in which **concentration** can take place ... They were to engender an event like an egg. (qtd. in Bradbury: 28)

Forster in the tale thus demolishes the myth of the asexual Western woman. What happens in the caves is unclear.

Godbole suggests "sunstroke" as a veiled reference to a hallucinatory experience (17B). Forster makes a stronger statement favouring Adela's sexual repression in the court scene. When Adela walks into court in what is certainly a traumatic experience, her attention is curiously first attracted by the "punkahwallah". The "punkahwallah" who is almost naked, is "splendidly formed" with great "strength and beauty" (217). Adela's instant attraction to the man, in the midst of such a terrifying prospect as a trial, lends credibility to the argument of her repressed sexuality.

If her hallucination causes Adela trouble, it also proves catastrophic to everyone in Chandrapore. By portraying the English lady as a causal agent for the disaster Forster reinforces his comment in The Hill of Devi; "We were paying for the insolence of Englishmen and Englishwomen out here in the past" (155). The Collector thinks in his "inmost thought": "After all, its our women who make everything more difficult out here" (214).

For Adela too there has been initial promise which ends in disappointment. She had wanted to see the "real India". There was also the prospect of marriage to Ronny Heaslop. On both counts her stay in India is a failure. Her "scientific" curiosity in knowing India is a failure because there is no one India. Someone (Fielding, though Adela does not know it)

had suggested that to know India she should see Indians. Her contact with Indians is rather restricted. The Bhattacharyyas promise to be good friends. **Adela** and Mrs. Moore are invited home. However the carriage does not turn up on the appointed day. There **is** thus a literal withdrawal of another acquaintance from Adela's circle. It **is** a relationship which holds out scope, but does not flower. Adela **is** puzzled and rather upset at **this disappointment** (68-9).

With **Aziz** she makes the mistake of believing him to be India itself. And her own drawbacks of Western education, repressed instincts and mental confusion, especially over her forthcoming marriage to **Ronny**, prevent this relationship from developing. The Adela - Aziz **relationship, with** prospects of a good future thus rather anticipates the Ahmed Kasim - Sarah Layton relationship in Paul Scott's **Raj Quartet**. Adela's admission towards the end that she is not fit for personal relations is an admission of failure and **disappointment**.

Adela's **relationships** with Ronny Heaslop and the other English at Chandrapore demonstrate the tragedy that haunts human relations in Forster's novel. Ronny and Adela hope to get married. Adela realises that though she has agreed to marriage, she does not love Ronny. It therefore becomes a suspect relationship in her eyes. She thinks: "She and Ronny

- no, they **did** not love each other ... Not to love the man one's going to **marry!**" (152). The arrangement of an official engagement seems more like a convenience. **This** official note is a salient feature of all **relationships** of the English at Chandrapore and **is** particularly notable in their dealings **with natives.**

English officialdom had been attacked by writers of the **Raj** for **its** insularity. **W.D. Arnold** in **Oakfield**, **Orwell** in **Burmese Days**, **Forster** himself and later **J.G. Farrell** and **Paul Scott** portray the English official harshly. **Harish Trivedi** in **Colonial Transactions** notes that the characters in **Forster's** novel are "conceived and delineated not so much as individuals as by their **official rank** and role; they are all imperial **types**" (142, emphasis mine)

In the heyday of the **Raj** the English confidence in their abilities was high. They became hardened Imperialists and had little affection for India. However, the **philanthropic** "white man's burden" notion still prevailed. **Ronny Heaslop** who calls himself a "sun-dried bureaucrat" (78), tells his mother, **Mrs. Moore**:

We're not out here for the purpose of behaving pleasantly! ... We're out here to do justice and keep the peace ... We're not pleasant in India, and we

don't intend to be pleasant. We've something more important to do. (49-50)

At this point Mrs- Moore accuses him of posing as a god. **This pose** is perfectly embodied in the **Turtons**. Mr. **Turton** is the "viceregal substitute" and their family members are like "little gods" in Chandrapore. Mrs. Callendar thinks that "the kindest thing one can do to a native is to let him die" (27). Everyone at the club is amazed at Adela's desire to meet the natives. It is useful to recall here Fortser's comment on the **social** aspect of Imperialism. In "Reflections on India I: Too Late" he wrote: "the great blunder of the past is neither political nor economic nor educational, but **social** ... Ca matter of] rudeness in railway carriages" (qtd. in Trivedi: 155). **This** meant that the English refused to behave decently towards their subjects. Ronny Heaslop's anxiety that **Adela** might "start crooked" about natives is a reflection of the current attitude. Heaslop does not want a newcomer to be prejudiced in favour of India; hence the **oldtimers** try to indoctrinate her with their notions of Western superiority.

Contempt for the natives also combined, in cases like **McBryde's**, with the desire to study them. In the fashion of true Orientalists before him McBryde has an interest in Oriental pathology. He has peculiar theories such as **this:**

"All unfortunate natives are criminals at heart, for the simple reason that they live south of latitude 30" (166-7). Forster sardonically informs us that McBryde himself was born in **Karachi'** (167). The English in India adamantly stuck to their preconceived notion of the natives. They refused to accept that India had **also** changed. Forster comments:

The club moved slowly: **it** still declared that few Mohammedans and no Hindus **would** eat at an Englishman's table, and that all Indian ladies were **in** impenetrable purdah. Individually it knew better, as a club it declined to change. (65)

The Club consisted of Englishmen who had the public school mentality. **Indoctrinated** with notions of British superiority, and trained to **rule**, as Philip Mason **in** The English Gentleman and Kathryn Tidrick **in** Empire and the English Character have separately pointed out, they (the English **in** India) refused to accept the different realities which India presented. People like **Adela** are confused by India's "brute reality" because nothing they learnt **in** England helps them to "know" India. Ronny Heaslop **with** his arrogance is a good example of a product from the English schooling **system**. Forster comments about the English in India: "It was the Public School attitude, flourishing more vigorously than **it** can yet hope to do in England" (40).

If the English come out schooled as despots India changes them for the worse. As Aime Cesaire writes in Discourse on Colonialism: "Colonialism works to **decivilise** the coloniser, to **brutalise him**, ... to degrade **him**, to awaken **him** to buried instincts...(13). **Aziz** and the others discuss how the English change after arrival in India: "They came out intending to be gentleman, and are told it will not do ... I **give** any Englishman two years, be he Turton or Burton" (10-11). Mrs. Moore is aghast at the change in Ronny: "You never used to judge people like this at home..." (33). **And** he realises that "he had been using phrases and arguments that he had picked up **from older- officials...**" (33). She is reminded of his younger days: "One touch of regret ... the true regret from the heart - would have made him a different man, and the British Empire a different institution" (51). Mrs. Moore feels that the "young man's **humanitarianism** had sloughed off" in India (51).

Forster thus presents a **Raj** which degrades both the natives and the rulers. **Sujit Mukherjee** in Forster and Further has argued in a similar **vein** about A Passage to India (Mukherjee: 27). Even upright **humanitarians** like Ronny Heaslop become embittered. The British sense of decorum is lost as exemplified in the suspected affair between McBryde and Ms. Derek (272). They become corrupt, inspite of the

idealism preached. Good **examples** which bring out the **irony** of the Raj are provided in **Forster's** novel. Fielding enters India through the Victoria Terminus at Bombay after bribing a European ticket inspector (61). Mrs. **Turton** takes bribes (11). Aziz remarks with great sarcasm:

When we poor blacks take bribes, we perform what we are bribed to perform, and the **law** discovers us in consequence. The **English** take and do nothing. I admire them. (11)

Lionel Trilling's in his essay in **Malcolm Bradbury's E.M. Forster's** 'A Passage to India': A Casebook (1994) argues that in **Forster's** novel the Indians are "conceived with these emotions [sympathy and affection] **alone** ... We want a weightier Indian than **Aziz**" (Bradbury: 80-81). I suggest that this portrayal is evidence for the **argument** that colonialism reduces **human** beings to mere types while negating their **personalities**.

The English in India are also afraid. The English woman who comes out changes within six months, according to Aziz (11). She becomes a racist, and has **only** contempt for the Indians. People like Mrs. Turton learn the language only to speak to **the** servants (32). Pat Barr in The **Memsahibs** (1976) described these Englishwomen thus: **"portentous** and

proud, snobbish and self congratulatory, sentimental and self-pitying" (201-2). It is the Englishwoman who would never adjust to the natives. Fielding therefore discovers that :

It is possible to keep in with Indians and Englishmen, but that he who would also keep in with Englishwomen must drop the Indian. The two wouldn't combine. (63)

After the Adela-Aziz problem the club closes in further. Fear pervades the atmosphere. The situation is described thus: "They had started speaking of 'women and children'..." (183). There is also talk of calling out the army. The Collector personally "wanted to flay every native that he saw..." (183). Mrs. Turton, in a statement recalling the reality of Amritsar's "crawling order", has this to say:

They [the natives] ought to crawl from here to the caves on their hands and knees wherever an Englishwoman is in sight ... We've been far too kind with our Bridge Parties and the rest. (216)

The alienation of rulers and ruled is thus complete. There remains no more possibility of bridging the gap.

### III

Forster thus concludes with the view that as long as

politics and officialdom remained, **relationships** cannot develop or flourish. There is the need for a personal touch before **officialness** and governments intrude. Forster in his essay "Notes on English Character" in Abinger Harvest (1920) writes: "The nations must understand one **another** and quickly, and without the **interposition** of their **governments**" (14). He therefore suggests a fellowship and not a mere political **relationship**, as G.K. Das has argued in E.M. Forster's India (1977, 85).

