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The Figure of the Coloniser in the Colonial Heyday of British India:
Contemporary Images and Archetypal Patterns

Postać kolonizatora w okresie
brytyjskiej hegemonii kolonialnej w Indiach:
Współczesne obrazy i wzorce archetypiczne

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India did not pass me by without a trace;
it left tracks which lead from one infinity into another infinity.
~Carl Jung, 1961

India has this quality: even if Our Lord had descended from heaven and walked among the
apostles, that would not make them happy here. The unhappiness results from the desire of
all to rule, and if all were to do that, there would be none to obey.
~Rodrigo de Serpa, 1532

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Editorial Notice

The dissertation was written and edited solely by the author with the usage of Microsoft Office 2007 Professional software and Lenovo Ideapad G580 equipment.

For the sake of editorial consistency, the author followed thesis writing guidelines which are available at the main site of the Department of English, Nicolaus Copernicus University (https://www.human.umk.pl). In order to maintain clarity, it has to be explained that footnotes placed before full stop refer to specific words or phrases, whereas footnotes after full stop comment on whole sentences. When there are, for instance, commas at the point where the footnote indicator should be inserted in the main text, the indicator is placed before the punctuation.

Every instance of foreign word/phrase or emphasis was written in *italics*. Quoted material was put in "quotation marks." Passages that were longer than 5 lines of text or 100 words were placed in block quotations.

The main title page of the thesis was prepared in accordance with the university template available at https://apd.umk.pl (ZR.126.2020_zal_3).

Throughout the dissertation, the author used British English spelling. Quoted material written in American English remains unaltered. In addition, the Harvard style of referencing (author/date/page method) was utilised as with regard to in-text citations.

Introduction

1. *The Subject Matter of the Dissertation*

India is a sub-continental part of Southeast Asia which has for centuries drawn the attention of travellers, explorers, scientists, and traders. This is a territory rich in natural resources as well as cultural diversity; however, it also served as a site of colonial encounters between emissaries from the West and the indigenous residents. From a postcolonial standpoint, India can be regarded as a textbook instance of fluctuating power dependencies. Undoubtedly, the Oriental wonders and wealth were taken and reappropriated by the Western culture at the heyday of imperial hegemony. Nevertheless, the colonial encounter need not be regarded in an entirely negative light, and its main protagonist, the coloniser, should not be seen only as a ruthless exploiter and prejudiced villain. This dissertation focuses on the figure of the British coloniser in India, on the basis of selected works of historical fiction, created by a selection of writers who were directly or indirectly connected with the Indian subject area (either by birth, family heritage, marriage, or historical circumstances).

The reason for undertaking this subject matter lies in the exceptional status of British India as a colony. The historical background as well as geopolitical situation are crucial for the conducted research. It is a well-known fact that the phenomenon of colonisation was instigated in the fifteenth century by Portugal and Spain, and it ended in the twentieth century (the official date is assumed to be the 15th of August, 1947[1] – the day of the Partition of India)[2] (Brown 1999: 444). Initially driven by the promise of monetary gain, European traders would travel to exotic places which were granted to them as special spheres of influence by means of treaties[3] made frequently over the heads of the colonised people. As a result, some form of cooperation would develop between the colonisers and the native inhabitants. With the passage of time, the Europeans would take over these areas and turn the local people into their subjects. Considering the multitude of examples of colonial expansion, the researcher's

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[1] However, some sources also indicate the 1st of July, 1997 as the day when colonialism ended. The date marked the transfer of Hong Kong, after the 99-year-long lease of this territory by the United Kingdom, to the People's Republic of China (Osterhammel 1999: 664).

[2] The event marked the split of British India into the independent Republic of India (ruled by the Hindus) as well as Pakistan West and Pakistan East (ruled by the Muslims). To date, this particular day is the most tragic one in Indian history because of the large migration waves and clashes between religious groups (Lapierre and Collins 1975: 214–218). In the 1970s, Pakistan East rebelled against the rule of its western counterpart, which led to the outbreak of the Indo-Pakistani War of 1971. The direct outcome of this conflict was the establishment of the country of Bangladesh in lieu of Pakistan East (https://www.britannica.com).

[3] This phenomenon of dividing unknown and undiscovered land between European superpowers is covered in the second chapter of the dissertation.

intent is to limit the scope of analysis to Indian colonisation, which constitutes in many ways an exceptional realisation of this process. Namely, the colonisation of India stands out from other conquests world wide because of the diversity of the territories colonised in India. They were inhabited by people deriving from a wide range of cultural and social backgrounds. Currently, the Republic of India is composed of 29 states and 7 union territories, which are not interconnected in a standard manner.[4] That is to say, for example, that the citizens of India never communicated by means of one common language (https://www.britannica.com). Although Hindi is designated as the preferred official language, it was never given the status of the national mother tongue. This is caused by the fact that the residents of the subcontinent communicate in a variety of local languages, such as Bengali, Tamil, Punjabi, Telugu, and many others[5] (https://www.britannica.com).

It is important to distinguish postcolonial literature from other literary texts. As the name itself indicates, Anglophone fiction written about or within the Third-World territories emerged *after* the period of colonialism. Not only poststructuralist thought, but also historical processes played a part in the formation of this literary canon: the development of the Commonwealth of Nations[6], the formation of national identity amongst the former colonised as well as the growing popularity of "tricontinentalism"[7] (McLeod 2000: 11–12). Therefore, postcolonial literature deconstructs the mechanisms of colonial endeavours, but we should not fall into a trap of negative presuppositions and label every instance of historical fiction that is outside of postcolonial domain as direct propaganda aiming at promoting colonialism. It has to be emphasised that not all historical novels follow the pattern of glorifying *the imperial Raj*; hence, they cannot always be carelessly categorised as part of the "Raj revival" genre (Roy 2013: 257). The issue of British preoccupation with colonial themes in the cultural and literary spheres is explored in the dissertation as well.

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[4] To see the full map of the present-day Republic of India, please refer to Appendix I in this dissertation.

[5] Dalsie Gangmei from the National Institute of Educational Planning and Administration in New Delhi, India argues that the plurality of languages leads to socially-driven prejudice. She based her research on interviewing Indian students from rural areas who felt excluded from the academic environment for not being able to communicate either in Hindi or English. Gangmei suggests that race is not socially constructed by language, but vice versa; that is, language is socially constructed by race (Gangmei 2021, conference paper).

[6] An organisation encompassing 54 member states; that is, former territories of the British Empire (https://www.britannica.com).

[7] A term coined by Robert C. Young. According to the postcolonial expert, the intellectual elite from a given postcolonial country had to unite in order to voice their concerns to the English reading public. The name "tricontinentalism" refers to Third World countries (mainly former colonies) which strived to rebuild themselves in the 20th century (McLeod 2000: 12). Political manifestation of tricontinentalism can be found in Non-Aligned Movement (NAM); that is, a series of international conferences giving voice to 120 developing countries which are not officially associated with any major power structure. The movement was established in 1961 based on the idea of Jawaharlal Nehru (https://www.britannica.com).

2. *The Current State of Research*

With regard to the main theme of the thesis, especially important are such aspects as postcolonial discourse, the portrayal of colonial India in the works of contemporary Anglophone writers, the correlation between literary texts as well as historical events, the relation between the coloniser and the colonised, and the wide spectrum of approaches towards the figure of the coloniser, ranging from apologetic to critical. In his monumental work *Orientalism*, originally published in 1978, Edward Said defined the coloniser as an incarnation of power (Said 2003: 12), whose purpose is to reshape the oriental reality. However, it has to be emphasised that Said's research is not fully applicable to the questions addressed in the present dissertation because he primarily focused on the representation of the East by the West, not the other way round, omitting in this manner the issue of internal representation of colonialism. I complement Said's findings by adding to my research the aspect of representations of the West by the East; that is to say, postcolonial novels about the period of the British Empire written by Indian authors. On a methodological level, I pair the concept of "orientalism" together with Richard E. Nisbett's[8] idea of "geographies of thought". In this manner, not only coloniser/colonised dichotomy is covered but also the mental aspect of this interrelation because these two contrasting figures operate within different mindsets that stem from their respective cultures.

Another public intellectual, Albert Memmi, examines the stereotypical master-slave relationship and unravels the bilateral reliance between the two figures from the perspective of the 1950s colonialism in North Africa. Apart from outlining the intricacies between the groups of the haves and the have-nots, Memmi describes the privileged status of the coloniser which the figure obtains in view of supposed inadequacies of the colonised; that is, the foreigner perceives himself to be better than the native in relation to the standards of living, culture , and language. Nonetheless, the researcher asserts that not each and every coloniser is predatory and corrupt or displays hostility towards the indigenous community. In this manner, the coloniser may reject his own mode of hegemony, and this very act of giving up power questions the essence of colonialism itself. As a result, the coloniser becomes the one "who refuses" to perform violence against the colonised, at least in theory (Memmi [1957] 2003: 67). Although Albert Memmi's seminal text relies on the French mode of colonisation in the 1950s, it still remains an important academic work due to the fact that it was the first study to logically deconstruct the conceptual figure of the coloniser. In addition, it is influential to date

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[8] An American sociologist, the author of *The Geography of Thought: How Asians and Westerners Think Differently… and Why* (2003).

in such spheres as environmental education (Blenkinsop et al. 2016: 198–217) as well as translation studies (Aveling 2006: 157–169).

Interestingly, Partha Chatterjee refutes Memmi's assumptions labelling them as based primarily on binary oppositions. In his work *Empire and Nation* from the year 2010, the researcher leans towards the Saidian concept of the coloniser: a person in whose best interest it is to withhold the indigenous people from political power and the right to self-determination. Chatterjee asserts that the longer the colonial rule lasts, the greater is the number of the natives who rise against the autocratic authority (Chatterjee 2010: 302). However, even if the foreign governance is overthrown, now independent *post-colonised* masses are in danger of replicating colonial patterns, which they inherited, in the process of forming their own national identity[9] (Gandhi 1998: 78).

Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak goes against Chatterjee's reasoning by examining the capacity of the colonised to rebel in her seminal essay "Can the Subaltern Speak?" (1988). Using the term "subaltern[10]," as coined by the Marxist philosopher Antonio Gramsci in relation to groups of outcasts oscillating on the margins of society, Spivak infers that indigenous people are overshadowed by the so-called "S/subject" deriving from Europe (Spivak 2010: 35). In consequence, the figure of the Other becomes not only misrepresented but also silenced and powerless. Thus, historiography of violence against the subaltern is extruded by the narrative dogma of ruthless exploiters.

Although his works were published two decades earlier than Spivak's, Franz Fanon covers the same ground as the Indian researcher with regard to the colonised. The philosopher from Martinique describes an enslaved subject as someone who lost native culture and suffers from an inferiority complex. By means of auto-perception, the colonised individual thinks of his body as worse in comparison to that belonging to the coloniser. Whereas Fanon is convinced that the colonised is able to oppose the cultural dominance of Europe so as to reject enslavement, Mahatma Gandhi himself claims that a slave first and foremost needs to begin perceiving the hegemonic culture as an inadequate one. On the basis of the India problem, Gandhi explains in a poetic manner that "[Indians] want the English rule without the Englishman. [They] want the tiger's nature but not the tiger" (Gandhi 1998: 21).

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[9] Dipesh Chakrabarty expands upon this notion by suggesting that the First World as well as the Third World countries should be treated in the world of today on equal terms. One should do away with cultural prejudice and historical animosities. In this manner, the postcolonial seedbed propelling the Occident to be at war with the Orient would cease to exist (Gandhi 1998: 54, 181). Nowadays, neo-colonial practices are the most detrimental to the sovereignty of a Third World state, as claimed by Chakrabarty.

[10] Interestingly, the term also denotes an officer in the British army below the rank of captain (https://dictionary.cambridge.org). Perhaps Gramsci used this noun purposely to underline imperial connotations.

What is more, Homi K. Bhabha seems to expand on Spivak's studies of the subaltern by stating that the current situation of postcolonial countries stems directly from the coloniser's past actions. In other words, colonialism is an on-going process which has its implications in the present, leading to the formation of multicultural communities; in other words, "hybridity[11]." Through the process of "mimicry," the colonised people are taught to imitate the behaviour of European administrators.[12] This suppression of native cultural identity eventually renders the indigenous residents powerless and deprived of self-respect. Nevertheless, there is a chance for them to threaten the hegemonic *status quo* through the ability to speak the imposed language. With the process of adaptation, they disprove the image of unintelligent savages (McLeod 2000: 53–55).

Like Partha Chatterjee, Shrinkan Sawant also voices his concerns about the fate of the colonised after the abolition of the colonial system of rule. Sawant claims in his early-2010s writings on India that now independent people are in danger of repeating the cycle of exploitation simply because of the fact that power corrupts. Newly elected representatives of a postcolonial state may at any time turn against their fellow citizens and implement the "divide and rule" policy or totalitarian means of oppression. According to Sawant, proper knowledge of the colonial past is required so as to appropriately manage a country in the present (Sawant 2012: 1–2).

Abdul R. JanMohamed discusses the conflict between the European and the Other in "The Economy of the Manichean Allegory" (1985). In contrast to aforementioned researchers, JanMohamed puts forward a theory that a true understanding of the nature of the colonised shall occur only at a point when the coloniser will relinquish his prejudiced attitude motivated by cultural heritage; however, this process is nearly impossible according to JanMohamed because the coloniser's identity is inevitably defined by his culture. For this reason, the coloniser is bound to imagine the colonised as the figure inferior in intellectual as well as civilisational terms: a backward barbarian, a total negation of himself. From JanMohamed's perspective, the coloniser's hegemony is gendered and biased towards masculinity. Consequently, the coloniser always strives to reconfirm his moral superiority that masks and justifies other kinds of self-assigned supremacy (JanMohamed 1985: 60–61).

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[11] According to Bhabha, "hybridity" denotes a transcultural combination of two, or more, identities within one individual. It offers the possibility of third space between clashing cultures, without the burden of superimposed hierarchy (McLeod 2000: 53–55).

[12] One should also be aware of the process of the so-called "reversed mimicry" in which a white man attempts to liken himself to indigenous people, not because he wants to become just like them, but simply for the purposes of blending in with the crowd (so as to win the favours of a community or hide from authorities) (Singh, https://www.lehigh.edu).

A Kenyan writer Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o illustrates the process of colonial indoctrination on the basis of his own experiences. In his work called "Decolonising the Mind" (1986), Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o describes the time of his adolescence in a local culture which communicated in Kikuyu language (Ngũgĩ 1986: 5). Upon starting an education in a colonial school, young Ngũgĩ was told to learn and primarily use English on a daily basis, which was rewarded by the teachers. The usage of Kikuyu, however, was looked down on. As a result, English language became the means of measuring intelligence and skill, which opens up a further field of interpretation in relation to the coloniser/the colonised clash.

3. *Methodology*

Postcolonial theories form the primary methodological perspective adopted in this dissertation. As the literary critic Leela Gandhi accurately notices, however, postcolonial studies are a site of encounter as well as battle between disparate disciplines and theories (Gandhi 1998: 42) due to the plurality of research methods. Gandhi explains that some critics prefer the term "post-colonialism" with a hyphen in order to underline the historical process; that is, separating the period of colonialism from its latter consequences. Those who opt for using "postcolonialism" without a hyphen assume that the postcolonial condition starts with the beginning, not the end, of colonialism (Gandhi 1998: 3, 25).[13] According to Gandhi, "postcolonialism" should be treated as a theoretical understanding of a historical status, while "postcoloniality" should function as that very status which the theory attempts to deconstruct. Consequently, the postcolonial past becomes the field of "the scene of intense discursive and conceptual activity" (Gandhi 1998: 5).

In the course of outlining the issues concerning the research project, I reached the conclusion that the findings in the field of postcolonialism do not constitute the sole, single-handedly efficient, interpretative method. The trend of poststructuralist thought experienced an enormous progress in the 20th century thanks to such influential thinkers as Jacques Derrida or Michael Foucault, but the fact is that there has not been a new input into the field for over 30 years (Nichols 2010: 140–142). Therefore, exclusive reliance on the popular notions of power dichotomy, biopolitics, and oppression of the subaltern would render the focus of the dissertation imitative and unvaried.

In order to ensure an original contribution to knowledge, I intend to also utilise the domain of psychoanalysis, which enjoys a current resurgence in academia and crossovers into

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[13] Albert Memmi suggests that the colonised does not shed his status at the moment of independence, but he acquires a new identity in the course of a long decolonising process (McBride 2011: 51).

the territory of postcolonial discourse more frequently than ever before (Smith, http://www.brockpress.com). More specifically, in this dissertation, the figure of the coloniser will be examined from the perspective of Carl Jung's concept of the archetype. According to Jung, the sphere of the collective unconscious[14] is composed of personal instincts uncontrollable by an individual, and of primordial behavioural patterns which are replicated across generations (Jung 1964: 67). The psychologist calls these patterns "archetypes;" that is to say, these are imaginary forms which function as templates, especially in terms of human experience. I regard this as a very important aspect which requires further consideration. In this dissertation, I address such questions as the following: Did the coloniser conform to archetypal images, why or why not? If so, how was that done? Was he an entirely positive or negative figure? As the literary examples demonstrate, there is a shroud of ambiguity over his and her image.[15]

Joseph Campbell[16] elaborates on Jung's research concerning archetypal attitudes and also adds his own idea of a hero undergoing a personal, life-changing, journey. As an expert on mythologies and religious beliefs, Campbell puts forward a theory that in the vast majority of modernist novels the main protagonist experiences a voyage in the course of which he or she overcomes a number of obstacles and also encounters supporting characters who point to another objective, until the completion of the travel and the attainment of the boon (be it a princess or a remedy to topical problems) (Campbell 2004: xxv).[17] In that case, was the coloniser such type of a wanderer? Was he[18] a benevolent hero or a ruthless villain? Just as the monomythical hero, the coloniser as well might have crossed the threshold between the realms of the known and the unknown as he journeyed from the United Kingdom to India.

Jordan Peterson brought Carl Jung's and Joseph Campbell's findings together while formulating his theories in *Maps of Meaning: The Architecture of Belief Systems* (1999). The

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[14] Jung was convinced that in the deepest part of a human psyche, there is a segment which contains genetically inherited data which subsequently influence the development of a personality. Jung's findings are not ruled out by modern research in linguistics, which favours the approach that children are born with innate ideas that help them learn (not as *tabula rasa*) (Cowie, https://plato.stanford.edu).

[15] Postcolonial presuppositions predominantly localise the coloniser as someone within the British social stratum (being of only British nationality) who celebrates his time spent in India. The analytical material in this dissertation does not conform to such assumptions.

[16] Even though Campbell started writing while Jung was still alive (the 1950s and 1960s), his works did not become popular until the 1980s.

[17] Indeed, this brief summary of Campbell's ideas resembles Vladimir Propp's *Morphology of the Folktale* (1928). However, it has to be acknowledged that Propp was mainly focusing on the structure of a story, whereas Campbell outlined not only the narrative framework but also psychological transformation of the protagonist.

[18] Throughout the dissertation, I refer to the figure of the coloniser mainly by using pronouns he/him, because the role was essentially performed, in a historical sense, by men. Nevertheless, the feminine aspect cannot be ignored, as it is demonstrated in the analytical part of this dissertation. A woman can also function as a kind of colonising entity who usurps masculine power.

psychologist suggests that ideologies carry within themselves narrative structures which influence an emotional stability of an individual. Therefore, reality is not as important as the realm of values (conveyed in stories, myths, and religions). Rejection of these values subsequently creates an oppressive system, which is later copied and replicated across many cultures (Peterson 2002: 7). My intention is to relate Peterson's concepts to the problematic domain of the coloniser's psyche as well as the subservient position of the colonised.

The aim of the present dissertation is to show how the interpretation of the coloniser in selected contemporary historical novels allows to understand the issue of colonialism in present times when clashing ideologies increasingly generate quarrels over a historical past rather than mutual understanding. In realities represented by these works of literature, the relationship between the coloniser and the colonised is frequently illustrated in a complex manner, which indicates a departure from Edward Said's binary oppositions and an evolution of colonial imagery. The interconnection of Albert Memmi's theories with the ones of Edward Said, Richard E. Nisbett, Shashi Tharoor, Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o, Abdul R. JanMohamed and, most importantly, Carl Jung, Joseph Campbell, and Jordan B. Peterson will allow to expose the convoluted mechanisms of colonisation and decolonisation of mind. This appears to be important especially in the case of India, which has an ambiguous approach to its past.

4. *The Structure of the Dissertation*

The thesis is divided into six chapters which contain appropriate subsections. The main two parts of the dissertation are as follows: theoretical/historical and analytical. Appropriate chapters devoted to theory (First and Third) complement each other in terms of necessary methodological information which is subsequently applied to the analytical part. In order to fully understand the subject matter and the unique status of the British India as a colony, historical and cultural information (Chapters Two and Four) is included as well. Such a structure of the research resulting in the present dissertation allows to capture the full image of India under the colonial rule as well as the intrinsic relationship between the coloniser and the colonised, the nature of which often manifested itself outside of the power dependency domain.

The first chapter covers general theoretical aspects, including definitions, appraisal, and critique of colonialism, juxtaposition of the figures of the coloniser and the colonised, perceptions of the Orient, power relations, attitudes towards historical legacy, and literary mechanisms of decolonising the mind. What is more, this chapter also includes a sociological

approach towards geographical division between disparate Oriental and Occidental mentalities, as described by the aforementioned Richard E. Nisbett. That is to say, the researcher outlines unique frameworks of thinking which can be found in residents of the West (reliance on individuality and logic) and of the East (holistic approach to life). This enables a better understanding of differences (not only racial and political) between the coloniser and the colonised. Their relationship is not a one-sided dependency operating entirely on power and subjugation.

The second chapter serves to provide historical background with a primary focus on the genesis of colonisation and the British imperialism. The aim of this chapter is to present the intricate nature of British India as the Empire's most valuable colony which encompasses disparate modes of colonial management: collective, capitalist, oppressive, as visible in other colonial outposts across the globe. The rise and fall of the administrative system in British India is discussed through political, economic, and social aspects together with the inclusion of the most pivotal historical events; for instance, the conquest of India, the Sepoy Rebellion, and the Partition of India. In view of the discussed models of governing the colonies, it can be seen that the British Empire encompassed a wide range of disparate modes of power and control. From ruthless exploitation by slave workforce through the noble desire to spread virtues and free-market capitalism to propagating highly developed organisational structures.

The third chapter outlines the psychoanalytical methodology. This part of the dissertation presents the points of convergence of colonialism and psychoanalysis. It traces Carl Jung's travels to imperial frontiers and his concepts of the archetype, the monomyth, and oppressive patterns. With the findings of Jung, Campbell, and Peterson, it becomes possible to perceive the figure of the coloniser in a new light. Furthermore, India itself as a colonial land undergoes a reinterpretation: Was it just a land of oppressed subalterns? Did the coloniser feel in a way oppressed and threatened as well? Did India function as a contact zone where both figures could reach mutual reconciliation and even hypothetical symbiosis? The psychoanalytical approach allows to unravel the complexities of colonial encounters. The British colonisers sought to extend the influence of their Empire in quite an archetypal way which pushed them to undertake journeys into the unknown.

The fourth chapter explores the cultural representations of the coloniser. In order to provide a complementary background, it is necessary to mention various past schemes which encouraged people to participate in the imperial endeavour: from special exhibitions through consumer products, visual arts, magazines, adventure novels to travel writing. This chapter presents the ways in which the Empire perceived and promoted itself. The aim of adopting

this perspective is to attain a better understanding of cultural intricacies reflected in the literary texts studied in the remaining chapters. On the basis of the outlined practices of the Empire, it becomes visible that the colonial endeavour as well as the figure of the coloniser had prevalent presence in British cultural representations. The public was continuously invited by the authorities to participate in the imperial project by means of, for instance, civil service, missionary help, or buying special products.

Chapters Five and Six constitute the analytical part of the dissertation. The discussed novels were written by authors either directly or indirectly connected with British India and its legacy. In Chapter Five, I intend to examine the figure of the coloniser in the context of such instances of historical fiction, written by British authors, as Paul Scott's *The Jewel in the Crown* (1966), James Gordon Farrell's *The Siege of Krishnapur* (1973), and Mary Margaret Kaye's *The Far Pavilions* (1978). In Chapter Six, the coloniser is analysed from the postcolonial literary perspective, on the basis of the following novels created by writers ethnically connected with India: Ruth Prawer Jhabvala's *Heat and Dust* (1975), Salman Rushdie's *Midnight's Children* (1981), and Shauna Singh Baldwin's *What the Body Remembers* (1999). Needless to say, each and every novel reflects a particular period from the history of Indian colonialism. *The Jewel in the Crown* is set at the time of World War II, *The Siege of Krishnapur* deals with the controversial Sepoy Rebellion of 1857, *The Far Pavilions* takes place at the beginning of the Second Afghan War, *Heat and Dust* covers the events happening Colonial India as well as the Republic of India, *Midnight's Children* focuses on India before and after the Partition of 1947, whereas *What the Body Remembers* describes the situation of the Sikh community on the eve of the Partition. Such a plurality and periodical spread of historical events (from 1857 to 1947) allows for detailed insight into the imperial influence on a land that up until the 16th century had no relations with the West. The reason for exclusion of older and recent publications in the analytical chapters stems from the fact that many British publications before the 1940s and 50s constitute mainly memoirs and travel accounts, whereas postcolonial novels after the year 2000 focus mainly on the theme of diasporic lifestyle in First World countries.

The second half of the twentieth century marks a resurgence of British interest in former colonies and indigenous cultures; however, this period is also the beginning of postcolonial literature as we know it today. The decade of the 1970s in particular is the crucial moment of shifting the narrative voice from the centre (Europe) to peripheries (the colonies). This is also the case with India, which is reflected in the aforementioned titles and their publication years. They were originally written and published in English, which means that

they solidify the durability of colonial legacy in India in the form of language. That is not to say, however, that the writers consciously fight the figure of the coloniser within the linguistic field. More likely, they counteract the coloniser's phantom, which is reflected through the English language. What is more, the novels in question present specific perspectives on the British coloniser and Indian colonialism. It is worth exploring the attitude of the authors (positive or negative) towards the coloniser, where exactly they localise the character (stereotypical white outsider, symbolic embodiment in the form of a land, a native, or a female), and how they evaluate his *tenure* at the exotic frontier. *The Jewel in the Crown* (1966), *The Siege of Krishnapur* (1973), and *The Far Pavilions* (1978) were created by British writers, so it is all the more important to assess if these literary works questioned the foundations of British India 30 years after it ended. At the same time, *Heat and Dust* (1975), *Midnight's Children* (1981), and *What the Body Remembers* (1999) constitute instances of historical fiction written by people who were either born in India or have an Indian heritage. They are the representatives of Third World peripheries who attempted to describe the colonial status of their motherland even though they lived in the period when their country regained its independence and grappled with the consequences of its haunting past.

In order to ensure a plurality of perspectives, the dissertation includes historical fiction written not just by men but also women who had an opportunity to experience the colonial/postcolonial *modus operandi*, learn about the history of Colonial India, and convey their observations in fiction rather than travel writing. The inclusion of such female writers as Mary Margaret Kaye, Ruth Prawer Jhabvala, and Shauna Singh Baldwin rounds off the portrayal of the coloniser and provides an additional stance on the issues of colonialism.

Chapter One
The Coloniser and the Colonised:
Theoretical Assumptions and Political Power

1. Through the Looking Glass: Understating Colonialism Today

The first chapter of this dissertation addresses the complex nature of colonialism and its discourse, including such aspects as definitions of the term, diverse academic approaches to this field of study, and especially the figures of the coloniser and the colonised as they appear in historical accounts. In order to conduct this kind of analysis, it is necessary to begin with various definitions of the terms related to colonialism. Subsequently, several researchers and their (either direct or indirect) interpretations of colonial legacies, together with their most notable works, are explored. Lastly, proceeding from the general to the specific, the theoretical assumptions with regard to the British Raj and the relation between the coloniser and the colonised in this geographical context are discussed in detail.

1.1. *Defining Colonialism*

There are many different definitions of the term "colonialism," to be found across many dictionaries and online resources. Frequently, the name is viewed as an integral part of its close conceptual relative known as either "postcolonialism" or "post-colonialism"[19]. However, it has to be emphasised at the beginning that the word "colonialism" stands on its own and it denotes the long forgone policy of developed countries to create settlements in remote territories already inhabited by indigenous people. *Online Etymology Dictionary* simply defines "colonialism" as "the system of colonial rule" (https://www.etymonline.com), whereas *The Oxford Learner's Dictionary* provides a straightforward explanation of the term by defining it as "the practice by which a powerful country controls another country or other countries" (https://www.oxfordlearnersdictionaries.com). Interestingly, the *Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* elaborates on this line of reasoning by stating the following: "Colonialism is a practice of domination, which involves the subjugation of one people to another. [...] The term colony comes from the Latin word *colonus*, meaning farmer, which puts emphasis on the process of cultivating the land. In addition, this source root reminds us

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[19] Word processors also distinguish "post colonialism," but my intention is to follow the two definitions (with and without a dash), as designated by C. L. Innes in *The Cambridge Introduction to Postcolonial Literatures in English* (Innes 2007: 1). The differentiation will be explained further on in this subsection.

that the practice of colonialism usually involved the transfer of population to a new territory, where the arrivals lived as permanent settlers while maintaining political allegiance to their country of origin" (https://plato.stanford.edu). Additionally, the researcher Pramod K. Nayar adds that "[Colonialism was] a process by which European nations found routes to Asian, African, South American regions; conquered them; undertook trade relation with some of the countries and kingdoms; [and] settled for a few centuries in these places" (Nayar 2012: 2). Consequently, the sources point to the inherently possessive nature of the colonial process; that is, the intention of creating a power dependency and the underlying desire of one nation to exploit the other. However, in order to appropriately understand the term, it is best to juxtapose it against other popular terms, such as "imperialism" and "post(-)colonialism," to both of which "colonialism" is often regarded as closely related.

Colonialism has its roots in Antiquity, when the ancient empires, such as, for example, Greece, Rome, and Egypt started expanding the borders of their vast domains, mainly in order to reinforce numerous trade routes (Loubser 2004: 74). The Crusades, arguably, can also be categorised as a form of colonialism, given the fact that the Europeans and the Saracens battled each other over the territory of the Middle East, although Pope Urban II's original intention was to protect the Christian pilgrims (Barber 2012: 2). It was with the end of the Middle Ages that colonialism ceased to be a stationary mode of governance. Its rapid expansion became a direct outcome of developments in travel. The knowledge of proper navigation together with powerful ships allowed the explorers to cross the seas and the oceans to reach new territories. The new era of history began, and this progression of colonialism will be discussed in detail in the second chapter of this dissertation.

Interestingly, nowadays the terms colonialism and imperialism are often used interchangeably as facets of one, single concept (Young 2016: 15). It has to be made clear, however, that colonialism and imperialism, though connected, do not convey the same idea. Whereas colonialism denotes with its etymology the act of settling in; in other words, the physical presence of new arrivals (who retain their allegiance to their mother country) on an unknown territory; imperialism can be understood as the ways (either political, economic or social) in which power can be exercised on that territory (Hobson [1902] 2010: 4; Shoemaker, https://www.historians.org). As a result, colonialism and imperialism can go hand in hand as processes complementing each other[20]; however, this is not always the case. This means that colonialism can exist without imperialism (for example, developments of missionaries)[21].

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[20] The heyday of imperialism is estimated to have taken place around the 1880s (Ashcroft et al. 2000: 123).
[21] However, *Post-Colonial Studies: The Key Concepts* also recognises missionaries as a form of indirect

Accordingly, imperialism can take place without colonialism (for instance, one country influencing another without direct control over it, as in the case of Saudi Arabia imposing an embargo on Qatar in 2018). Consequently, both concepts are interrelated, yet they are certainly not synonymous, which is a common misconception nowadays.

After outlining colonialism against the conceptual background of imperialism, one also needs to bring (post)-colonialism into the spotlight. Even though colonialism clearly denotes the historical act of one nation making themselves at home in a distant area; in fact, it is overshadowed by the juggernaut of a concept, that is post(-)colonialism. Post(-)colonialism has become an academic field, which aims at studying the outcomes of both imperial and colonial practices. As the prefix *post* suggests, the concept deals with the colonial condition *after* the historical occurrence of colonial endeavours. It primarily focuses on, but is not limited to, studying the processes of achieving independence, and on the status of former colonies in the twenty-first century (Young 2016: 15). In terms of methodological approaches, it offers several theories heavily grounded in post-structuralist thought, which tackle such topical issues as racism, influence of environment, identity crisis, transnationality, multiculturalism, gender, and plurality of languages to name but a few. Without a doubt, locating a single source of origins of post(-)colonialism is a fool's errand. When it comes to the scholarly understandings of the concept, the explanations also vary and are not always clear. For instance, John McLeod, the author of *Beginning Postcolonialism*, argues that postcolonialism is not a unified and meaningful concept, however, more appropriately, it is a myriad of reading strategies that have manifold subject matter (McLeod 2000: 3). He states that the concept should be questioned and that "there's no singular postcolonialism" (McLeod 2000: 3), but it can be articulated in different ways with relation to the specific issues which concern its field. C. L. Innes differentiates between the terms "post-colonial" and "postcolonial." That is to say, historically speaking, "post-colonial" can be used to designate a particular event (or moment) which leads the colonised people to achieve independence and attain self-governing capacity[22] (Innes 2007: 1). By contrast, "postcolonial" can mean culturally all the research disciplines concerned with colonial discourse. Rather than being focused on historical linearity, "postcolonial" attempts to define the direct implications of colonial rule as well as the influence of colonial encounter between the two figures (the

imperialism aiming at establishing friendly relations with indigenous people (Ashcroft et al. 2000: 123–124). Frequently, spiritual emissaries served as the first explorers who came in contact with the natives. Later on, they were forced to engage into economic activities on new lands. I outline this practice in the second chapter of the dissertation.