Unless such a personal level of **understanding** occurs, the Raj is doomed to failure. Fielding realises that the **Raj** rested only upon a non - personal level of contact. He believes this of the Raj: "We all build upon sand; and the more modern the country gets, the worse 'll be the crash" (276). Fielding is **disappointed**, for even his personal relationship with **Aziz** has **deteriorated**. He had hoped for a beautiful friendship (113). Thus the theme of promise and disappointment occurs at both personal and national levels.

Events like the Bridge Party reinforce barriers rather than break them down. Forster describes how the Indians "massed at the farther side of the tennis lawns" (39), and when tennis begins "the barriers grew **impenetrable**" (46).

The only separateness which gets diminished is that of

Aziz and Mrs. Moore. Their relationship, as we have seen, transcends barriers. Mrs. Moore in her death also unites the native population of Chandrapore. Avtar Singh argues that a union occurs between Mrs. Moore and Aziz. The death of Mrs. Moore makes her a Goddess. It also creates an unearthly atmosphere at the trial, in the chant "Esmiiss Esmoor". Aziz is then absolved. Thus in her death, Mrs. Moore has become symbolic. Avtar Singh writes:

The English rape of India finds symbolic atonement in the death of an English woman to save an Indian accused of raping an English woman. (Singh: 217)

Transcendence also occurs in the character of Godbole, and in Aziz's poetry (as noted before). Godbole refuses to identify a source or origin of evil. In a highly significant passage Godbole says:

Nothing can be performed in isolation. All perform a good action, when one is performed, and when an evil action is performed. (177)

He attributes the "evil action" in the caves to Dr. Aziz, the guide, Fielding, himself, his students; and the lady herself (177-8).

Godbole is important because he does not distinguish,

seeing **only** unity everywhere. **Forster** uses this character to highlight how India could bring people together. At the **Gokul Ashtami** festival, **Aziz**, Ralph, Fielding and Stella traverse a river to watch the festivities. (It **is** to be remembered that Fielding and **Aziz** are no more good friends at this point) Their boats collide. There **is** a frenzied chant of God's name **in** the background. The boats capsize and people are thrown against each other. Stella falling into Aziz's arms (but there **is** no "molestation" now!). All "plunged into the warm, shallow water, and rose struggling **into** a tornado of noise" (316). A unity is achieved here. Life-saving becomes more important, not who saves it. As Forster, after such superb description, writes:

That was the climax, as far as India admits of one. The **rain** settled **in** steadily to **its** job of wetting everybody and everything through ... Looking back ... No man could say where was the emotional centre of it anymore than he could locate the heart of a cloud. (314-6)

Under the auspices of a God who is love, people come **together.**

As the novel ends, Forster recreates images of continuity, as **if** to signify the inconclusive nature of human

relations. Fielding and Stella who do not really love each other feel a rejuvenation in marriage. In **Mau** "there seemed a **link** between them at last -" (318). The sky continues as an over-arch when **Aziz** and Fielding go on their last **ride**. A **Passage to India** "concludes" with an open-endedness which Forster requires of novels. He had expressed **this** view in Aspects of the Novel:

Expansion - that **is** the ideal the novelist **must** cling to. Not completion. Not rounding off but opening out. The ending is a continuance, not conclusion. (116)

**This** refers to more than a narrative strategy. It reflects Forster's concept of how life itself could proceed.

Forster's novel suggests, therefore, a human level of **understanding**, beyond racial or national barriers. The degrading nature of the **Raj** was primarily due to **its** inhuman officialdom. Forster's portrayal of the **Aziz** - Fielding friendship implies that on a personal plane people could ignore their respective origins. When the official note is introduced it prevents true **understanding**. Forster, anticipating Scott **in** his **view** of the cruelty and **depersonalising** effect of the Raj, is the humanist at work. We have already noted Forster's **views** from his essay "Notes on English Character" in Abinger Harvest. The comments

suggest a human approach to improve even political relations. Forster himself embodied **this cross-cultural** relationship in **his** friendships **with** Indians such as Syed Ross **Masood**. He had once admitted: "I like being **with** Indians ... I loathe Anglo-Indians" (qtd. in **Furbank: 126**).

The **Aziz-Fielding** relationship fails to blossom because the official dimension creeps in. **This** aspect of **relationships** in Forster anticipates almost exactly the liaisons in Paul Scott's The Raj Quartet : **Edwina** Crane - Mr. Chaudhuri, Sarah Layton - Ahmed Kasim and so on. Forster thus provides a humanist criticism of the Raj.

## NOTES

1. In his essay "Life's Walking Shadows in A Passage to India". Vasant A. Sahane (1979) suggests that the character of Aziz was inspired by Forster's friend Abu Saeed Mirza. Mirza had told Forster that in fifty or five hundred years the Indians would turn out the British. These were practically the very words articulated by Aziz in the novel.

2. G.K. Das in E.M. Forster's India sees the entente as Forster's fictional account of the post-Amritsar and Khilafat unity of the Hindus and Muslims. As Das points out this entente didn't last either (Das: 61-66).

3. Forster himself had occasional bursts of envy and cruelty. At Dewas, his lover makes a pass at the Maharaja. Angered and probably envious, Forster boxes K's ears and finds "to his surprise and distaste that he enjoyed giving K——pain" (Furbank: 91).

4. Mrs. Moore however dies, having first retired into her own world. She had witnessed, like Kurtz in Conrad's Heart of Darkness, the horror of the universe. She had however, also realised that India taught this truth about Nothingness. Her death is that of one who understood the truth India teaches. It anticipates the tragedy of other such characters in Anglo-Indian fiction - Edwina Crane, Sr. Ludmilla, Daphne Manners

and Barbie Batchelor in Paul Scott's The Raj Quartet, all of whom, like Mrs. Moore, "got everything out of proportion..." (Passage: 98).

5. Criticising the public school system Forster wrote in his biography of Goldsworthy Lowes Dickinson: "That the public school is not infinite and eternal, that there is something more compelling in life than team work and more vital than cricket, that firmness, self complacency and fatuity do not between them compose the whole armour of a man, that lessons may have to do with leisure, and grammar with literature - it is difficult for an inexperienced boy to grasp truth so revolutionary, or to realise that freedom can sometimes be gained by walking out through an open door" (Goldsworthy Lowes Dickinson: 22).

6. Harish Trivedi in Colonial Transactions makes a similar point about Forster's novel. Trivedi writes: "This whole syndrome of colonial sexual politics, which Forster apparently took on without knowing what to do with it, was finally to be deconstructed explicitly and radically by Paul Scott in the Hari Kumar - Daphne Manners episode in his Raj Quartet" (Trivedi: 154).

## CHAPTER - 8

### PAUL SCOTT'S THE RAJ QUARTET : APOTHEOSIS OF AN ILLUSION

This chapter looks at Paul Scott's monumental saga The Raj Quartet. The Quartet consisting of four novels The Jewel in the Crown (1966), The Day of the Scorpion (1968), The Towers of Silence (1971) and A Division of the Spoils (1975), presents the Raj in all its negative aspects. Scott's work extends that of Forster in drawing out the anti - humanist strain in the Imperial mission. William Walsh has described the Quartet thus:

Four volumes ... packed with malice, murder, cruelty, sexual perversion, racial violence and general human hatred ... [they] breathe a thirties-type intensity of colonial guilt. (174)

Walsh's comments are admirably descriptive of Scott's work. They also draw our attention to Scott's extension of Forsterian motifs of guilt and regret.

#### I

The Jewel in the Crown deals with the trauma of the Quit India movement. The novel is set in **Mayapore**, near **Mirat**. Certain characters and events are narrated to us,

combining to form "an aspect of truth" as Scott put it in his earlier novel The Mark of the Warrior (1958).

The novel opens with **Edwina** Crane's story. **This** pro-Indian missionary teacher **is** attacked by a mob following the declaration of the Quit India resolution. Her subordinate Mr. Chaudhuri **dies** trying to save her **from** the mob.

Daphne **Manners**, a young English girl, helps out Sr. **Ludmilla** at the local "Sanctuary" which is a place for the sick and dying. She befriends Hari Kumar, a Westernised Indian. Ronald **Merrick**, the District **Superintendent** of Police, hopes to marry Daphne and dissuades her **from** mixing with Kumar. Their friendship is unacceptable to both the Indians and the British at **Mayapore**. One night they make love in the Bibighar Gardens. Soon after a gang of ruffians rape Daphne and beat up Kumar.

The rape issue snowballs into a crisis. Merrick, who hates Kumar, is suspected of planting evidence - a bicycle - to implicate **him**. Kumar **is** then arrested on charges of rape. Mayapore is affected by riots and the Jail **is** attacked. Kumar **is** tortured in prison, though we are **only** given a third person account, through **Vidyasagar's** deposition (Jewel: 369 - 372). Kumar is beaten and sexually ill-treated by **Merrick**. The novel ends with Parvati, Daphne's daughter, staying on at **Mayapore**.

The second volume The Day of the Scorpion, begins with the arrest of the ex - Chief Minister and Congressman Mohammed Ali Kasim on 9th August 1942, i.e., the day after the "Quit India" resolution. The Governor tries to persuade him to resign from the Congress, but Mohammed Ali Kasim refuses.