[22] For example, the Partition of India (1947) and the Handover of Hong Kong (1997) can serve to illustrate the "post-colonial" transformations in action.

coloniser and the colonised) who function as the complete opposites (in terms of language and tradition) (Innes 2007: 2).

Therefore, it becomes apparent that postcolonialism[23] is used as a means of understanding the processes related to colonialism. However, there is an increasing number of voices of contestation on the validity of the postcolonial field in modern academia. For example, Bruce Gilley's controversial article from 2017 called "The Case for Colonialism"[24] presents an unpopular opinion about the legacy of colonialism and the effectiveness of postcolonial reworkings.

In the introductory part of his text, Gilley argues that colonialism has fallen victim of Marxist/Leninist line of criticism and, accordingly, it is impossible to evaluate it objectively from the historical standpoint. This is not to say, however, that colonialism is an entirely positive process.[25] Yet, Gilley argues that it is not completely negative either.[26] In his argumentation, he attempts to prove that colonialism did more good than harm and, consequently, modern world should implement a new mode of political governance (based on colonial projects) (Gilley, https://www.nas.org).

Gilley outlines his idea of, what one may call, "reinvented colonialism" by addressing the failure of anti-colonial thought. In view of vivid examples (for instance, the Mau Mau campaign in Kenya or Cabralian dictatorship in Guinea-Bissau), the author remarks that the postcolonial thinkers did not foresee, and account for, morbid outbreaks of violence during decolonisation processes. While colonialism brought with it stellar administrative institutions (the civil service), infrastructure as well as advancements in healthcare[27], Gilley claims that anti-colonial liberators had nothing to offer apart from lamenting about the exploitative past of their countries, while exploiting them on their own. For example, both Guinea-Bissau and Congo have turned into warzones after the Portuguese and Belgians left these areas. Yet, as he emphasises: "To be sure, just as the colonial era was not an unalloyed good, the independence

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[23] From this point on, my intention is to rely on C. L. Innes' clarifications of "post-colonial" and "postcolonial" when referring to respective conditions (either historical or cultural) of the field.

[24] The article was originally published in the *Third World Quarterly* journal, but it was taken down due to the fact that the editor started receiving death threats (van Schoonhoven, https://www.elsevierweekblad.nl). The text was later republished on the main site of the National Association of Scholars, and I am using this online source as a citation reference.

[25] One of the major shortcomings of the article, in my opinion, is Gilley's highly selective reading for the analysis. The researcher mainly focuses on African colonialism, while omitting other colonies (primarily India) and their complex histories. It can be inferred that the researcher purposely limited the scope of discussed material because he regards Africa as the topical example of a territory which was unable to support itself after the dissolution of colonial powers.

[26] He provides the example of Britain being colonised by the Romans and the Normans. This way the researcher implies that the world of today is a myriad of post-colonies (Gilley, https://www.nas.org).

[27] Gilley provides a specific example of German colonisers who developed a cure for the African sleeping sickness (van Schoonhoven, https://www.elsevierweekblad.nl).

era has not been an unalloyed bad" (Gilley, https://www.nas.org). The researcher enumerates South Africa, India, and Brazil as examples of well-functioning post-colonial states that pose themselves as enemies of "Western colonialism,"[28] yet their legislatures derive directly from the colonial administration (Gilley, https://www.nas.org). In addition, they are not keen to help their respective neighbours (such as Zimbabwe, Sri Lanka, Venezuela) in the face of great disasters and dangers, because of anti-colonial sentiments (Gilley, https://www.nas.org).

However, apart from mentioning former colonies, Gilley also lists a number of countries that were safely transformed into decolonised regions and became prosperous. Macau, Singapore, and Indonesia are regarded by Gilley as postcolonial nations that renounced the victim card, left behind the trauma of suffering, and moved on. In his view, they ought to serve as the templates for a new type of recolonisation. That is, some territories across the globe could have been leased to external powers by means of special contracts[29]. On the basis of the Guinea-Bissau case, Gilley paints an idyllic, nearly utopian vision of the return of the Portuguese, who approach the indigenous population with respect and courtesy. Gilley asserts that the new form of colonialism can only function without the burden of exploitation (the colonised becomes an active participant in new state building and has the right of *veto* if disappointed with the project). To substantiate this concept, the article is filled with real-life examples of Western businesses stepping in and alleviating many branches of postcolonial economies[30]. However, the researcher realises that the proposed mode of governance is difficult to set in motion because modern powers are afraid of the historical legacy of colonialism and, most importantly, the imperialist policies are simply too expensive[31].

Albeit romantic and nearly impossible to carry out in the current political climate, Gilley's idea of "colonialism for hire" (Gilley, https://www.nas.org) allows, at least on paper, for the new kind of "cosmopolitan nation-building" (Gilley, https://www.nas.org) in which the coloniser and the colonised would not have to be forced to operate within the grid of exploitative power relations. Nevertheless, it would be difficult today to build the second

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[28] Interestingly, Gilley frequently repeats the phrase "Western colonialism" throughout the article, as if to distance the European colonies from those in the East (the Chinese in Tibet, the Japanese in Manchuria, Korea, and Indonesia). However, Gilley never explicitly explains his usage of the term.

[29] For Gilley, the paragon of such consensual transfer of power is the case of Hong Kong which was leased to Britain for the period of 99 years (Cheung 2017: 21).

[30] Gilley enumerates, for instance, the Australian Assistance Mission to Guatemala which eradicated administrative corruption; the successful implementation of Government and Economic Assistance Management Program in poverty-stricken Liberia; and the Swiss company SGS handling the customs service at the Jakarta port of Tanjung Priok at the request of the Indonesian government (Gilley, https://www.nas.org).

[31] The author quite rightly points to the issue of economy as another important factor, apart from the struggle of the indigenous people, in the decolonisation processes (Gilley, https://www.nas.org).

Macau or Hong Kong from scratch.

I have to personally emphasise that I disagree with many aspects presented in Gilley's article. Apart from the aforementioned selective reading material, Gilley does not acknowledge in any way the unscrupulous Belgian regime in Congo (1908–1960) or the Sepoy Rebellion in India of 1857[32]. It is only in a post-publication interview that Gilley addresses the issue of colonial violence and goes on to add that the colonisers investigated their atrocities, whereas in the decolonised states of the 1990s, we know very little about the massacres because there never were any investigations at local levels[33] (van Schoonhoven, https://www.elsevierweekblad.nl). Nevertheless, the researcher makes a point when stating that it would be wrong to assume that there would have been no suffering if colonialism had not existed (van Schoonhoven, https://www.elsevierweekblad.nl). Indeed, racial violence and economic exploitation are only parts of the greater cycle of human wrongdoing, as asserted by Jordan Peterson (Peterson 2002: 33).

Gilley's academic article would require a rewriting with a wider analytical scope than it offers now. Instead of primary focus on Africa and South America, the complex colonial histories of India, China, and South Korea also deserve a closer analysis. However, the text makes a few valid points in its examination of potential failures of postcolonial projects and, consequently, it shows that there is a veil of ambiguity concerning colonialism and the relations between the coloniser and the colonised.

Rather than calling for the new mode of colonial rule, I am convinced that postcolonial studies should move on from the mental habit of "Europe-bashing"[34] because otherwise "[l]ike all politically involved studies, postcolonial theory and practice are in danger of degenerating into an instrument of oppression when one voice (or a choir) begins to dominate and decree what is right or wrong. Plurality of views and voices in postcolonial studies is for this reason a welcome preventative measure" (Buchholtz 2014: 19). In order to avoid such a risk, postcolonial studies should give voice to those postcolonial researchers who nowadays attempt to tackle topical, neo-colonialist practices. As already stated in the introductory part of the dissertation, I intend to use both postcolonial methodology and psychoanalytical approach for my analysis of the relations between the coloniser and the coloniser.

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[32] To be described in the second chapter of the dissertation.

[33] For instance, Bombay riots (1992), the genocide in Rwanda (1994), the Ipil massacre in the Philippines (1995), and attacks against Christians in Kandhamal (https://apnews.com).

[34] In the article, "Postcolonial Studies: Tricks, Treats, and Trade," Mirosława Buchholtz questions postcolonial thought in the context of the ambiguous tradition of trick-or-treating. Europe-bashing, according to Buchholtz, leaves postcolonial scholars stuck in the historical past and oblivious to other forms of imperialisms across the globe (Buchholtz 2014: 35). Instead of being obsessed with Europe, postcolonialism should deconstruct all forms of hegemony which exist nowadays.

1.2. *Defining the Coloniser and the Colonised (Albert Memmi and Colonial Relations)*

The terms "the coloniser" and "the colonised" can be understood by means of binary oppositions. Whereas "the colonised" may signify a person who founds or helps in the establishment of a colony, "the coloniser" by default denotes a native individual brought under the control of the settler from outside. Colonial discourse serves as a place of contact and contestation between the two figures (Buchholtz 2008: 34). On the one hand, the coloniser was presented in literary as well as cultural texts as the kind, fair, just, and civilised character. On the other hand, the colonised was depicted as being crude, childish, barbaric, and primitive (Ashcroft et al. 2000: 24). Postcolonial theory clearly frames the former as the ruthless conqueror, usurper and impostor, and the latter as the oppressed, subjugated victim. Even though Edward Said's clear-cut division of the two personas between the good and the bad serves as a safety net for modern researchers and their interpretations of postcolonial texts, it is not by any means exhaustive.

In his article "The Coloniser and The Colonised: Reflections on Translation as Contested Space," Harry Aveling gives the dichotomy a specific linguistic context. Namely, he applies the coloniser/colonised allegory to translation studies. As a translator by profession, Aveling recounts his own experiences of being torn by the powers of dominance. He defines the translator's role as not that of a mediator but of a manipulator (Aveling 2006: 164). The translator is almost always "colonised by the text" (Aveling 2006: 165), which means that every text has its own set of peculiar grammatical issues, challenging vocabulary, and cultural connotation. The translator can make the work of literature weaker or stronger in the course of rewriting, depending on their skills. In addition, the translator involuntarily transports the literary text from the subjugated culture to the dominant one; however, the geographical location of the two domains depends on the native language of the work itself[35] (Aveling 2006: 165–166). Aveling infers that the encounter between the author, the translator, and the translated text, should take place in the space of "meta-literature," in which the translator will be able to openly facilitate the two realms that are not at war with each other. As the source of inspiration for his theory, Aveling points to Albert Memmi's writings about

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[35] Harry Aveling cites the example of his own attempt to translate the Malay novel *Salina* (1961). Ultimately, the final translation was two times shorter than the original book. Aveling's English rewriting was heavily criticised by Philippine scholars. Interestingly, the translation was never officially published in the Philippines. The critics relied on the releases from Singapore and Hong Kong. As a result, the Philippines function as the dominant culture in the context of this example (Aveling 2006: 165).

the mechanisms behind colonisation[36].

Albert Memmi was[37] a writer and essayist of Jewish origin. Born in Tunisia in 1920, Memmi was raised in a multi-child family. He attended the University of Algiers, but his education was interrupted by the outbreak of the Second World War. After having been forcefully interned in 1943, he completed his studies in philosophy at the Sorbonne. Memmi began working as a teacher and later returned to Tunisia, strongly campaigning for the country's independence. When the country finally ceased to be a French colony in 1956, the researcher moved out to France because he was unable to find a place for himself in a predominantly Muslim state.

Apart from having written numerous essays and five fiction novels, Memmi is arguably best known for his work *Portrait du Colonisé, précédé du Portrait du Colonisateur* [*A Portrait of the Colonised, preceded by a Portrait of the Coloniser*] originally published in 1957. In this book, Memmi evaluates the figures of the coloniser and the colonised on the basis of his own experiences in Tunisia. The researcher states outwardly that the dynamics between the two are characterised by "implacable dependence" (Memmi [1957] 2003: 5). Memmi explains the nature of this dependency in respective sections of the work devoted to both conceptual entities. Firstly, he focuses on the coloniser and the mythical image that accompanies him: "We sometimes enjoy picturing the coloniser as a tall man, bronzed by the sun, wearing Wellington boots, proudly leaning on a shovel – as he rivets his gaze far away on the horizon of his land" (Memmi [1957] 2003: 47). Consequently, the mental presupposition of the coloniser is that of a traveller who tries to make the world a better place, who is a fearless explorer.[38] Yet, Memmi argues in his study that the coloniser engages in the colonial projects mainly because of economic motives (Memmi [1957] 2003: 48). In accordance with the premise of the already outlined definition of colonialism, the coloniser is a ruthless invader who illegally acquires a territory and takes away the freedom of native community. Contrary to Gilley, Memmi suggests that a colony is too profitable for the coloniser to let go. Colonies provide job opportunities in the civil service and the military with the prospect of swift promotion. Additionally, the coloniser does not need to worry about

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[36] Furthermore, Memmi's anti-colonial rhetoric is used in modern studies not only with regard to deconstructing the relationships between people, but also between "other-than-human" beings. Namely, the scholars from Simon Fraser University used Memmi's framework as the base for analysing the ways in which Red Maple trees are uprooted from the natural habitat and "rendered" colonised in the urban landscape of North America (Blenkinsop et al. 2016: 199). The studies, albeit controversial, show that inanimate objects can also be perceived as subjects of the colonisation process.

[37] I consciously use past tense when describing Memmi's life, because the writer passed away on May 22, 2020 in Neuilly-sur-Seine, France. He was nearly 100 years old.

[38] Bruce Gilley would undoubtedly agree with this description.

prospective pension and retirement due to the private estates he manages in the colonies. Indeed, as Memmi believes, the coloniser is "a usurper" (Memmi [1957] 2003: 53) who amasses native territories, wealth, and basic privileges.[39]

Yet, Memmi draws the mental images of two distinct colonisers: "the coloniser who refuses" and "the coloniser who accepts." The first type is the kind of a traveller who is immediately startled by the sight of extreme poverty and social injustice (native people living in sickness and poverty). This coloniser actually refuses to participate in the exploitative activity. Nevertheless, as Memmi underlines, being a coloniser is an inherent part of the foreigner's nature and, as a result, when revolting against it, he actually revolts against his own culture[40]. "The coloniser who refuses" may decide to leave the colony immediately or actively participate in changing it (by means of signing petitions or participating in the independence movements). However, Memmi asserts that most likely this coloniser will remain silent because of the social pressure of his fellow colonisers. He would have to be "a moral hero" (Memmi [1957] 2003: 67) in order to stand against the machinery of oppression. The coloniser who truly declines to exercise his privilege "put[s] an end to his contradiction and uneasiness" (Memmi [1957] 2003: 88). In the course of his evaluation of this coloniser, Memmi fails to provide examples of such a figure simply because he does not believe in the existence of such a type.[41] Mr Cyril Fielding, a character from E. M. Forster's novel *A Passage to India*, who believes in the innocence of Ahmed Aziz, comes to mind immediately as a literary example of the coloniser who refuses. However, there is also a real-life example of Allan Octavian Hume, a civil servant who, traumatised by the Sepoy Rebellion of 1857, helped establish the Indian National Congress in 1885.

The second type of the coloniser described by Memmi is the one who literally "accepts" the shortcomings of colonialism, which means that he remains unworried about the injustice and oppression that the natives experience. His determination is an unstoppable force which seeks to reorganise the social order to such an extent that the colonial leaders could enjoy all accessible benefits at the expense of the colonised. What is more, this coloniser constantly reaffirms the bond with his homeland, avoiding in this manner what he perceives as the danger of being consumed by the indigenous culture. This "usurper" is capable of

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[39] Evidently, as it was previously mentioned, Memmi tackles the problematic nature of colonialism from Tunisian perspective, yet his theories are applicable to different colonial modes even today. The researcher himself provided the example of analysing Taiwanese history on the basis of his works (*Entretien avec Albert Memmi*, https://www.youtube.com).

[40] As Memmi describes the colonial environment: "They will take the offensive and return blow for blow. His friends will become surly; his superiors will threaten him; even his wife will join in and cry" (Memmi [1957] 2003: 66).

[41] Again, one needs to re-emphasise that Memmi relied on his Tunisian experiences while writing the book.

resorting to the worst form of racism in order to achieve the desired gain. To him, the colonised will always be "the Other"[42] (Ashcroft et al. 2000: 24), a savage being who is unable to think logically and rationally. The natives, in the eyes of the coloniser who accepts, are like children that need to be taught by strict education how to live in the enlightened world. Contrary to the other type, this coloniser will be supported by the mandate of his home country to exercise power and will never experience guilt over his ideological conquests. Memmi acknowledges that upon arriving at a colony, he might have good intentions, but his transformation into the rebellious coloniser is highly unlikely. The advantages of power are enough to corrupt this man (Memmi [1957] 2003: 90). However, the reality is that the coloniser is not a superior human. As a matter of fact, he is "a mediocre man" (Memmi [1957] 2003: 105), who only tries to artificially better his position by imposing a mediocre lifestyle onto the colonised: "If he recognised duties, he would have to admit that the colonised have rights. But it is clear […] that he has no duties and the colonised have no rights. […] This [is the] new moral order" (Memmi [1957] 2003: 120).

In view of the distinction made by Memmi, it becomes apparent that one coloniser is not equal to the other coloniser. It is obvious that Memmi favours the latter type of the coloniser and this is the one hailed by postcolonial researchers as the paragon of the callous oppressor. Nevertheless, such one-sided interpretation of the relationship between the coloniser and the coloniser is at risk of generalisation.

With regard to the image of the colonised, Memmi also starts with the prevalent presupposition of the native by describing him as a lethargic, lazy-like character without strength to do anything (Memmi [1957] 2003: 123). As a result, the extreme amount of inactivity requires an equal amount of action (from the side of the coloniser). That is to say, the administrator from outside steps in to bring order into the forest which was left unattended by the natives. The colonised remains unconcerned about such accusations because the natives live according to their own pace and their own culture. Even if they indeed may seem sluggish, timid, and effeminate, these features do not render them inferior beings, but they give an excuse in this manner for the coloniser to "protect them" (from themselves) (Memmi [1957] 2003: 125–126). What is more, the colonised undergoes depersonalisation on a linguistic level whenever the coloniser refers to him/her in plural form *they*. "They are all this. They are all the same" (Memmi [1957] 2003: 129). The colonised is never *I, he* or *she* because the coloniser denies to acknowledge the individuality. When a colonial servant fails

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[42] Misunderstood conception about the colonised created in juxtaposition to the ideal West (Said 2003: 1).

to perform a certain task, it is best for the master to say something along the lines "They are useless" rather than "He/She is not up to the task." Finally, as Memmi writes, the natives are denied freedom. The colonised is forced to accept the part of an object which is at the mercy of a malevolent oppressor. Strangely enough, "the coloniser who refuses" is no longer taken into account by Memmi in this section of his work. In the researcher's view, the relationship between the coloniser and the colonised becomes a one-sided power dependency in which one side is an obvious enslaver and the other an unwilling servant.

Memmi concludes his observation by summarising the ways in which the colonised rebels against the exploitative situation. In order to attain liberty, the indigenous people have to completely renounce the colonial condition[43]. In fact, the natives should create "counter-mythology" in which they idealise the pre-colonial past. This kind of past "must be retained among […] customs and traditions" (Memmi [1957] 2003: 183). The only way to live independently is to cease to be colonised entirely.[44] Interestingly, Memmi's recipe for freedom conforms greatly with the postcolonial thought, but, in view of Bruce Gilley's text, this way of acting only leads to degeneration of postcolonial countries. Surprisingly, Memmi himself retracted this observation by stating in his later book *Decolonisation and the Decolonised* (2006) that the Third World countries, now former colonies, should not blame the colonisers for the difficult conditions they have found themselves in; neo-colonisation is the real problem here and now (Memmi 2006: 94; 146). Consequently, this issue of proper self-governance and (not)looking back (in anger) at the colonial past marks the platform of reconciliation between the conservative Gilley and the existentialist Memmi.[45]

Taking everything into consideration, *A Portrait of the Colonised, preceded by a Portrait of the Coloniser* is very much grounded in the early poststructuralist thought, resembling the works of Michel Foucault. Nevertheless, Memmi's text is not exhaustive enough from the standpoint of modern historiography. Yet, it is not by any means an outdated academic source. The main points of the work, and modern inspirations which are used in the aforementioned translation studies and environmental education, had to be recapitulated in the

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[43] Bruce Gilley mentioned this particular aspect in his article. However, contrary to Memmi, the researcher believes that postcolonial countries should not go back to the state before colonisation, but simply move on and continue to develop in the modern world (Gilley, https://www.nas.org/).

[44] Nevertheless, the indigenous people are at danger of internalising the negative image of the coloniser, which in turn will only propel nationalist tendencies towards violence and prejudice.

[45] What is more, Memmi's general views on racism also conform with the libertarian thoughts on the same issue. Memmi explains that differences between people are not the basic problem, but the exploitation of these differences for one's personal gain leads to abuse of social relations (Memmi 2000: 52). Ayn Rand writes similarly that "Individualism regards man — every man — as an independent, sovereign entity who possesses an inalienable right to his own life, a right derived from his nature as a rational being" (https://ari.aynrand.org).

dissertation because of their importance. The research which greatly complements but also expands on Memmi's theories in the field of colonialism is that of Edward Said.

1.3. *Orientalism Reinvented: Geographies of Prejudice and Geographies of Thought*

Edward Said was a Palestinian American born in 1935 on the territory of (then) Mandatory Palestine. From an early age, he found himself at the crossroads of different worlds. Even though his father was a Palestinian and his mother a Lebanese, he received an English name after King Edward VIII. Although he was attending an Egyptian school, he was forced to communicate in English as well as in Arabic. Due to the father's military service, the family gained American citizenship and they moved to the United States after the establishment of the country of Israel. In the course of his studies in the United States, Said combined his own Middle-Eastern experiences with the philosophies of Antonio Gramsci, Michael Focault, and Theodor Adorno in order to localise the blank spaces between the cultures of the West and the East. His studies culminated in the academic work *Orientalism* (1978), a monumental text exploring the perceptions of the Orient from the Occidental perspective. Undeniably, Orientalism made a profound impact on the postcolonial field back in the late 1970s, and it is still continued to be (over)used in modern academia.

Indeed, Edward Said enchants the scholars and ordinary readers with his clear and logical reasoning with regard to the the manner in which Oriental knowledge was appropriated and reinterpreted by (and for) the people of the West (Said 2003: 7)[46]. On the basis of the Arab culture, Said outlines the geopolitical division of the world which corresponds to the ruler vs. the "ideal" Other dichotomy (Said 2003: 48). As argued by Albert Memmi, the Other had to be represented in fiction as a weakling who needs to be rescued. Nevertheless, Said asserts the danger of generalisation when stating that the term *Orientalism* encompasses diverse communities of the Middle and the Far East (Said 2003: 2). One should never homogenise either the coloniser or the colonised. Said states that in the course of his research, he encountered a variety of recurring concepts, such as a sensual and submissive woman, the East as a space of mystery and monstrosity, yet these images had very little in common with realistic representations (Said 2003: 94). According to the researcher, the humiliation of the Other is not limited only to the colonial past, but it takes place even in the

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[46] Interestingly, Said gives the example of Napoleon's expedition to Egypt in 1798 as a paragon of scientific conquest of the Orient. In contrast to colonial undertakings of other empires, this one was accompanied by numerous scientists whose assignment was to "record Egypt" for fellow Europeans. In other words, the underlying assumption is that to produce "Oriental" knowledge, one has to be physically in the Orient and be able to see the things which are invisible to the natives themselves (Said 2003: xxii).

postcolonial world. The Orient is perceived through the lens of timelessness, as a place which, in contrast to the West, does not develop. To substantiate this claim, Said provides an example of American news coverage of the conflicts in the Middle East in the 1980s.[47] He goes on to add in a documentary devoted to his book that the figure of the Muslim was repeatedly demonised and represented as a threat, in television as well as in Hollywood movies[48], because that was the general narrative initiated by political discourse.[49] The culture of the West simply refused to accept the existence of the Other who is not a bloodthirsty terrorist (*Orientalism* documentary, 0:13:10–0:18:15). Following the theories of Antonio Gramsci, Said calls for more objective interpretation of history which will allow a Western individual to transform himself from a unitary identity to the one which includes the presence of the Other, and acknowledges the difference between the East and the West (*Orientalism* documentary, 0:34:36–0:35:05).

It seems that Edward Said's observations about the colonial geopolitics and untruthful representations of the Other correlate with Richard E. Nisbett's concepts described in *The Geography of Thought: How Asians and Westerners Think Differently… and Why* (2003). Even though Nisbett himself is a social psychologist, not an expert in the field of literature, his research about the differences between people of the West and people of the East echoes that of Said's and even allows for a deeper understanding of oriental encounters. That is to say, Nisbett explains that even though it is generally accepted in cognitive science that basic empirical processes are the same in every person, people from different cultures have contrasting convictions because of the fact that they experience reality differently. Therefore, it is possible to create unique modes of thinking (distinctly Western and distinctly Eastern) which in turn initiate extreme cultural differences between people in this regard (Nisbett 2004: xv). Although the general consensus is that the modern mind is a universal tool which operates according to specific, foreseeable patterns, Nisbett is willing to give the benefit of a doubt to the hypothesis that human cognition is not unilateral everywhere and in everyone. On the basis of conversations with his students, the researcher carves two contrasting areas from the world map: 1) the West, which relies on individuality, logic, determinism, and sequentiality and 2) the East, which approaches reality in a holistic way, not always seeking

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[47] As a result, the modern representation of Islam in Western culture is significantly more threatening than it was back in the 19th century (Orientalism *documentary*, 0:18:05).

[48] Enumerated examples include such productions as *Delta Force* (1986), *The Simpsons* (1989), *Aladdin* (1992), and *True Lies* (1994). The documentary even mentions a newspaper article "A Match Made in Mecca" which demonises the lover of Princess Diana (*Orientalism* documentary, 0:25:26-0:26:40).

[49] In view of Said, the phenomenon of "American Orientalism" does exist; however, it is highly politicised due to the presence of the country of Israel (*Orientalism* documentary, 0:12:00-0:12:35).

connections between small parts but trying to comprehend the larger whole of a complex web of environmental dependencies (Nisbett 2004: xvi):

> Why would the ancient Chinese have excelled at algebra and arithmetic but not geometry, which was the forte of the Greeks? […] Why are East Asians better able to see relationships among events than Westerners are? […] Why are Westerners so likely to overlook the influence of context on the behaviour of objects and even of people? […] Why do Western infants learn nouns at much more rapid rate than verbs, whereas Eastern infants learn verbs at a more rapid rate than nouns? […] Why are Westerners more likely to apply formal logic when reasoning about everyday events […]? Why are Easterners so willing to entertain apparently contradictory propositions and how can this sometimes be helpful in getting at the truth? (Nisbett 2004: xix)

A series of studies conducted in cooperation with leading institutions in South Korea, China, and Japan, led Nisbett to form the conclusion that Asians and Europeans/Americans have significantly different thought and perception processes (Nisbett 2004: xx). To support this claim, Nisbett outlines philosophical and sociological tendencies which governed and shaped the worldviews (a.k.a. homeostatic systems) of the West and the East (Nisbett 2004: xx).

In *Geography of Thought*, it is emphasised how ancient Greeks believed in the sense of personal agency (Nisbett 2004: 3); that is, they were aware of their individual identity and believed that they could control their own existence. This unwavering faith in agency led the Greeks to pursue knowledge. They developed the art of polemics, and also contributed to the development of such fields as mathematics, astronomy, physics, and history. Discovering and, most importantly, describing phenomena of the world gave the Greeks pleasure. Attending school meant a positive activity during which young people could improve themselves while learning (Nisbett 2004: 4).

Ancient Chinese, in contrast, valued family relations more than prospective education. Visiting relatives and friends took greater priority than reading poetry and musing about philosophy, although appropriate class groups focused on these aspects as well. The sense of personal pursuit lacked relevance in the face of the greater good of the group. Indeed, each and every Chinese person was first and foremost a member of a community. There was no hermetic "I" with unique individuality. Rather than that, Chinese identity consisted of a number of roles performed within a community. If one of these roles underwent a change, then irrevocably this change influenced the entire identity of a person. Contrary to the example of Greece, the Chinese concept of happiness was not based on *self-excellence*, but on *harmony*, which means that one should maintain peaceful relations with people around them, so that they could enjoy a simple, tranquil life. As a result, the Chinese relied on the sense of

collective agency. All the relations between members of a community (for instance, administrator-petitioner relation, husband-wife relation, parent-child relation) had to be thoroughly carried out and maintained. Individuals were parts of a larger group and they actively participated in achieving the goals of that group (Nisbett 2004: 6–7).

What is more, the ancient Chinese were not as interested in exploring the scientific aspects of the world as the ancient Greeks. While initially convinced that astronomical occurrences directly influence earthly reality, they soon abandoned observation of the sky when it turned out otherwise. Although the Chinese did not like theory and research, they had an extraordinary sense of practicality which can be proven by such inventions as ink, porcelain, seismograph, and magnetic compass (Nisbett 2004: 7).

Another important aspect stressed in *The Geography of Thought* is that Greece was an extremely heterogeneous region which saw the mixture of a wide variety of ethnic groups and socio-political structures. Such meetings inevitably led to differences in opinion, which caused the development of formal logic and discourse. In China, however, only the Han people inhabited the *Zhongguo* (the Middle) Kingdom. As mentioned previously, the Chinese were focused on attaining harmony, so if a conflict of personal views happened to arise (which was a rarity), the mediators always aimed at reaching a mutual understanding between the parties; who was right or wrong was irrelevant (Nisbett 2004: 31). Additionally, Nisbett goes on to say that the Chinese approach to everyday life is actually a mixture of three different philosophies: Confucianism, Taoism, and Buddhism. As a result, abstract speculations about the shape of things to come are not something to be practiced. On the contrary, each action operates like a musical instrument that resonates and, therefore, interacts with the environment: "The world is constantly changing and is full of contradictions. To understand and appreciate one state of affairs requires the existence of its opposite; what seems to be true now may be the opposite of what it seems to be" (Nisbett 2004: 13). In the context of India, it can be inferred that the indigenous people did not speculate about the prospective presence of the British on their territory but they simply dealt with this situation on a day-to-day basis. In consequence, their practical approach led to the Sepoy Rebellion of 1957 and Quit India Movement of 1942.

In terms of historical circumstances, it can be observed that the Romans inherited the Greek mode of thought and, subsequently, the British inherited the concept of individuality after the Roman conquests, whereas the Indians gained the sense of being a collective at the height of Buddhism's popularity, which was popularised in Central Asia by the Chinese. Consequently, I infer that the systems of thought from Antiquity influenced the shaping of

personalities of the coloniser and the colonised. The coloniser relied during faraway explorations on the sense of personal agency when encountering the Other, whereas the colonised resisted the negative implications of the encounter by relying on the support of native community.

In the latter part of his book, Nisbett presents more general polarities between the Westerners and the Asians. He emphasises that, in accordance with the teachings of Confucianism and the sense of collective agency, the people of Asia are more geared towards contributing to the needs of the group and solidifying social relations. Serving others is a duty and being thanked for performing such activities as washing the dishes or fixing a sink are unheard of. In other words, the non-Western "I" operates on the person-to-person dependency. People raised on the Confucian/Neo-Buddhist teachings, cannot even comprehend the existence of human as a single entity independent of others (Nisbett 2004: 49–50).[50]

In the latter chapters of the book, Nisbett summarises a number of social and cognitive experiments, centring on the perception of time and reality, carried out on the groups of Asians and non-Asians. For instance, the participants had to compare drawings or animation clips, searching for differences; they discussed the murder cases committed by both Westerners and Easterners as well as analysed popular proverbs.[51] The concluding results of the research confirmed the initial hypothesis that the Western mode of thought is more analytical, whereas the Asian one is more holistic (Nisbett 2004: 193). As it is stated in the introductory anecdote of the work, to people of the West life is like a singular line, but to people of the East life is like a circle. Asians are more group-oriented, pay more attention to details in the surrounding environment, accept more openly unforeseeable changes which tomorrow may bring, and above all, always seek to reach a compromise in the face of contrasting opinions (Nisbett 2004: 108).

Nevertheless, the prevalence of universalism, which is propelled by the age of globalisation, should also be acknowledged. Francis Fukuyama's claim about the end of history caused by the triumphant victory of democracy and capitalism pushes postmodernist thinkers to suspect that there is no such thing as cultural difference across nations (Fukuyama

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[50] Nisbett elaborates that the Chinese do not have a word for individualism and the closest term to it in Mandarin is "selfishness". Moreover, the Japanese have more than one word to designate "I" (which they use according to a context of a given conversation). Whereas in Korea, there is a multitude of ways to invite someone to dinner (depending on the social role which the invitee performs). As a result, the expressions regulate the concept that a human being is not the same "person" when interacting with different people (Nisbett 2004: 51–52).