The Layton family resides at Ranpur. John Layton's stepmother, Mabel, sympathises with the Indians. After Jallianwallah Bagh she contributes to the fund raised for the Indian victims of the massacre (Scorpion: 69). John Layton marries Mildred Muir, and has two daughters Sarah and Susan Layton. John Layton ends up as a prisoner of war in a German concentration camp. Susan Layton is all set to marry a soldier, Teddie Bingham. Sarah Layton takes an interest in "administration ... Native customs. Local history" (Scorpion 96). We are told by Lucy Smalley that she (Sarah) does not take the Raj seriously (Scorpion: 135). A Russian Count Bronowski at Mirat takes Mohammed Ali Kasim's son Ahmed Kasim under his wing. M.A. Kasim's other son Sayed has joined the Indian National Army. Kasim and Sarah Layton become friends.

Merrick and Teddie Bingham become friends in the army. Merrick is the best man at Bingham's wedding with Susan Layton. A stone is hurled at the marriage procession. This injures Bingham slightly. Bronowski shrewdly points out that

the stone may have been meant for **Merrick**, in "remembrance of things past", specifically **Bibighar**. This is a hint that **Merrick's** past may be catching up with him.

It is 1944 and the Kumar case is reopened. Nigel Rowan interrogates Kumar. At the inquiry Kumar details information about **Merrick's** hatred for him. He **also** describes his **imprisonment**: the torture, **Merrick's sado-masochism and, more importantly,** Merrick's exposition of the **Raj** "ideals". Rowan is convinced of Kumar's innocence. Lady Manners who is also present at this hearing feels the same. Kumar weeps at the news (thus far kept from him) of Daphne's death. However he refuses to accept that this second hearing **is** not part of "the situation" - of British oppression and native **helplessness.**

Teddie Bingham dies **in** battle and Ronald Merrick loses an arm. Merrick is with Bingham during his **(Bingham's) last** hours. Merrick describes the events leading up to Bingham's tragedy when Sarah Layton visits him in hospital. Merrick returns to **Ranpur** as a hero. Susan Layton tries to burn her baby during a nervous breakdown. The maid servant Minnie rescues it in time.

The Towers of Silence, part three of the Quartet, deals mainly with the story of Barbara (Barbie) Batchelor, a

superintendent of the Protestant mission schools in Ranpur. She is a friend of Edwina Crane (whose tale formed a major part of The Jewel in the Crown). After retirement she comes to live with Mabel Layton at Pankot as a tenant and companion. Barbie Batchelor has a reputation of being very talkative and slightly eccentric.

Mabel Layton and Barbie Batchelor get along well. Mildred Layton (the mother of Susan and Sarah) is however on uneasy terms with her. Mildred distrusts Mabel's reliance upon Barbie, construing it as Mabel's distrust of her (Mildred). Mildred becomes a heavy drinker.

Daphne Manners dies in childbirth a year after the Bibighar incidents (1943). Mabel Layton also dies. Mildred and Kevin Coley (who are having an extra-marital affair) hint at Barbie's hand in the "unnatural" death (Towers: 227). Mildred and Barbie disagree about Mabel's burial place. This marks the complete alienation of Barbie from the people at Ranpur. Mildred relies upon Barbie's past reputation as an eccentric to declare her mad. Susan has a baby boy who has a certain Dicky Beauvais as godfather. Dicky is in love with Sarah Layton, though there is no suggestion of reciprocity. The relationship is not developed further. The debate between the Congress party and the Muslim League regarding the formation of the Interim Government goes on. While the Nehru-

led Congress proposes joining the **government**, Jinnah opposes the idea. Barbie **Batchelor** goes mad. Ronald **Merrick** returns as a war hero and **with** an artificial arm.

A **Division of the Spoils** opens **with** the historical end of the Second World War. Wavell arrives as India's Viceroy. Mohd. Ali Kasim is released from detention.

Sarah Layton meets Guy Perron, a historian - soldier, at a party. Guy Perron meets Ronald Merrick at an **interrogation** of a native soldier. It **is** revealed that Perron was Hari Kumar's senior at an English school (Chilling-borough). **Merrick** is involved **with** prosecutions of the Indians who had enlisted with Subash Bose's Indian National Army (**INA**). Merrick is deliberately harsh towards the deserters due to his racism and anti-Indian attitude. Perron recognises this blind racial hatred and vindictive nature of Ronald Merrick. Perron **also** comes to know of **Merrick's** unsavoury past - Bibighar and the Kumar case.

We are given the opinions of Perron, the cartoonist **Halki** and Mohd. Kasim on the political situation. Another instance of **Merrick's sado-masochistic** misuse of powers - Lance Corporal Pinker's case is given to us (the case is looked at **in** greater detail later in the chapter).

Merrick who knows Susan **Layton's** history, marries her.

He obtains **this** history by reading her files at Dr. **Richardson**, the **psychiatrist's** office. These files reveal her unstable mental state. **Merrick** capitalises on her condition to ingratiate himself **with** her and the Layton household. **Hari** Kumar **is** eventually freed from prison. Merrick's past finally catches up. Frequent reminders of **Bibighar** are left behind for Mernck. Notable among these is **a** bicycle, meant to recall the bicycle **Merrick** had planted as evidence against Kumar.

Indian independence seems imminent. The Hindu - Muslim problems continue unabated. Ronald Mernck is brutally murdered. Riots break out during the country's partition. The English try to escape by train through riot-torn areas. Ahmed Kasim is sought out by the **crowd** as a traitor who sided with the British. Kasim hands himself over, thus saving the other English on the train. The Quartet ends with the gruesome murder of Kasim.

## II

Scott depicts the **Indo** - British relationship by focussing on **its** human element. By placing individual **relationships** within and against the backdrop of political events, Scott foregrounds the background. We are made to realise that these individual relations reflect

microcosmically the political liaison of India and Britain. We are alerted to this realisation at the very outset of the Quartet. In the opening sections of The Jewel in the Crown Scott writes:

This is the story of a rape, of the events that led up to it and followed it, and of the place in which it happened. There are the action, the people, and the place, all of which are interrelated.... (9, emphasis mine)

We read on to realise that the "interrelation" is the mingling of the individual with the political. The Quartet resembles a historical novel in its use of historical events. Margaret Scanlon in "The Disappearance of History: Paul Scott's The Raj Quartet" (1986) has argued that the Quartet follows the basic conventions of a historical tract in its multiple narrators and linear narrative. But there is a constant tension between the Quartet's realistic texture and its tendency to turn history into stories or myths that seek to explain history. Scanlon adds: "The novel[s] try to establish an identity between public events and the private experiences of its characters" (Scanlon: 153-169). The rape of Daphne Manners reverberates, repeats and re-narrativises the rape of India. The political is here the personal text of the rape too.

**Relationships** in the Quartet may be seen in terms of promise and hope on the one hand and renegeing and disappointment on the other. **Relationships** promise happiness and fulfilment but result **only** in tragedy. **This** becomes true for individuals and nations.

The Jewel in the Crown inaugurates the relationship of Edwina Crane and Chaudhuri. She is the official superior and he **is** the Indian subordinate. Crane notes that in her voice was "the voice of authority, the special note of us talking to them..." (Jewel: 57, emphasis mine). Yet she feels "there was between them an unexpected **confidence**..." (64). A promise of improved relations is thus held out. Scott however warns us obliquely to expect nothing. The **imagery** is ominous: "the sky was clouded over, but there was still no rain" (64). In the storm when all **telecommunication** lines are down, the Indians and British come closer, and communicate. Crane and Chaudhuri understand each other's position better. Later Chaudhuri rescues her from rioters, and himself dies in the process. Crane believes then that she had left the prospect of a friendship too late. Scott suggests that this possible **rapprochement** may have been delayed even at the national level: " 'Its taken me a long **time** ', she said, meaning not only Mr. Chaudhuri, ' I 'm sorry it was too late' " (Jewel: 69, emphasis mine).

The Colin **Lindsey** · Hari Kumar relationship flourishes in England. Barriers of race, colour and nationality seem irrelevant. This relationship is **important** because **Hari** Kumar feels more Anglicised than ever. He is secure as an Englishman, being treated as an equal by **Colin** Lindsey. It is this feeling of security as an Englishman that Kumar takes with him to India. His troubles begin when **Westernisation** meets a different context and response in India. This **promising** relationship evaporates when Colin comes out to India. He refuses to acknowledge or recognise Kumar. The development of this tendency is revealed through the change in tone of **Colin's** letters. In his first letter to Kumar he suggests that their respective towns of residence seem close enough. Kumar reporting changes in **Colin's** letters says:

In his [**Colin's**] second [letter] he said he wondered if he would ever be close enough to make a meeting possible. In his third he did not **mention** the possibility of a meeting at **all**. (Jewel: 279)

The **lines** of **communication** only carry the message of **incommunicability**. Scott uses irony to emphasise the effect of the tragedy. Kumar becomes aware of the barriers between him and Colin on a **flat "maidan" where** people move freely. The description is very vivid:

On the **maidan** the races came uncertainly together in a brief **intermingling** pattern which **from** above ... looked less informal than **it** looked from the ground.\_\_\_\_

(Jewel: 282)

Thus it is at a prescribed meeting place that barriers come up and people are separated.

A love affair blossoms between Daphne Manners and Hari Kumar. As Daphne admits "it was a friendship I began in a conscious frame of mind" (Jewel: 393, emphasis mine). They are aware of their different backgrounds, and yet they make an effort to relate as human beings. After the friendship grows into love Daphne believes that they had attained a long awaited togetherness of races. She writes that the affair was

the logical but terrifying end of the attempt they [other Indians and **English**] had all made to break out of their separate little groups and learn how to live together.... (Jewel: 379)

The promise of union between the races and nations is held **out**.

Scott provides ominous signs to warn us of impending tragedy even for this **relationship**. We are told that Daphne

and Kumar meet in the Bibighar Gardens - which has a reputation for ghosts and evil (Jewel: 392). The Hardy-esque opening passages of the novel itself suggest future evil. The passage is worth quoting:

Imagine, then, a flat landscape, dark for the moment, but even so conveying to a girl running in the still deeper shadow cast by the wall of the Bibighar Gardens an idea of immensity, of distance.... (Jewel: 9, emphasis mine)

The images of shadow, human **insignificance** and evil anticipate a tragedy. And it is in this Garden that the climax of the Daphne - Kumar relationship is reached. It is also the site of Daphne's rape and the epicentre of the resultant chaos.

The Sarah Layton - Ahmed Kasim relationship **also** promises a great deal. Sarah has had numerous loveless affairs before. Jimmy Clark (Scorpion 436-459), John Bellinger (Division: 356), and Teddie Bingham (Scorpion: 132-134). There develops a healthy respect and affection between Ahmed Kasim and Sarah. Sarah says: "Ahmed and I weren't in love. But we loved one another" (Division: 592). Though on opposite sides of the Imperial fence they share a critical humanist's view of the **Raj**. Sarah dislikes the Raj for what

it perpetrates on Indians and the British. She realises that the British are only playing a role of assumed **responsibility** and fooling themselves. The British failed in their "**responsibility**" for precisely this reason. The human element was missing from the **civilisational** mission. **Merrick's** brutality in solving the crime, or his attempt to quell the dissidence in the army reflects the inhuman side of Britain's "job" in India. Max Beloff in his early essay on **Scott**, "The End of the Raj: Paul Scott's Novels as History" (1974), suggested that the Quartet explores this murky area of **responsibility** and **humanitarianism**. Beloff writes:

It [the Quartet] conveys the full tragic significance of the combination between a sense of duty and a sense of permanent alienation from those to whom the duty was owed (65-70, emphasis mine).

**Beloff's** argument points its finger at the ambiguity at the heart of the Raj enterprise. Sarah Layton who has located this ambiguity realises the English **self-indulgent** attitude and **artificiality**. Sarah therefore comments on **the** roleplaying nature of the British in India, suggesting that they have put on a face without relating as humans to India. The entire **Raj** edifice is theatrical. In The Day of the Scorpion Sarah asks: "But out here are we really ourselves? " (158). They are, in Sarah's words "always on show"

(Division:280).

Ahmed Kasim comes from a family of **nationalists**. His father Mohammed Ali Kasim had been a Chief Minister. The senior Kasim had gone to jail but refused to accept the British offer: freedom if he quit the Congress (Scorpion: 25) Sarah's friendship with someone like Ahmed is thus a reaching across over barriers. She ignores the "**Memsahib**" role she is supposed to play and his dark skin, family and political stance. Like Daphne Manners then, Sarah hopes to bridge **barriers**.

Thus Ahmed Kasim and Sarah Layton possess a deeper level of understanding. Sarah herself does not take the Raj seriously, or so we are told (Towers: 104). This anticipates her criticism at the end of the Quartet. Yet the relationship ends tragically. Ahmed Kasim gives himself up to the rioters, like Chaudhuri in The Jewel in the Crown, so that the mob fury is deflected away from the English on the train (Division: 582 - 3). Sarah at this point realises how the English had betrayed their role of **responsibility**. She acknowledges Kasim's sacrifice: "But when it came to it he [Kasim] didn't let any of it even begin to happen to us" [Division: 592]. Like Chaudhuri it is an Indian who rescues the British. This is a reversal of the protector role in the **Indo-British** relations. Sarah voices this betrayal: "We just

let him go. We all of us sat here and let him go" (Division:  
584).<sup>1</sup>

Sarah **Layton's** comments at the conclusion of the Quartet rounds off the theme of reneged promises first articulated by **Edwina** Crane in The Jewel in the Crown. Crane in a particularly significant passage speaks of this betrayal to a British soldier:

For years ... the books that the Indians have read have been the books of our English radicals, our English liberals. There has been a seed ... planted in the Indian imagination and in the English imagination. Out of it was to come something sane and grave, full of dignity ... kindness and peace and **wisdom** ... For years we have been promising and for years we have been finding means of putting fulfilment of the promise off until the promise stopped looking like a promise and started looking only like a sinister **prevarication....**  
(Jewel: 72)

A similar statement is recorded by Hari Kumar. In his letter to Colin Lindsey Kumar writes:

What they [the English] dislike is a black reflection of their own white radicalism which centuries ago led to the Magna Carta. (Jewel: 276)

Kumar is arguing that the hatred was an odd perversion, since the Indians were **only** repeating Britain's own nationalist phase from long ago. Thus not **only** was India an **heir** to Britain's nationalist legacy, it had learnt its radicalism from Britain herself.

Robin White also notes the selfishness behind the Raj. He writes: "We were in India for what we could get out of it" (Jewel: 340). Guy Perron likewise sees the relationship as primarily exploitative where India was **only** a possession (Division: 105).

Scott thus identifies selfishness, cruelty or indifference (which was just as cruel) as the emotional bulwarks of the Raj. He suggests that promises of protection and care were mere blinds.

Cruelty and suffering formed an integral part of th\* **relationships** in British India. This is symbolised by the pivotal **Merrick** - Kumar episode in the Quartet. Ronald **Merrick** is the police officer who, much before the rape of Daphne Manners, has had a minor showdown with Kumar. In the Merrick - Kumar relationship Scott depicts the real basis of the Raj **enterprise**: cruelty, racism, contempt and hate.

When Merrick and Kumar meet for the first time Sr. **Ludmilla** notes:

Two such darknesses in opposition can create a blinding light. Against such a light ordinary mortals must hide their eyes.... (Jewel: 146)

This is an eerily oracular passage because the "darkness" perceived by Sr. **Ludmilla** soon becomes the tragedy that envelops everyone. It is also symbolically the darkness of Sr. **Ludmilla's** blindness. **2**

The Merrick - Kumar relationship **is** unequal from the start. Kumar speaks better English than Merrick. Sr. Ludmilla notes: "And in **Merrick's** book this counted against him [Kumar]" (Jewel: 145). The class distinction is here intertwined with that of race. Merrick comes from a lower social class (Scorpion: 219, Division: 301). His voice, we are told, "has a different tone, a tone regulated by care and ambition rather than by upbringing" (Jewel: 145). Merrick also realises that the Indian is actually more handsome (Jewel: 143). All this put together suggests the Britisher's distrust of the educated native too. Sujit Bose in Attitudes to Imperialism (1990) has argued along similar lines. Bose notes that, for Merrick, Hari Kumar has reached the "ideal of **civilisation**; from which he himself is perhaps a little distant". This, says Bose, is unbearable to Merrick and as a result he tortures Kumar (Bose: 105). Cruelty is present in the sado - **masochist** element in Merrick's treatment of

Kumar as we shall see.

Merrick's lower class background was a major factor in his perverted mental make - up. Ashis Nandy has argued that it was the British middle class which produced the most ardent imperialists (Nandy: 7). The training imparted by the British schooling system reinforced concepts of English superiority, **class** distinctions and unquestioned obedience. Philip Mason in The English Gentleman has argued that the schooling system produced "just beasts" (170 - 174). After schooling people like Merrick were hardened in the Army or the police. Thus the system allowed them positions of power over natives. It placed the Englishman in authority in a Gramscian hegemonic wedding of education and the institution (Government).

In such positions the coloniser's inherent inferiority complex was sought to be obliterated by lording it over the natives. To adapt Mannoni's argument from Prospero and Caliban, people like Merrick who stood no chance of decent lives and **social** status in England developed severe inferiority complexes. Once in the colonies they had the natives at their mercy. Merrick, incensed by Kumar's obviously better upbringing, looks and education finds that his (Merrick's) own sense of inferiority could be alleviated by humiliating **this** better person. Kumar realises this

himself. What Merrick actually wanted, for his self assurance was, Kumar notes, "a confession of my dependence on him, my inferiority to him" (Scorpion: 307 - 8). William Walsh actually suggests that in Scott it is not colour but class which finally separates people (Walsh: 175-6). Walsh's argument is well taken, especially since it explains Merrick's pathological hatred for the better cultured Kumar. But for Merrick colour also matters, and this adds an edge to his racism.

Merrick refuses to accept that an Indian could be anything other than dependent on the English. This was an essential feature of the racist discourse of the time. Merrick enunciates this clearly when he tells Daphne Manners: "That's the oldest trick in the game, to say colour doesn't matter. It does matter. It's basic. It matters like hell" (Jewel: 417). Merrick's attitude seems appropriate for the time. In the age of resurgent Imperialism (post - 1900s) racial purity was a near obsession. The Victorian emphasis on racial purity as a requirement of civilisation persisted. (In the previous chapters we have had occasion to look at this racist discourse, details of which were obtained from Christine Bolt's Victorian Attitudes to Race).