[51] Additionally, the advancements in such domains as science, law, medicine, religion, human rights, international relations, and polemics were compared (Nisbett 2004: 192–201)

2006: 45). People other than citizens of the United States willingly drink Coke, wear jeans, watch Hollywood blockbusters, and use English as lingua franca. Nevertheless, these items and activities serve as commodities which make the everyday lifestyle easier; they are not responsible for rewiring the cognitive capacity of a human brain (Nisbett 2004: 221), especially in view of the fact that it has been formed over the course of thousands of years. Fukuyama admitted that, having been inspired by Marxist progressivism, he conceived the idea that societies across the globe will develop towards the establishment not of Communist utopias but of liberal democracies (Fukuyama, *The End of History Revisited* lecture, 0:05:10–0:08:34). However, over twenty years since the researcher's famous essay, it is visible that the world is still torn between autocratic governments, dictatorships, and military regimes which have no regard for freedom and peace but thrive on violence, exploitation, and (even today) slavery. The only end of history which can be observed nowadays is the one reflected in history course books, most of which conveniently stop at the 1990s and do not cover the two subsequent decades.

Richard Nisbett also concludes that the world is not dominated by peaceful democracies and he rejects the assumption that non-Western cultures are absorbed by the United States. In fact, the West and the East are beginning to go their own, separate paths (which is reflected in the demographic boom of the Middle East or the growing economic power of China) (Nisbett 2004: 224). What is more, capitalism does not function as the facilitator of freedom and nationalism because it is taken and reappropriated to serve the needs of different cultures. For instance, Chinese officials from the Communist party maintain their power simply because capitalism contributes to maintaining the welfare of their citizens, whereas Taiwan and Singapore showed the way that societies can modernise themselves without looking up to the United States. In other words, one should not equate fascination with American culture and the process of Americanisation (Nisbett 2004: 224–225).[52]

Nevertheless, Nisbett remarks at the end of his book that there is a possibility for global unification. That is to say, there is an increasing number of people who are bicultural or multicultural. They may be, for instance, Americans living in Japan or Americans of Japanese descent, or even descendants of Anglo-Indians. What is more, there are also mixed marriages. Such people are living between cultures, building upon the ideas of both Western and Eastern philosophies. In consequence, disparate modes of thought may cease to exist.

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[52] However, Nisbett does not mention in his book that the Chinese constantly monitor all spheres of American economy and culture while declaring that their mode of governance is better than the Western one (Kirchgaessner, https://www.theguardian.com).

There is a possibility for the West and the East to come together and fulfil the dream of Edward Said, which means that people of non-Oriental descent will eventually reconcile with the figure of the Other and acknowledge his presence within themselves.

1.4. *Evil Incarnate: Exploitation of India According to Shashi Tharoor*

Said's theories on the disastrous relationship between the coloniser and the colonised are expanded upon at great length by Shashi Tharoor, a historian, writer, and a former official of the United Nations, who currently serves as a representative of the Indian National Congress from the state of Kerala in Lok Sabha, the lower house of the Parliament of India. Tharoor is also an active commentator on topical issues in India as well as outside of the country. He frequently posts his editorials on a private webpage and on YouTube. The historian gained public recognition with his 2015 speech delivered at the Oxford Union Society in which he fiercely criticised the British presence in India for over 200 years and demanded that the United Kingdom should pay appropriate reparations to its former colonies. The speech inspired Tharoor to write a book called *An Era of Darkness: The British Empire in India*[53] (2016). The work received critical acclaim, especially in India, as one of the few books which unapologetically focus on the problem of exploitation in British India. Tharoor's main claim in *An Era of Darkness* is that the British did not do anything positive during their stay on the Indian soil. On the contrary, the colonisers ruthlessly robbed the Indian people of their natural resources, cultural heritage, and personal dignity. The economic aspect of British activity is especially important to Tharoor. The historian outlines the manner in which, in his opinion, the colonial apparatus made the most of the land's economic potential by raising taxation, draining resources, collecting revenue, and exporting the goods harvested from plantations (Tharoor 2016: 27, 29). These are all the usual suspects, the common set of exploitative practices which are repeated by postcolonial researchers in relation to colonies other than India. However, Tharoor goes a step beyond these standard accusations. According to him, the Indian subcontinent had the potential to become an Asian superpower similar to Persia, China, and Japan had not the British arrived. The history of India is yet to be explained in the following chapter of the dissertation, but it is necessary to stress in this context that the subcontinent was torn between the Mughal–Maratha conflicts before the appearance of the Portuguese colonisers[54] in the 16th century. Tharoor is confident that the rivalling empires of

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[53] The book was published outside of India under an alternative title *Inglorious Empire: What the British Did to India*.
[54] Intriguing is the fact that Tharoor briefly mentions the presence of the Portuguese and the French colonisers,

the Mughals and the Marathas would have eventually joined forces and created an independent kingdom of India (Tharoor 2016: 102). This kingdom would have had the necessary technological and scientific means to enter the path of steady development and prosperity. Without the Eurocentric influence, India could have transformed into a self-reliant political entity with free people and independent administration (Tharoor 2016: 178–180). Additionally, on an international stage, it could have become an economic competitor to European nations. This rather utopian vision of what could have happened to India is clearly inspired by the history of Persia and China. Nevertheless, both kingdoms were never free of internal as well as external conflicts.

The critics of *An Era of Darkness* rush to point out that this ideal India would still be consumed by violence due to the fact that the Mughals as well as the Marathas desired to achieve total dominance over the Indian subcontinent (https://www.britannica.com). Religious and cultural unification between the predecessors of the Muslims and the Hindus was an impossible task to achieve, especially when considering the brutal event of the Partition of India in 1947, which sparked the acts of violence on both sides. Furthermore, the archaeologist Avi Bachenheimer refutes Tharoor's claim about colonial-free development of India by stating that the native society before the encounter with the British did not show any telltale signs of being "conscious of the path ahead" (Bachenheimer 2018: 29; 33). It is an act of ignorance to think that "the ripened fruit of technology […] was awaiting an Indian ruler to have it effortlessly plucked away" (Bachenheimer 2018: 29). In other words, a steadfast native leader and technological advancements were not the only ingredients required to usher in India's success. Bachenheimer is convinced that an Indian society which was not able to resist the European influence in the 16th century, could not practise the art of self-reliance, either. As a result, the history of India is inextricably connected with the history of colonialism. Without the encounters with the British, the French, and the Portuguese, the Republic of India would not have been formed into the political entity it currently is.[55]

There is also a criticism of Tharoor's work coming from the historian Charles Allen, who relies on statistical data in order to prove that India was not at all a wealthy nation capable of further development before Britain's colonial endeavours (Allen 2018: 355–356). Allen's research goes on to show that the historiography of British India should be regarded

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but he does not focus at all on their stay in India.

[55] This concept of hypothetical "what-if" veers into the territory of alternative history. The field of literature has many instances of writers attempting to fix *broken* reality. For instance, Phillip K. Dick's *The Man in the High Castle* (1962) (also mentioned in the third chapter of the dissertation), John Boyd's *The Last Starship from Earth* (1968), Jacek Dukaj's *Xavras Wyżryn* (1997), and Koushun Takami's *Battle Royale* (1999).

as only black and white patches of the past. Although the nationalist line of narrative favours the idea that the British colonisers were nothing more than evil exploiters, the reality is much more complex. The British mode of governance shall be analysed in detail in the second chapter of the dissertation.

It was my intention to bring forward the controversial suggestions of Tharoor not because they are entirely valid, but because the researcher sheds some light on the darker side of colonialism; namely, the massacres and suppression of uprisings. We could argue that if Gilley presented "the case for colonialism," then Tharoor demonstrates the case against it. Tharoor (in contrast to Gilley) highlights numerous acts of violence which have taken place during the period of colonialism in India (Tharoor 2016: 19, 75, 139–140). For instance, the Sepoy Rebellion of 1857 and the Jallianwala Bagh massacre of 1919 are enumerated as the primary examples of situations when British colonialism completely failed.[56] Although Tharoor eases his critique of the colonisers towards the end of the book[57] (Tharoor 2016: 190), the historian still demands the British should drop on their knees and apologise (Tharoor 2016: 19). What is more, India should be paid appropriate remuneration for the exploitation it had endured. In the postcolonial dimension, Tharoor praises Gandhi's movement of civil disobedience as the only true force that brought India out of the colonial period (Tharoor 2016: 195). Nevertheless, the author's appraisal of the role of the Indian National Congress in ushering in the Republic of India may stem from his political affiliation. The only instance of Tharoor criticising the postcolonial leaders can be found in his fictional work called *The Great Indian Novel* (1989). In this satirical take on the Indian epic *Mahabharata*, Tharoor parodies the figures of Mahatma Gandhi, Jawaharlal Nehru, and Indira Gandhi as larger-than-life heroes on a quest of liberating India (Panda and Mohanty 2011: 162).[58] Nevertheless, although biased by political views, Tharoor gives voice in his academic research to historical accounts of the atrocities which are nearly forgotten in the current political climate. Indeed,

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[56] Both historical events are described in the second chapter of the dissertation.

[57] At the beginning of the 8th chapter: The Messy Afterlife of Colonialism, he writes the following disclaimer: "I shall say one last time that, in laying out this case against British colonialism in India, I do not seek to blame the British for everything that is wrong in my country today, nor to justify some of the failures and deficiencies that undoubtedly still assail India. There is a statute of limitations on colonial wrongdoings, but none on human memory" (Tharoor 2016: 190). In addition, the writer states that "It may seem frivolous to confine my appreciation of British rule to cricket, tea and the English language. I do not mean to discount other accomplishments." (Tharoor 2016: 186). He acknowledges that the British opened the world of commerce to India through the introduction of the English language, the stock market, and international trade.

[58] It seems to me that Tharoor's other novel *Show Business* (1992) is a much stronger and vivid critique of present-day India. This story presents the state of Bollywood as a corrupt film industry which thrives on exploiting young women (Zubair 2019: 1).

the historiography of colonialism is by no means a tale of interracial encounters with clear-cut stages of development.

1.5. *Decolonisation of the Mind: Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o and The State of the Colonised*

In contrast to Tharoor, who is focused on the history of India, Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o[59] is a writer, social activist, and an expert on African literature of Kenyan descent. Although he initially wrote novels in English, Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o switched to writing in his native tongue, Kikuyu[60]. This conscious rejection of the mainstream language, which attracts non-English writers who wish to widen their reading public[61], is a part of the thinker's philosophy of "decolonising the mind" (Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o 1986: 5). That is to say, on the basis of his childhood experiences in (then) British Kenya, the author noticed that he was taught primarily English language, English literature, and English culture (Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o 1994: 438). There was no room for experiencing the indigenous heritage of the Kikuyu ethnic group, to which he belongs. What is more, Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o was baptised and given the English name, James Ngugi.

The writer's family was involved in the struggle for Kenyan independence in the 1950s, with Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o's brother joining the guerrilla army, and his mother being persecuted by the authorities. On top of that, Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o himself was imprisoned for one year. He was oppressed by the Moi regime[62] after staging a theatre play[63] which was regarded as a critique of post-colonial Kenya. All of these factors caused the writer to leave his native homeland and pursue a career abroad. It was in the 1960s that he embraced the anti-racist concepts devised by Frantz Fanon and began his own anti-colonial struggle. After writing such critically acclaimed novels as *Weep Not, Child* (1964), *The River Between* (1965), *A Grain of Wheat* (1967), and *Petals of Blood* (1977), Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o made a sudden transition to Kikuyu language: "I had to shift the language to Kikuyu. When you use a

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[59] It has to be clarified that the name Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o cannot be categorised under Western distinction between first name and last name. The writer willingly returned to his native form of a name which literally means "Ngũgĩ son of wa Thiong'o" (https://www.librarything.com). For the sake of consistency, the author of the dissertation will refer to Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o by his full and unabridged name whenever necessary.

[60] Alternatively, Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o's native language is also referred to as Gikuyu (Helland 2013: 1). For clarity's sake, I am using the spelling "Kikuyu" throughout the dissertation.

[61] Arguably, the most popular example of such a writer may be Haruki Murakami, who created his early novels in English because he was unable to find the unique artistic style in his native Japanese language (https://www.languagetrainers.co.uk).

[62] Daniel arap Moi was the Vice President of Kenya from 1967 to 1978 and the President of Kenya from 1978 to 2002. He was often criticised for conducting autocratic rule and abusing human rights (https://www.britannica.com).

[63] The play in question is called *I Will Marry When I Want* (1977). It premiered in Kamirithu, Kenya (Barison et al. 2018: 274).

language, you are also choosing an audience. When I used English, I was choosing English-speaking audience. Now I can use a story, a myth, and not always explain because I can assume that the [Kikuyu] readers are familiar with this. […] I maintain multiple centres" (Rao 1999: 163–164). As he explained over the years, it is his intention to move the African literature from the (assumed) Western centre and reach the indigenous public as well as give voice to fellow African writers: the centre should be moved to "a multiplicity of centres all over the world. Because each of our own experiences can be a centre from which you look at the world – our language, our social situations become very important as bases of looking at the world" (Rao 1999: 165).

Needless to say, Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o chose his native language in order to demonstrate his rebellion against (post)colonial processes. Even though Kenya achieved independence in 1963, the fight was not over for the writer. He had to liberate himself from the colonial mindset and from the position of the subjugated Other in order to be able eventually to objectively evaluate the state of his homeland after the departure of the British (Barison et al. 2018: 274–275). As a result, he started writing *Devil on a Cross* (1980) while being imprisoned.[64] The writer claims that colonialism is responsible for disrupting cognitive processes among indigenous people primarily because it moves them to the Western centre: "It seems you do not start with where you are, but with where you are not" (Barison et al. 2018: 274). The only salvation for the natives to rebuild their identity is to regain their own language: "It is the normal thing […] to start with the language – what you call the mother tongue or the language of the culture in which you have grown up. […] [Y]ou can even understand your language better by seeing it in relation to other languages. […] So for me writing in Kikuyu equals liberation" (Barison et al. 2018: 274).

The time of imprisonment inspired Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o not only to write *Decolonising the Mind* (1986) but also to think about the ways in which Africa had been enslaved. For instance, he believes that the African people should not be divided into tribes. All the other nations in the world are referred to as communities, but "when we talk of Africa the word 'people' is thrown out of the window." He goes on to add that "Tribe is a negative connotation. And even when I was in India I was talking with a community there and they called themselves a tribe, I asked 'why do you call yourself a tribe?'" (Barison et al. 2018: 279). Perhaps this kind of misunderstanding may stem from geopolitical differences. Indians are accustomed to living in the cultural/religious melting pot, especially after the departure of

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[64] As the author claims, he wrote the novel on toilet paper (Barison et al. 2018: 275).

the British administrators, whereas in Africa, race-motivated discrimination is still prevalent.

What is more, Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o states that the African subcontinent should not be divided into parts such as European Africa, proper Africa, South Africa, etc. because this flawed conceptualisation entails degradation of the indigenous identity. Thinking of Africa in terms of individual parts is too grounded in colonial mindset (Barison et al. 2018: 281). Rather than that, the Africans should embrace their mother tongues and start connecting with other languages in order to discover their place in the world. This, according to Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o is "the path to empowerment" (Barison et al. 2018: 281).

Interestingly, Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o also justifies his conscious choice of using Kikuyu because it is not his aim to reach the global reading public, but the community that is very near him. Then, perhaps someone outside of the native community, for example, an Italian reader, will read Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o's books and translate them for people outside of the Kikuyu *locale*. There are many works of the African thinker which to date have not been translated into English. The writer himself is not too concerned about this because he wanted and wants to create primarily for his fellow people. He provides the example of Joseph Conrad who, even though he had Polish origins, learnt English when he was an adolescent and started using it as his writing language: "But it's not that all Polish intellectuals write in English, it's an exception. However, if the whole Italian intellectual community brings their product in Chinese and they call it Italian literature, there's something a bit odd about that" (Barison et al. 2018: 277–278). Consequently, there is nothing wrong about a couple of African writers creating in a foreign language, but the whole indigenous community should not become hostages of a different culture.

Interestingly, African writers in particular are framed as the ones who communicate and contest colonial images (Hevešiová 2014: 45). It is a task of postcolonial literature to challenge the established modes of imperial discourse; yet African writers are limited by ideological and historical constraints inscribed in the language they choose. As a result, pre-independence novels about Africa provide the same, recurring image of "unified communities" that cultivate their traditional heritage and live in symbiosis with the environment (Hevešiová 2014: 51). The early works of both Chinua Achebe and Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o also focus on symbolic and larger-than-life characters taking a stand against political enslavement: "A writer's subject matter is history: i.e. the process of man acting on nature and changing it and in doing so acting on changing himself. [...] Politics is hence part and parcel of this literary territory" (Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o 1981: 72). As the researcher Simona Hevešiová notices, such type of literature emphasises anti-colonialist agenda rather than

reading aesthetics. It is in this context that Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o crosses paths with Joseph Conrad (Hevešiová 2014: 52). Without a doubt, Conrad's *Heart of Darkness* (1899) still generates heated debates among scholars and literary critics. Hevešiová mentions Cedric Watts, who states that the novel "is debunking the myths of inevitable progress, of European superiority" (Hevešiová 2014: 50); nevertheless there are also fervent opponents of Conrad, like Chinua Achebe, who argues that Conrad does nothing more than reasserting racist stereotypes about African people in his work of fiction (Achebe, http://kirbyk.net). However, Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o manages to establish a dialogue with *Heart of Darkness*. In his novel *The River Between*, the writer describes the degradation of indigenous society on the basis of three characters who represent different approaches to religion and social organisation. By spotlighting the main protagonist, Waiyaki, who desires to unite two villages involved in a conflict, and by removing the voice of the coloniser from the story, Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o reduces the European presence, just as Conrad did with regard to the Africans. In consequence, both authors do not "[seem] to be able to escape a certain extent of stereotypization and reductionism in [...] writing" (Hevešiová 2014: 58).

It has to be noted that the author also has a fair share of critics who argue against the writer's process of mental decolonisation. Kristin I. Helland outlines in her article "Writing in Gikuyu: Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o's Search for African Authenticity" (2013) the most problematic accusations put forth by Anglophones and African writers, with regard to Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o's usage of Kikuyu language.

For instance, the native languages of Kenya are said to be grounded in the oral tradition; therefore, they have very limited (if not completely nonexistent) orthographies. By contrast, Nigeria managed to develop orthographic systems for about 20 languages spoken by ethnic minorities, in cooperation with native speakers and experts in linguistics (Helland 2013: 5). The writer admits himself that he found it hard at first to create fiction in Kikuyu, mainly because of the fact that missionaries had developed two separate modes of recording Kikuyu on paper. Nevertheless, he overcomes the structural challenges of the language by consulting fellow writers and linguists, as Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o explains: "In short, literature in African languages suffers from a lack of a strong tradition, creative and critical. Writers in African languages are having to create several traditions simultaneously: publishing, critical vocabulary, orthography, and even words" (Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o 1993: 21 in Helland 2013: 6).

Another issue concerns the alleged inadequacy of African languages for nuanced literary expression. Many opponents of Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o are still baffled by the fact the he writes in Kikuyu rather than English. As it was explained earlier, the writer desires to be in

close proximity with his fellow men through the medium of literature. However, some critics suggested that by switching to Kikuyu, Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o not only limited his target audience but also disabled the complexity of his expression (Helland 2013: 6). Yet, he continues to prove with his novels that this is not the case. The author showed that Kikuyu language can serve as a means that accurately conveys "collective experience" (Helland 2013: 6). What is more, Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o established in the 1990s a special journal called *Mutiiri*, which serves to demonstrate that foreign literature and poetry can be translated into African languages (Helland 2013: 6; Rao 1999: 168).[65]

Another aspect of the supposed shortcomings of Kikuyu is impracticality. That is to say, this particular language is used by an extremely small number of speakers in comparison to Kiswahili which serves as an official language of Kenya. It is surprising that Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o still favours Kikuyu over Kiswahili, which would enable him to reach a wider audience. The writer explains that the people of Kenya are not fully literate in either English or Kiswahili and using these languages would inevitably cause "the suppression of indigenous languages" (Helland 2013: 8). He believes that all languages of Africa should be able to stand on their own and effortlessly communicate various discourses. Contrary to Chinua Achebe and Wole Soyinka, Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o rejects the usage of hybridised English because he views it as a subservient form of the original mode of Western communication (Helland 2013: 9).

The last type of accusation against the African thinker is that of promoting tribalism. The author himself repeatedly denied the support for this concept of dividing Africa into tribes, yet some of his critics claim that "promoting indigenous languages contributes to ethnic rivalry and perpetuation of tribalism" (Helland 2013: 9). These allegations originated back in the 1970s after the premiere of Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o's theatre play and the publication of *Petals of Blood*. The Moi regime claimed that the writer undermines indigenous cultures, which together constitute the state of Kenya, while promoting the value and heritage of his own people (Helland 2013: 10). Evidently, Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o operates against the process of tribalism which seeks to strip away ethnic groups of civilisation, knowledge, and respect. It is in the best interest of politicians to divide the native people by means of language and education. Although the British colonisers together with Christian missionaries taught Africans English and/or Kiswahili at various time periods, it was never a conscious strategy to

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[65] Also, Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o proves the efficiency of Kikuyu within the academic field. In 2010, he shared the news that a Kenyan student Gatua wa Mbugua successfully defended the first doctoral dissertation officially written in Kikuyu (Helland 2013: 6; https://www.youtube.com).

subjugate the native population, contrary to the claims of certain researchers.[66] Rather than that, postcolonial authorities demonstrate little to no effort in alleviating the situation of indigenous cultures. As a result, contrary to India, where a multitude of different languages coexist together with English, in Kenya there is only a choice between Kiswahili and English (https://www.britannica.com), which are advertised as the only tongues of progress.[67] Therefore, it becomes apparent that Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o is not the person responsible for spreading tribalism. The very authorities which accuse him are guilty of these anti-ethnic practices.

The writer states that there is nothing wrong in using Kiswahili, which can serve as a lingua franca for the Africans, yet they should learn to counter the cultural stigmatisation by embracing indigenous languages. In this manner, an authenticity of African identity and literary expression could be maintained. Through "Multilingual Network Model," Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o proposes a multilingual system which aims at doing away with "language loss and ethnic rivalry that have resulted from emphasis on English […] [and] subvert[ing] the discourse of monolingualism by providing access to [Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o's] novels […] to non-[K]ikuyu speakers through translation" (Helland 2013: 17). Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o is convinced that literature will have an influence on ethnic minorities with the help of publishers, translators, governments, proper schooling[68], and cultural patrons. He envisions the role of a writer as that of a "pathfinder" who is after "ethic solidarity" (Helland 2013: 18). In the times when Africa is plagued by oppressive regimes, the decolonisation of the mind is still in progress.

1.6. *The Manichean Allegory According to Abdul R. JanMohamed*

Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o was not the only author and intellectual concerned with establishing the proper status of the colonised after the departure of colonial officials and their educational practices. "The Economy of Manichean Allegory" is a concept coined by Abdul R. JanMohamed[69] in 1983. Having been influenced by Said's *Orientalism*, the postcolonial

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[66] Yet, one has to agree with Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o on the issue of total suppression of Kikuyu during the first half of the 20th century. There is also a recorded case of Claude Bouygues, who was stigmatised by French colonisers for speaking home dialect (Helland 2013: 13).

[67] In present times, the speakers of native languages have to suffer such forms of punishment as digging trenches or carrying blocks of wood, on which a sentence "I am a fool" is etched. By learning Kiswahili and/or English, the native children are told that they can escape poverty. Hence, by using native modes of communication, they are perceived as those who withhold the progress of the community (Helland 2013: 14–15).

[68] Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o insists that teaching of Kikuyu at schools should be extended (Helland 2013: 21).

[69] Coincidentally, JanMohamed was also born and raised in Kenya. In addition, similarly to Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o, he received education in the United States (https://english.berkeley.edu).

researcher focuses on the literary realm and its representations of the relationship between the coloniser and the colonised. JanMohamed believes that the two figures operate in relation to one another not in terms of interdependency but everlasting conflict. He rejects Homi Bhabha's notion that the coloniser and the colonised are unified and they function as one "subject" (JanMohamed 1985: 59–60). Instead, the colonial relation can be described by "exchange-value" framework in which the native culture (as well as economy) fall under the total control of the outsiders (JanMohamed 1985: 60).[70] In consequence, colonial hegemony should not be analysed outside of its historical and political context. According to JanMohamed, imperialist bias manifests itself in the course of examining colonial discourse. He argues that the agents of culture are tainted (either consciously or subconsciously) by "duplicity" which makes them transform "racial differences into moral and even metaphysical difference" (JanMohamed 1985: 61). This is the essence of the Manichean allegory.

Although JanMohamed assumes the anti-colonial position of Shashi Tharoor and labels all colonies as "pathological societies [which] exist in a state of perpetual crisis" (JanMohamed 1985: 61), the researcher focuses predominantly on literary representations. He firstly divides the history of colonialism into the dominant and the hegemonic stages.

The first of these is characterised by the fact that Europeans[71] execute military as well as bureaucratic supervision over a distant region. During this period, the indigenous people are supposedly passive and non-resistant. The researcher does not go into detail, but he claims that the natives were controlled back then by the all-present military power of European settlers. Literature was not particularly practical in maintaining submission of the natives during this phase (JanMohamed 1985: 62).

The second stage is described simply as the period of neocolonialism. In this instance, in general terms, the colonies attain independence, yet they mimic the administrative system left by the colonisers.[72] Through the adoption of the Western values, politics, and lifestyle, they transition from the dominant phase to the hegemonic one. In other words, now former colonies are still under an influence (either direct or indirect) of external powers (JanMohamed 1985: 62).

The researcher is convinced that European/colonialist writers were so preoccupied with the notion of demonising the natives that their texts were always victimised by

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[70] In contrast to Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o, JanMohamed goes beyond the linguistic dimension.

[71] JanMohamed fails to address the issue of non-Western colonisers in his paper. He treats the terms "European" and "colonialist" as interchangeable synonyms.

[72] This statement stands in opposition to Shashi Tharoor's conviction that India made a total breakaway from the British mode of governance. Indeed, this is not true, as it will be demonstrated in Chapter 2 of the dissertation.

imperialist ideology. As a result, the Manichean allegory can be understood in terms of binary oppositions "between white and black, good and evil, superiority and inferiority, civilization and savagery, intelligence and emotion, rationality and sensuality, self and Other, subject and object" (JanMohamed 1985: 63). What is more, the author claims that a writer, no matter how tolerant or open to different cultures, will always be consumed by the proverbial whirlwind of potential profits and privileges resulting from misrepresenting the colonised. In other words, those who engage in the colonial discourse should not dare to challenge it. JanMohamed goes on to cite the example of V. S. Naipaul as that of a corrupted writer who performs "the author-function of the colonialist writer" (JanMohamed 1985: 63).

Similarly to Edward Said, Abdul JanMohamed perceives the colonialist literature as the domain in which the Other is downgraded and dehumanised on the basis of pre-existing misconceptions/presuppositions and stereotypes. Yet, the researcher fails to recognise the possibility of reconciliation between the coloniser and the colonised, which is acknowledged by Said and Nisbett. He only limits himself to dividing the literary representations into "imaginary" and "symbolic" (JanMohamed 1985: 65). Accordingly, the imaginary category serves to objectify the indigenous people and turn them into a conceptual reflection of the Westerners.[73] That is to say, the writers of such fiction project their negative features onto imagined natives, which only reveals their own "self-alienation" (JanMohamed 1985: 65). By contrast, the symbolic category fashions the figure of the Other as the alleged "mediator" in order to explore the cultural and social differences between the representatives of the West and the East. Through radical remodelling of the ideological clash between the European and the Other, such texts either find "syncretic solutions to the Manichean opposition" or deem that "syncretism is impossible within the power relations" (JanMohamed 1985: 66).

Literary examples used by the researcher to illustrate both categories are scarce, especially with regard to "imaginary" texts. JanMohamed enumerates such novels as Isak Dinesen's *Out of Africa* (1937) and Joyce Cary's *Aissa Saved* (1932), which, supposedly, celebrate the extermination of the natives (JanMohamed 1985: 67–68). However, the cited passages indicate rather slight contempt of the authors towards the childlike customs of the locals, instead of bloodthirsty fixation about annihilating the inconvenient Other.

The symbolic category, in opposition to the imaginary one, receives greater attention from JanMohamed. He provides the example of Joseph Conrad's *Heart of Darkness* as that of

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[73] Additionally, JanMohamed points to the genre of "racial romance" as the most vivid manifestation of the Manichean allegory (JanMohamed 1985: 71–72). However, the researcher fails to notice that such instances of fiction in which a white woman becomes a hostage of the Other are present in contemporary culture as well. Javier Moro's novel *Passion India* (2005) can serve as an example.

a text which challenges racial prejudices and the right of European trades to rule an unknown territory. The researcher praises the writer for modifying the mentality of the coloniser, for allowing him to see beyond the horizon of the Enlightenment project: "Conrad rescues his novella from the easy satisfaction of the allegorical fantasy typical of the narcissistic colonialist text and transforms it into a story that becomes meaningful through exegetical participation of the audience" (JanMohamed 1985: 70).

Another literary example of a symbolic novel is E. M. Forster's *A Passage to India* (1924). The researcher vehemently praises Forster's depiction of the British Raj as that of an alien land which induces fear in the colonists (JanMohamed 1985: 74). As a result, they resort to reliance on racial difference in order to reaffirm their Western identity. Contrary to Albert Memmi, JanMohamed accurately notices that "the coloniser who refuses" is Cyril Fielding, a man who serves as a mediator between the British, the Hindus, and the Muslims. In addition, India herself is very much a protagonist (rather than a setting) in the novel in the sense that the country teaches the protagonists a lesson: "The echo returns to tell Mrs. Moore that 'everything exists, nothing has value.' […] India […] mocks Mrs. Moore's discovery of identity by confronting her with its differences" (JanMohamed 1985: 76). Nevertheless, the possibility of overcoming racial barriers between the coloniser and the colonised becomes tangible towards the end of the novel. Yet, as Forster asserts, India is reluctant to accept the reconciliation between the Westerner and the Other when declaring through nature "Not yet. […] Not there" (Forster [1924] 2010: 322). Unification and mutual acceptance should be a gradual process in order to overcome the confines of the Manichean allegory.

With regard to the outlined approaches of Bruce Gilley, Albert Memmi, Edward Said, Richard Nisbett, Shashi Tharoor, Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o, and Abdul JanMohamed, it can be seen that the coloniser-colonised relation is not a one-sided dependency operating entirely on power and subjugation. The mentalities and functions performed by both figures are much more complex (in the realm of fiction as well as in reality). Modern-day reworkings of the colonial legacies allow for a better understanding of the imperial era and for a dialogue between the descendants of the former rulers and the ruled, especially in view of the unequal developments of postcolonial states. It seems easy to play the victim card by the Third World nations or reinvigorate imperial nostalgia among history enthusiasts, but both parties need to recalibrate their expectation and look at the situation in a holistic manner. In many ways, India is no longer an inferior country to the United Kingdom. In fact, it wants to be regarded

as a global superpower to be reckoned with.[74] Mutual relations should not focus on anachronistic power dependency but fruitful cooperation.

[74] Indian Prime Minister Narendra Modi frequently participates in Commonwealth-oriented conferences, whereas the United Kingdom and India cooperate in terms of satellite-development programme (Elefteriu, https://www.sundayguardianlive.com). Additionally, during the 2021 COP 26 summit in Glasgow, India strongly opposed the appeals of the United Nations to reduce their annual carbon emissions as soon as possible (https://www.bbc.com).

Chapter Two
The Frameworks of British Colonialism

2.   The Historical Context of Colonial Expansion

The second chapter is focused mainly on the historical aspects behind the process of colonisation and exposes the specific origins of colonialism. Furthermore, the British models of governing the colonies are described in detail on the basis of numerous examples: British West Indies, the Thirteen Colonies, British East Africa, British West Africa, British Hong Kong, and British India. Lastly, the British Raj in India is explored together with its political, economic, and social implications.

2.1. *The Origins of Colonialism*

The beginnings of classic colonialism, which constitutes the interpretative scope of postcolonial studies, can be traced back to the maritime expansions of Portugal and Spain in the 15th century. Both countries became the colonial pioneers due to their discoveries of new and unknown territories outside of the Old Continent. Most notably, the discoveries of the Atlantic islands such as the Azores and further exploration of the West African coast enabled the Portuguese to map out the sea route to Asia[75]. Concurrently, the neighbouring Spain, encouraged by the findings of Portugal, authorised Christopher Columbus' expedition in 1492 to search for an alternative path to Asia. The result of this expedition was a well-known mistake made by Columbus as he reached the Caribbean coast, believing to have arrived in India, and called the local people *Indians*.

Only two years after Columbus' expedition, Portugal and Spain decided to divide their influences over the new territories in the form a treaty[76]. However, the treaty contained a geographical flaw. Namely, the selected demarcation line was "from pole to pole 100 leagues (about 320 miles) west of the Cape Verde Islands" (https://www.britannica.com). Everything to the west of the meridian belonged to Spain (the Americas, except from Brazil), whereas everything eastward was the property of Portugal (Africa and Asia) (Dougill 2012: 13). However, as the exploration of both nations progressed to the west and east respectively, the two eventually met on the other side of the globe (from the meridian viewpoint). That is to say, Ferdinand Magellan's expedition reached New Guinean territory and claimed this area to

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[75] Due to circling the Cape of Good Hope, Vasco da Gama reached India in 1498.
[76] Treaty of Tordesillas of 1494 (Dougill 2012: 13).

be under Spanish ownership. Only in 1529, did the Treaty of Zaragoza amend the demarcation by adding the so-called "antemeridian" across the Maluku Islands (https://www.britannica.com).

Figure 1. Map of the Portuguese Empire in Asia (ca. 1580-1640) (Pearson 1987: 21).

Modified by the author of the dissertation.

Added colours in order to highlight the range of the Portuguese expansion. Blue: Portuguese jurisdiction; orange: Spanish jurisdiction; other colours: territories alternating between the two powers.

While the Spanish were conquering the Americas by penetrating deep into the interior, the Portuguese would explore only the shorelines of their would-be colonies. The Spaniards' technique of conquest consisted mainly of an armed invasion of the indigenous lands and subsequent implementation of their culture and mode of governance thereafter (Pearson 1987: 138). In contrast to the technologically backward natives in the Americas, the indigenous people were already significantly developed societies on the Asian continent. For this reason, instead of utilising the Spanish model of conquest, the Portuguese limited themselves to establishing small trading posts along the coastal regions (most notably Mombasa and Mozambique in Africa, Goa and Cochin in India, as well as Macau in China) (Pearson 1987: 137). Their strategy was to take control over the desired areas by seaway. Thus, as the map above presents, the Portuguese eventually established a colonial enterprise with the Indian Ocean as the centre for trading routes.

The Iberian expansion brought in its wake the spread of religion[77]. The Catholic

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[77] The most common cinematic association with regard to the role of religion in colonialism is, arguably, the award-winning motion picture *The Mission* (1986), directed by Roland Joffé. The movie tells the story of the Jesuit priests caught up in a political war between Spanish and Portuguese influences in South America in the 18th century (Karney and Kindersley, eds., 1995: 743).

Church sent out missionaries (the Jesuits and the Franciscans in particular), as the passengers of the trading ships, to the farthest corners of the world in order to spread Christianity as well as participate in the colonial endeavour through buying and selling goods (Pearson 1987: 125). The missionaries would erect constructions, such as cathedrals and churches on foreign lands, many of which survived until the present day (for example, Basilica of Bom Jesus in Goa, India or the Church of St. Paul in Macau, China). What is more, the missionaries could not rely on the constant support from the Vatican or the aristocracy, thus they had to become self-sufficient (Clements 2017: 153). As a result, they were forced to engage in economic activities. The example of the Jesuits in Japan is perhaps the most representative. In order to preserve their religious undertaking in a foreign land, the Jesuits bought raw silk from Canton, China and later sold it in Nagasaki, Japan. In addition, they also traded other goods, such as gold and military supplies. The Jesuits established a clever mode of maintaining their influences as they supported baptised *daimyos*[78] and, whenever such a daimyo found himself threatened by a non-Christian daimyo, the Jesuits provided him with military backing. Interestingly, the Jesuits angered the Portuguese traders with their advanced economic activities and were even criticised for abandoning their principle of living in poverty. Nevertheless, the missionaries believed that reaching out to the society of potential converts was their first priority (Clements 2017: 56). Catholicism was eventually banned in Japan in 1614 by the Tokugawa shogunate for political reasons[79] (Gordon 2003: 11).

Reaching out beyond Japan, Francis Xavier (the first missionary in Japan) was primarily responsible for setting the foundations for Christianity in India (Clements 2017: 151). Nevertheless, the mission of cultivating religion was not initially aimed at the native inhabitants but the colonisers themselves. As it is stated in an article by the Indian historian Teotonio R. de Souza, "aside from the zealous and self-sacrificing missionaries and the few chosen authorities from the middle range of nobility [..], the great majority of those who were dispatched as 'discoverers' were the riff-raff of Portuguese society, picked up from Portuguese jails" (de Souza 2015: 26). In consequence, an overwhelming majority of the Portuguese settlers formed relationships with native women as well as accepted Indian customs (de Souza 2015: 26). Such practices angered the missionaries, who described their

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[78] *Daimyo*: "one of the great feudal lords who were vassals of the shogun." (http://www.dictionary.com)
[79] Both rulers Toyotomi Hideyoshi (1537–1598) and Tokugawa Ieyasu (1543–1616) saw Catholicism and Jesuit actions as direct threats to the Japanese unity (Gordon 2003: 9–11). The aspects of Jesuit dominance and the rise of the Tokugawa shogunate were fictionalised in a historical novel called *Shōgun* (1975) by James Clavell. Interestingly, another historical fiction, *Silence* (1966) by Shūsaku Endō, focuses on the downfall of Christianity in Japan and the oppression of the Japanese converts, yet it conveniently omits the economic aspects of the Jesuit venture.

fellow countrymen as disreputable and uncontrolled in their attitude (de Souza 2015: 27). Xavier knew that he must bring the colonisers to the right path of proper self-conduct. Therefore, he began teaching Portuguese children first. Next, he attended the sick and dying in hospitals. Later, he attempted to convert high-caste Brahmins, yet they remained steadfast in their Hindu beliefs (de Souza 2015: 30). Ultimately, Francis Xavier had more luck with the lower-caste natives, who formed the base of the Indian Catholics in Goa[80] (Dougill 2012: 19). Nevertheless, Xavier grew so displeased with racist attitudes of the missionaries (especially Franciscan friars) and the discrimination of Christian converts[81] (mainly for the purposes of slavery) that he suggested to the King of Portugal the establishment of the Inquisition in Goa in 1546 (de Souza 2015: 27).

In view of these developments, it should be apparent that the origins of colonialism derive from the seafaring expeditions of Spain and Portugal. What is more, this initial stage of colonialism may be regarded as a political implication of the territorial aspirations of both nations and, at the time when Spain and Portugal began their explorations, i.e. in the 16th century, Great Britain did not yet take part in the colonial undertaking.

2.2. *Different Frameworks of British Colonialism(s)*

With regard to the earliest British attempts at setting up their own colonies, these can be traced back to the 17th century. To be exact, the British started their expeditions to the unknown frontiers, especially to India, already in the first half of the 17th century. Yet, these were strictly diplomatic missions in order to obtain trading permissions in Asia, not even bearing the similarities to the large-scale Portuguese posts, which already existed on that continent at that time (Marshall 1998a: 271–273). Nevertheless, the British began participating in the process of colonisation throughout the 1600s with the establishment of the British West Indies and the Thirteen Colonies in North America.

2.2.1. *British West Indies (late 1600s–1960s)*

The first of what we may call *colonial*[82] endeavours of the British can be perceived in their

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[80] Nowadays, Goan Catholics suffer ethnic cleansing as they are culturally perceived as "agents" of the Portuguese colonisers. For instance, they are denied job opportunities or political posts in the local councils (http://www.ucanews.com/).

[81] Let us consider the following quote from Vieira Machado, the Portuguese Minister for Colonies: "I wonder what a native will think of a white man who kneels at the feet of a black man to confess to him his sins and to receive his absolution" (Machado in de Souza 2015: 31). The Franciscans denied appointing native priests to relevant clerical posts or even assigning them to parishes. The friars described them as "ill-natured" and "ill-behaved" drunkards (de Souza 2015: 31).

[82] As in the sense of establishing an advanced administrative network.

maritime activities within the area of the West Indies. Specifically, in 1668, a Welsh buccaneer known as Henry Morgan was acting in the service of King Charles II when plundering and conquering Cuban ports. Operating out of his base in Port Royale, Jamaica, he frequently attacked the Spanish squadrons, robbing the conquistadors of their riches. This sophisticated style of piracy was called by the British as the act of *privateering*; that is, attacking the enemy with government's permission and later issuing the government part of the booty. *Privateering* was vehemently practised in the Caribbean region by Morgan and his fellow men (such as Sir George Clifford and Captain Christopher Newport), and it provided financial backing for Britain to develop one of their first[83] colonial outposts in Jamaica (Monteith and Richards 2001: 39; Breverton 2005: 15).

Seized from the Spanish in 1655, with the capital city Port Royale, Jamaica of the 17th century became known as "the Sodom of the New World" (Breverton 2005: 51). This was due to its vast number of taverns, brothels, as well as an exquisite sense of rowdiness (Breverton 2005: 51). Henry Morgan was not only one of the first privateers and plantation owners in Jamaica, but he also served as one of its governors. Appointed to that post in 1677, he changed the colony's strategy by stating that piracy belonged to the past and trade was the future (Breverton 2005: 84). Morgan's belief in future prosperity relied on sugar from the Jamaican plantations. In fact, the British of the 17th century craved sugar, as they used it together with other exotic goods, such as tea, chocolate, and coffee. In order to satisfy the demand, vast amounts of labour were required for the cultivation of sugar. However, the island had a small native population. A quick solution to this issue proved to be the slave trade.

The British did not introduce slavery to the Caribbean region[84], yet they eagerly embraced the process of trafficking people from Africa. Bought as slaves and subsequently shipped to the Caribbean, the Africans could not withstand the hot climate of Jamaica. It is estimated that a third of them died within 3 years of their arrival (https://www.bbc.com). Within 100 years after Morgan's appointment as the governor of Jamaica, approximately a million and a half of African slaves had been transported to the West Indies. As BBC *Empire* (2012) documentary series outlines, each plantation constituted a micro-dictatorship in its own right, also known as "plantocracy" (*Empire* documentary, episode 4, 0:09:38). Each slave had to experience horrible forms of punishment, such as flogging, 24-hour exposure to

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[83]"One of their first," because around that time, the British were in the process of establishing proprietary colonies in North America (https://www.britannica.com).

[84] The Spanish colonisers did while Jamaica was still in their possession (Breverton 2005: 53).

flies and mosquitoes, as well as other atrocities[85]. In addition, rape of female slaves by the plantation owners was a frequent occurrence. Trevor Burnard explains in his work devoted to the life of Thomas Thistlewood that the British colonisers in Jamaica were deeply convinced that only by exercising brute force could they be in charge of a multitude of African slaves (Burnard 2004: 83). Jeremy Paxman in his documentary series also goes on to add that "[the British] behaved as they did because they didn't regard their slaves as fellow human beings, but as their property, to do with as they pleased" (*Empire* documentary, episode 4, 0:11:42–0:11:52).

The regular shipment of African slaves to Jamaica in order to compensate for high death rates on the island and provide workforce would continue until its abolition in the United Kingdom in 1807. This was caused by the outrage of the public in the United Kingdom in response to what was happening in the Caribbean (Monteith and Richards 2001: 84). Nevertheless, the outcry for human rights did not disrupt the British administration in the West Indies. Putting an end to the slave trade resulted in declining production of sugar, with the sugar industry eventually collapsing by the end of 19th century. However, increased demand for bananas allowed the planters to refocus their trading orientations. Yet, unable to turn their ex-slaves into legally independent sharecroppers, the planters were forced to employ labour migrants from India and China (Monteith and Richards 2001: 76). In consequence, bananas became Jamaica's most dominant product for export by 1890.

The British administration was plagued with racial and religious tensions throughout the 19th century (most notably the Baptist War of 1831[86] and the Morant Bay rebellion of 1865[87]). In view of the growing social instability, as well as the rise of nationalism and the Rastafari Movement[88], Jamaica firstly entered the Federation of the West Indies and later became formally independent in 1962.

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[85] These were described in the diaries of Thomas Thistlewood (1721–1786), a plantation owner in Jamaica. This coloniser invented the most abhorrent means of discipline known as the "Derby's Dose," in which slaves were forced to defecate into the mouth of a tortured captive; that is, after salt pickle, bird pepper, and lime juice were rubbed onto the captive's wounds (Burnard 2004: 31).

[86] The Baptist War was one of the largest slave uprisings in the British West Indies. Approximately 300,000 slaves were involved in the eleven-day rebellion (December 25, 1831 to January 4, 1832) led by a Baptist preacher, Samuel Sharpe. The event is cited as the main reason behind the abolition of slavery throughout most of the British Empire in 1833 (https://www.britannica.com).

[87] The Morant Bay Rebellion took place on the 11th of October, 1865. The Jamaicans were protesting against high taxation, poverty, and disease outbreaks. Their protest march resulted in burning the court house in Morant Bay (Heuman 1991: 107).

[88] The Rastafari Movement is defined as the organisation of Afro-Jamaicans opposing the British imperial dominance in the West Indies. Members of the movement sought to create an identity of their own on the basis of African cultural heritage. Some of the branches of the movement even called for migration to the African continent. Since the 1930s, the Rastafarians developed distinctive appearance (dreadlocks and beards) in order to imitate Haile Selassie, the Emperor of Ethiopia (https://www.britannica.com).

Even though over 200 years have passed since the British withdrawal from the practice of slave workforce, the question remains if slavery still has an impact on the people of Jamaica. The answer may be somewhat ambiguous. On the one hand, there are the descendants of slaves who still live in Jamaica. In an interview, a farmer Michael Grizzle stated that the Jamaican people have no hatred for white men: "We are past that in this generation. It's hard to understand why some people would have wanted to do that to other people [...]. I hope that Great Britain one day will look at Jamaica and say: 'Jamaica made us rich'. Jamaica was the sugar capital of the world" (*Empire* documentary, episode 4, 0:13:33–0:14:06). On the other hand, however, there are such movements as *CARICOM Reparations Commission*, whose aim is to demand financial reparations to the Caribbean region: "through the Caribbean Community, we are also leading the charge for reparation of the victims of slavery and their descendants" (http://caricomreparations.org). These two attitudes, coming from the classes of modern sharecroppers and intellectuals respectively, indicate the contradicting approaches to the colonial legacy. In fact, in a survey conducted in 2011, about 60% of the respondents were convinced that Jamaica would have been better off under the British rule, pointing to such factors as high unemployment, poverty, and the drug trade as the country's main problems (http://www.ibtimes.com/).

With regard to the colonising perspective, the abuse of slaves in the 18th century is undoubtedly a striking instance of white-centred supremacy (Burnard 2004: 99). Living on the outskirts of the developing empire, the modes of power and authority were exercised by pirates and planters reflected in the likes of Henry Morgan and Thomas Thistlewood. Consequently, their actions in the Caribbean significantly contributed to blurring the distinction between the concepts of exploitation and trade.

2.2.2. *The Thirteen Colonies (1600s–1776)*

In contrast to the West Indies, the settling of North America proved to become an enduring process. Expansion to the American continent was not driven by the desire of *privateering* or white egalitarianism, but solely due to difficult economic conditions which plagued England. Namely, wool became a much more profitable good than food, thus English farmers began converting their fields into pasturelands. Shortages of food ensued and England was forced to search for new lands, which could provide opportunities for their business ventures as well as an outlet for the population's surplus (Mancall 1998: 330). In consequence, King James I (the successor of Charles II) split the Atlantic coastline into the northern and southern halves in

1606, on which the Plymouth Company and London Company could operate respectively. The map below illustrates the layout of the British colonies.

Figure 2. Map of the Thirteen Colonies (https://www.britannica.com).

Evidently, there already were Spanish, Dutch, and French outposts in North America before the British arrival, yet the to-be-established Thirteen Colonies would become the seedbed of the United States. Apart from providing refuge to some religious minority groups (the Puritans), the colonies, especially the British ones, were set up for economic purposes. The first of such was Virginia in 1607, which was supposed to produce tobacco. The colonies of Maryland, Connecticut, and New Heaven followed in the course of several decades[89]. The British established large plantations and, similarly as in the case of Jamaica, required vast amounts of labour. Therefore, the slave trade took root in America in 1619, though its scale was not as large as in the Caribbean (approximately a third of the Jamaican slaves). Evidently, African slaves also underwent a great deal of maltreatment and suffering in America, such as whippings, brandings, inhumane working conditions, and even "[being] suspended from a tree in a cage to die slowly from starvation, dehydration, and sunstroke"[90] (Taylor,

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[89] Full list of the Thirteen Colonies: *New England colonies*: Province of New Hampshire (1620s), Province of Massachusetts Bay (1620s), Colony of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations (1636), Connecticut Colony (1636); *Middle colonies*: Province of New York (1664), Province of New Jersey (1664), Delaware Colony (1664) Province of Pennsylvania (1681); *Southern colonies*: Province of Maryland (1632), Colony of Virginia (1607), Province of Carolina (1663), Province of Georgia (1732) (Landsman 1998: 352; Conway 1998: 337).
[90] Such gruesome practices were described by J. Hector St. John de Crèvecoeur in his series of letters titled

https://newrepublic.com). Therefore, the slaves in America experienced nearly similar forms of punishment as on the plantations of Thomas Thistlewood and his peers.

Interestingly, each consecutive colony, predominantly throughout the 17th century, was founded by individuals or groups of traders. In fact, most of the Thirteen Colonies can be linked to a specific founder or founders[91]. Reminiscent of free-market economy. The approach in which one individual was in charge seems unique even for mercantile England. The American colonies were governed not particularly from the centre (London), but on the periphery, precisely at a given place, at a given moment[92]. This pattern illustrates Edward Said's observations of the colonial powers operating relatively freely on their new territories (Said 1993: 81). Nevertheless, the Thirteen Colonies were still dependent both politically and economically on Great Britain. That is to say, in view of the French and Indian War (1754–1763), Britain found itself in debt. The colonisers started imposing new tax laws such as the Sugar Act (1764), the Stamp Act (1765), or the Tea Act (1773), all of which had led to a growing resentment among the colonists and to the American Revolution. Ironically, troubling economic conditions in England, which led to the settlement of North America back in the 1600s, ushered in American independence over 170 years later. Some historians view the loss of the Thirteen Colonies as the end of the *first* British Empire. As Ashley Jackson remarks:

> The first British Empire was largely destroyed by the loss of the American colonies, followed by a 'swing to the east' and the foundation of a second British Empire based on commercial and territorial expansion in South Asia. The third British Empire was the construction of a 'white' dominion power bloc in the international system based on Britain's relations with its settler offshoots [...]. The fourth British Empire, meanwhile, is used to denote Britain's rejuvenated imperial focus on Africa and South-East Asia following the Second World War. (Jackson 2013: 72)

In view of this, we may infer that if it had not been for the loss of the Thirteen Colonies, the British Empire would not have transformed into its most recognisable phase, that is, the Empire in which one could "see the world, and get paid for doing it"[93].

2.2.3. *Africa (19th century–1960s)*

After having lost the Thirteen Colonies, the British Empire continued to expand its influences

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Letters from an American Farmer (1782).

[91] For example, John Smith founded the Virginia Colony, John Winthrop founded the Massachusetts Bay Colony, and Lord Baltimore founded the Maryland Colony (https://www.landofthebrave.info).

[92] For example, product prices and wages were regulated locally. In addition, a special colonial currency was introduced (Flynn, http://eh.net).

[93] A reference to the British colonial service recruitment poster (circa 1920s).

in the regions of South Asia (modern-day India and Pakistan); nevertheless, throughout the 19th century the British organised several expeditions into the interior of the "Dark Continent" (Stafford 1999: 306). Their territorial conquests in Africa eventually resulted in British West African Settlements and East Africa Protectorate, both of which would survive until the 1960s.

The territory of British West Africa was constituted of the then-to-become countries of Nigeria, Sierra Leone, Gambia, and Ghana. Apart from turning the indigenous people into workforce, the British intended to modernise their lives. Therefore, they set up schools and churches[94], while having no regard for the traditional practices of the African natives; even though their traditional structures (tribe divisions and social hierarchy) were preserved. While the themes of British education and prevalence of Christianity are brought up by Chinua Achebe in his memorable novel *Things Fall Apart* (1958), which describes the British arrival in Nigeria, the author does not mention the real agenda of the British endeavour in that particular region, that is to say, financial dominance. Banking operations in the colony were subsequently embodied in the institutional form of Bank of British West Africa (in operation from 1891 to 1974). Thus, the financial market created by shipping magnates became an inextricable part of the economic sector. Nevertheless, it was proven with the passage of time that colonial banking impaired the agricultural development rather than enriched it. This was due to such practices as price fixing, favouring monopoly over competition or exploitative gold-mining. As a result, the colony became a disadvantaged provider of commodities (Saunders and Smith 1999: 616). Further evidence to substantiate the banking dominance can be found in the post-colonial history of the region. The British West African pound was still utilised as a single currency throughout the region, even after the colony's dissolution in the 1960s.

East Africa Protectorate, known better as British East Africa, had a more convoluted process of colonial development. The first encounter of the British with East Africa, the part of the continent which was much broader, unknown, and inaccessible can be attributed to the 1857 expedition of Sir Richard Burton and John Hanning Speke. The two Englishmen, the first being an experienced explorer and the other a Victorian gentleman, but both having served in the British Army, set out together from Mombasa to search for the source of the River Nile. The travelling companions were initially conscientious and determined to pursue

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[94] Christianity primarily served as a means of eradicating the pagan beliefs of the Africans (voodoo wizardry or human sacrifices). The indigenous people who willingly converted were often social outcasts, banished from their local communities (Ekechi 1971: 103).

their shared objective, yet, due to their contrasting characters, they eventually became fierce rivals. For two years they journeyed into the Kenyan interior fighting the jungle, wild animals, and tropical diseases. Eventually, Burton fell gravely ill, thus Speke continued without him. With the assistance of the Arab caravan, Speke became the first European who reached Lake Victoria on the 30th of July 1858. Speke named the lake after Queen Victoria, mapped it, and inferred that it actually is the Nile source after making rough estimations[95]. Speke's assumptions were confirmed to be true with consecutive expeditions, but he was unable to prove his findings, especially when considering the fact that Burton never agreed with them because he had never seen the lake at all. Upon their return to England, the explorers turned into sworn enemies and Speke died tragically from a self-inflicted gunshot wound, only a day before a planned debate between him and Burton[96] (McCarthy 2005: 707–710).

This gripping tale of the two European explorers venturing into an unknown territory was not summarised here without a purpose. As mentioned by Mary Louise Pratt in *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* such inspiring accounts of adventure boosted the romantic image of the British hero (Pratt 1992: 73). In consequence, the Victorian public began to crave not only knowledge, but also the excitement that derived from exposing the areas of racial perplexity and cultural concealment. Anne McClintock's statement in *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender and Sexuality in the Colonial Contests* about the feminisation of geographical landscape addresses yet another aspect of the colonial enterprise. She claims that "the female body is figured as marking the boundary of the cosmos and the limits of the known world, enclosing the ragged men, with their dreams of pepper and pearls, in her indefinite, oceanic body" (McClintock 1995: 22), transforming in this manner the exotic land into an object of desire. The instance of this African objectification can be found in H. R. Haggard's *King Solomon's Mines* from 1885, which became a huge bestseller at the time of its release (Stafford 1999: 312). The novel presents the African continent as the uncharted land of hidden treasures. A significant part of the novel's popularity was fuelled by the fact that, in 1885, Africa, indeed, remained largely unexplored. Haggard, who spent seven years in Southern Africa, intended to write a Victorian fantasy tale very much in the spirit of Robert Louis Stevenson's *Treasure Island* (1882). Upon official release, the printers struggled to maintain the book's circulation due to high sales of the copies (Haggard [1885] 2002: 11). Interestingly, much to the dismay of some of the modern researchers, Haggard did not convey

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[95] He became partially blind due to the hazardous journey.
[96] The story of Hanning and Speke was adapted for film by director Bob Rafelson in 1992 (title: *Mountains on the Moon*).

a negative image of Africa in his novel. Quite the contrary, the African natives are depicted as heroes (for example, Ignosi's people), the main protagonist, Allan Quatermain, refuses to offensively call them "niggers"[97], and an instance of interracial romance (purely platonic) between a Kukuana native and an Englishman is outlined as well. Therefore, even though I agree with McClintock's observation about objectifying the unknown territory, her subsequent statement: "Columbus' breast fantasy, like Haggard's map of Sheba's Breasts, draws on a long tradition of male travel as an erotics of ravishment" (McClintock 1995: 22) appears exaggerated in the context of Haggard's novel. In fact, *King Solomon's Mines* initiated the "Lost World" genre[98] (Haggard (1885) 2002: 14); that is, the stories focusing on an exploration of an unknown region, frequently a mythical kingdom, taken out of familiar urban space and contemporary time frames. Rather than objectifying the uncharted regions, the explorers projected the vision of their home onto the new lands, learning in this way to "encompass the world's diversity through the literature of exploration, which presented the periphery as a frontier for acting out both old and new challenges" (Stafford 1999: 312).

Nevertheless, the process of exploration and idealisation of Africa did not end with Haggard. In 1861, David Livingstone travelled up a river in Malawi with a religious purpose of improving the continent of ignorance and superstition. He was the first missionary in Africa (McCaskie 1999: 674) and his intention was to free the Africans out of slavery. Even though slavery was abolished in the United Kingdom in 1807, the Arabs and the Portuguese continued to capture and trade East Africans as brute workforce. Livingstone's aim was to liberate the slaves from indentured servitude by introducing the ideals of "Christianity and Commerce" (McCaskie 1999: 673–674), a new civilising mission of the British Empire, which consisted of religious conversion through the exchange of goods down the African rivers. Nevertheless, East African interior proved to become a malarial death trap as Livingstone and his followers succumbed to hunger and disease. In 1865, Livingstone vanished without a trace only to reappear six years later bedridden with cholera and dysentery. He was found by Henry Morton Stanley's expedition in Ujuji village near Lake Tanganyika. Stanley took off his hat and the following exchange ensued:

> "Dr Livinstone, I presume?"
> "Yes," said he, with kind smile, lifting his cap slightly.
> I replace my hat on my head, and he puts on his cap, and we both grasp hands, and I then say aloud:

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[97] "And, besides, am I a gentleman? What is a gentleman? I don't quite know, and yet I have had to do with niggers – no, I'll scratch that word "niggers" out, for I don't like it" (Haggard [1885] 2002: 43).

[98] Other classic examples of the genre include Edgar Rice Burroughs' *The Land that Time Forgot* (1918), Arthur Conan Doyle's *The Lost World* (1912), and Rudyard Kipling's *The Man Who Would Be King* (1888).

"I thank God, Doctor, I have been permitted to see you."
He answered, "I feel thankful that I am here to welcome you." (Stanley 1872: 412)
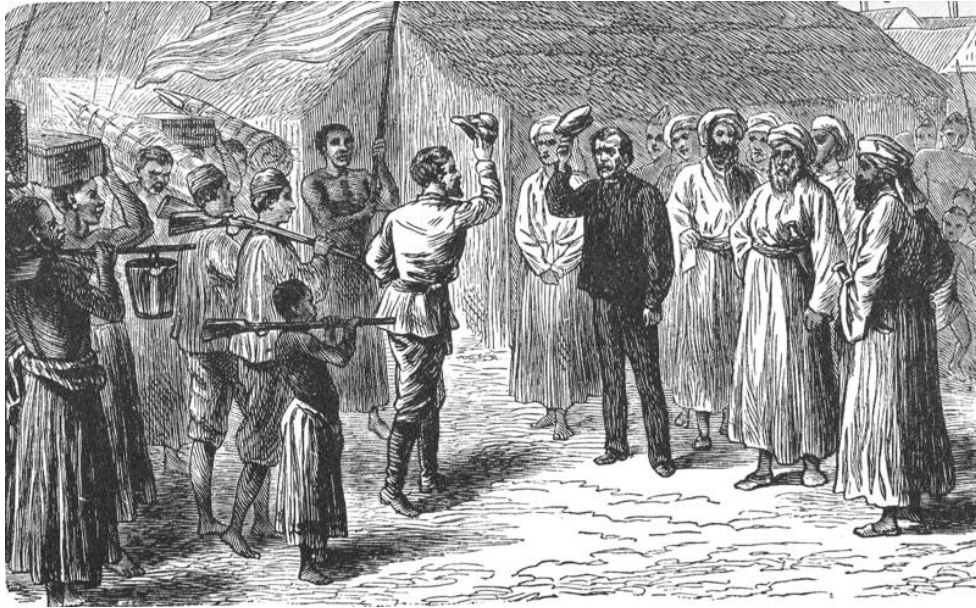

Figure 3. *How I found Livingstone* illustration (Stanley 1872: 413).

The situation must have been ironical since there was no other European within many miles, yet the two gentlemen maintained the Victorian code of self-conduct, without falling into emotional excitement upon seeing each other in a remote region. What is more, Livingstone did not seem concerned about the arrival of a rescue mission, but instead, he tried to make the best impression of himself as a British emissary living in distant Africa.

Interesting is also the fact that after Livingstone's death in 1873, the missionary's heart was removed and buried under a tree in Zambia (present-day Livingstone Memorial[99]). Moreover, the slaves freed by Livingstone carried his body over 1,600 kilometres to the shoreline, from where it was shipped back to London. Edited diaries, the first-hand accounts of his thrilling experiences in the unknown land, became instant bestsellers in the United Kingdom. The example of David Livingstone can be seen as a paragon of the Empire that was capable of sacrifice, justice, and doing good (McCaskie 1999: 674–675). He had set the path for future volunteers and improvement programmes. Until the very end of his life, the missionary did not abandon his civilising mission, whereas the slaves he liberated remained loyal to him until his death and beyond.

However, one more aspect to be mentioned with regard to the African conquests is not as commendable as the career of Livingstone. Even though he advocated that the colonisers

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[99] More information about the memorial can be found at: http://www.openafrica.org/experiences/route/91-nsobe-sitatunga-experience-bangweulukasanka-ecotourism-route/participant/687-david-livingstone-memorial-site.

should help people in need, the colonisers themselves asked about the difference between those in need and the inferior[100]. Fanatics of the British Empire were convinced that helping, in fact, meant ruling. In 1871, a certain Cecil Rhodes perceived the act of inhabiting the world as the glory of the British Empire. His, arguably, best known expression is the following: "Africa is still lying ready for us; it is our duty to take it" (Haggard [1885] 2002: 279). Indeed, he invaded and extracted large chunks of African lands for himself by means of bribery, harassment, and weaponry. As a passionate supporter of the imperial thought, he was convinced that the British should own territories from Cape Town to Cairo (Saunders and Smith 1999: 610–611). Rhodes' *modus operandi* was simple and effective: take over land, then subsequently set up mining companies and plantations. Unsurprisingly, his achievements for the imperial expansion were regarded so highly that the colony of Rhodesia was named after him in 1895.

In view of the discussed figures, one can argue that colonial motivations varied widely: some of the discoverers travelled through Africa with the intention of gaining knowledge and religious Enlightenment, as well as liberating slaves, whereas other explorers ruthlessly seized the exotic lands purely for exploitative purposes.

2.2.4. *British Hong Kong (1842–1997)*

The colony of Hong Kong is a peculiar instance of the imperial periphery because it was not conquered but acquired as a territorial trophy. In the first half of the 19th century, European trading companies exported from China such goods as porcelain, silk, and especially tea, which were in high demand across the Old Continent. Nevertheless, the reciprocity of demand for importing European products to China was trivially minor. Instead of exchanging commodities, the British were forced to pay in silver and, in order to counter the restrictions of the Qing dynasty, they started to illegally sell Indian opium in the form of contraband. In consequence, the Chinese authorities were hit by an imminent drug crisis. The Daoguang Emperor was pressured to legalise opium trade, but instead, he ordered its obliteration in 1839 (Lynn 1999: 110). With the destruction of the opium supplies by the Chinese, the British perceived this as an act of war and proceeded to attack the coastal areas of Canton, which led to the First Opium War (1839–1842). The Qing government eventually capitulated, due to having inferior military forces, and transferred the ownership of the Hong Kong Island to the

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[100] For instance, Thomas Babington Macaulay claimed that the Empire had a scientifically predetermined destiny to fulfil in the world. As a result, he positioned the British as the superior beings who had to educate the inferior, indigenous people in the colonies (Macaulay 1835, http://www.columbia.edu).

British in the 1842 Treaty of Nanking (Lynn 1999: 110).

A common misconception should be explained that the colony of Hong Kong was never formally regarded as a city[101]. More appropriately, it was a set of regions (Hong Kong Island, Kowloon Peninsula, and the New Territories) that were progressively acquired and incorporated into a single colonial administration. In 1898, the United Kingdom was granted a 99-year-long lease of the territories.

In the 19th century, the areas of Hong Kong consisted primarily of unpopulated sections of wildlife. Hence, there was virtually no indigenous population there. At first, the British did not entirely know how to transform the region so that it could function as a trading outpost and a harbour in one (Osterhammel 1999a: 149). At that time, the neighbouring Macau was the focus of Western social life since the Portuguese began to control it in the 16th century. The British modelled the system of governance on the Portuguese strategy and established Hong Kong as a home for the British Indian garrisons. With the arrival of the military, Indian merchants, and European trades, the first foundations for the development of Eurasian community were laid. The first settlers began buying lands on which they built luxurious mansions[102]. In addition, the community established Central Government Schools in order to educate young traders at the beginning of the 20th century (Bayly 1999: 458). The aftermath of the Second World War saw a massive influx of Chinese immigrants from the mainland, which had a negative influence[103] on the economy that was already plagued by disease outbreaks and unpredictable monsoon weather (Osterhammel 1999a: 163; Bayly 1999: 454).