It may be argued that the Army and the Police were the institutions with the strongest racial feelings. Evidence

for **this** argument **is** available to us from **Zareer Masani's** book Indian Tales of the Raj (1987). Indians like **Rajeshwar Dayal** who had served the **Raj** found that:

**Indianisation** was a process far more fiercely resisted in the army ... because the army was the bastion of European racial supremacy and **its** officers were less accustomed to mixing with Indian **social** equals than their Indian Civil Service **counterparts**. (24)

Masani points out that the arrogance of British officers accustomed to dealing with Indian lower ranks could be galling to Indians of upper class background (Masani: 26). Merrick fits these arguments very well. We have already noted how he is inflamed by Kumar's better accented English and refinement of behaviour. Major Mackay comments:

He [**Merrick**] disliked the chap [**Kumar**] because of the **kind** of boy he is. First rate British education, but black as your hat and going out with an English **girl**, and politically unreliable. (Towers: 91)

It is the racial **indoctrination** in the Army that is being articulated by Merrick.

The Merrick - Kumar encounter is **also** significant because it **is** Merrick who voices clearly the ideology of

Imperialism. During Kumar's torture Merrick expounds his views on race and Imperialism. Kumar later tells Rowan that his relationship with Merrick proved a theory: "The theory was exemplified in the situation" (Scorpion: 307). Merrick tells Kumar that the two of them were merely symbols of colonisation. But the reality of the symbols was to be articulated. Here he presents his views on the "situation". The passage is worth quoting in full. Kumar is speaking:

He [Merrick] said people talked of an ideal relationship between his kind [the British] and my kind [the Indians]. They called it comradeship. But they never said anything about the contempt on his side and the fear on mine that was basic, and came before any comradely feeling ... He said the true corruption of the English is their pretence that they have no contempt for us, and our real degradation is our pretence of equality ... The permutations of English corruption in India were endless affection for servants, for peasants, for soldiers, pretence at understanding the Indian intellectual or at sympathising with nationalist aspirations, but all this affection and understanding was a corruption of what he called the calm purity of their contempt.... (Scorpion: 307-11)

It is also important to note how this "situation" places the participants. Kumar describes the "situation" thus: "The situation of our [Merrick and Kumar] being face to face, with everything finally in his favour" (Scorpion: 291). The Westerner is in a position of authority, of power where he is able to give vent to what Raymond Williams calls "structures of feeling" behind British attitudes. Merrick and Kumar are alone. By virtue of his post as Superintendent of Police (the law enforcer) and Kumar's status as a prisoner (the law breaker), Merrick has both official and moral superiority over Kumar. Maria Couto in "Clinging to the Wreckage: Raj Fictions" (1984) correctly argues that Merrick is the spokesman for traditional Raj opinions. However Couto believes that Scott's Imperialist bias is obvious in this very strategy: that "there is no other voice to counter his [Merrick's] subversive view of so highly charged a subject [the colonial situation]" (Couto: 36). Couto ignores Scott's voices in the Quartet: Edwina Crane, Robin White and Guy Perron. These voices provide the counterpoint to Merrick's views.

Scott's use of sexuality as a theme in the Quartet is also effective in conveying his view of the tragedy of the Raj. Like Forster before him, Scott does not believe in the concept of the asexual Englishwoman. Edwina Crane, we are

told, also fell in love, in spite of her rigid upbringing and her present **hard-as-nails** image (Jewel: 16). This is the first heterosexual relationship, though undeveloped, suggested in the Quartet. All heterosexual relationships in the Quartet are **unsatisfactory**. Crane does not attain her Lt. Orme. Teddie Bingham and Susan Layton are not really in love, as Sarah realises (Scorpion: 139). Ahmed and Sarah, as we have already noted, do not develop their relationship. Merrick marries Susan Layton because he wishes to become a part of the famous Layton family, as Indira Kohli has rightly argued in Paul Scott: His Art and Ideas (1987, 66-7). Sarah Layton has numerous loveless affairs. Her relationship with Jimmy Clark in Calcutta has no affection (Scorpion: 436-459). John Bellinger lists her as the "twentythird girl he had had, not counting the ones he had had to pay for" (Division 356). She describes the affair as lacking love, only appeasing "the ache of physical desire" (Division: 356). Mildred Layton has an affair with Kevin Coley which horrifies Barbie Batchelor with its "instantaneous impression of the absence of love and tenderness" (Towers: 307-8). Daphne Manners is raped by hooligans after she and Kumar make love.

Thus all heterosexual relationships fail. Scott portrays Ronald Merrick as the **sado-masochistic** homosexual. It is important to note that **homosexuality** is also tied to

power, never affection in the Quartet. Merrick's terrorising of a young homosexual, Lance - Corporal Pinker in A Division of the Spoils (246-260), symbolises this combination of sexuality and power. Pinker, a young homosexual, working for the psychiatrist Richardson, is trapped into a liaison with a native boy. The scheme is engineered by Merrick. Merrick then threatens Pinker with exposure and uses his blackmailing power to read the confidential files on Susan Layton in Dr. Richardson's locker. Pinker is left a nervous wreck.

Scott provides suggestions of homoeroticism, all involving Merrick. Count Bronowski deliberately leads Merrick into unconsciously glancing at an "outstandingly handsome young officer" (Scorpion: 211). Teddie Bingham, separated from Susan, thus "denied physical intimacy ... craved the substitute; intimate accord with some man, here represented by Merrick" (Towers: 158).

Of more significance is Merrick's ill - treatment of Kumar. Merrick, as has been noted, is in a position to injure Kumar. He makes use of this opportunity to express his own sexual preferences. However, he contrives to disguise it as a degradation for Kumar. Ashis Nandy in The Intimate Enemy argues that the Western male in a colonial set-up develops a homoerotic relationship with the native male.

This relationship may **only** be unconscious but it exists, nevertheless (Nandy: 9-10). In **Merrick**, this attraction **is** combined **with** a hatred for the native. As a result **homoeroticism** goes hand **in** hand **with** **sado-masochism**. Kumar's brutal ill - treatment with definite suggestions of near sexual abuse and subsequent humiliations imply that sexuality itself has been misused to oppress the native.

As **in** the case of heterosexual **relationships**, even **homoerotic** ones fail in the **Quartet**. Scott attributes this failure to a lack of human affection and the predominance of animal lust. Such lust, exemplified **in** the repressed **homosexuality** of Ronald Mernck, produces cruelty. It must be noted that **relationships** ultimately become sites for power **play**.

**This** brings us to the themes of authority and power in Scott. In the **Quartet** the English are always in positions of official superiority. The official superior was cast in the role of "**ma-baap**". The parental authority was **also** an official authority. A good example **would** be Col. Layton. He is the leader and official head of his soldiers. He also claims to be the "ma-baap" to them (**Division**: 344). The Westerner was thus protector - provider - teacher - parent to the native. **Teddie Bingham**, Col. Layton, Edwina Crane, Barbie Batchelor are all living this role.

The **parent-Westerner** sees the native as child-like. Hence s/he (the Westerner) is in control over the child (native). Yet this apparent **philanthropic** and **compassionate** move towards "parenthood" was not without hypocrisy or base feelings. **Mannoni** argues that the "dependency complex" nurtured in the native by the coloniser helped the colonial enterprise. He goes on to say that the colonialists live by the native's need for dependency and the coloniser fosters it by adopting a "paternalistic attitude" (Mannoni: 42-60). Scott suggests that this whole ideal of paternalism was an illusion and self - deceptive. **Suhash Chakravarty** in The **Raj Syndrome** argues much the same thing. **Chakravarty** believes that the British needed hypocrisy to supply nourishment to false **consciousness** and found in the same **consciousness** its own moral **justifications** and **confirmation**. Hypocrisy, says **Chakravarty**, helped obliterate the **contradiction** between reality and false **consciousness** (**Chakravarty** : 45).

The Merrick - Kumar situation noted above reveals the **contradiction** that **Chakravarty** locates at the heart of the Raj. Scott's work focuses on this reality vs illusion problem which permeates all **Indo - British relationships**. Scott targets this hypocrisy manifest as cruelty, contempt and hatred which was imbedded in the "philanthropic",

"kind", "paternalistic" Western attitudes to India.

Scott suggests that the British Empire rested on illusions, and the men/women who tried to "live" these illusions were **also** ignorant, prejudiced or incompetent. We have already noted Sarah Layton's views on the British betrayal of the protector role and Crane's disparaging comments on reneged promises. These two are Scott's voices in the Quartet.

The hypocrisy and double standard of the British was possibly best embodied in the **Memsahibs**. Sarah Layton, herself a **Memsahib**, detests the supercilious and superficial role. She says of **Kasim's** sacrifice and her own behaviour: "And I couldn't stop filling the bloody jars going through my brave little memsahib act" (Division: 592). The self reproach is evident in her agonised comment. Edwina Crane who realises that she had failed her role eventually commits "Sati" in The Jewel in the Crown. Jacqueline Banerjee in "A Living Legacy: An Indian View of Paul Scott's India" (1980) believes that Crane's death is a gesture symbolising an absolute commitment to India. Crane realises that **this** commitment cannot be fulfilled anymore and hence kills herself (Banerjee: 97-104). Writers like Joanna Trollope, Ashis Nandy and Pat Barr have argued that the English woman was a fierce Imperialist. Scott's work suggests that **this**

may have been true. People like **Edwina** Crane, Sr. **Ludmilla**, Daphne Manners and Barbie Batchelor are being Imperialist in that they are the "do - gooder" **Memsahibs**. Scott however portrays these Memsahibs as having realised the **hollowness** of it all. In their misguided attempt to reach out to India all of them experience and/or initiate tragedy. Sr. **Ludmilla** goes blind. Barbie Batchelor in her madness retreats into a world where the "birds had picked the words clean" (**Towers: 396**). Edwina Crane commits a symbolic **Sati**. Daphne Manners **is** raped and **dies** bringing forth a "tainted" child. Sarah Layton has all her illusions swept away with the Partition riots and **Kasim's** brutal murder. Christopher Hitchens in his essay "A Sense of Mission: Paul Scott's **The Raj Quartet**" (**1985**) locates in the Quartet the expression of a double fear. The first is the fear of treachery and betrayal by the Indians, a fear that the native cannot be trusted. A second fear **is** of having to break that trust oneself and ruling by terror, casting aside the pretence of consent and paternalism (Hitchens: 180-199). Crane's Sati **is** a result of both the fears - the attack by the natives triggering the first one and her inability to save Mr. Chaudhuri causing the second. The same explanation holds good for Sarah **Layton's** anguish at the end of the Quartet or Sr. **Ludmilla's** blindness. They symbolise this dual face of the British in India.

Scott hence suggests that the British failed because their illusions were based on ignorance and because it was only a veneer for the cruelty and hypocrisy beneath. We shall return to **this** point a little later when we look at Guy Perron's views on British **responsibility**.

When the British cast themselves as the "**ma-baap**" they claimed a certain moral superiority in addition to the official one. Scott denies the British any such moral superiority. The natives in the Quartet are definitely of lower official status. Yet Scott cloaks them with a certain moral superiority. As servants, for example, people like Joseph and Suleiman serve their **Memsahibs** faithfully. Joseph even scolds Edwina Crane for coming back late in the night. He is anxious about her health due to her tendency to overwork (Jewel: 40). Minnie saves Susan **Layton**'s child from certain death in The Day of the Scorpion (494). Chaudhuri, Edwina Crane's **subordinate**, turns mob fury away from Crane, and dies in the attempt. Kumar refuses to break under Merrick's torture and remains a dignified man, as Lady Manners perceives (Scorpion: 313). Ahmed Kasim hands himself over to the rioters and thus saves the English on the train in A Division of the Spoils.

Robin White in The Jewel in the Crown voices Scott's view on the hypocritical British and the morally better

native. White says:

The moral issue is bound to arise and eventually grow, and finally appear to take precedence in any long standing connexion between human beings, especially if their relationship is unequal. The onus of moral leadership falls naturally on the people who rank as superior.... (Jewel: 340, emphasis mine)

White goes on to add that the British only assume their moral superiority. Francine S. Weinbaum in "Paul Scott's India: The Raj Quartet" (1978) points out that in Scott this moral issue is emphasised throughout. Weinbaum writes: "He [Scott] mirrors his countrymen's lost moral purpose and self-definition" (100-108, emphasis mine). I believe that more than a loss of morality, Scott focuses upon British morality as a mere assumption, a self-deluding enterprise based on false premises. Scott believes the same when he uses Guy Perron, Edwina Crane and Sarah Layton to talk about the wickedness of the Raj.

Just as the British assumed their moral superiority, most of their ideals were only assumptions. To portray this binary opposition of assumptions vs truths effectively Scott uses the theme of illusion prominently.

The opening of The Jewel in the Crown (quoted before)

suggests **this** shadowy region between illusion and reality. We are told that the Mac Gregor House has ghosts (Jewel: 74-6). Sr. Ludmilla's origins were "obscure" (Jewel; 124) and she narrates stories "seeing beyond ... into the world of legend and fantasy, the reality behind the illusion" (Jewel: 132). Susan Layton believes in the myth of the scorpion (Scorpion: 83). Guy Perron's Aunt Charlotte harbours illusions about British **responsibility**:

The inner convictions of class rights and class privileges, of our permanence and of our capacity to train ... and of course our fundamental indifference to the problems towards which we adopt attitudes of **responsibility**. (Division: 208)

The illusions were thus fed on ignorance. The British never "know" India. Paul Scott in **his** interview to Publisher s Weekly (1975) had stated that "after three hundred years the English really don't understand the Indian mind" (6-7). Notions of superiority, permanence, philanthropy were either illusions or shot through with hypocrisy. Guy Perron meditates over this and comments:

Paradox<sup>1</sup> The most insular people in the world managed to establish the largest empire the world has ever seen ... Insularity, **like** empire - building, requires

superb self - confidence, a conviction of one's own moral superiority. And I suppose that when the war is really over the recollection that there was a time when we '**stood** alone' against Hitler will confirm us **in** our national sense of moral superiority. (Division: 106)

When Perron places "stood alone" in quotes he is obviously referring to the illusion Britain had designed for herself in the Second World War. Perron **is** thus exposing the veneer of **responsibility** and **respectability** for **its** falsity. Perron's query in the last paragraph of A Division of the Spoils is a useful example of Scott's theme of abdicated **responsibility**. Perron, watching the Indian landscape, thinks: "The India his countrymen were leaving, the India that was being given up. Along with what else?" (Division: 598). Martin Green in The English Novel in the Twentieth Century (1984) emphasises this problem of Perron's. Green believes that the "what else" refers to the **responsibility** shirked by the British at the time of the Partition (Green: 190-191). **This** abdication of **responsibility** **is** foretold very early by Hari Kumar. In his letter to Colin Lindsey Kumar describes the British attitude of 1942 perfectly. Kumar writes:

I think there's no doubt that in the last twenty years ... the English have succeeded **in** dividing and ruling the English now seem to depend upon the divisions

in the Indian political opinion perpetuating their own rule at least until after the war ... They are saying openly that it is 'no good leaving the bloody country because there's no Indian party **representative** enough to hand it over to' ... I can't believe that Pakistan will ever become a reality, but if it does it will be because the English prevaricated long enough to allow a favoured religious minority to seize a political opportunity. (Jewel: 276, emphasis Scott's)

The "ma-baap" ideal collapses as people like Col. Layton find it difficult to realise them. Sarah Layton notes that "the effort of living up to it had become too much for him" (Division: 344). Edwina Crane and Sarah Layton realise their failure. Merrick's attempt to extract a self-degrading confession from Kumar fails. Barbie Batchelor ends her talkative career in the silence of madness. Susan Layton likewise becomes victim to nervous breakdowns.

To reinforce the idea of illusions Scott repeatedly makes use of the **reality/falsehood** opposition. Much before the Quartet Scott had used the theme of the playacting British. The Birds of Paradise (1962) is replete with the images of stuffed birds. Sujit Mukherjee has pointed out that the stuffed birds in cages are metaphors of what the British and the princes did to each other. The "live birds embody

some greater illusion which energises human beings all the time" (Mukherjee: 81). **This** image of British **theatricality** in India occurs throughout Scott. Throughout the Quartet we are told that the British are putting up a "**performance**". Mrs. Crane **is** seen as a "cardboard heroine" by students (Jewel: 26). Robin White says: "people **in** public life are supposed to project what today we call an image..." (Jewel: 344). Sarah Layton asks: "But out here are we ever really ourselves?" (Scorpion: 158). Mabel Layton has a similar view: "Even when we're alone we're on show, aren't we, representing **something**?" (Jewel: 30). derrick is described as a "hollow man" by Bronowski: "The outer casing is almost perfect and he carried it off almost to **perfection**..." (Division: 171). Even Merrick's killing, dressed in a Pathan's clothes, emphasises the dramatic **nature** and **theatricality** of the whole situation (Division: 548). Even after Independence, the Raj survivors like Lucy Smalley have to put on the "**Memsahib** act". In Staying On (1978) **she** refuses to cry at her husband's burial because true **Memsahibs** never panicked and she had the "**performance**" of the burial to carry **off** (24, 216).

When Scott emphasises the **theatricality** of the proponents of the Raj he actually suggests the sandy foundation of the whole enterprise. The tragic end of almost

every important character in the Quartet invites **this** interpretation. The only survivors are people **like** Guy Perron, Robin White and Sarah Layton who are more sceptical of the **Raj**.

Scott however does not end his criticism of the **Raj** within the Quartet. In his Booker Prize winning novel Staying On he has more to add. In Staying On the "leftover" (Scott's own term) **Raj** is represented by Tusker **Smalley** and his wife Lucy. Scott portrays them as weak, vulnerable and dependent upon the natives. Scott suggests that the **Raj** still persists in the mind. He refers to the sound of the "distant and diminishing but not yet dead echo of the sound of the tocsin" (Staying On: 146).

The more trenchant attack in Staying On is on the new **Raj**. The British hypocrisy has been replaced by the Indian one. The post - 1947 Indians ape their former masters: "Gossip, coffee, magazines. **All London style**" (174). They are "the new race of Sahibs and memsahibs of **international** status and connexion who had taken the place of Generals and Mrs. Generals..." (181). Scott says; "the old hierarchy collapsed and the new one, the Indian one, took **its** place..." (79). We have noted Sujit **Mukherjee's** comments on the **theatricality** of the Indians. In Staying On Scott has used the theme effectively to reveal the hollowness of the new

Indians. Even the topography is back to the Raj style: the tennis court of Rose Cottage has been re-converted into a garden as in Mabel Layton's time by the Menektaras.