Even though the 1960s were the most turbulent decade in the history of Hong Kong because of the protests of the poor and the dangers of cultural revolution, the situation slowly began to change when Sir John James Cowperthwaite, a British civil servant, was appointed as the Financial Secretary of Hong Kong in 1961. Cowperthwaite was an ardent advocate of laissez-faire policies as he believed that the economies had the potential to recover without any interference from the government. Accordingly, he proceeded to the implementation of state non-interventionism which relied on free trade, simple legislature, and low taxation. Within a decade, Hong Kong became one of the four Asian Tiger economies. The colony rapidly expanded in terms of businesses, public-housing, and education. Cowperthwaite made

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[101] Although that is the case today, with Hong Kong being a large metropolis which constitutes a special administrative region of China (https://www.gov.hk).
[102] The higher these were positioned on the mountains, the greater the prestige of a settler they reflected (Osterhammel 1999a: 151).
[103] The stream of immigrants to Hong Kong increased its population density in the 1950s. It is estimated that it rose from 2,355 people/km2 to about 3,000 in just 5 years (https://www.worldometers.info).

a name for himself as "the architect of prosperity" and "the man who brought freedom to Hong Kong" (*Britain's Trillion Pound Horror Story* documentary, 1:00:10–1:06:14).

The urban landscape for which Hong Kong is contemporarily known saw the beginnings of its establishment in the 1960s. Small businesses as well as major entrepreneurships began expanding due to favourable conditions of unrestricted capitalism (Friedman 2012: 4). What is more important, Hong Kong became a cultural focus point because of its unusual history of development. Even though the British occupied the administrative positions, the exploitation of the native inhabitants did not occur (Bayly 1999: 461). The foreigners thrived on trade, whereas the Chinese immigrants relied on their protection from the communist regime. This paradoxical relationship of interdependence inspired the writer James Clavell to set two of his historical fictions *Tai-Pan* (1966) and *Noble House* (1981) in Hong Kong. Frequently drawing inspiration from real-life events and persons, Clavell outlined the progress of the colony from the perspective of the Struan family, the fictional owners of a large corporation which was based on the authentic enterprise of Jardine Matheson Holding Limited. It is, in fact, one of the original trading companies founded in the times of the British Empire by commercial agents William Jardines and James Matheson, which is still in operation today. The Jardines' main headquarters in Hong Kong is regarded as the symbol of the British might in the Far East (Lynn 1999: 111).

Figure 4. The Jardine Matheson's headquarters (https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/).

The building has an unusual exterior design. Interestingly, at the time of its completion in the 1970s, it was indeed the tallest structure in Asia, reflecting the colonisers' towering presence (https://www.jardines.com). In addition, the building was used as a shooting location for the 1988 television adaptation of Clavell's *Noble House* (1981).

In the 1980s, the colony found itself within the looming shadow of the approaching 1997 handover of power. Although the People's Republic of China was in the process of political reforms, the citizens of Hong Kong feared for their sovereignty, which led the British and the Chinese to establish the Joint Declaration that guaranteed the territory's special autonomy in terms of legislature and economy, putting into effect the principle of "one country, two systems" (Osterhammel 1999b: 664). Nevertheless, many Hong Kong natives remained unconvinced about their safety up until the 1st of July, 1997[104]. On that day, the United Kingdom renounced the rule over its very last popular colony.

Interestingly, the colonial echoes of Hong Kong were more visible in 2019 than ever before. Twenty-two years since the transfer of the colony to the mainland China, Hong Kong faced its biggest crisis in terms of the violation of human rights and free speech (https://www.reuters.com). Namely, in view of the bill allowing the extradition of Hong Kong suspects to China, the citizens came out on the streets to protest against it. In consequence, violent clashes with the law enforcement ensued, and the conflict was fuelled by the unwavering position of the PRC authorities. The people of Hong Kong relentlessly demanded the withdrawal of the controversial bill, an inquiry to allegations of police brutality, amnesty for the arrested protesters, universal suffrage to allow 100% of the city's Executive Council to be voted in by the citizens, and discontinuation of referring to the protests as riots. In November, 2019, there were 2,000 injured protesters and at least two confirmed deaths. As stated by Paul Joseph Watson, an independent journalist: "We talked to several people who said that the Chinese government is using mass migration to subsume Hong Kong's identity and weaken its unity [...]. This destabilisation and subversion of Hong Kong is driving a great deal of the resentment [...]. The Hong Kong protesters go out of their way to protect [other people and] the journalists from being harmed" (https://www.youtube.com). What is more important, some of the protesters were spotted proudly waving the Union Jack and even singing the royal anthem "God Save the Queen" (https://www.youtube.com).

Considering the unique situation of Hong Kong, its native inhabitants reflect

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[104] In a cultural dimension, Fruit Chan, an independent filmmaker, explored the issue of Hong Kong identity crisis in a series of three motion pictures known as the Handover Trilogy: *Made in Hong Kong* (1997), *The Longest Summer* (1998), and *Little Cheung* (1998) (McIntyre and Zhang 2002: 1).

retrospectively on their land's once colonial status with nostalgia and, even, with a certain degree of appreciation. The sociologist Ellen Li praises the political management and goes on to add that the British provided a steady government so that the people of Hong Kong could live equally and peacefully (*The Hong Kong Story* documentary, 0:52:03–0:52:24). Moreover, such local residents as the economist Simon Lee, speak favourably of the economic solutions introduced five decades earlier: "What was once a shanty fishing port is now one of the world's most important commercial centres. This is where the Asian economic miracle began" (*Britain's Trillion Pound Horror Story* documentary, 1:08:00–1:08:12). Although Hong Kong is contemporarily a part of China, its distinctive origins cultivated by the British civil servants (John James Cowperthwhaite) and determined traders (William Jardines) remain unforgotten even in the reality of growing neo-colonialism across the Third World regions.

2.2.5. *British India (1612–1858; 1858–1947)*

Before focusing on the most crucial aspects of authority execution and power relations in the most exceptional (in terms of territorial range and cultural diversity) colony of the British Empire, known graciously as "the Jewel in the Crown," in order to fully comprehend the framework of Indian coloniality, it will be helpful to first summarise how exactly the United Kingdom gained control over India and, as a result, established one of the largest colonial dominions in the world.

2.2.5.1. *Colonial India before the Crown Rule (1616–1858)*

India's first encounters with the Western world began at the very end of the 15th century; to be more specific, with Vasco da Gama's discovery of the sea route to the Indian subcontinent in 1498. Since then, the Portuguese, the French, as well as the Dutch started setting up their trading posts in the most populated areas of the subcontinent and therefore laid the foundations for Indo-European commerce. However, it has to be mentioned that when the first foreigners set foot on Indian soil, India was not a unified country. In fact, the whole of Asia Minor did not have a clearly singled-out piece of land that could have been described as a country. It is necessary to bear in mind that these are the times shortly after the end of the European Middle Ages and back then, the Asian continent had a wide variety of well-established and medium-sized empires or kingdoms. Therefore, India of the 16th century was mostly divided between the reigns of the Mughal Empire (Muslim rule) and gradually expanding Maratha Empire (Hindu rule). By the dawn of the 18th century, the Marathas had

forced out the Mughals with the help of the British, gaining control over the majority of territories of modern India, while the rest of the lands of today Pakistan was ruled by the Sikhs and the Afghans, and the states of Tamil Nadu and Andhra Pradesh by the Nizams (the Turks). It was not until 1612 that the British arrived for the first time and, by skilful diplomatic means, were granted a permission from the Mughal Emperor Nuruddin Salim Jahangir to establish the first industrial areas in the state of Gujarat. From then on, the expansion of the British East India Company began (Marshall 1998a: 271–273).

The Portuguese colonial framework was already outlined in the subsection *1.1. The Origins of Colonialism* of this chapter; nevertheless, it has to be noted that they were the first and the longest European power on Indian soil[105]. Evidently, their possessions on the subcontinent were never as vast and considerable as the ones belonging to the English[106]. Yet, the Portuguese were indeed the first explorers who initiated the cross-cultural encounter with the Indian natives (Pearson 1987: 12). Even more interesting is the fact that the British traders were not interested in India at first because they aimed their attention at the Spice Islands (the Moluccas)[107] and Ceylon, but these were already controlled by the Dutch. Some historians claim that the competing colonial powers engaged in an all-out war for the supremacy over the Indian riches (Bayly 1988: 14), but the situation was much more complex. To be exact, the three European authorities were connected by means of political associations. While initially hostile towards each other, Portugal eventually formed a territorial agreement with Britain in view of a war with Spain in 1661 (Pearson 1987: 22). East India Companies belonging to the Dutch and the British originally started out as joint ventures in Asia, but the two colonial countries descended into rivalry over the course of time. Peace between the two countries was brought by William of Orange, who assumed the throne of England in 1688 after the Glorious Revolution (Canny 1998: 500). As a result, the only real threat left was France, which the British combated by means of skilful strategy and military force[108]. It was

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[105] Susheel Kumar Sharma in his key-note paper "Divided Nations, Unified Sensibilities: Tales of the Woe of the Partition of the Indian Subcontinent," presented during *Life and Freedom 2017: The Partition of India Revisited 70 Years Later* conference, jokingly stated the following historical fact: "The Portuguese were the first to come and the last to leave, the French were the second to come and the penultimate to leave, whereas the British were the last to come and the first to leave" (Sharma 2017, conference paper). In this manner, Sharma addressed a common misconception about the longevity of the British rule in India.

[106] Certainly the focus of this dissertation is not on the Portuguese colonial dominance; however, one can only speculate what the geopolitical situation in South Asia would look like contemporarily if the British had never arrived. The Portuguese had their chance for expansion in the period from 1505 to 1661, but they never took advantage of this opportunity (Pearson 1987: 13–14).

[107] The same which served as the demarcation line in the Treaty of Zaragoza (1529).

[108] The most notable examples of military clashes are the Battle of Wandiwash (1760) and the Siege of Pondicherry (1760–1761), both lost by France.

at that time that they learnt to aid provincial *Nawabs*[109] engaged in local conflicts in order to weaken the French influence and tip the balance of power in their own favour[110] (Ray 1998: 519). Without a doubt, the British relied on the strategy already employed by the Portuguese in Japan; therefore, subsequent favouring of regional rulers saw the refinement of the famous "divide and conquer" method (Cell 1999: 245).

The 18th century was the period of massive territorial expansion for the British. Apart from the constant struggle for influence against the French, the British managed to gain permits for duty-free trade in Bengal. Nevertheless, the Nawab of Bengal opposed such a state of affairs and in 1757 the British troops crushed the Bengali rebellion. During the Battle of Plassey, a relatively small number of the Company's forces faced a large army. However, the Nawab's soldiers betrayed their master and joined the British side in order to have a new ruler assume the throne. Such a turn of events revolutionised the British strategy of battle because it allowed the colonisers to develop a pattern for conquering Indian princedoms (Marshall 1998b: 502). In view of the Nawab's fall, the Company's commander, Robert Clive, was appointed as the Governor of Bengal and, for the first time ever, the East India Company gained an administrative control over a territory in Asia[111]. After this significant victory, the Anglo-Mysore, Anglo-Maratha, Anglo-Sikh, and Anglo-Nepalese conflicts ensued, which enabled the colonisers to acquire more and more of the Indian territories. By the 1850s, the Company controlled roughly 90% of the lands previously occupied by the Mughals and the Marathas (White-Spunner 2017: 45–46).

The Sepoy Rebellion of 1857 was the concluding event of the British struggle for their absolute power in India. A mutiny that was initiated by the Indian soldiers of the Company's 34th Native Infantry (the *sepoys*; meaning, infantry soldiers) very quickly consumed the central regions of the subcontinent. The reasons behind the uprising remain ambiguous. A spiritual aspect is often mentioned; that is to say, the soldiers were allegedly destined by divine intervention to rebel against their masters[112] (White-Spunner 2017: 18). However, more pragmatic reasons, such as rampant taxation, land annexation policies[113] if a ruler had

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[109] *Nawab*: A native governor during the time of the Mughal empire (https://en.oxforddictionaries.com).

[110] To quote a member of the Indian confederacy against the British from 1780: "Divide and grab is their main principle ... They are bent upon subjugating the States of Poona, Nagpur, Mysore and Haidarabad one by one, by enlisting the sympathy of one to put down the others. They know best how to destroy Indian cohesion" (Ray 1998: 519).

[111] Until 1757, they were only preoccupied with guarding the properties of the Company (Marshall 1998b: 500).

[112] The assassins of Prime Minister Indira Gandhi in 1984 claimed a similar phenomenon (heavenly revenge for the destruction of the Golden Temple in Amritsar) as their driving motive (Kalmar 1989: 284).

[113] The most popular of these was the Doctrine of Lapse introduced by Lord Dalhousie, according to which a princely state under the British jurisdiction automatically lost its status in the event of having no direct successor to the throne. A ruler could not transfer his power to an adopted child or a daughter, only a male beneficiary

no male heir, increasing unemployment rate among the Indian natives caused by the collapse of handicraft industry, and outrageously lavish lifestyle of the Company's officers[114] in all likelihood launched the insurgency (Burroughs 1999: 326). Unfortunately, poor coordination, lack of strong leadership, little resources, and discordance among the rebels led to their inevitable defeat. The rebellion was ruthlessly suppressed 13 months after it began. Although the colonisers managed to contain the threat, the scale and durability of the armed resistance pushed the British government to ascertain full and direct control over Indian territories, thus relieving the Company from its duties and taking India onto a higher political level, which was the leadership of the Crown that would last until the decisive year of 1947 (White-Spunner 2017: 18).

2.2.5.2. *Period of the British Raj (1858–1947)*

In the course of the rebellion's aftermath, most of its leaders died, yet a handful managed to survive with their fate remaining unknown afterwards[115]. The British soldiers reorganised their army structure by disbanding the units composed of the Brahmins and Muslims and put the rebels on trials together with villagers who supported them. In the majority of cases, they were punished by death, whereas their belongings and possessions were confiscated by the authorities (https://www.britannica.com).

Queen Victoria's Proclamation to the Princes, Chiefs, and the People of India of 1858 (http://cw.routledge.com) marks the transfer of power from the East India Company to the British Crown. For the purposes of administering the colony, the special India Office[116] was established, which was issuing policies meant to be implemented by the Viceroy of India (a position created in lieu of former "Governor-General"). What is more, a freshly reformed governing body began the process of incorporating Indian natives deriving from high castes into the civil service. In order to avoid any sort of potential uprising in the future, the administrators promoted religious tolerance and dropped the horrendous annexation policies

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would be recognised by the British. This doctrine allowed the Company to annex over 30 princely states before 1858.

[114] For instance, they built excessive bungalows, hired a plentiful staff of servants, and even engaged in acts of infidelity with Indian mistresses. As described by Ann L. Stoler in her article *Making Empire Respectable: The Politics of Race and Sexual Morality in 20th-century Colonial Cultures* (1997 [1989]: 344–373).

[115] The figures of Mangal Pandey, Nana Sahib, Tantia Tope, Rani Lakshmibai, Kunwar Singh, and Begum Hazrat Mahal were immortalised in Indian modern culture by means of literature, cinema, paintings, and video games (https://www.britannica.com).

[116] New political structure gave the Empire an opportunity to engage in the geopolitical situation surrounding India. That is to say, India Office closely monitored the activities of the Russian officials in the regions of Afghanistan and Nepal. This informal rivalry between the two empires is referred to by historians as the Great Game (White-Spunner 2017: 317; https://www.britannica.com).

altogether. In 1877, Queen Victoria assumed the title of the Queen of India (White-Spunner 2017: 49).
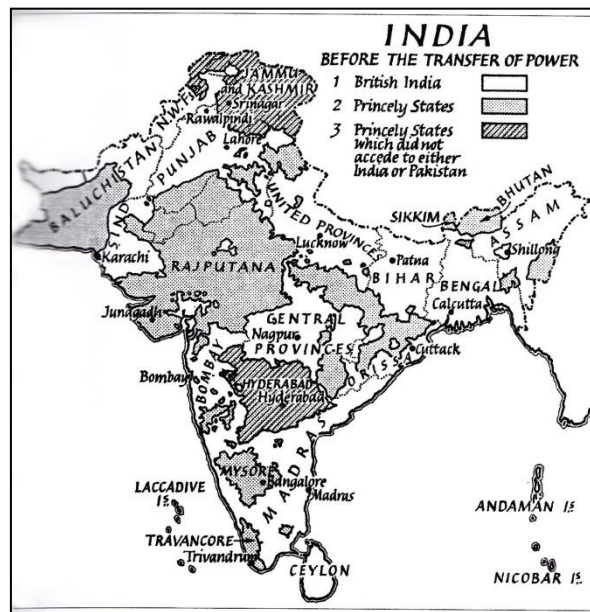

Figure 5. Map of British Provinces and Princely States (Das 1970: 84).

As Fig. 5 presents, Colonial India was structurally divided into the British Provinces and the Princely States. In the simplest terms, these native states can be described as vassal territories, governed by indigenous monarchs, yet remaining part of a subsidiary alliance (Duffy 1998: 198–200). Approximately 565 Princely States were controlled by maharajas, as long as they accepted the British supremacy. Such subsidiary alliance was always regulated by a treaty, which specified the extent of powers of a local ruler and forms of his co-operation with the British (Bayly 1988: 58). In exchange for the recognition of his princely status, a maharaja had to financially support the British troops stationing in his territory. He could not declare a war against any other state, and he would employ only the British as foreign staff members. Recurrently, the British established the infrastructure required for the operation of communication and transport. Frequently, the supervision of a Chief Commissioner was also needed in order to keep those regions under a relative economic control.

2.2.5.3.   *Administrative Policies in British India*

Organisational structure of authority in British India is also a crucial matter. Even though the East India Company was no longer in power, the administration of India was divided into the following chain of command: the provincial governments in the provinces which answered to the central government located in Calcutta, which, in turn, answered to the imperial

government located in London (Bayly 1988: 195). The hierarchy of colonial politics was so meticulously organised that it is best to visually present it through the following graphs.

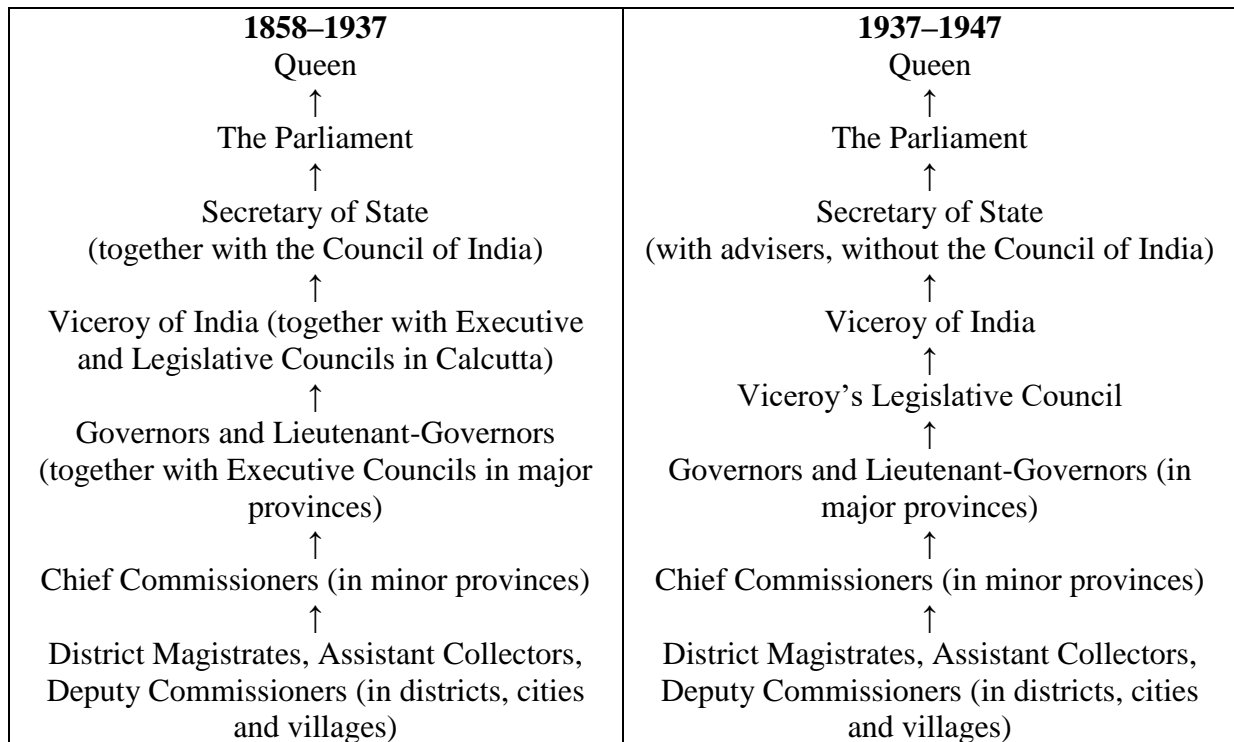| 1858–1937	1937–1947
Queen	Queen
↑	↑
The Parliament	The Parliament
↑	↑
Secretary of State (together with the Council of India)	Secretary of State (with advisers, without the Council of India)
↑	↑
Viceroy of India (together with Executive and Legislative Councils in Calcutta)	Viceroy of India
↑	↑
Governors and Lieutenant-Governors (together with Executive Councils in major provinces)	Viceroy's Legislative Council
↑	↑
Chief Commissioners (in minor provinces)	Governors and Lieutenant-Governors (in major provinces)
↑	↑
District Magistrates, Assistant Collectors, Deputy Commissioners (in districts, cities and villages)	Chief Commissioners (in minor provinces)
	↑
	District Magistrates, Assistant Collectors, Deputy Commissioners (in districts, cities and villages)

Figure 6. Organisation of the Government of India (left: period from 1858 to 1937; right: period from 1937 to 1947) (Illustration created by the author of the dissertation on the basis of Bayly 1988: 195–199).

On the basis of the exemplified graphs, it can be inferred that the administrative structure of control resembled the military framework of double government. A typical army is divided into units which are commanded by lieutenant colonels who, accordingly, report to generals. Correspondingly, the Viceroy of India was the Crown's representative on the subservient soil and held the executive power in the name of the Queen. However, he was accountable for his actions before the Secretary of State in London. In terms of legislature, the Viceroy residing in Calcutta had to implement the regulations proposed by India Office; yet, he also relied on the assistance of his own Legislative and Executive Councils in order to enact new laws directly (Bayly 1988: 195–196). The councils were composed not only of members who were British officials, but also of Indian natives deriving from landed aristocracy, who were selected specifically because of their loyalty to the Crown. Furthermore, each Governor and Lieutenant-Governor was aided by the advice of local Executive Councils in major provinces. Such a division of competences, inherited from the East India Company, remained unchanged until the year 1937, when the system was modified. On the one hand, the Council of India, along with the local councils, were

abolished, which simplified the legislative process as well as London's supervision. On the other hand, the Viceroy was given more freedom in enacting laws, through his Executive Council, and controlling his subordinates scattered around the provinces. This mode of governance would last until the year 1947.

2.2.5.4.   *Education, Economy, and Infrastructure in British India*

Apart from the aforementioned reforms of Indian public service, significant efforts were made to reform the educational system in India. According to the instructions of Thomas Macaulay, the education was to be based on the English language in order to replace native cultural legacy with the allegedly superior culture of the morally-oriented Empire. A strong emphasis was put on promoting technical colleges over universities[117] because the colonisers' primary intent was to decrease the number of Indian intellectuals. Interestingly, only male students were accepted to state-controlled schools (Jones 1989: 28). The colonisers had not seen anything striking in the civilising mission of educating only male Indians and excluding women, who were already oppressed by the traditionally patriarchal system of India (Jones 1989: 95). Coincidentally, Christian missionaries built their own schools, operating beyond the Macaulay's curriculum, in which basic skills of reading, writing, and arithmetic were taught (Jones 1989: 62). Such types of schools were not focused on humiliating the Indian students and demonstrating scientific racism, but instead, they were more open and tolerant during the process of cross-cultural exchange. What is more important, both male and female natives were allowed to attend.

Nevertheless, the encounter of dissimilar spiritual values would not go without a clash. The establishment of schools and hospitals by the British missionaries served as a way to encourage conversion among people in need. Moreover, the Christians vehemently opposed the Hindu ritual of *suttee*[118], the abolishment of which took a significant amount of time and effort in the 1820s[119]. They abstained from further social intervention after the 1857 uprising and focused instead on eradicating prostitution, stopping the remarriage of child widows, and favouring the emancipation of Indian women (Jones 1989: 36). Perhaps the most compelling achievement of the missionaries is the formulation of writing systems for the previously

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[117] The purpose of which was to produce large masses of obedient civil servants (Jones 1989: 27–28).

[118] *Sati*, or *Suttee* ("good woman" or "chaste wife"): "the Indian custom of a wife immolating herself on the funeral pyre of her dead husband [...]. It is sometimes linked to the myth of the Hindu goddess Sati, who burned herself to death in a fire that she created through her Yogic powers after her father insulted her husband" (https://www.britannica.com).

[119] The tradition of sati was legally abolished in 1829 by Lord William Bentinck acting as the Governor-General of India (Jones 1989: 31).

unknown native languages. Without these, the multilingual chart of India would not have been completed[120]. Still again, the missionaries' struggles and accomplishments were effaced in the course of history and little academic attention has been given to them by postcolonial researchers.

The development of the rail network was also revolutionised. Railway lines were supposed to be set up along trade routes, and not administrative subdivisions as they were prior to the Sepoy Rebellion. The colonial administrators encouraged private railway companies to invest in the process of building train lines. Lured by the promise of high income, the companies could build and manage the lines for the period of 99 years, while the administration had the possibility of buying them earlier. As a result, the railway network began to rapidly expand. Initially, it was managed solely by the British; yet, Indians gradually started filling the vacant posts of craftsmen and engineers (https://web.archive.org). In 1900, British India had an advanced system of rail services spreading across the majority of the provinces and princely states. After the First World War, the railway companies were nationalised; however, the condition of the railways had visibly worsened due to numerous shipments of troops and equipment. Additionally, the facilities providing maintenance were shorthanded. After Indian independence of 1947, the whole network was unified into a national system of Indian Railways. Unfortunately, Indian Railways never matched the efficiency of their 19th century predecessors. Locomotives, carriages, and tracks were all used up by the 1940s. The system remains crippled to this day, resembling more an open-air museum than an actual means of transport. Still, it is used by millions of Indians who cannot afford plane travel across the country.

Perhaps the most significant set of reforms was that concerning the field irrigation system. For hundreds of years, the Indian subcontinent was constantly plagued by famine. The British were convinced that with an efficient canal network, even 2% of river water could save thousands of lives. As a result, the establishment of distribution canals ensued. Similarly to the development of railway lines, the irrigation system boomed in India, becoming one of the largest in the world by the end of the 19th century. For instance, jungles in Assam[121] were transformed into tea plantations, whereas barren lands in Uttarakhand[122] could be used to

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[120] There are approximately 30 languages in usage across the Indian subcontinent. Although Hindi is referred to as the preferred official language of government, it was never given the status of a national language. By contrast, the citizens who do not speak Hindi resort to using their own native tongues, like Bengali, Telugu, Tamil, Punjabi, Kannada, and many others (Mallikarjun http://www.languageinindia.com).

[121] A contemporary state in north-eastern India, nearly adjacent to the country of Bangladesh.

[122] A contemporary state in northern India, the neighbouring region of Himachal Pradesh and Kashmir, which together comprise the Indian part of the Himalayas.

cultivate apples (Beszterda 2014: 120). Without a doubt, the irrigation infrastructure contributed greatly to the betterment of the local villagers' lifestyle. Paradoxically, even 20 years after regaining independence, many parts of India still depended on rain with regard to the yearly crops until the introduction of the Green Revolution by the government in the 1960s (Jayakar 2000: 538).

In terms of counteracting the effects of famines and pandemics, the British trained young doctors in the field of Western medicine and introduced them to the invention of vaccines. As a result of the influx of newly trained personnel and recent medical advancements, the death rate fell and the population began to steadily increase[123]; however, the number of citizens outweighed the amount of produced food throughout the 1800s. In view of this, the British attempted to fight extensive hunger by making the district officers personally responsible for helping the natives in need. Nevertheless, according to the statistics, the famines would continue to break out across India continuously from 1860 to 1906 (https://ourworldindata.org).

To date, there is an ongoing debate among historians about the economic impact of the British in India. The undeniable fact is that the colonial economy of India depended on agriculture, mainly exports of tea, coffee, spices, and cotton, which contributed to the economic growth of 1% every year in the late 19th century. On the one hand, there is a claim that the colonisers crippled and exploited the Indian economy. From East India Company to the Crown rule, the remnants of the Mughal Empire were relentlessly ravaged by the drainage of natural resources and the imposition of high taxes. Even the first Prime Minister of independent India, Jawaharlal Nehru, drew a conclusion that parts of India which had been under the British rule for the longest time were actually the poorest (Nehru 1946: 295). On the other hand, there are historians, like P. J. Marshall, who opposed Nehru's thought by stating that the colonisers had simply inherited the already unfair economic model of the Mughals, which took poverty and starvation of the lowest classes for granted (Marshall 1998b: 493). Marshall argues that the model in question was not largely reformed by the British, but they sustained it by transferring power to regional rulers. Contrary to the Indian nationalist claim that the colonisers were brutal aggressors who plundered and ravaged wealthy India, Marshall insists that the British were never in total control of India, yet instead, they were meandering through the complex web of alliances with the Indian establishment (Marshall 1998b: 499–500). In consequence, the true nature of their economic impact becomes ambiguous. Even

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[123] Over 100 million of new births per century since 1700 (https://www.indexmundi.com).

though Marshall's theories may be perceived as controversial and unsubstantiated, they indeed provide an unconventional perspective on the colonial rule in India.

With regard to the outlined aspects of the British presence in India, it is worth considering the impact of their civilising mission. Although it is difficult to assess their influence in terms of entirely positive or negative effects, the facts are that present-day India retained the institutions of parliamentary government and civil service as well as maintained the British legal and judiciary systems. Furthermore, on the ideological level, it is claimed that Indian intellectuals were left with the concepts of democracy, unity, and equality stretching beyond the caste system (White-Spunner 2017: 54). Within the field of economics, the colonisers heavily urbanised the rural regions by establishing canals, roads, railways, and ports. Nevertheless, they mostly regarded the Indian subcontinent as a strategic base or, to be more precise, a gateway to the rest of East Asia, because from there, they could easily continue trading with China and Malaysia (Rose 2009: 115). In consequence, their civilising mission was certainly not selfless, but rather motivated by reasons of achieving economic gain on the state and personal levels.

2.2.6. *Anti-Colonial Attitudes at the Turn of the 20th century*

In the aftermath of the Sepoy Rebellion, Allan Octavian Hume, a civil servant working within the framework of colonial administration decided to devote himself to the betterment of the condition of Indian people. In consequence, he became the primary figure behind the establishment of what was to become the major anti-colonial group in India, known as the Indian National Congress (Banerjee, http://www.victorianweb.org).

However, it has to be emphasised that the nature of the Congress was not geared towards independence from the get go. Since 1885, special Hindu delegates from all colonial provinces would gather at special session meetings in order to cooperate with the colonial officials on vital matters concerning India. Nevertheless, lack of initiative to communicate from the side of the colonisers pushed the delegates to assume the oppositional stance to the British Crown and its imperial actions (White-Spunner 2017: 46).

Allan Octavian Hume himself was never an anti-colonial freedom fighter. He co-founded the Congress hoping to avoid unnecessary bloodshed between the colonisers and the colonised in the course of another, potentially devastating revolution. The INC was meant to function as a buffer between the two parties that sought to achieve the best possible outcome for themselves, yet this task proved to be a fool's errand (http:www.britannica.com). Still, it is impossible to categorise Hume merely as an agent supporting the imperial cause because he

continuously attacked the policies of India Office, which eventually cost him his position within the civil service. The Englishman went on to support the struggle of the Indian National Congress even after his return to England, but the organisation fell into decay when it was taken over by inept Hindu politicians who had no idea how to operate on a political stage (Banerjee, http://www.victorianweb.org).

It was not until the outbreak of the First World War that the Congress started undergoing major reforms. Hindu leaders of the movement reassured the British authorities about their full support in such difficult times, but at the same time, India was plagued by strikes and protests motivated by poor economy. Dissatisfaction with the colonial rule was increasing, and it was only fuelled by the tragic Jallianwala Bagh massacre of 1919[124] and the unification of Muslims and Hindus against the dissolution of the Ottoman Empire (White-Spunner 2017: 254). The scale of rebellion reached its full potential with the arrival of Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi from South Africa.

Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi[125] was fighting in defence of Hindu populace in Africa since the end of the nineteenth century. A lawyer by education, he eventually adopted a more spiritual path. Members of the Indian National Congress perceived him as a much needed leader who could lead the crowds of people disenchanted with colonialism; however, Gandhi was anything but a politician. It took him a year to tour around India so as to familiarise himself with the desperate plight of the colonised. Afterwards, he developed the concept of *Swaraj* (meaning: self-governance), which he set in motion by going on a hunger strike (Jayakar 2000: 70).

In the year 1920, Gandhi's strategy of civil disobedience spread to a whole continent, effectively paralysing the branches of economy, transportation, and law enforcement. At the INC conventions, the leader relentlessly postulated for performing peaceful resistance which was to manifest itself in such undertakings as, for instance, not trading with the British companies, not sending Hindu children away to receive education in England, leaving military posts governed by the colonisers, and refusing to wear imported clothing (White-Spunner 2017: 28, 47).[126]

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[124] On the 13th of April, 1919, approximately 1,000 of local Indians gathered at Jallianwala Bagh garden in Amritsar to protest against the persecution of Punjabi activists who were held in captivity. The group was ruthlessly executed by British forces under the leadership of General Reginald Dyer. The commanding officer in question never faced charges for his actions. He was relieved from duty a year later (White-Spunner 2017: 27; https://www.britannica.com).