### III

Paul Scott is then attacking the Raj for what it really meant: cruelty, contempt, racism and suffering. He is also against the new Raj which seems just as bad. Susy Williams, the Eurasian in Staying On, is treated badly by her Indian acquaintances. The Menektaras and Mrs. Bhoolahoy carry on the Raj - Memsahib behavioural patterns. I suggest that Scott attacks the Raj for its false promises, betrayals and mainly self-deceiving illusions. His attack on the Indian Raj is a humanist one, since the new Raj is as cruel, oppressive and anti-human as its predecessor. If relationships in the Quartet are failures and cruelty-ridden (as in the Merrick - Kumar one) they fail in Staying On for the same reasons. Scott's critique is therefore a humanist one like Forster's. However, he moves beyond Forster in certain areas. The sado-masochist tendency of homoeroticism is stressed by Scott. Where Forster downplays the hatred and racism, Scott emphasises the same. Scott therefore gives us a more radical and overt criticism of the system of the Raj.

Scott gets Daphne Manners to voice the harshest criticism of the Raj. She says:

I thought that the whole bloody affair of us in India had reached flash point. It was bound to because it was based on a violation ... what happens when you unsex a nation, treat it like a nation of eunuchs? Because that is what we've done, isn't it?" (Jewel: 427, emphasis Scott's).

Daphne Manners who is herself violated speaks of the violation of India. The immorality and inhumanity of Britain's rape of India is paid for by a white woman who is herself raped. Scott's deeply moving criticism is to be found in this very tragic affair of Daphne Manners and Hari Kumar.

However, notably, Scott does not restrict his criticism to the British and argues that a similar Raj was installed by the Indians. This calls for an examination of the post-1947 attitudes of the Indians themselves - whether they repeated the ideology of the Raj or moved against it. In short, we need to explore the ways in which **post-Independence Indo-Anglian** fiction deals with the theme of the encounter. The subsequent chapter is thus an obvious extension of the chapters so far. It reads select Indian texts for their portrayals of the theme of interracial liaisons and for their opinions vis a vis the Raj.

## NOTES

1. Scott himself voices a similar feeling in his essay on Enoch Powell from the collection My Appointments with the Muse. Scott describes the apathy of the British towards their "responsibility" (India): "The British at home were always quite happy with their Empire and quite happy to let it go, bit by bit, so long as they weren't pestered by it or about it" (Muse: 92)

2. Scott revels in shades and darkneses. The Quartet has abundant images of such shadows. Daphne Manners is assaulted in the shadows of the Bibighar Gardens by men with "nightmare faces" (Jewel: 433) who come out of the night's blackness. Sarah Layton feels that her "core", under the white skin, is not illuminated (Scorpion: 86). She is the shade where Susan is the light (Scorpion: 86-7). Barbie Batchelor sees "smudges in the sky" when looking out of the hospital windows (Towers: 395). Nigel Rowan sees black storm clouds over Government House, ominously foretelling the darkness of the Partition riots (Division: 138).

3. The Haileybury college was another institution which trained English boys for an Indian career. Set up in 1853 the college produced civil servants. Geoffrey Moorhouse in India Britannica points out an ironical feature of Haileybury. The

college set up to train Englishmen in "holding" India also produced Clement Atlee who speeded up Independence for India! (Moorhouse: 187).

4. The loveless heterosexual relationships of the Quartet anticipate the Lucy Smalley - Tusker Smalley and Ibrahim Minnie relationships in Scott's "postscript" to the Quartet: Staying On.

5. Lady Curzon in her letters makes a revealing observation. When the King and Queen of England visited India (during Lord Curzon's Viceroyalty) there was not a "word of interest" in India (Curzon: 102). This shows how the moral superiority was only an act: the reality was very much different.

6. The Tuskers have invested their all in India. They have nowhere else to go. Yasmine Gooneratne in her essay "Paul Scott's Staying On: Finale in A Minor Key" (1981) argues that in Scott certain Englishmen love India intensely. Daphne Manners and the Tuskers are such Britons who loved India enough to place all their resources in her (Gooneratne: 1-12). A similar point might be made in favour of Edwina Crane and Barbie Batchelor.

## CHAPTER - 9

### CONCLUSION: POINT COUNTER POINT

This chapter concludes the study of **interpersonal relationships** of the Raj by providing the Indian response to the same. A quick glance at the **representative** texts gives an insight **into** the many points of **view** on the issue.

We have read numerous Western texts that deal with **miscegenation**. The readings of Meadows Taylor, Maud Diver, Rudyard Kipling, **Forster** and Paul Scott traced the line of British thinking on the subject. To balance this reading and to provide an alternate perspective, a few Indian texts are looked at in **this** chapter. **This** alternate reading **is** required to attain a complete view of such an important subject as the encounter. Perceiving **miscegenation** solely through Western eyes (texts) results **in** a one-sided, hence Imperialist, vision again. **This** reading therefore **completes** our study of the encounter. It **will** be seen how some Indian authors subscribe to Western attitudes to **miscegenation**, others reject **it**, and yet others remain ambivalent. To **this** end the chapter provides a quick analysis of R.K. **Narayan's** The Vendor of Sweets, Raja Rao's The Serpent and the Rope, Kamala **Markandaya's** The Nowhere Man and Ruth Praver Jhabvala's Heat and Dust.<sup>1</sup>

R.K. Narayan's highly popular The Vendor of Sweets treats the theme of **miscegenation** rather **superficially**. Jagan, a prosperous vendor of sweets in **Malgudi**, has a wastrel son, Mali. The boy after **discontinuing his** studies goes to the United States of America **in** search of money and success. Jagan accumulates wealth and continues his austere style of living. Mali returns with an American **girl**, Grace, and the idea for a business venture. Jagan and Mali, never close to begin with, drift further **apart**. Jagan realises that the two are not married when Grace returns to the USA. He is disgusted with **Mali's** no-good schemes and turns to **asceticism**.

The Grace - Mali relationship is not sketched in any detail **in** Narayan's novel. The **characterisation** is itself one - dimensional. However there **is** a crucial reversal of events. The early phase of the father - son relationship has Jagan in a **superior** role. Mali constantly hides away. After Grace's arrival **it** is Jagan who isolates himself. Grace and Jagan do get along reasonably well, though a formal note **is** constantly present. Narayan's protagonist appears to be taking refuge from Western influence. Jagan retreats further into his Gandhism and nature-cure obsessions. We are not provided enough details of an encounter here. However Narayan's significant debunking of Eastern spirituality **is** to

be noted. Jagan wants to take up asceticism. However he retains his cheque book which is his connection with the material world. Narayan paints both Grace and Jagan, and thus the West and East, as equally **materialistic**, as Nagendra Sharan has pointed out (262). **Narayan's** novel thus seems to suggest a meeting point of East and West in crass **commercialism**.

Kamala **Markandaya's** The Nowhere Man is the story of Srinivas, an expatriate in London. Srinivas, a nationalist **revolutionary** in the freedom struggle, had escaped to London to escape arrest for his activities. In England his spice business flourishes. His son Seshu, **is** completely Anglicised. Seshu joins the British army and eventually dies in the war. Srinivas faces a lot of racial hatred in his **neighbourhood**. His social acceptance is achieved when he participates in the Christmas **celebrations**.

Markandaya's novel **rearticulates** in the post - 1947 era the doctrines of the Raj. The novel depicts clearly the anti-Asian sentiments of post - war Britain. Fred Fletcher's continued **ill-treatment** of Srinivas is a good example of this **discrimination**. Seshu's death, fighting for England, is a reworked version of the **Raj** ideal. One recalls how Seeta (in Taylor's novel) or the old soldier (in Kipling's Kim) defend the Western master to the end. The native has yet again laid

down his **life in** the service of the master. **The** acceptance of **Seshu's** death in **battle is** an acceptance of the native's loyalty. A more vivid portrayal of the continuing Raj syndrome is **Srinivas's** attempt to be accepted by **his** Christian neighbours. In the face of racist **discrimination** he remains stoic. As Rekha Jha has correctly pointed out, Srinivas **is** accepted by **his** Christian **neighbourhood only** when he helps Mrs. Pickering decorate her Christmas tree (Jha: 56-7). Thus the native is accepted **only** when he acknowledges a subservience to Christianity and Western rituals. Like **Lilamani's** conversion in Diver's novel, or Seeta's reading of the Bible in Taylor's **Seeta**, **Markandaya's** hero adapts himself to Western culture for acceptance as "one of them". Markandaya thus voices a traditional **Raj opinion** in **The Nowhere Man**. Or rather, the **Raj** has evoked **its** desired response from the Indian author.

**The Serpent and the Rope** **is** the story of an orthodox Brahmin's quest for truth **in** an European setting. Ramaswamy is a consumptive research scholar **in** France. He is married to Madeleine, a history teacher. At Cambridge, Ramaswamy meets **Savithri** Rathor, a princess. **With** this Platonic relationship the Ramaswamy - Madeleine marriage begins to crack. Savithri and Ramaswamy have a ritual wedding in London. Later, he also has an affair **with his** friend's wife,

Lakshmi. Madeleine turns Buddhist after the death of their second child (the first had **died** earlier). They divorce and Ramaswamy goes over to England to locate a Guru for spiritual **Enlightenment**.