[125] Later, he received the epithet *Mahatma*, which literally means higher soul (https://en.oxforddictionaries.com).

[126] According to Gandhi, he wanted the oppressed people to follow the principles of *Satyagraha*. This concept meant insistence on truth without the necessity of resorting to violence. Even the form of passive resistance, in Gandhi's opinion, carried with it a degree of physical or mental violence, the basis for a conflict, which

In the early 1920s, Gandhi began cooperating with the high caste of Brahmins, who were active within the ranks of the INC, particularly the Nehru family. Interestingly, they were not so much advocates of Indian independence as facilitators fluent in legal complexities who, like Allan Octavian Hume, sought to establish a peaceful thread of communication with the British officials. Throughout the 1910s, Motilal Nehru led a rather lavish English-influenced lifestyle[127] due to his prosperous legal office. However, Motilal's son, Jawaharlal Nehru underwent a change of heart upon meeting Gandhi and learning about his anti-colonial endeavours in South Africa. Jawaharlal became active in the political domain and, having been strongly influenced by Vladimir Lenin's ideology, he believed that liberated India could thrive on the principles of social progress, casting into the past outdated traditional practices. He believed that the country should develop itself economically as well as technologically in order to match the greatness of the United Kingdom. Although Gandhi and Nehru closely collaborated with each other, their opposing political views generated a major clash. Mahatma wanted India to go back to the old, pre-colonial days, the times when people relied on religion and cultural heritage, whereas Nehru opted for a secular state, free of spiritual influences, which he perceived as the dividing factors triggering racism and caste categorisations among the public (Kalmar 1989: 84–85).

Although Gandhi desired to create an independent state entity where people of different nationalities, such Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs, and others could function as one nation, his intention proved to be futile. In the mid-1930s, when the Indian National Congress gained the majority of representative seats in the regional council of British India provinces, the Muslim majority under the leadership of Muhammad Ali Jinnah began feeling ignored and discriminated. Jinnah, who was initially against the idea of partitioning the subcontinent, declared that the Congress is a nationalist group which strived to establish Hindustan for Hindus (White-Spunner 2017: 66). Gandhi rushed to deny such accusations, but the Muslims already put forward to British authorities their idea of making a separate land for themselves out of the provinces located in the North-West (specifically, Balochistan, Sindh, and Punjab). The new country was to be called Pakistan; that is, *Land of the Pure* (White-Spunner 2017: 66).

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eventually reflects back at the colonised with negative implications (Chakrabarty 2006: 13). As a result, Indian protesters should rely on constant adherence to the truth; that is, repeatedly reiterate their own beliefs to the authority. In this manner, they could successfully shed the fear of the coloniser (White-Spunner 2017: 290).

[127] It is said that the respected Brahmin owned a large household, two automobiles, and even sent his clothes by airmail to be laundered in London (White-Spunner 2017: 54).

2.2.7. *The Transfer of Power*

Britain's involvement in World War II drastically changed the situation of the Empire in India. Members of the Congress were outraged that the colony was engaged into the conflict without any discussion with leaders of freedom groups. The Hindus started calling for complete liberation of India, whereas the Muslim League officially declared that the transfer of sovereignty can happen only in the event of the Partition that will guarantee Muslims' freedom (Kalmar 1989: 105). The only person opposing such a state of affairs was Mahatma Gandhi himself who was convinced that immediate liberation of India would make it prey to foreign powers.[128] The leader said that he "did not seek India's independence out of the ashes of a destroyed Britain" (http://historum.com).

To alleviate the situation, India Office dispatched Sir Stafford Cripps to head a special commission that was to work out the conditions of India's self-rule and its participation in the war (White-Spunner 2017: 56). However, the negotiating parties failed to reach an agreement on the prospective date of the independence. This, in turn, pushed the Congress to initiate the "Quit India" campaign[129] in July 1942.

With the end of the war, the United Kingdom seemed to give up on the idea of keeping India as a part of their once great Empire. Many things underwent a change in the colony since the first time when representatives of the East India Company arrived there 300 years before. Evidently, the land was still abundant with natural resources, but the attitude of the indigenous people changed drastically since the 1920s, when Mahatma Gandhi, Jawaharlal Nehru, and Muhammad Ali Jinnah took control over liberation movements. Colonial India was plagued by strikes, protests, and, most importantly, instances of insubordination within the ranks of Indian Air Force, British Imperial Police, and Royal Indian Navy (Kalmar 1989: 100). To make matters worse, because of the war, the United Kingdom did not have sufficient financial means to counteract these acts of disobedience. As a result, Prime Minister Clement Atlee declared that India would most certainly achieve independence by June 1948 (White-Spunner 2017: 58).

Lord Louis Mountbatten, a grandson of Queen Victoria, was given by Atlee the task of overseeing the handover of power as the last Viceroy of India. Mountbatten accepted the assignment reluctantly, but he immediately developed a rapport with Gandhi and Nehru as he

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[128] Gandhi was especially afraid of the Japanese army, which had already invaded China as well as the Indian National Army, a paramilitary force led by Subhas Chandra Bose (Kalmar 1989: 98).

[129] The purpose of the movement was to make the British troops leave after the end of the war. In order to quell any sort of social unrest among the Indian public, members of the INC were incarcerated by the colonisers, which only exacerbated the situation. In the course of violent clashes on the streets of United Provinces, approximately 1000 people died (Kalmar 1989: 87–89).

had known them already from his days while serving in the South East Asia Command during the war. The Viceroy rushed to reassure the public that the process of dividing British India would be as safe as possible, but this assertion did not prevent clashes between religious minorities (White-Spunner 2017: 87).

The announcement of the Partition only fuelled the deep-rooted prejudice amongst Hindus, Muslims, and Sikhs in the northern parts of India. Confident that they would find themselves on the right side of the new border, Muslims attacked Hindus in the cities of Lahore, Rawalpindi, and Peshawar, whereas Hindus retaliated in Calcutta and New Delhi. For fear of completely losing control in the colony, Viceroy Mountbatten speeded up the prospective date of the Partition (White-Spunner 2017: 118). Time mattered more than proper conferences with experts on the shape of the new country, its constitution, regional autonomies, and legislature.

2.2.8. *The Partition of India*

Although the date of the Partition (the 15th of August, 1947) was put forward by the Viceroy, it was accepted unanimously by the members of the Congress and the Muslim League. Indian astrologists were convinced that the day of the 14th of August was much more fitting for the transfer of sovereignty, which led Jawaharlal Nehru to suggest the following golden mean: the gathering of the Constituent Assembly on the 14th, and the actual handover was to occur exactly at midnight. This solution proved to be satisfactory for both parties because, according to Hindu custom, midnight is still counted as part of the antecedent day (Lapierre and Collins 1975: 167–168).

Consequently, Indian independence took place during the night from the 14th to the 15th of August, 1947. Jawaharlal Nehru was given the title of the Prime Minister of India, whereas Muhammad Ali Jinnah received the post of the Governor-General of Pakistan (White-Spunner 2017: 158–159). While displaying the new national flag of the Republic[130] in front of the public, the Congress leader delivered the following speech called "Tryst with Destiny":

> Long years ago we made a tryst with destiny, and now the time comes when we shall redeem our pledge, not wholly or in full measure, but very substantially. At the stroke of the midnight hour, when the world sleeps, India will awake to life and freedom. A moment comes, which comes but rarely in history, when we step out from the old to the new, when an age ends, and when the soul of a nation, long suppressed, finds utterance. (Nehru

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[130] The flag contains a Buddhist Wheel with 24 spokes called Ashoka Chakra. The position and shape of colours saffron, white, and green is horizontal and rectangular (White-Spunner 2017: 160).

https://www.humanities.uci.edu)

It seems that by calling his speech "Tryst with Destiny," Nehru wanted to underline the fact that the struggle for Indian independence was going on for many decades and that it was a high priority for the colonised citizens to regain their freedom. When referring to "the soul of a nation," the leader encouraged the indigenous people to unite for the cause of developing the newly-created country. Interestingly, Mahatma Gandhi was not present at the festivities in New Delhi because he was in Calcutta, trying to alleviate the conflict between the Hindus and the Muslims. In the meantime, excited masses began shouting "Victory to Mahatma Gandhi! Victory to Lord Mountbatten!" elated that the Viceroy had given up his power and the period of colonialism reached an end (White-Spunner 2017: 160–161).

However, the moment of independence was not all that peaceful as the authorities wanted it to be. On the contrary, during the fateful night when Nehru was delivering a memorable speech, a series of violent acts occurred across the country. The Muslims were murdering and assaulting residents in Punjab and Bengal, whereas Hindus and Sikhs were doing the same in Bihar. Thousands of families left their households in order to find themselves on the *right* side of the border. Yet, they were not quite sure where they were going as the special boundary commission released its information on new borderlines only two days after the independence (White-Spunner 2017: 157). It is estimated that the Partition of India set in motion one of the biggest migration flows ever as approximately 15 million residents moved between India and Pakistan (Kalmar 1989: 107–108; White-Spunner 2017: 12; Lapierre and Collins 1975: 214–218).

Regrettably, the violence was not only limited to the geographical locations where a particular religious group constituted demographic majority. The migrants from both sides were predominantly attacked en route to their new homelands. Special train lines were attacked or derailed, women raped, and men brutally slaughtered. Those who had no means of transportation travelled by foot and frequently could not march very far due to exhaustion. The official statistics about the number of victims are not reliable, ranging between 200,000 and 1 million of those who lost their lives. Lord Mountbatten himself reported to the British government that only 3% of the population participated in the clashes (White-Spunner 2017: 151).[131] Had the approach of the freedom leaders and the colonial administrators been more cautious towards the handover of power, perhaps the unnecessary bloodshed could have been avoided.

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[131] At that time, the population of India consisted of 390 million of citizens (Kalmar 1989: 99).

In view of the discussed models of governing the colonies, it can be seen that the British Empire encompassed a wide range of disparate modes of power and control: from ruthless exploitation by slave workforce through noble desire to spread virtues and free-market capitalism to highly developed organisational structures. It was necessary to recapitulate all these forms of governance in order to show that the colonisers were actually *learning* the process of colonisation while exercising power in the colonies. It would be an exaggeration to claim that the imperial settlements were in close contact with each other and exchanged information; rather than that, the colonisers employed different means of management in view of regional specificity, relations with the natives, and changing economic conditions. The outlined origins of colonialism also point to the observation that India was the land that attracted not just the British explorers but also other Europeans. Nevertheless, British India became *the Jewel in the Crown* due to its complex framework of coloniality. Initially being the battleground between competing colonising powers, it became an oversized venture governed by men of business. Only after the tragic rebellion of the Sepoys, did the British Crown take control over Colonial India. After examining the administrative policies as well as educational and economic activities, it can be inferred that the British legacy in India remains ambiguous. Many postcolonial researchers claim that India was crippled as a sovereign entity because of colonialism, whereas many historians also emphasise that if it had not been for British India, the Republic of India would not exist in its current form. For better or for worse, due to its history, India has close ties with the United Kingdom and remains the exemplary model of colonial framework.

Chapter Three
Conceptual Dimensions of Colonialism

3. Psychoanalysis: Patterns, Images, and Symbols as Methods of Understanding the Coloniser

The third chapter explores the methodological basis in terms of psychoanalysis, which seems to be an important complement to postcolonial theories. In order to fully explore the figure of the coloniser, I intend to rely on the concepts devised by, firstly, Carl Jung (1875–1961), and especially the archetype as a primary pattern of behaviour that is repeated over generations; secondly, Joseph Campbell (1904–1987), and particularly the main literary protagonist on a journey that influences his character; and, thirdly, Jordan Peterson (1962–), who extends the research of Jung and Campbell by arguing that ideologies carry narrative structures which maintain the emotional stability of individuals. My intention is to relate these psychoanalytical findings to the figure of the coloniser (the formation of his psyche and oppressive patterns) and also apply this methodology while analysing the works of literature in the following chapters.

3.1. *Psychoanalysis in Psychological Theory and Postcolonial Studies*

Bringing psychoanalytic theory in relation to the postcolonial discourse may appear surprising or provocative, especially in view of the fact that postcolonialism as a discipline has its roots in the poststructuralist realm (During 2003: 125). My choice to incorporate psychoanalysis into the methodological part of this dissertation did not come from realisation that postmodernist thought has exhausted its means of deconstructing the historical, political, and cultural conditions of former colonies across the globe, but from the fact that psychoanalysis enjoys general resurgence not only in medicine but also in modern academia (Smith, http://www.brockpress.com).

Nevertheless, disenchantment with poststructuralism is very much the case indeed in contemporary times with the overreliance on the concepts of power and biopolitics while interpreting postcolonial texts. This tendency is clearly outlined by David Scott in his work *Refashioning Futures* (1999). Scott argues that poststructuralists are misusing the terms of postcolonial ethics and they should be quoted in relation to the political aspects of colonies rather than anthropological ones (Scott 1999: 134). Undoubtedly, the research of Jacques

Derrida, Antonio Gramsci, and Michel Foucault influenced the development of postcolonial studies in the 20th century; however, lack of any new input into the field since the 1990s (Nichols 2010: 140–142) renders poststructuralism a monotonous and repetitive method of analysis (when used single-handedly as an interpretative tool, without the influence of other disciplines).

Apart from revived interest in Freudian personality psychology, Jungian depth psychology, and Peterson's lectures on the psychology of religious beliefs, psychoanalysis has recently more and more frequently converged with the field of (post)colonial studies[132]: "Scholars in the liberal arts have tended to use Freud as a springboard to examine issues and ideas never dreamt of in his philosophy — like gender studies, postcolonial studies, French postmodernism, Queer theory and so on. […] [Take for example] a course on psychoanalysis and colonialism, two terms most clinically based analysts would never have imagined in a single sentence" (Cohen, https://www.nytimes.com).

Indeed, psychoanalysis and colonialism appear to be an unlikely match; however, the two theoretical frameworks surprisingly complement each other in modern-day contexts[133]. To be more specific, colonial studies allow psychoanalysis to go beyond its Eurocentric interpretative scope and "speak from the margins about Western culture" (Frosh 2013: 145); that is to say, reveal the irrationality of colonial thought and reaffirm the unconscious position of the primitive self at the centre of every civilised individual (Frosh 2013: 145–146). In turn, psychoanalysis sheds a new light on the ambiguous relationship between the coloniser and the colonised as well as the colonial psyche in the wake of postcolonial world. Even though psychoanalysis may be dismissed by proponents of postcolonial studies as an enabler of the colonial endeavour, at the heart of its psychological theory, it also has the subversive power to question racist assumptions (Frosh 2013: 153). For instance, Freud's division between *the primitive* and *the civilised* can be perceived in the colonial context as a justification of the enlightened European's domination over an irrational and childish Other (Khanna 2003: 53; Frosh 2013: 143). However, Edward Said's re-reading of Freud points to the thinker's critique of national identity. Freud seems to suggest that a nation is not a homogenous construct, by means of race or culture, but such types of identities are in fact heterogeneous because there is

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[132] I deliberately used the term "post" in parentheses in order to highlight the fact that psychoanalysis influences both the historical condition of living under colonialism and the theory after its end (the postcolonial discourse) that strives to understand this condition.
[133] The trend of juxtaposing the two frameworks can be seen in such recent works as *Psychoanalysis, Colonialism, Racism* (2013) by Stephen Frosh, and *Ruling Minds: Psychology in the British Empire* (2016) by Erik Linstrum.

always "an outsider at the heart of the nation"[134] who negates the colonial order (Said 2003: 53). On the one hand, the sceptics of fusing psychoanalysis and postcolonial thought together frequently cite Freud as the definite reason against doing so (Khanna 2003: 186). On the other hand, the proponents often refer to Jacques Lacan and his concept of identity formation through the mirror stage which greatly influenced Franz Fanon[135], the postcolonial researcher par excellence (Khanna 2003: 186, Frosh 2013: 146–148). However, almost nobody mentions[136] in this ongoing discourse Carl Jung and his connection with the Orient.

Regardless of the proposed inadequacies, such as putting a strong emphasis on human behaviour and approaching trauma in ambiguous ways, psychoanalysis indeed has a significant degree of impact on the re-reading of colonial condition and its contemporary legacy. Stephen Frosh asserts that "psychoanalysis can be used both to trouble colonial and racist assumptions, and as a stepping stone to some subversive theory" (Frosh 2013: 153), whereas Erik Linstrum adds that psychoanalysis is not an imperfect methodology, but it suffers from insufficient interpretation of its results, especially in the context of modern-day India, where the coloniser's place has been taken over by a Hindu Nationalist (Linstrum, https://aeon.co).

3.2. *Carl Jung's Colonial Passages: Archetypes on the Frontiers*

The theoretical discipline of analytical psychology is usually associated with the figure of Sigmund Freud (Heller 2005: xii). Undeniably, the Austrian neurologist is considered to be the founding father of psychoanalysis, having devised many groundbreaking theories of his time, such as, for instance, the existence of the unconscious, libido, id, ego, and the superego (Heller 2005: 164, 89–92). Apart from Freud's ideas, the character of Freud himself has also been very popular and influential for decades, and nowadays one can still see his reflections in the pop-cultural mainstream[137]. As a result, Sigmund Freud has been so widely praised in the world that his fame overshadows the research of other thinkers from the psychoanalytical field.

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[134] As an example, Freud advances a suggestion that the figure of Moses, the founding father of Jewish culture, was actually of an Egyptian descend (Heller 2005: 172).

[135] His most famous publication which relies on the concepts of Jacques Lacan is *Black Skin, White Masks* (1952).

[136] The only articles I found which position Jung in the postcolonial context are "The Ethnic Shadow: Jung, Dreams and the Colonial Other" by Jo Collins (2009) and "Jung's Fantasies of Africa and the Individuation Process" by Roger Brooke (2017).

[137] The figure of Freud appeared in countless Hollywood bio-pictures and miniseries, such as *A Secret Passion* (1962), *Turbulent Relationships* (1993), or Netflix's *Freud* (2020). Additionally, he appears in completely fictional stories, often accompanying popular characters like Sherlock Holmes, for example, *The Seven-Per-Cent Solution* (1974), a novel by Nicholas Meyer (Heller 2005: xiii–xiv).

As mentioned in the previous subsection, the names of Freud and Lacan are brought up in the discussion on the usefulness of psychoanalysis against the postcolonial backdrop. I believe this is due to the fact that both thinkers dealt to such a great extent with the issue of identity formation, even though they came under heavy criticism for presenting insufficient empirical data in their research (Heller 2005: xiv). Nonetheless, other psychoanalytic researchers, including Carl Jung, remain disregarded in the discourse.

Carl Jung was a Swiss psychologist who contributed to psychoanalysis on the basis of his experiences with hospitalised patients. While initially being under the influence of Freud, and serving as his close associate for the period of at least six years, the two split up professionally and went their separate ways. The moment of their theoretical parting is marked by Jung's publication of *Psychology of the Unconscious* in 1912. Jordan Peterson explains that what caused the rift between Freud and Jung was their different perspective on the fundamental myth of mankind. Appropriately, Freud was convinced that human life presents itself as a "failed hero story"[138], the one in which human development is destined to go in the wrong direction, whereas Jung believed quite the opposite (Peterson 2002: 313). To him, the ethos of the human myth was a "successful hero story"[139], the awakening of a man who can conceptualise himself as an individual and who is able to conquer chaos and achieve triumph (Peterson 2002: 313). Consequently, Jung rejected Freudian assumptions about a religion being simply an occult phenomenon and about libido serving as an important factor in human development.

Jung centred his own assumptions around the notion of *the collective unconscious*[140]. According to him, a part of our psyche contains antecedent patterns, ideas, and memories which are experienced by every individual cross-culturally[141] (Henderson 1964: 107). Therefore, each person is bound to reproduce archetypes; meaning, universal images or symbols which find their reflection in cultural spheres (be it art, religion, politics or literature). Jung never clearly defined the meaning of archetypes. While initially referring to

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[138] A reflection of such a story is, according to Freud, the myth of Oedipus. Although Oedipus saves Thebes from Sphinx and ascends the throne, he finds out that he unknowingly killed his father and married then, unbeknownst to him, his own mother (Heller 2005: 181).

[139] An example of Jung's idea of a hero who prevails is a fairy tale about the Sleeping Beauty. A prince defeats the evil witch and awakens the princess, who becomes his wife (*Biblical Series VIII: The Phenomenology of the Divine* lecture, 1:17:22–1:19:36).

[140] All Jung's ideas, mentioned for the first time in the dissertation, are hereafter marked in italics.

[141] Peterson aesthetically describes this process as "Rescuing Your Father From the Belly of the Whale." From Jungian perspective, a man is the potential composite of all the ancestral wisdom that is locked inside of him biologically. He is the consequence of all the living beings that have come before him. This wisdom manifests itself only if an individual challenges himself to achieve a certain goal in life. In consequence, a reproduction of archetypal images ensues (*Jordan Peterson - You Must Rescue Your Father From the Belly of the Whale* interview).

them as "primordial images" (Jung 1964: 67), he based the concept of archetypal images on Plato's pure forms; that is, non-existent in our reality models which are sources of physical copies. Yet, this basic explanation is not applicable to patterns of behaviour. It can be inferred that for every physical manifestation of a book, there is an archetypal image of a book. Yet, concurrently, for every Hindu ritual involving the solar eclipse in India, there is an archetypal pattern which drives such a traditional practice[142]. In response to critics' claim that the existence of archetypes cannot be proven, Jung replied that the human experience is the ultimate proof of their presence[143]:

> My views about the "archaic remnants," which I call "archetypes" or "primordial images," have been constantly criticized by people who lack a sufficient knowledge of the psychology of dreams and of mythology. The term "archetype" is often misunderstood as meaning certain definite mythological images or motifs. But these are nothing more than conscious representations; it would be absurd to assume that such variable representations could be inherited. The archetype is a tendency to form such representations of a motif — representations that can vary a great deal in detail without losing their basic pattern. There are, for instance, many representations of the motif of the hostile brethren, but the motif itself remains the same. My critics have incorrectly assumed that I am dealing with "inherited representations," and on that ground they have dismissed the idea of the archetype as mere superstition. They have failed to take into account the fact that if archetypes were representations that originated in our consciousness (or were acquired by consciousness), we should surely understand them, and not be bewildered and astonished when they present themselves in our consciousness. They are, indeed, an instinctive trend, as marked as the impulse of birds to build nests, or ants to form organized colonies. (Jung 1964: 67–68)

Consequently, Jung explains archetypes not as pieces of information which are inherited from generation to generation but as patterns which drive the human development. In this manner, archetypes emerge from the unconscious, pushing an individual to devise, learn, and replicate a certain set of activities.

In relation to the idea of the collective unconscious, Jung described the struggle of consciousness rising towards the light out of the unconscious. This mental activity can be labelled as *individuation* in which an individual achieves physical wholeness by becoming aware of his existence (*the Self*) and works on fulfilling his desires (von Franz 1964: 161). However, he may be interrupted in this undertaking by his s*hadow*, the negative and hidden characteristics of the identity suppressed by the conscious. In order to complete the individuation task, an individual must acknowledge his shadow as well as either *extraverted or introverted* aspects of his personality and one of the two contrasexual traits of the psyche:

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[142] For instance, Hindu followers sing mantras and take a bath in the Ganges during an eclipse. Eating food, touching idols or leaving temples open during an eclipse is strictly prohibited for fear of evil forces, which may possess people (https://www.indiatoday.in).

[143] In an interview, he told the story of how one of his patients accurately foretold an optical phenomenon that was described in a scientific paper 4 years later (*Face to Face* documentary, 0:23:20–0:25:52).

inner feminine in men (*Anima*) or inner masculine in women (*Animus*) (von Franz 1964: 177; 189).

3.2.1. *Travels to Africa*

The main point of concern with regard to the assumptions outlined above is their application to postcolonial studies. The main link is provided by Carl Jung's travels. Namely, during his quest to prove the existence of archetypes, he embarked on scientific expeditions to East Africa and India in 1920 and 1937, respectively. Jung saw dreams as mediators between the conscious and the unconscious in the individuation process (von Franz 1964: 161). Hence, he was determined to uncover their origins. Jo Collins claims that

> It was through his dream explorations that he came to theorise the collective unconscious. For him, [it] was a storehouse of atavistic memories, primordial images, but which the European in his advanced state of civilisation, had substantially forgotten. […]. These ideas motivated Jung to travel to colonial locales to test his theories. By seeing the colonial environments as primitive, Jung hoped to encounter (in them) the living remnants of these unconscious mythologies which the European had forgotten. (Collins 2008: 23)

Upon arriving in North Africa, Jung was unable to tell whether he had found himself in a dream or reality. The African continent manifested itself as the land out of time and beyond European experience, where the dreams of indigenous people would allow him to explore the collective unconscious (Collins 2008: 23). While it may be initially assumed that the aim of Jung's endeavour was to reaffirm the European supremacy on the colonial frontiers, it actually threatened the convenient composite dichotomy of Africa/primitive/unconscious, on the one hand, and Europe/civilised/conscious, on the other. Jung sought in Africa evidence that would help him to reclaim the unconscious and primate aspects that were supposedly lost and forgotten by the European psyche: "In travelling to Africa to find a psychic observation post outside the sphere of the European, I unconsciously wanted to find that part of my personality which had become invisible under the influence and the pressure of being European […]. [I wished] to see the European from outside, his image reflected back at him by an altogether foreign milieu" (Jung 1965: 244, 238).

Even if Jung anticipated that his journey would become a larger-than-life adventure in the spirit of Doctor Livingstone's expedition, it was, in fact, a very introspective travel: "It became clear to me that this study had been not so much an objective scientific project as an intensely personal one, and that any attempt to go deeper into it touched every possible sore spot in my own psychology" (Jung 1965: 273).

Nevertheless, Jung's perception of Africa was very Eurocentric as he described the continent to be a "naïve world of adolescents"[144] (Jung 1965: 239). What is more, Jung experienced a very peculiar dream during his trip, in which he confronted the Arab prince, possibly an alternative version of himself[145]. Allegedly, the prince tried to kill Jung by drowning him, however, Jung gloriously triumphed by encouraging the attacker to read one of his publications in Turkmen, even though Jung could not write in that language (Jung 1965: 242–243). The reading of Jung's dream from the colonial perspective clearly indicates that the psychologist unwittingly sought to reconfirm his civilised identity while being confronted with the colonial reality (Collins 2008: 24–25; Brooke 2017: 3). In the fight between the European consciousness (the Self) and the unconscious psyche (the Oriental), there is no doubt which one was the most important for Jung. He literally became the coloniser and overpowered the Arab native for the sake of his own safety in the indigenous dream-world (Africa). Yet, Jung himself never interpreted this dream in the colonial context, yet instead he reached the following conclusion: "I became aware of how completely… I was still caught up and imprisoned in the cultural consciousness of the white man" (Jung 1965: 247 in Brooke 2017: 3).

He was afraid that "the primitive would invade and overwhelm the consciousness of the European" (Collins 2008: 25). To him, the Orient signified an archetypal space containing memories of prehistoric past (Jung 1965: 246). Without a doubt, these memories are very important for every human being, but their reliving would initiate a relapse into the primitive, the naïve adolescent (Jung 1965: 246). In consequence, "the otherness is no longer a feature of the Arab, but European: the civilised psyche inseparable from its shadow" (Collins 2008: 25).

Jung returned to Africa five years later, after seeing the 1925 British Empire exhibition in Wembley[146]. He was determined to go back and unravel the prehistoric origins of the human by making the natives tell him their dreams. In this manner, Jung would have been able to map out a gap dividing the primitive self of the European[147] and the primitive self of the African[148]. During his second visit, Jung set out to visit the Elgonyi tribe in Kenya. While travelling on a steamer to Mombasa, he made an acquaintance with many young Englishmen

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[144] Jung provided that remark upon encountering Arabic homosexuals in Tunis (Jung 1965: 239).

[145] Jung referred to the character as "a messenger of emissary of the self" (Jung 1965: 243).

[146] The showcase of cultural and technological items brought from the British colonies around the world. The exhibition shall be discussed in detail in the following section of the dissertation.

[147] Remnants of prehistoric memories that one individual experiences in dreams (Jung 1965: 263).

[148] There was a scientific conviction at the beginning of the 20th century that people of Africa were unconscious in their everyday activities, in contrast to the Westerners, who were advanced technologically (Collins 2008: 26).

who were going to their assigned posts in the African colonies. Jung remarked that they "were not travelling for pleasure, but were entering upon their destiny" (Jung 1965: 253). Before the end of his trip, the psychologist was informed that several of his fellow passengers died in the tropics due to various illnesses within the period of just two months since their arrival. This account undermines the general assumption that only British women were unable to withstand the incredibly warm and humid climate of distant colonies (Stoler 1997: 346). What is more, Jung describes the house of a District Commissioner in Kakamegas settlement as the cause of his own inability to differentiate between reality and dream, because the interior of the residence rejected everything that was African: "We were exhausted and the D. C. helpfully received us with whisky in his drawing room. A jolly and oh-so-welcome fire was burning in the fireplace. In the centre of the handsome room stood a large table with a display of English journals. The place might easily have been a country house in Sussex" (Jung 1965: 257). Consequently, it can be inferred that the British colonisers tried to, quite literally, make themselves at home in the colonial environment, but in fact that environment was so dangerous and deadly that they eventually lost health or even life.

Jung was also subjected to these dangers as he was bedridden with fever and laryngitis in the Commissioner's household only to recover soon after and experience the attack of hyenas on his travelling party (Jung 1965: 258–259). Yet, these experiences did not discourage Jung from discovering the grandeur of Africa and its people. In a fashion similar to Isak Dinesen just a few years earlier[149], Jung continued his journey through the unknown regions. In his account, it becomes evident that Jung, apart from appreciating the magnificent landscapes, took to local people, and his friendliness was reciprocated. The Bugishu people began calling him "mzee" which is an honorary title meaning "old man," whereas Jung praised their capacity for mimicry because they could accurately imitate gestures and emotions (Jung 1965: 259).

Jung's critics claim that the results of his visit among the Elgonyi tribe were unfruitful because, to the Elgonyi, Jung allegedly seemed to resemble "a colonial representative," so they would not tell him their dreams (Burleson 2005: 142–143). Hence, the local tribe ironically framed him as the distrusted Other within their own environment. Jung himself, however, explains that the Elgonyi's unwillingness to open themselves to him was due to their fear that possessing the knowledge of their dreams would rob them of their souls just like taking a picture of them was regarded in the same manner (Jung 1965: 265). In addition to

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[149] A Danish author known best for her memoir *Out of Africa* (1937), which chronicles her life in Kenya between 1914 and 1931.

this, the type of a white man whom Elgonyi greatly despised was the stranger who slept with "their" women (Jung 1965: 262). By no means was this an allusion to Jung; thus, he managed to win, to some extent, the favours of the Elgonyis and, instead of their dreams, they showed him what native family life looked like. For instance, a middle-aged Elgonyi housewife proudly presented her household, livestock, and children to Jung. Moreover, a tribal medicine man who informed Jung about the burial ceremonies, remarked the following: "[S]ince the whites were in Africa, no one had dreams any more. Dreams were no longer needed because now the English knew everything!" (Jung 1965: 265). This led Jung to conclude that the authority of an indigenous man was replaced by all-encompassing knowledge of the District Commissioner.

Still, the African setting also had a negative influence on Jung's psyche. The psychologist felt as if time was moving backwards because he was completely cut off from civilisation. Additionally, the bush made him paranoid as he started walking in circles in order to dismiss the feeling of being looked upon at all sides (Jung 1965: 269). The researchers of Jung's travels, Jo Collins and Roger Brooke, conclude that he was ambushed in Africa by the shadowy manifestation of the collective unconscious[150] (Collins 2008: 27, Brooke 2017: 14). In other words, the supposedly unconscious Africa crept into and compromised the integrity of the European outsider. However, Jung appreciated the mystique of Africa and its inhabitants. Their culture, rituals, and the semi-religious cultivation of light by the indigenous people led Jung to conclude that the European is, in fact, a figure tainted by a sense of incompleteness:

> The European is, to be sure, convinced that he is no longer what he was ages ago; but he does not know what he has since become. His watch tells him that since the "Middle Ages" time and its synonym, progress, have crept up on him and irrevocably taken something from him. With lightened baggage he continues his journey, with steadily increasing velocity, toward nebulous goals. He compensates for the loss of gravity and the corresponding *sentiment d'incompletitude* by the illusion of his triumphs, such as steamships, railroads, airplanes, and rockets, that rob him of his duration and transport him into another reality of speeds and explosive accelerations. (Jung 1965: 240)

The quoted passage is strongly critical of a modern man who compensates for the unexplored personality by technological advancements and ambitions, which find one of their outlets in colonialism. Even though Jung was significantly affected by the Western perspective during his African travels, his opinion on the presence of a white man as the

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[150] Collins calls this shadowy presence of Africa as the ethnic shadow, representation of the collective unconscious as well as the suppressed primitive (Collins 2008: 29).

authority figure on tropical frontiers became quite reproachful. His observations suggest that the coloniser should not be longing for larger-than-life adventures, but he should rather complete the individuation process because he lacks "the intensity of life" (Jung 1965: 242). Only after developing self-awareness is he able to open himself up to the Other (Brooke 2017: 14). In the end, the dreamworld of Africa formed into a fulfilling experience for Jung, who was already 62 and a respected psychologist at that time.