Raja Rao's novel beautifully portrays the dilemmas of a man who wants to combine his orthodox Indian upbringing with a new found European thinking. **Ramaswamy's** problem **lies** in **his** inability to stay attached to a traditional Brahminical outlook. He reveres London, and covets the European concept of freedom **in** love. He remains very conscious of **his** Indianness. The **incompatibility** with Madeleine and the West is due to this **consciousness**. As P. **Dayal** points out, Ramaswamy does not really understand Madeleine precisely because she **is** not an Indian (Dayal: 27-8). Rao suggests that as long as one remains Indian at heart, s/he cannot assimilate Western culture fully.

This argument **is** emphasised when Ramaswamy has brief but satisfying affairs **with** Indian ladies - **Savithri** and Lakshmi. With **his unfaithfulness**, he has combined the desire for a satisfying relationship with the European freedom of love.

Rao brilliantly portrays a torn, Westernised Indian. Ramaswamy's physical frailties such as sexual morbidity,

sense of **possessiveness** and self-pity combine with an obsessive craze for material success. **Like Narayan's** Jagan he advocates Vedanta and the Indian sense of a timeless ethos. **Simultaneously,** however, he is steeped in a materialist drive and penchant for self-praise.

Esha Dey in her analysis of Rao's novel locates a fundamental **clash** in Ramaswamy. **This clash** is between **his** effort to "define [the] Western ethos as moralistic and personal, against the Indian one as metaphysical and impersonal" (Dey: 64). Rao has hence continued the tradition of Derozio, Toru Dutt and Kipling **while** ante-dating Paul Scott in **his** portrayal of the trauma of Westernised Indians.

**However,** certain features of The Serpent and the Rope must be noted. Ramaswamy indulges in a reverse Orientalism **in** his speeches. For example, he agrees with Prof. Robin Bessaignac's belief that Europe is feminine. **This is** a very important move **in** Rao. Where the **Raj** had incessantly painted the Orient as feminine or child-like, Rao's protagonist reverses this **(mis)representation**. **However,** the logical consequence of such a reversal - seeing the native as the masculine - does not occur. Rao does not provide any other privileged hierarchy. This probably suggests an inner dilemma **for Rao.**

Ramaswamy's sexual frustration in his relationships with Madeleine is a distinctive feature. The miscegenated relationship does not flourish. One notes three important aspects of this relationship. One, sexual frustration and repression which leads Ramaswamy into extra-marital affairs with Indian women and Madeleine into Buddhist asceticism. Two, no progeny of this interracial marriage survives. It seems as if Rao's novel is a throw back to the novels of Taylor where the consequences of interracial liaisons are conveniently ignored. Three, Ramaswamy's ritual wedding with Savithri symbolises an Eastern victory over the West (Dey: 64). Considering all these features it may be suggested that Rao's novel argues for an incompatibility between East and West.

Ruth Praver Jhabvala's Heat and Dust has established itself as a major work of fiction. The novel deals with a young lady's retracing the journey of an Englishwoman, Olivia, in India. Oliva, the wife of an official, Douglas, is a bored housewife. She is seduced by a local Nawab and leaves Douglas. Years later the lady-narrator (who remains unnamed) seeks to unravel Olivia's story. This lady narrator stays with a certain Inderlal's family in India. Eventually Inderlal and the narrator have an affair. Later she goes away, just as Olivia did years before.

Heat and Dust reworks many Raj myths. The most prominent one is of the hypersexed native. Both Olivia and the lady narrator have an affair **with** married native males. The **unfaithfulness** of the native males to their wives **is** a recall of the **Raj** stereotype. The West viewed the native males with suspicion. The general **idea** prevalent was that the native male desired white women. In the previous chapters we have looked at the theme of rape and the English fear of seduction by native males. Jhabvala's novel conforms to the pattern in its portrayal of the Nawab and Inderlal.

However, I propose that Jhabvala's work undoes this stereotype. In the **lady** narrator's case, set **significantly** in post-1947 India, it **is** not the native male who makes a first move towards seduction. It **is** the English **lady** herself who does so. However, for Olivia the **circumstances** were very different. Her seduction by the Nawab can be interpreted differently. I believe that the native Nawab revenges himself, and India, upon the British by seducing the English **lady** (who is also the **wife** of a high official). It seems to be a token of resistance, of subversion by a subjugated native (nation?). This point **is** reinforced when we look at the Nawab - Harry **relationship**. Definitely **homoerotic**, this relationship has touches of the Hari Kumar - Merrick one in Scott's Raj Quartet.<sup>2</sup> Harry **is** not a dominating or strong

personality. On the contrary he is vulnerable and child like. The Nawab's rather pitying and occasionally callous treatment of this Westerner suggests a native's attempt to collapse the West/East hierarchy.

Another important point in Jhabvala's novel is the portrayal of English family life. As Yasmine Gooneratne in Silence, Exile and Cunning (1983) has pointed out, Jhabvala shows the English way of life as restrictive (Gooneratne: 213-15). Their morality is also suspect, as seen in the case of Dr. Saunders and his wife. Like Forster's McBryde and Ms. Derek in A Passage to India, this couple in Jhabvala also possess "musty and dark" morals.

Jhabvala thus interrogates established Raj views of native morality and sexuality. Though the other stereotypes such as the native - as - villain (the Nawab), or caste ridden Indians remain, the points mentioned above suffice to suggest that Jhabvala's work places certain query marks on the Raj enterprise.

We have therefore seen how certain Indian writers have responded to the Raj. Narayan's (mis)handling of the **miscegenation** theme and debunking of Eastern **spirituality**; Markandaya's acquiescence to Raj ideals; Raja Rao's ambivalence and suggestion of basic **incompatibility**;

Jhabvala's **demythification** of certain stereotypes: these are all crucial responses to the theme of **interpersonal relationships** in the Raj.

The study has therefore ranged across numerous **relationships** in the Indo - British encounter. The contexts of these **relationships** were first analysed in the early chapters. The development of British attitudes towards India and the context of European thought was traced. Chapter Three read the genre of Anglo-Indian writing as a whole. It located in the genre those attitudes discussed and detailed in the preceding chapter. Hence the intellectual and **socio - political** contexts of production of **this** Anglo-Indian discourse were covered by the two early chapters. The subsequent chapters analysed **representative** texts.

Philip Meadows Taylor's Seeta was held up as a classic Imperialist text. The context of the 1857 Mutiny added a political dimension to **its** Romantic themes. The chapter studied the Orientalist features of the novel. It **also** demonstrated how Taylor shies away from considering **possibilities** of miscegenation.

It was argued that Maud Diver's Lilamani extended at least partial **possibilities** of **miscegenation**. Traditional

notions and prejudices about India are seen to persist in Diver's text. However, a temporary acceptance of interracial liaisons occurs in Lilamani.

Kim, the classic Kipling tale, is viewed as a transition text. The chapter looked at the Imperialist overtones of Kipling's work. The study also brought to the surface the subtext of Kim. The reading showed how this subtext expresses serious doubts about the Raj's moral and ethical foundation. Kim therefore marks a passage from the pro - Raj novels of Taylor and Diver to the severely critical writings of Forster and Scott.

E.M. Forster's A Passage to India marks a humanist critique of the Raj. The chapter on Forster analysed the novel as enmeshing the personal with the political. Forster's suggestion of a more human level of contact between people of different races is seen as a probable answer to the bestiality of the Raj.

The study was rounded off by analysing Paul Scott's The Raj Quartet. The chapter demonstrated that Scott's work was the most trenchant attack on the Raj. The chapter explored how Scott's text revealed the cruelty and inhuman reality of the Raj. Scott's view of the Raj as based on illusion and ignorance was also studied.

The study has then wedded text with context. It located the numerous **interpersonal relationships** of the Raj within their socio-political context. The study also explored the development of the various types of **relationships** of the Raj. To this purpose, **miscegenation** and sexual liaisons were taken as a starting point to study other **relationships** between the Indians and the British.

While reading the texts to understand the personal **element** and impact of the **Indo** - British encounter, constant attention was paid to the development of British attitudes towards India. In yet another **contextualisation** (after the **political** and social), the personal and familial was firmly foregrounded within the **overall** ideological and intellectual structures of the **Raj**.

The study therefore extends the dimensions of the Raj by including the personal sphere. Where previous writings on the encounter generally focussed on the **politico-cultural**, rarely was attention **paid** to the microcosmic level: the individual and the family. This study of the **miscegenation** theme thus attempts to extend the boundaries of Raj-studies into the **domestic** domain.

To sum up, the study is an exploration of the psycho-history of the **Raj**. It brings together in a kind of

matrimony, (to play on the **miscegenation** and **'liaison'** metaphor) the social, **psychological**, political, cultural and individual aspects of the **Indo** - British encounter.

## NOTES

1. Though Jhabvala is not in the strict sense an Indian novelist, her affiliations justify inclusion in our readings. Also, the thematic unity of her text with those of other Indian novelists allow us to read Heat and Dust alongside those of Narayan or Markandaya.

2. Sujit Mukherjee in Forster and Further has pointed out another similarity between Paul Scott's and Jhabvala's works. In both cases, the lady protagonist desires to give birth to the child of an Indian (Mukherjee: 165). Thus the English woman's sexuality is again emphasised (as in Forster) as a counter point to the English concept of the hypersexed native male.

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