3.2.2. *Travel to India*

In contrast to the research which focuses on Jung's expeditions into the African interior, there are no academic papers centring on his journey to India. Apart from a couple of footnotes (for example in Collins 2008: 30), the primary sources about the psychologist's visit to India remain Jung's own accounts included in *Memories, Dreams, Reflections* (1965) and *Civilization in Transition* (1970).

In 1938, Carl Jung was invited by the British Government of India to participate in the 25th anniversary commemoration service of the University of Calcutta. Taking advantage of the opportunity, and being already interested in Indian religion and philosophy, Jung set out not only to Calcutta but also on a tour around the Indian subcontinent. He stated that India had an influence on him "like a dream" because it was an "alien, highly differentiated culture" (Jung 1965: 274). Contrary to his African expeditions, where he was looking for dreams, Jung was excited to meet Indian people who, unlike indigenous Africans, had the ability of translating their culture into spoken language (English). As a result, Jung had the chance to compare the differences between Indian and European mentalities and, consequently, discover his own dream.

His first paper about the visit, "The Dreamlike World of India" (1939)[151] begins with a modest disclaimer advising the reader not to take his statements about India and its people for granted. The psychologist provides an analogy about a hypothetical foreigner touring Europe for two months while having very little knowledge of the continent's languages, history, and culture (Jung 1970: 515). Indeed, the country of India is too abstract for a Westerner to grasp even today. As mentioned already in the second chapter, India is an extremely vast country[152], encompassing dozens of diverse cultures and language groups. Although British India was only divided into provinces and princely states, the disparity between indigenous inhabitants

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[151] It is a part of *Civilization in Transition. The Collected Works of C. G. Jung Volume 10* (Jung 1970: 515–524).
[152] For example, in terms of size comparison, India is 13 times bigger than the United Kingdom (https://www.mylifeelsewhere.com).

was clearly noticeable back then as well.

The paper contains a surprisingly ethnological perspective on India. The psychologist goes on to describe the exotic scenery of Bombay, its crowded streets, jungle-like gardens, and colourful bazaars. While visibly disliking the Anglo-Indian architecture that dominated the colonial landscape at that time, Jung praises the Gateway of India[153], which blatantly tries to mimic the Gate of Victory[154] at Fatehpur Sikri. In this way, the timelessness and uniqueness of India is emphasised (Jung 1970: 516).

Interestingly, Jung positions himself as the figure between the colonial centre (British India) and the natives (Indian people)[155]. As a result, while being a European, he distances himself from participating in the colonial endeavour: "Today it is the still youthful British Empire that is going to leave a mark on India, like the empire of the Moguls, like Alexander the Great, like numberless dynasties of native kings, like the Aryan invaders – yet India somehow never changes her majestic face" (Jung 1970: 516). What Jung implies by such a statement is that India, in spite of its rich history, is an ageless land with native greatness that is both "anonymous and impersonal" (Jung 1970: 517). Regardless of the many invaders, the land of India always preserves its identity because, according to Jung, time and space in India are "relative" concepts (Jung 1970:517). In contrast to ever-changing Europe, India seems to be an oriental, dreamlike reality in which everything is abstract and resembles a fairy-tale environment. Nevertheless, as Jung remarks, the state of perception depends upon one's position:

> I had felt the impact of the dreamlike world of India. I am convinced that the average Hindu does not feel his world as dreamlike; on the contrary, his every reaction shows how much he is impressed and gripped by its realities. […]. Perhaps I myself had been thrown into a dreamlike state by moving among fairytale figures of the Thousand and One Nights. […]. It is quite possible that India is the real world, and that the white man lives in a madhouse of abstractions. […]. No wonder the European feels dreamlike: the complete life of India is something of which he merely dreams. […]. But I did not see one European in India who really lived there. They were all living in Europe, that is in a sort of bottle filled with European air. (Jung 1970: 518–519)

The psychologist provides a postcolonial, Said-like stance on the English way of life in India. An Englishman is not able to fully immerse himself within the Indian reality because

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[153] An arch-monument localised in the modern city of Mumbai. It was built in order to celebrate the arrival of King George V in India on the 2nd of December 1911. Nowadays, it is a major tourist attraction that undergoes the renovation process (https://www.britannica.com).

[154] Also known as Buland Darwaza. It is a sandstone structure erected by the Mughal Emperor Akbar in 1601. To date, it remains the highest gateway construction of all time. It serves as the main entrance into the city of Fatehpur Sikri (https://www.britannica.com).

[155] Not being British makes him by default an outsider in the Empire. Yet, at the same, he refuses to be an apologist of imperial practices.

it is too exotic for him. Thus, he prefers to live in confinement with fellow Westerners who think alike due to the fact that the things he imagined about India transform into "formidable realities" (Jung 1970: 519) once the coloniser steps outside of his safe isolation. In other words, Jung presents India not so much as a primordial threat to the Western psyche like, for instance, Africa, but as a distinct dimension which only the native people can fully comprehend. The two worlds, England and India, are too disparate for people who travel between them.

The latter part of the article focuses on reaffirmation of India's uniqueness by praising the beauty of the Taj Mahal[156] and the Sanchi Stupa[157]. These landmarks, in Jung's opinion, constitute the spiritual essence of Indian identity, "the secret of India" (Jung 1970: 520). Surprisingly, Jung quickly shifts away from the historical monuments to the indigenous women. While participating in the Indian Science Congress, he had the opportunity to exchange views with many educated Indian women. However, it was not their wit but their costumes that enchanted him. By no means did Jung attempt to objectify Indian women. His admiration for their appearance had quite anthropological reasons: "It is the most becoming, the most stylish and, at the same time, the most meaningful dress ever devised by women. I hope fervently that the sexual disease of the West, which tries to transform woman into an awkward boy, will not creep into India" (Jung 1970: 521). Strictly speaking, Jung demonstrates in this manner his reproach towards the fashion invasion from the West. The Western woman with her too revealing attire became the symbol of objectification and Jung expresses in his writings hope that the Indian women will not attempt to emulate foreign trends: "It would be a loss to the whole world if the Indian woman should cease to wear her native costume. […] The European woman, and particularly her hopelessly wrong dress, put up no show when compared with the dignity and elegance of the Indian woman" (Jung 1970: 521–522).

Furthermore, Jung heavily criticises the so-called "English voice" in India. He reaches the conclusion that the way the coloniser communicates with the colonised is always fake and filled with double standards. Behind the warm, nearly joyous sounds of the British, there hides a substantial degree of unkindness: "It sounds as if they were trying to impress the world with their throaty rumbling tones. […] The usual brand is the bass voice of the colonel for instance, or the master of a household of numerous children and servants who must be

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[156] The mausoleum located in Agra. Its construction was initiated by the Mughal Emperor Shah Jahan in the 17th century. It took 22 years to build it (https://www.britannica.com).
[157] A religious complex made out of stone, one of the oldest in India. It was built over the Buddha's relics in the 3rd century BCE (https://www.britannica.com).

duly impressed. […] What a superhuman burden it is to be the overlords of a continent like India!" (Jung 1970: 523). In comparison, the colonised speak "modestly, carefully, politely" (Jung 1970: 523), not because of the oppression from the side of the coloniser, but due to their inherent effeminacy (the *Anima* factor). As Jung notices, a typical Indian family is quite a crowded group living under one roof for a relatively long period of time during which they learn how to harmoniously interact with one another, avoiding a predictable descent into anger and quarrels (Jung 1970: 522–523). This is made possible thanks to the mother, who serves as the ultimate mentor figure for her children. Thus, in opposition to the masculine colonisers, the effeminate Indians display "both softness of manners and sweetness of voice" (Jung 1970: 523), which also constitute a part of their concealed diplomacy in everyday communication.[158]

The psychologist concludes his analysis by pondering on the state of the British in India. The journey of a Western man has not yet ended for he is driven by the promises of progress and eternal conquests. It is easier for him to give authoritarian orders in the field of battle as well as at home. Even if the Indian people are "meant to live in India," their leaders are not really settled there. A colonial civil servant is "condemned to serve his term there and make the best of it" (Jung 1970: 524). The coloniser, according to Jung, is what he is and acts how he acts because he "[thinks and dreams] of spring in Sussex" (Jung 1970: 524). In consequence, the coloniser lives in his own dreamlike world while longing for England.

The subsequent article titled "What India Can Teach Us" (1939),[159] much shorter in length in comparison to the previous one, concentrates on the spiritual side of the Indian subcontinent. The polytheistic nature of Hinduism is strongly connected with Indian philosophy. Contrary to the figure of the enlightened Western man, who rejects the notion of religion altogether, the enlightened Eastern man embraces it wholeheartedly (Jung 1970: 525). The myths about various Hindu gods correspond with appropriate philosophical concepts, which are in turn taught at Indian universities. Therefore, the followers of Hinduism have no need for the utilisation of Western philosophy. In this manner, as Jung observed, the colonised Indian effortlessly operates within the unconscious/primitive realm. What is more, the psychologist compliments Indians for their unique thought processes rather than criticises them: "[Indian] perceives the thought" (Jung 1970: 526–527), so in this way he resembles the

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[158] Additionally, the ambiguous nature of the colonised can be understood through the process of internalisation; that is to say, the indigenous people assume by default patterns of behaviour, social norms, and belief systems which are enforced on them from the outside. In this manner, they are made to perform the role of a weak and inferior subaltern (Spivak 2010: 35).

[159] In *Civilization in Transition. The Collected Works of C. G. Jung Volume 10* (Jung 1970: 525–530).

primitive, yet he certainly 'is not' primitive (Jung 1970: 526–527). Jung attributes such patterns of thinking to civilisations which maintained an unbroken continuity throughout the centuries. Indeed, India is a civilisation and Jung underlines that when positioning it as the binary opposite of the West. The white man sacrificed his individuality and unconsciousness for the sake of being a conscious conqueror and, in fact, this transformation led him to degeneracy[160]. India's civilisation, in contrast, "resembles her temples, which represent the universe in their sculptures. […] India represents the other way of civilising man, the way without suppression, without violence" (Jung 1970: 528). In other words, India serves as a mirror to the white man. While familiarising himself with this unknown and peculiar land, the white man learns a great deal about his own mentality and why it is so different from the Eastern one.

The final text of Jung about India, taken from the section about travels in *Memories, Dreams, Reflections* (1965), refers to the psychologist's journeys to many pagodas and temples, praising their architectural richness. However, unlike in the previous two papers, Jung points to the discomfort and danger; he admits in this article that he suffered from dysentery and spent ten days in hospital[161]. Having recovered towards the end of his stay in Calcutta, Jung experienced a dream in which he found himself on a remote island in England. There was a castle on the top of a hill and Jung intuitively felt that this place was where the Holy Grail had been kept, but the cup was nowhere to be found. After the meticulous search, Jung discovered that the Grail was present on a neighbouring island. Without hesitation, he proceeded to swim across the channel to retrieve it (Jung 1965: 280–282).

On the basis of this "essentially European dream" (Jung 1965: 282), apparently devoid of colonial undertones, it can be inferred that, in the face of overwhelming Indian impressions, Jung's personal unconsciousness reminded him about the power of myths which perpetuate archetypal patterns: "It was as though the dream were asking me, 'What are you doing in India?'" (Jung 1965: 282–283). The exotic colonial frontier serves as a reminder that there exists a reality completely different from the Occidental one, yet by no means inferior or surreal. For a British administrator, it is a land of effeminate natives, mysticism, spirituality, and mental perils. To Jung, India represents a multilayered space of transition. "India did not pass me by without a trace; it left tracks which lead from one infinity into another infinity" (Jung 1965: 284).

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[160] Once again, Jung provides the case of technological advancements. The human tamed the ability to fly only to use it later for the purposes of warfare (Jung 1970: 528). The bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki appears to be the most fitting example in this context.

[161] Evident echoing of laryngitis in Africa (Jung 1965: 258).

In view of the discussed aspects of Carl Jung's "colonial passages," it becomes apparent that there is an interconnectedness between the fields of psychology and postcolonialism. While such fundamental figures as Sigmund Freud and Jacques Lacan are taken hostage by the critics of both discourses, the ideas of Carl Jung and his Asian encounters open up new vistas on the relationship between the coloniser and the colonised. Additionally, even though the journey of Jung across India did not receive as much of academic attention as his African explorations, these expeditions provide evidence that the colonial condition can be dismantled and reinterpreted by means of psychoanalysis.

3.3. *Joseph Campbell and the Hero's Journey: Archetypes in Motion*

In terms of Jungian archetypes, the concepts of inherited symbols, motifs, and patterns have been implemented into many disciplines outside of psychology[162], including the humanities. In literary contexts, the archetypes are commonly recognised as "personifications of behaviours–characters who embody behaviour patterns" or "story characters […] represented psychologically as mental models [which] often elicit intense emotional responses [and] operate at an unconscious level" (Faber and Mayer 2009: 308)[163]. That is to say, they function either as personality types or themes driving the story. Jung himself identified only a few archetypes that may appear in literature (for example, the Sage, the Ruler, the Shadow) and the rest of key figures was largely developed by Joseph Campbell, a specialist in comparative mythology and comparative religion (Faber and Mayer 2009: 308). Thanks to his research, thirteen different archetypes (see Fig. 7) are contemporarily recognised and; additionally, their usage in literary interpretation allows us to unravel a text's framework and the most prevalent archetypal images which are reused in a narrative.

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[162] The archetypes are said to have influenced pedagogy (exploring the dynamics between teachers and students), personality therapy (understanding oneself through archetypes) and economics (effective marketing of brands) (https://www.carl-jung.net).

[163] There exist many definitions of archetypes varying according to diverse sources. I decided to quote the one provided by Faber and Mayer from their article "Resonance to archetypes in media: There's some accounting to taste" (2009) because it bridges the Jungian psychological understanding of archetypes as mental models and Campbell's understanding of them as story characters.

Archetype	Definition
Caregiver	Represented by caring, compassion, and generosity. Commonly protective, devoted, sacrificing, nurturing, and often parental. Usually very benevolent, friendly, helping, and trusting
Creator	Represented by the innovative, the artistic, and the inventive. Often non-social; perhaps a dreamer; looking for novelty and beauty and an aesthetic standard. Will emphasize quality (over quantity), being highly internally driven
Everyman/ Everywoman	Represented by the working-class common person; the underdog; the neighbor. Persevering, ordered, wholesome; usually candid and sometimes fatalistic. Often self-deprecating; perhaps cynical, careful, a realistic and often disappointed humanist
Explorer	Represented by an independent, free-willed adventurer. Seeks discovery and fulfillment. Often solitary; spirited and indomitable; observer of the self and environment. Constantly moving; a wanderer
Hero	Represented frequently by the courageous, impetuous warrior. Noble rescuer and crusader; must often undertake an arduous task to "prove their worth" and later become an inspiration. Symbolically the "dragonslayer"—the redeemer of human strength
Innocent	Represented by the pure, faithful, naive, childlike character. Humble and tranquil; longing for happiness and simplicity—a paradise. Often a traditionalist; saintly; symbolizing renewal
Jester	Represented by living for fun and amusement; a playful and mischievous comedian. Usually ironic and mirthful, sometimes irresponsible; a prankster. Enjoys most a good time and diversion from care
Lover	Represented by the intimate, romantic, sensual, and especially passionate. Seeking mainly to find and give love and pleasure. Seductive and delightful, but perilous—often tempestuous and capricious. Often a warm, playful, erotic, and enthusiastic partner
Magician	Represented by the physicist; the visionary; the alchemist. Seeking the principles of development and how things work; a teacher, a performer or a scientist. Fundamentalist interested in natural forces, transformations, and metamorphoses
Outlaw	Represented in the rebellious iconoclast; the survivor and the misfit. Often vengeful, a disruptive rule-breaker, possibly stemming from hidden anger. Can be wild, destructive and provoking from a long time spent struggling or injured
Ruler	Represented by a strong sense of power and control: the leader; the boss; the judge. Highly influential, stubborn, even tyrannical. Maintains a high level of dominance; can apply to an administrator, arbiter, or a manager of others
Sage	Represented by a valuing of enlightenment and knowledge; truth and understanding. This is the expert and the counselor, possessing wisdom and acumen, perhaps a bit pretentious. Scholarly, philosophical, intelligent; a mystical and prestigious guide in the world
Shadow	Represented by the violent, haunted, and the primitive; the darker aspects of humanity. Often seen in a tragic figure, rejected; awkward, desperately emotional. Can be seen to lack morality; a savage nemesis

Figure 7. The outline of thirteen archetypes collected and described by Michael A. Faber and John D. Mayer on the basis of Jung (1964) and Campbell (2004) (Faber and Mayer 2009: 309).

The archetypal categories presented above stem mainly from Joseph Campbell's seminal work titled *The Hero with a Thousand Faces* (1949). Having been influenced by Jung's psychoanalytical approach, Campbell discovered the recurring presence of archetypal symbols in many culturally diverse works of literature (Faber and Mayer 2009: 310). Such findings led the researcher to coin the concept of the "hero's journey," also known as "the

monomyth," a term which Campbell borrowed from James Joyce's *Finnegans Wake* (1939)[164] (Campbell 2004: 28).

The study of myths led Campbell to believe that there is a certain degree of universality that governs the mankind's consciousness. The myths as narratives function not only to explain the functioning of our world but also to explain the act of living and our place in the universe in a form of a single story, the monomyth itself (Campbell 2004: xxv; Campbell 1990: xix). Life, according to Campbell, is a spiritual journey which involves the transformation of an individual's psyche. As a result of this transformation, our reality is being made "transparent to transcendence" (Campbell 1990: 40). In other words, an individual has to become aware of the fact that he is living the myth (he is the myth's hero) and, in order to achieve consciousness, he needs to reach the eternal source of energy outside of our world (the spiritual realm) by facing a sequence of stages and many personal obstacles along the way. What Campbell implied by this was that mythology itself makes the world transparent by "going beyond speech and serving as a metaphor" (Desai 2016: 5), the metaphor that teaches us how to live.

Campbell perceived the mythical hero as someone who has found or achieved something beyond the normal range of experience and, also, devoted his life to a cause much bigger than himself. Every person, be it fictional or real, who has performed the so-called "deed" can be considered a hero (Campbell 2004: lxiv). Deed is defined by Campbell as either the physical act of heroism (for example, saving someone's life) or the spiritual act (for instance, discovery of a supernormal mode of spiritual life and sharing that knowledge with the society). Regardless of the deed's nature, the outcome of the hero's actions are always positive because he participates in the endless cycle of going and returning. During his journey, the hero does not always have to be the grand saviour who redeems endangered society, but, in psychological terms, he can be an Everyman who undertakes the inner journey in order to understand his personal consciousness[165] (Campbell 2004: 33).

What is more, Campbell exemplifies various types of the heroic journey. Firstly,

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[164] In 1944, Campbell wrote together with an American novelist, Henry Morton Robinson, the first critical analysis of *Finnegans Wake* titled *A Skeleton Key to Finnegans Wake* (Desai 2016: 2).

[165] Campbell explained this phenomenon using the example of "the initiation ritual," in which a child has to give up the childhood period in order to become an adult. Literally, a child and his infantile psyche die, so that he could undergo a rebirth and return as a self-responsible adult. Every person needs to abandon the psychological dependency in order to acquire identity resurrection, in psychological terms. This, according to Campbell, is the basic motif of the hero's journey: leaving one condition in order to find the invigorating source of life that will transport us into another, more mature condition (*Joseph Campbell and the Power of Myth 01 - The Hero's Adventure* documentary, episode 1, 0:06:30–0:07:25).

coming to life may be regarded as a heroic act[166] on the mother's part to bring about the "primary" hero. Secondly, the hero may accidentally wander into an unknown territory and experience the adventure there, as in fairy tales. Thirdly, he may set out intentionally and responsibly to perform the deed; that is to say, accept the assignment in the course of which he will find out more about himself. Lastly, the hero may be unwillingly thrown into an adventure, just like being drafted into the army. All these variations, reflected in myths and real life, involve the symbolic death and resurrection of an individual (*Joseph Campbell and the Power of Myth 01 - The Hero's Adventure* documentary, episode 1, 0:08:30–0:10:05).

However, it cannot be said that Campbell unconditionally followed the theories outlined by Jung. The myths in Jungian perspective were classified as biological experiences instead of being biographical ones because they were considered to be an integral part of the collective unconscious. Campbell, however, did not conform to Jung's strict symmetry of influence deriving from the conscious and the unconscious. In accordance with Jung's assumptions, the clash of these two forces would result in a dream which could be later interpreted by means of mythology. By contrast, Campbell was convinced that myths were enough to enable a person to discover their identity and their purpose in the world. It has to be noted that Campbell was also influenced by the works of Heinrich Zimmer, a German Indologist, who claimed that mythology serves as a compass guiding people through the complexities of contemporary world (Desai 2016: 3).

Modern interpreters of *The Hero with a Thousand Faces* suggest that myths allow us to achieve the individuation process because they encourage us to ask ourselves the most essential questions: "Who am I? Where did I come from? Where am I going? What is the purpose of my existence? What do I have to do in order to lead a meaningful life?" (Tober, http://www.laurentober.com). Only if we "understand our own Hero's Journey [can] we step bravely into the unknown and trust that the trials and tribulations are in service of a higher good" (Tober, http://www.laurentober.com).

In literary terms, Campbell deconstructs the monomyth into three separate sections that are divided further into seventeen stages. Resembling Vladimir Propp's thirty-one functions of a fairy tale (Nichols 2012: 1), the stages present the hero's journey in a detailed manner, emphasising its universality. Campbell noted, however, that the sub-elements can take place in a variety of different combinations, whereas some of them can even be omitted altogether (Campbell 2004: 35–36). The monomyth unravels itself in the following manner:

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[166] The process of profound transformation from a single cell into a child (*Joseph Campbell and the Power of Myth 01 - The Hero's Adventure* documentary, episode 1, 0:07:50–0:08:20).

I.   <u>Separation</u>

1. *The Call to Adventure*

   This is the first stage which marks the beginning of an adventure for the hero. He currently resides in the world known to him, but the call disrupts the known state of affairs. The call may be accidental (concurrence of events) or intentional (selection of an individual for a specific assignment), yet it always marks the hero's initial departure into the unknown (Campbell 2004: 43–54).

2. *Refusal of the Call*

   Surprisingly, the hero may choose not to accept the call. Such a decision is caused by the hero's inability to leave the ordinary world he has grown so attached to and face the unknown challenge. It takes the intervention of his mentor and friends to alter the intention. However, if the hero still refuses to participate in a journey, then the tale changes itself into a story about saving the passive hero (Campbell 2004: 54–63).

3. *Supernatural Aid*

   After positively responding to the call and embarking on an adventure, the hero encounters the archetypal character of the mentor. He is represented in myths as well as folk tales in a variety of different ways, such as a wizard, recluse or a hermit. Nevertheless, he possesses special knowledge and powers with which he aids the hero. Frequently, he gives talismans for the quest. The mentor also functions as a substitute for the hero's father figure (Campbell 2004: 63–71).

4. *The Crossing of the First Threshold*

   The hero arrives at a border in the course of his journey which divides the world familiar to him and that of the unknown. He has to leave behind his present, stable lifestyle in order to boldly enter the realm of unexplored dangers and unexplained rules. Crossing of the threshold defines him as the hero because no ordinary person would dare to leave behind the gratifications of ordinary world. In symbolic terms, the unknown world signifies the unconscious (Campbell 2004: 71–82).

5. *The Belly of the Whale*

   As the hero crosses the threshold, he finally leaves behind the familiar realm as well as the conscious *Self*. At this stage, the hero undergoes the process of transformation; that is to say, personal rebirth. He has to travel outwards to the unknown as well as inwards in order to experience rebirth. The belly of the whale denotes the spiritual place, like a temple, in which the hero's death takes place. After the renewal of his

life, the hero realises his full potential that is needed to overcome the upcoming dangers (Campbell 2004: 83–88).

II.   Initiation

6. *The Road of Trials*

    Within the unknown, the hero undergoes trials and tribulations which contribute to the process of his transformation. At this point, the skills and amulets come in handy. This stage is marked by dragon slaying, overcoming unexpected obstacles, and the first exhilarating victories; all activities repeating themselves time and time again. Through fighting dangers, the hero familiarises himself with the unknown world (Campbell 2004: 89–100).

7. *The Meeting with the Goddess*

    The next step on the hero's journey is the metaphysical encounter with the goddess, the central being of the universe. The feminine gender is of great importance in this context because the hero does not meet the definite representation of the Almighty, but the personification of the good mother, the epitome of bliss from his infancy period. The goddess may heal the wounded hero or give him more items that will become useful later on (Campbell 2004: 100–110).

8. *Woman as the Temptress*

    Contrary to the previous stage, the hero now confronts various kinds of temptations which can make him veer off from the travel path or even give up his quest altogether. Temptations are frequently physical because they serve to violate the hero's spiritual harmony and they are usually, yet not always, embodied in the figure of a woman; this time being a negative temptress rather than a merciful goddess. The hero has to rise above the promise of pleasures in order to reinforce his integrity and continue the journey (Campbell 2004: 110–116).

9. *Atonement with the Father*

    The hero reaches one of the most crucial stages of the adventure. During this step, he faces off against the ultimate fear which has been plaguing him throughout his entire life, the father figure. However, Campbell notices that the adversary does not necessarily need to be the father, but he can simply be a male entity with enormous power at his disposal. The hero "opens his soul" to cosmic terrors and "transcends life" (Campbell 2004: 135) in order to reach the point of atonement with the father/being superior than himself. The patriarchal persona ceases to be the threat as

the hero changes his perception of the world (Campbell 2004: 116–137). He lets go of the monster that he "fashioned out of the father" (Desai 2016: 8).

10. *Apotheosis*

The transformation of the hero becomes complete. He reaches the deeper understanding of reality and of himself. The limiting ego is renounced and replaced with new knowledge. The hero becomes courageous as well as compassionate. He reaches a realisation that he exists in order to protect society. From this stage onwards, he is ready to confront more challenging threats along the way (Campbell 2004: 138–158).

11. *The Ultimate Boon*

This stage is described as the most important one in the hero's quest because it symbolises the achievement of the journey's purpose. In addition, the hero's transformation reaches the most important phase. He gains the characteristics typical of gods and goddesses, but he does not become god himself. What is more, the hero receives the transcendent boon; meaning, the reward (for example, an elixir, sword, plant or the holy grail). The boon can be used to save mankind (Campbell 2004: 159–178).

III.   Return

12. *Refusal of the Return*

After taming dangers in the unknown world and experiencing Enlightenment, the hero is unwilling to return to the ordinary world so as to deliver the boon to people in need. Due to the transformation, the hero explored the ins and outs of the unknown and no longer fears it. However, the quest has not yet ended. Kingdoms have to be saved, princesses awakened, and disbelievers proven wrong[167]. The hero may reject the summoning to come back just as he refused the first call to adventure; nevertheless, the journey still goes on and the return marks its final phase (Campbell 2004: 179–182).

13. *The Magic Flight*

Even though the hero might not refuse to return, he can engage in a quarrel with gods. In consequence, the hero's escape with the boon ensues. Gods may not be willing to see the hero helping to rescue society, so they chase him in order to retrieve the boon.

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[167] Campbell interpreted the resurrection of Jesus Christ and of Gautama Buddha as the examples of heroic returns from the unknown realms (Campbell 2004: 213; Campbell 1990: 155).

The magic flight is an exhilarating, frequently comical, sometimes uplifting return of the hero to the ordinary realm (Campbell 2004: 182–192).

14. *Rescue from Without*

Wounded and fragile hero, after experiencing an exhausting confrontation, may not be able to safely return home. In addition, as stated previously, he may not want to come back at all. Therefore, the guidance of the mentor is particularly required. The guide/teacher figure, sent by the society in need, provides heavenly help which assists the hero in his journey back. At this stage, the hero's society transcends the barriers to rescue him (Campbell 2004: 192–201).

15. *The Crossing of the Return Threshold*

The hero once again crosses the threshold; yet, this time in the opposite direction. He returns to the quotidian reality but retains wisdom gained from his adventures and attempts to share it with the rest of humanity. The mystique of adventure has been left behind; however, the hero's viewpoint of the ordinary world changed as well. The experience of defeating evil and encountering gods has enriched him greatly. The realm of the ordinary ceased to be the place of carefree safety. Instead, it became a true home (Campbell 2004: 201–212).

16. *Master of the Two Worlds*

The figure of the hero has attained the capacity of proficient transcendence between the two worlds. "The Cosmic Dancer," as Campbell describes (2004: 213), is not satisfied with residing in merely one place. He roams from one location to another having relinquished his personal inhibitions. By achieving the balance in surpassing the boundaries of the two worlds, the hero obtains the inner harmony. He comes back home as a new, reborn, transformed individual. The childhood bliss has been regained and the society restored (Campbell 2004: 212–220).

17. *Freedom to Live*

The myth reaches its end. The journey fulfilled the purpose of leading the hero through the experiences of death and rebirth. He can now enjoy freedom, both in his mind (no fear of death) and in the real world (appreciating life). "The hero is the champion of things becoming" (Campbell 2004: 225). The excitement of the present is grasped without longing for the past or anticipating the future (Campbell 2004: 221–226).

In view of the seventeen stages described above, it can be inferred that Joseph

Campbell attempted to draw a clear framework of heroic narrative and relate it to psychoanalytical contexts; however, in contrast to Vladimir Propp, the researcher did not rely on fairy tales but on the stories taken from Hindu, Greek, Roman, Christian, and Buddhist mythologies (Nichols 2012: 1–2). In fact, Campbell's concept of the monomyth is nowadays considered to be more accessible, and "user-friendly," as the interpretative toolbox than Propp's functions: "In spite of somewhat different placing of various elements, both models can accurately describe a folktale or myth. Campbell's monomyth, however, is a far broader method of analysis that does not rely on aspects that may not appear in every tale. Propp seems to expect that every tale will have an example of his [...] functions, whereas Campbell only has seventeen stages to look for" (Nichols 2012: 12). Interestingly, some of the Campbell researchers presented the hero's journey in form of diagrams so as to demonstrate the framework's simplicity. Vladimir Propp's thirty-one functions, nevertheless, have not yet been depicted in such a way.
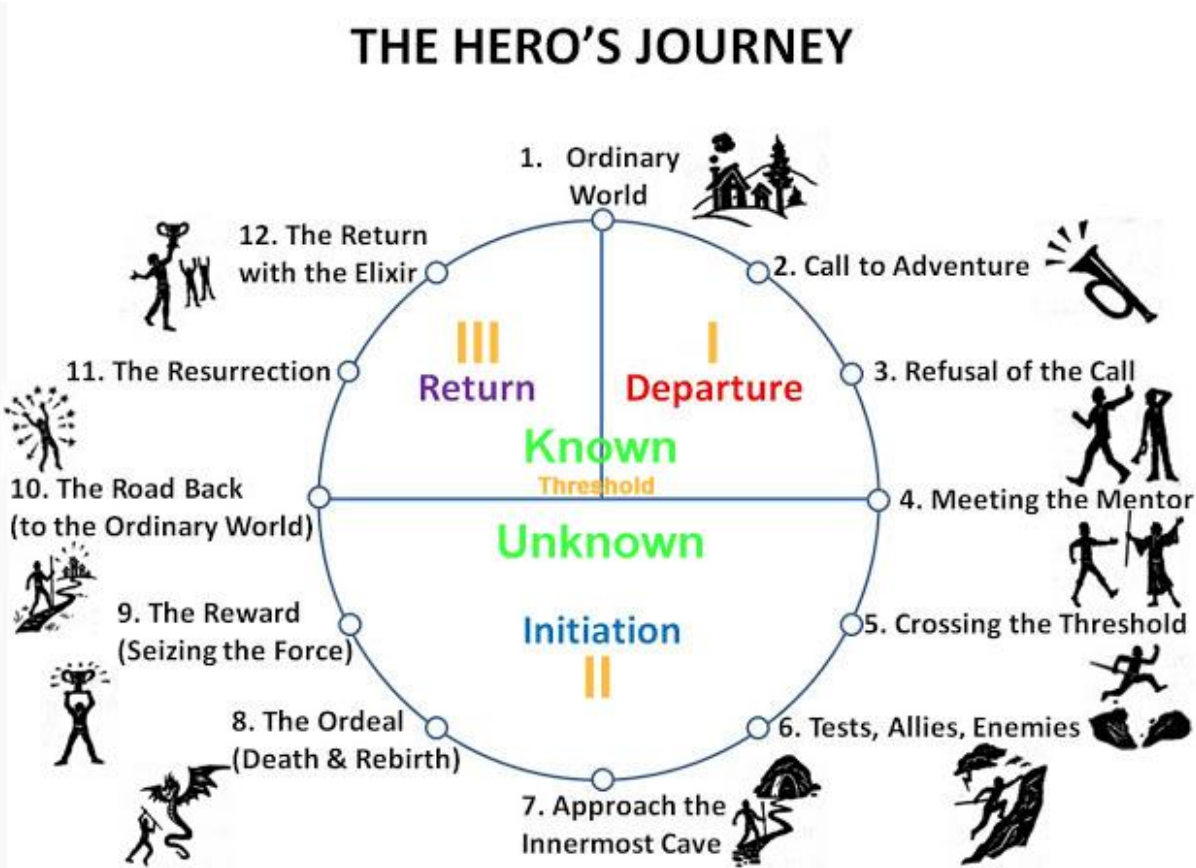

Figure 8. The diagram of Campbell's monomyth (Tober, http://www.laurentober.com).[168]

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[168] Modified by the author of the dissertation, who added cliparts to each of the stages, and emphasised three sections of the journey (Departure, Initiation, and Return) and the division between the known and the unknown.

With regard to the presented diagram, it may come as no surprise that the monomyth to date serves as the analytical tool used for the purposes of interpreting, for example, Homer's *Odyssey*, which appears to be the most exemplary instance of the hero's journey (Bogan 2016 2–5; Booker 2004: 69–79). Nevertheless, Campbell's theory is also useful in modern analyses of literary texts, such as J. R. R. Tolkien's *The Lord of the Rings* Trilogy (1954–1955)[169] and Stephen King's *The Dark Tower* series (1982–2004)[170]. All these texts illustrate Campbell's seventeen stages and lend themselves to analyses accordingly, even from the perspectives of more than just one character. This kind of examination ensures the exploration of not only the hero and his journey but also of the appropriate archetypal figures in the story (Kesti 2007: 1–88; Fåhraeus 2008: 1–25).

In addition, Campbell's concept is said to have influenced the writers of popular fiction who consciously based their novels on the monomyth structure. The authors who have admitted to being inspired by the researcher include such best-selling writers as Dan Brown, J. K. Rowling, and Richard Adams (https://www.nytimes.com; https://www.thefreelibrary.com). In terms of popular culture, the most ideal cinematic reiteration of the hero's journey is the movie *Star Wars* (1977). Director George Lucas stated that he was profoundly affected by *The Hero with a Thousand Faces*[171] and he based his screenplay on the described theory. Campbell himself was deeply impressed by the film and referenced it many times in the interviews as the excellent "retelling of the old myth" (*Joseph Campbell and the Power of Myth 01 - The Hero's Adventure*, episode 1, 0:18:38–0:20:21). Moreover, Hollywood producers even developed guides for screenwriters[172], educating them on how to incorporate the monomyth into film narratives (Booker 2004: 286). These guides resulted in the production of many successful Disney animations, including *Beauty and the Beast* (1991), *Aladdin* (1992), *The Lion King* (1994), and *Hercules* (1997).

The present-day legacy of the monomyth is reflected not only in numerous literary and cinematic works of fiction but also in a general understanding of storytelling. Following Jung's archetypal patterns of behaviour and Campbell's weaving of these patterns into a

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[169] In "Heroes of Middle-Earth: J. Campbell's Monomyth in J.R.R. Tolkien's *The Lord of the Rings* (1954-1955)" by Tutta Kesti (Kesti 2007: 1–88).

[170] In "Stephen King's *The Dark Tower* – A Modern Myth" by Henrik Fåhraeus (Fåhraeus 2008: 1–25).

[171] Reprinted editions of the book after 1977 frequently featured the character of Luke Skywalker on the front cover (https://www.britannica.com).

[172] The first person to issue such a guide was Christopher Vogler with his seven-page text "A Practical Guide to The Hero with a Thousand Faces" in 1985, in which he enumerated the seventeen stages and argued that they should be taken into consideration while crafting Disney animations, on which he had worked at that time. The article was later developed into a book called *The Writer's Journey: Mythic Structure For Writers* (1992) (Vogler, https://livingspirit.typepad.com).

universal story, one can identify seven basic plots which govern the direction of popular tales: Overcoming the Monster, Rags to Riches, the Quest, Voyage and Return, Comedy, Tragedy, and Rebirth (Booker 2004: 7–8). Evidently, not all works of art in the world follow the basic plots, because some of them are consciously made to be unconventional; nevertheless, as Christopher Booker argues, the overwhelming majority of mankind's creative output adheres to the power of the hero's myth (Booker 2004: 5).

Evidently, it cannot be said that Campbell's theory of the monomyth is free from criticism. The researcher Mallika Desai points to the enormous influence of the hero's quest on Bollywood pictures:

> While a few years ago, films such as *Sholay*, *Andaaz Apna Apna*, *Hare Krishna Hare Ram*, etc. played out the cycle of everyman who transcends and becomes a hero, more recent films also use the same journey while now addressing different societal elements. These include examples such as *Dhoom*, *Wake Up!*, *Sid*, *Dil Dhadakane Do*, *Jaane Tu Ya Jaane Na*, *Zindagi Na Milegi Dobara*, etc. […] There is a consistent need to portray the hero who then becomes the symbol of the struggles faced by the audience. The stories on screen tell us that these journeys can be undertaken and one can emerge victorious and transformed. (Desai 2016: 15)

Although Desai praises the incorporation of the monomyth into the Indian cultural domain, she also notices that Campbell's framework does not apply to female heroines. In *The Hero with a Thousand Faces*, Campbell describes the mythical hero predominantly as a male and this is caused by the fact that the designated protagonist of the majority of mythological stories is a man. Desai enumerates many pop-cultural instances[173] in which the heroine is merely an objectified rendition of the male hero (Desai 2016: 16). She nevertheless reaffirms that there is indeed a place for both genders within the monomyth's theory and she provides evidence for powerful female characters in modern literature and cinema[174]. Desai calls for the formation of the female hero myth by stating the following: "First, one must recognise the duality within the heroine of the masculine and feminine. However, as society rejects the feminine in a hero, so must the heroine reject what was her early femininity. She must now adopt the masculine in order to undertake the hero's journey" (Desai 2016: 17). Desai explains that just as the male hero challenges the father figure, the female hero has to confront the mother figure in the same manner. She defeats the dragons and saves the day (Desai 2016: 18).

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[173] She mentions video games (*Lara Croft: Tomb Raider* (1996)), comic books (*Catwoman* (2004)), TV shows (*Charlie's Angels* (1976–1981)), and motion pictures (*Kill Bill* (2003–2004)) (Desai 2016: 16).
[174] Desai illustrates the presence of female heroes in such novel series as *The Nancy Drew Files* (1930–present), and *The Hunger Games* (2008–2010). In terms of cinema, traces of the heroine can be noticed in *Mad Max: Fury Road* (2015) and *Wonder Woman* (2017) (Desai 2016: 17).

The proposal of the female hero myth as the filler of the monomyth's void, put forward by Mallika Desai is undeniably interesting, but it is also deeply rooted in the context of Indian culture. That is to say, contemporary India is a state demographically dominated by males[175]. The sex ratio is uneven because of the families' preference for boys over girls. Needless to say, the female is frequently rejected because she is considered to be an economic liability for her parents. Additionally, the rate of crimes against women remains high in India and includes such discriminatory practices as acid throwing, domestic violence, child marriage (prevalent in rural areas), sex-selective abortion, dowry demands (violating the Dowry Prohibition Act of 1965), sexual harassment, and human trafficking (http://ncrb.gov.in). As a result, in the world of Indian masculinity, the only way to survive for abused women is to renounce their own femininity (Visaria 2008: 60). Perhaps this social phenomenon, of valiant women emerging out of patriarchal oppression and changing the reality around them (Visaria 2008: 65), inspired Desai to call for the establishment of the female hero myth. Nonetheless, it cannot be said that the enumerated acts of violence target all women across India. Statistically, the north-eastern states of India appear to be the safest ones for women, whereas the states located in the central part of the country are labelled as the most dangerous (http://ncrb.gov.in).

In the concluding part of this subsection, it should be appropriate to relate the findings of Joseph Campbell to the postcolonial field. The aforementioned Jungian archetypes as well as the seventeen stages of the hero's journey seemingly have little or nothing in common with the British colonial endeavours. Yet, it is possible to look at the figure of the coloniser as the *monomythical hero* in his own right. He accepts the call to adventure (seeking new lands) and leaves the familiar world (the United Kingdom) in order to cross the threshold (oceans) and enter the realm of the unknown (prospective colonies). The (heroic) coloniser goes through the ordeal of encountering exotic cultures and indigenous people. Subsequent battling of enemies and gaining allies results in the acquisition of lands. Ultimately, he achieves the boon (the colonies' economic benefits) which he can take back home. Upon the return from his voyage, the coloniser becomes the master of the two worlds as they are now known to him and he can freely travel from one to the other. Moreover, at the end of his journey, the coloniser becomes the Campbellian "champion of things becoming," because, in the first half of the 20th century, the British did not anticipate the loss of their Indian, African, and Chinese

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[175] As of 2019, India has approximately 49,314,062 more males than females. The country's sex ratio is 107.48 (107.48 males per 100 females), which means that India has 930 females per 1000 males (http://statisticstimes.com).

colonies. On the contrary, as Winston Churchill remarked in his "Their Finest Hour" speech: "Let us therefore brace ourselves to our duties, and so bear ourselves that, if the British Empire and its Commonwealth last for a thousand years, men will still say, 'This was their finest hour'" (Churchill 1940: 5).

Indeed, the colonisers unwittingly repeated patterns of the monomyth in the course of their explorations and conquests, as it is presented in Fig. 9 hereunder:

Figure 9. At the top, the Egyptian goddess Isis giving bread and water to the Soul (Campbell 2004: 163). At the bottom, signing of an Anglo-Sikh treaty in the city of Ropar near Sutlej River (Punjab) in 1831 between Maharaja Ranjit Singh and Lord William Bentinck (https://swordarm.in). The treaty served as the statement of goodwill between both sides; however, it can also be interpreted as the acquisition of the boon from the natives.

What is more, the combination of postcolonial theory and psychoanalysis allows us to perceive the colonised from postcolonial reality as the hero as well (Storey 2017: 209–210). The colonised may initially refuse the adventure call because he is too attached to his home (former colony). However, after eventually setting out on a journey, he crosses the threshold (oceans) and arrives at the unfamiliar world belonging to his former masters (the United Kingdom). While being there, he has to face the trials and tribulations connected with his colonial background. In the end, he wins the boon (the ability to adapt to the dominating culture without losing his identity) and also can wander effortlessly between the two worlds.

Consequently, Joseph Campbell's theory of the monomyth enables new ways of understanding the colonial and postcolonial tales. They no longer need to be "deconstructed" solely by means of Foucauldian power relationships or Spivak's subaltern identities (Legg 2007: 276). The figures of the coloniser and the colonised as well as their separate perspectives of the (post)colonial realities, and their journey inwards and outwards of the colonies, can be analysed in psychoanalytical terms as well.

3.4. *Jordan Peterson and Maps of Meaning*

In the world of today, the natural continuator of Jung's and Campbell's theories appears to be Jordan Peterson[176]. He is a clinical psychologist from the University of Toronto, who gained recognition in the media for his fervent opposition against political correctness[177], postmodernist thought[178], and favouring of Neo-Marxism in Western humanities[179] (Peterson 2018: 13). The opponents of Peterson frequently label him as the right-wing, ultra conservatist, whereas his proponents hail him as the expert on personal psychology, due to the publication of his bestselling self-help guide *12 Rules for Life: An Antidote to Chaos* (2018). Unfortunately, both sides fail to perceive Peterson primarily as an academic who devoted the

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[176] Jordan Peterson was scheduled to deliver an open lecture on the 7th of May, 2019 in Poznań, Poland; however, he had to cancel the event due to family emergency.

[177] Peterson rose to prominence in 2016, when he published a series of online videos criticising the implementation of the Canadian Bill C-16, which aimed at protecting gender expression from discrimination (Peterson 2018: 13).

[178] His main claim is that postmodernism introduced ideologically-driven discourse in the academia. No civilised conversation can take place without taking into account the concepts of power and oppression: "Ideology divided the world up simplistically into those who thought and acted properly, and those who did not. Ideology enabled the believer to hide from his own unpleasant and inadmissible fantasies and wishes […]. I could no longer tell who was good and who was bad" (Peterson 2002: 8).

[179] The scholar provides an example of students who attend university classes and are not being educated about the atrocities of Stalinism or Maoism. While having prior knowledge about the brutalities of Nazism, they are completely unaware of Communism and its shortcomings (Peterson 2018: 276).

early stages of his career in psychology to research on the formation of oppressive systems in history.

While initially being influenced by libertarian and anti-socialist thinkers, like George Orwell, Ayn Rand, or Alexander Solzhenitsyn, Peterson pursued political sciences as the primary field of interest. However, he eventually became disenchanted with the state of politics in general which did not seek to alleviate the status of an individual in need but was more oriented towards denouncing the rich and blaming topical issues on others (Peterson 2002: 8–9). During his battle with depression, he turned to the writings of Jung, which inspired him to explore the notion of violence as the driving factor of mankind (Peterson 2002: 370). After 13 years of working on the monograph, he finally completed his text titled *Maps of Meaning: The Architecture of Belief Systems* in 1999.

3.4.1. *Outlining the Architecture of Oppressive Systems*

In his work, Peterson examines the construction of meaning through the aspects of mythology, religion, philosophy, and neuropsychology. Although being an interdisciplinary piece, *Maps of Meaning* relies heavily on the works of Jung and Campbell in the examination of archetypal journeys. Similarly to Campbell, Peterson focuses on a variety of different mythologies, including Christian as well as Indian, and in the course of their interpretations, the researcher arrives at the following conclusion: the hero's journey does exist and each individual is, indeed, the hero of his or her own life; however the division into the worlds of known and the unknown should be seen as literal rather than metaphorical.

In other words, Peterson claims that our reality is governed by the realms of, appropriately, *order* and *chaos* which are in constant conflict with each other (Peterson 2002: 7). In order to illustrate this problem, Peterson exemplifies order as culture, the collective manifestation of human intellect which is present in arts, lifestyle, customs, and tradition. On the other hand, chaos is the uncontrollable disorder of social organisation. Order perpetuated the rise of civilisation; however, chaos can always return and destroy civilisation (Peterson 2002: 91–93). The dominance of whichever realm over the other may lead to disastrous consequences: "Something we cannot see protects us from something we do not understand. The thing we cannot see is culture, in its intrapsychic manifestation. The thing we do not understand is the chaos that gave rise to culture. If the structure of culture is disrupted, unwittingly, chaos returns. We will do anything – anything – to defend ourselves against that return" (Peterson 2002: 7).

Peterson elaborates that having too much order or too much chaos in life will inevitably lead to the worst outcomes. One person cannot have control over everything and, appropriately, he or she cannot give up entirely to the unknown stream of fate. The same applies to societies in general. People enforce order through territoriality and, accordingly, form a common bond. When that order is threatened, they respond emotionally by engaging in war (Peterson 2002: 155–156).

The hero figure is a person who has the ability to maintain the balance between these two domains. The hero not only saves the society, but he also becomes the active agent of its development. He masters the balance between *order* and *chaos*[180] and has the ability to transfer the society through these two forces: "Light and darkness constitute mythic totality; order and chaos, in paradoxical union, provide primordial elements of the entire experiential universe. Light is illumination, inspiration; darkness, ignorance and degeneration" (Peterson 2002: 229). In essence, the hero changes into "the knower" (Peterson 2002: 80) who defeats the dominance of *chaos* by the figurative "slaying of dragons" (Peterson 2002: 117). Peterson presented dozens of diagrams in his text, most of them referring to Christian as well as Greek iconographies, in order to visualise his understanding of the heroic journey. I include the most representative diagram hereunder:

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[180] In doing so, the hero achieves unity with the Logos. The conscious mediation between the worlds is possible: "The optimal 'desired future' is not a state, however, but a process – the (intrinsically compelling) process of mediating between order and chaos; the process of the incarnation of Logos – the word – which is the world-creating principle" (Peterson 2002: 152).
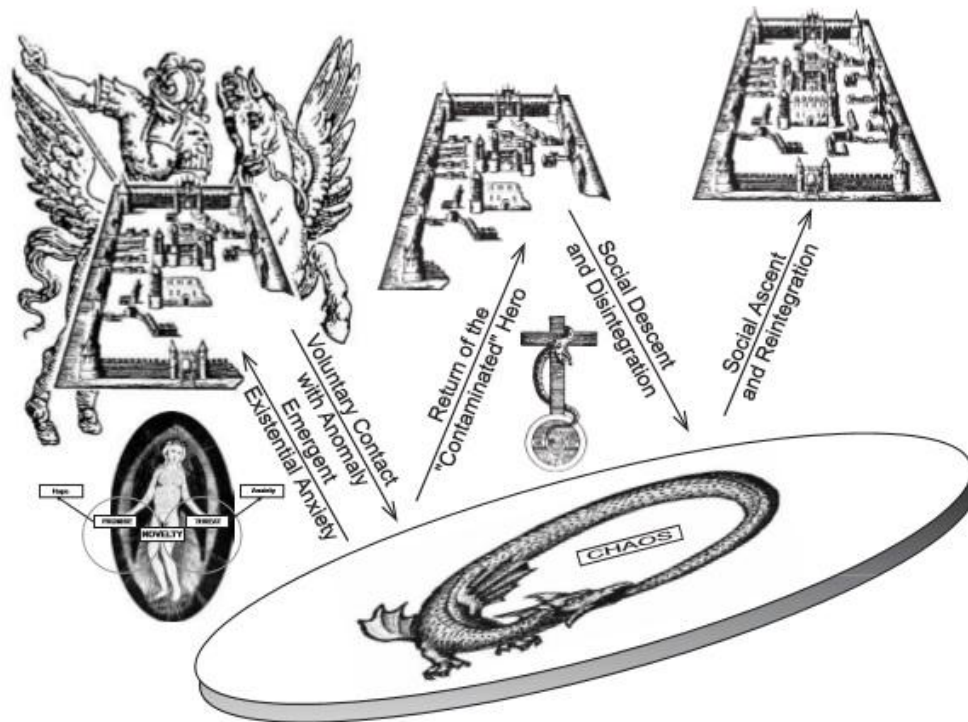
Figure 10. The Socially Destructive and Redemptive "Journey" of the Revolutionary Hero (Peterson 2002: 223).

In his description of the schematic representation, Peterson outlines his claim that a troubled individual undergoes the "way of the saviour" (Peterson 2002: 223). Namely, he sets out on a creative exploration and descends into a dark underworld in order to prevent the disintegration of the society. As it is visible in Fig. 10, the hero actively confronts chaos so as to contribute to the betterment of his civilisation. If the individual succeeds in battling despair, anxiety, and hopelessness, he may come back to the community with the new knowledge he acquired. However, the group might reject him because he experienced contamination by the unknown. Only the individual can recognise that he is a true hero within himself:

> The hero is narrative representation of the individual eternally willing to take creative action, endlessly capable of originating new behavioral patterns, eternally specialized to render harmless or positively beneficial something previously threatening or unknown. It is declarative representation of the pattern of behavior characteristic of the hero that eventually comes to approximate the story of the savior. Behind every particular (that is, historical) adventurer, explorer, creator, revolutionary and peacemaker lurks the image of the "son of god," who sets his impeccable character against tyranny and the unknown. The archetypic or ultimate example of the savior is the world redeemer, the Messiah – world-creating-and-redeeming hero, social revolutionary and great reconciliator. It is the sum total of the activity of the "Messiah," accumulated over the course of time, that constitutes culture, the Great Father, order itself – explored territory, the domain of the known. (Peterson 2002: 153)

This description of the hero corresponds greatly with Campbell's understanding of a

hero as a Messiah. However, Peterson goes on to add in *Maps of Meaning*[181] that every individual can accept "the call to adventure" if he or she really desires it. The inadequacy of an individual is the attachment to the known world, the established state of affairs. In consequence, the refusal of the call may lead to a catastrophe: "'Not doing' is […] the simplest and most common lie: the individual can just 'not act,' 'not investigate,' and the pitfalls of error will remain unmanifest – at least temporarily. […] Mediation of order and chaos requires courage and work" (Peterson 2002: 259).

According to the researcher, not acting in order to battle *chaos* leads to a crisis. Peterson analyses in detail the functions of gulags and concentration camps within their respective regimes. In view of the disruption of pre-existing cultures, their purpose was to maintain the *order* of evil powers, to make sure that disrupted cultures would not be able to rebuild themselves: "Nothing produces terror and fear like a concentration camp […]. The image of the concentration camp guard, much as the inmate, defines the modern individual. Hell is a bottomless pit, and why? Because nothing is ever so bad that we cannot make it worse" (Peterson 2002: 39, 274).

Such reasoning resonates deeply with, for instance, Phillip K. Dick's attempt to understand the atrocities of Nazism in his acclaimed novel *The Man in the High Castle* (1962)[182]. The author describes a conversation between a Japanese official and a German spy, in which the latter is pondering about the horrors of Nazism:

> And, he thought, I know why. [The Nazis] want to be the agents, not the victims, of history. They identify with God's power and believe they are godlike. That is their basic madness. They are overcome by some archetype; their egos have expanded psychotically so that they cannot tell where they begin and the godhead leaves off. It is not hubris, not pride; it is inflation of the ego to its ultimate — confusion between him who worships and that which is worshiped. Man has not eaten God; God has eaten man (Dick 1982: 24).

On the basis of this quotation, it can be inferred that the Nazis attempted to follow the archetypal pattern because they wanted to attain the heroic status. They projected their villainous psyches, "driven by some desperate subconscious archetype" (Dick 1982: 41); that is to say, they enforced their vision of the world on other people and controlled their perception of reality, so as to evolve into god-like figures. The Nazis certainly perceived

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[181] There is little to no constructive criticism of Jordan Peterson's theories. Apart from the attempts to frame him as a political radical, however, there are some valid arguments made. For instance, Ulysses Alvarez Laviada mostly agrees with Peterson's concepts, but he criticises the researcher's generalisation of postmodernism and overreliance on Christian motifs when discussing the universality of religions (Laviada 2018: 9–15).

[182] *The Man from High Castle* is an alternative history novel which presents the vision of the world in which Japan and Germany won the Second World War and divided between themselves the territories of the United States (https://www.britannica.com).

themselves to be positive characters, desiring to impose their *order* onto other nations; yet in fact, they were not. The invasion of one's personal integrity from the outside should be fought against, according to Dick (*Phillip K. Dick – Reflects on His Life, Literature and Ideas* documentary, 0:22:00–0:28:45), and this claim goes in line with Peterson's view on the duality of man: "Our 'attitude' towards this ambivalent universe can only take one of two prototypical forms: positive or negative. The precise nature of these two forms (which can only be regarded as complex "personalities") […] constitutes the central subject matter of myth" (Peterson 2002: 93).

The only way to conquer "chaos" is to learn how to master one's own life. If every individual were to do that in the world, then evil would be vanquished and culture restored: "The individual is competent to serve as his own master – to serve as an autonomous incarnation of the hero. This means that the individual's capacity for "cultural imitation" – that is, his capacity for subservience to traditional order – has been rendered subordinate to his capacity to function as the process that mediates between order and chaos" (Peterson 2002: 186). The researcher's reasoning can be understood as follows: indeed, everyone has the ability to develop into a saviour, to undertake right measures against the tyranny of *chaos*.

It has not been noted before that, although Peterson is a passionate investigator of oppressive systems, he has never focused on the issue of imperialism in his works. Evidently, it would be too much of a conceptual shortcut to equal the British Empire with the Third Reich, or even, with the Soviet Union (Bernhard 2017: 206). The last two were totalitarian dictatorships which sought to crush the free will of an individual by enforcing their flawed worldviews onto defeated nations. As it was demonstrated in the second chapter of this dissertation, the British Empire was much rather a process that emerged out of the historical circumstances of European expansions and that characterised itself by non-uniform modes of power execution and governance over its respective colonies. Nevertheless, it does not mean that the ideas introduced by Peterson are inapplicable to the postcolonial discourse.

Using the example of British India, we can argue that the British attempted to tame the unknown, indigenous culture by the implementation of their own, enlightened *order*. By helping local maharajas in resolving their conflicts, the British swiftly gained control over a substantial part of the Indian subcontinent. As already mentioned, they enforced new legislature and began developing India economically and socially. However, the colonised tried to restore their culture by organising the Sepoy Rebellion of 1857. Whose order was the right one and who was the real hero? Needless to say, both groups considered themselves to be the heroes of their journeys who wanted to save their respective societies.

With regard to the outlined approaches of Carl Jung, Joseph Campbell, and Jordan Peterson, it can be seen that the psychoanalytical approach allows to unravel the complexities of colonial encounters. The British colonisers sought to extend the influence of their Empire in quite an archetypal way which pushed them to undertake journeys into the unknown. Their arrival on the Indian soil undoubtedly initiated a disturbance, or even *chaos*, among the natives. However, after achieving independence, the colonised would cross the threshold and face their former master in the modern world. The Westerns as well as the Easterners form the composites of all the ancestral wisdom of their predecessors. In the colonial realm, the coloniser desired to spread his wisdom (both positive and negative) among the seemingly unknowing and truly unknowable natives; whereas, in the postcolonial reality, the indigenous people reproduced archetypal images in order to restore their own culture.

Chapter Four

Imperial Displays: Promotional Practices, Popular Culture, and the British Empire

4.   The Cultural Aspects of the British Empire

The fourth chapter focuses on the representations of the coloniser and the colonial enterprise in the English culture of the nineteenth and the twentieth centuries. The following sub-chapters address such issues as imperial exhibitions, educational practices, predominant representations in literature, promotional magazines and comics, movements as well as motion pictures and representations in popular arts (such as paintings and travel literature).

4.1. *Exhibiting the Empire: Promotional Practices of Colonialism*

The popularity of the British Empire among the contemporaneous British public is difficult to assess nowadays. The pervasiveness of postcolonialism as a field of study in the academia, the increased usage of political correctness in the mainstream media, and culturally diversified communities in the most densely populated areas of the United Kingdom point to the public's conscious ignorance of the colonial past. When confronted with history, they frequently express shame and guilt, but positive sentiments surface as well. According to YouGov survey from 2014, many people "think the British Empire is something to be proud of (59%) rather than ashamed of (19%)" (Dahlgreen, https://yougov.co.uk). What is more, 49% of surveyed people stated that former colonies are currently better off because of the Empire's involvement (in terms of politics, infrastructure, economy, and education). Among the responders, persons over the age of 60 felt mostly proud of the British Empire. Interestingly, their admiration may stem from promotional practices employed by the authorities back in the colonial heyday. The aim of this chapter is to discuss these practices as well as their subsequent cultural representations.

4.1.1.   *Bringing the Empire Closer to Home: The Colonies on Display*

According to Edward Said, the West's condescending attitude towards the East is reflected in the shipment of oriental goods and putting them on display in Western museums (Said 2003: 7). In this manner, the artefacts would undergo objectification; they would be labelled as mere souvenirs from the Far East. However, an attempt at putting the whole Empire on display

should not go unnoticed either. Some people may long for, or hate, the British Empire today, but the Empire itself is no longer present in the public spotlight. On the other hand, the situation was different at the turn of the twentieth century. The colonial endeavour was an integral part of daily existence of not only officials and administrators, but also of ordinary citizens. As John M. Mackenzie puts it: "Thousands of British families had friends or relatives who had emigrated to the Dominions, or who had served or were serving in other parts of the dependent Empire as civil servants, teachers, missionaries, engineers, or in such technical trades as driving locomotives, and of course as soldiers in the British army" (Mackenzie 1999: 212). The number of people immediately involved in the process of acquiring and managing colonies may have been relatively small, but many Britons were affected indirectly. In order to keep the public engaged, the government used various means at hand in order to make "the Empire become an integral aspect of British culture and imagination" (Mackenzie 1999: 213). From popular literature through consumer marketing to cinema newsreels, the colonial struggle was advertised for the citizens at home and, most importantly, for their children who were to carry on the imperial duties in the future.

One of the first significant expressions of the Empire in popular culture were great public exhibitions. The most prominent of these was the British Empire Exhibition held at Wembley (1924–1925), the same which inspired Carl Jung to revisit Africa. Built with significant delays under the supervision of the Prince of Wales[183] (the original idea was conceived back in 1902), the exhibition cost 2.2 million pounds, required the workforce of 2000 men, and a 216-acre site at Wembley. In addition, a sports ground was constructed in the vicinity, later known as the Empire Stadium, together with fairgrounds, which were meant to generate an influx of visitors. The popular author Agatha Christie was one of the main spokespeople for the exhibition, participating in a round-the-world tour promoting the event (https://www.harpercollins.co.uk). The aim of the exhibition was to bring all the British colonies to one single place. The government hoped to reignite the public interest in the colonies which significantly toned down after World War I. The official promotional leaflet thus outlines the aims of the exhibition, "To find in the development and utilization of the raw materials of the Empire, new sources of Imperial wealth. To foster inter-Imperial trade and open fresh world markets for Dominion and home products. To make the different races […] better known to each other, and to demonstrate to the people of Britain the almost illimitable possibilities of the Dominions, Colonies, and Dependencies overseas" (*The British Empire*

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[183] Prince Edward who became King Edward VIII in 1936.

Figure 11. Picture of the Indian pavilion at the British Empire Exhibition. There are not many existing photographs, but those preserved feature pavilions representing New Zealand, Malaya, Africa, and Burma (Campbell, https://www.torontopubliclibrary.ca).

Indeed, the officials responsible for organising the exhibition were determined to bring the spectators closer to the Empire by turning the leaflet information into reality, as it is visible in Fig. 11. The numerous buildings constructed for this project included major palaces designed for presenting imperial advances in industry and engineering. Also, special pavilions were mounted, representing nearly every colony (India, Ceylon, Africa, and Hong Kong, to name the most important ones). What is more, "races in residence" (Mackenzie 1999: 214) were displayed as well. That is to say, these were not wax dummies, but real colonised people who lived near the exhibition area and attended their respective pavilions on a daily basis, exhibiting "local craft and manufacturing techniques" (Mackenzie 1999: 214). It is estimated that approximately 273 of the colonised participated in the exhibition: "There were 20 Malays, 30 [Burmese], 160 Hong Kong Chinese, 60 West Africans and 3 Palestinians […], also Indians, Singhalese, West Indians, and natives of British Guiana" (https://historicalviewsongender.wordpress.com). The participants were housed in poor conditions.[184] Some of them could not withstand the cold climate of the United Kingdom and,

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[184] According to the sources, the colonised lived in a small, reused officers' mess that remembered the Gallipoli campaign. It had an adjacent kitchen and lavatory located in old war stock circular huts (Tan, http://theforgottenweaver.blogspot.com).

consequently, died of pneumonia (Tan, http://theforgottenweaver.blogspot.com). Additionally, official visitors from the colonies also faced misunderstandings. For instance, an Indian prince was asked by a photographer if he had any "natives" over here. The prince pointed to a group of British visitors and said, "Yes, sir, there are some natives" ("A King's Son," *The Daily Chronicle*, May 19, 1924). In view of racially-oriented *faux pas*, *The Daily Chronicle* had to issue a clarification urging people to treat colonial visitors with respect: "So please when you visit India or Burmah [pavilions], don't point a finger and explain 'Look at the natives'! Say, if you like, 'Look at the Indians', or 'Look at the Burmese'. Remember at Wembley it is you who are the 'natives'" ("A King's Son," *The Daily Chronicle*, May 19, 1924). Although it is not quite clear what the photographer intended through his question, this incident shows that even linguistic misunderstandings between the people from the West and the East can lead to unforeseeable consequences.

Figure 12. A collage of advertisements showing the prospective attractions awaiting the visitors at the British Empire Exhibition. Artwork designed by Gerald Spencer Pryse (http://www.artnet.com).

In view of presented materials, the exhibition was undoubtedly promoted through

various means: "Large quantities of ephemera and of souvenirs were produced and sold. Newspapers produced special issues, and children's annuals and comics […] portrayed it as one of the wonders of the age. Radio made much of the exhibition and considerable film footage was produced for the newsreels" (Mackenzie 1999: 215) by British Pathé[185]. The cinema newsreels in particular recorded the disdainful attitude of the spectators. Roughly an hour of footage is available online, including the opening ceremony and the address of King George V. Formally dressed visitors are visible as well, walking from pavilion to pavilion, smiling with vivid amusement and pointing their fingers at Africans and Indians "in residence" (https://www.youtube.com). It cannot be said, however, that the exhibition was unanimously praised by the public. Critics and playwrights satirised the event, labelling it merely as a simple entertainment. In addition, West African as well as Indian students formally protested in a newspaper about the portrayal of colonial races within the exhibition (Mackenzie 1999: 215). Even though the exhibition generated some degree of criticism for certain questionable attractions, the grandeur and vastness of the whole spectacle deserve recognition. As it is visible in special artworks (Fig. 12), the exhibition brought the Orient to Britain. With pictures and newsreels, it can be seen that the palaces reflected the colonies in terms of architectural style and, upon entering them, one definitely felt as if in another world. Additionally, there were medical, technical, and environmental expositions which displayed imperial advances in science that influenced Britain's later development in the fields of agriculture, forestry, and zoology (Mackenzie 1999: 214–215).

Summing up, the British Empire Exhibition at Wembley was not the only one[186], but it most prominently reflected the authorities' desire to place the colonial aspirations in the pop-cultural mainstream, to show the disillusioned citizens at the beginning of the twentieth century that the Empire still mattered and provided opportunities for everyone, and to prove to themselves that the United Kingdom still had some significance in the reality ravaged by war.

4.1.2. *Marketing of the Products: Associations with the Royalty and the Empire*

Another attempt was to emphasise the appeal of the Empire through commerce. Just as the aforementioned ephemera and souvenirs were created for the exhibitions, a wide variety of products from the colonies were waiting for the consumers on the store shelves. In order to boost the trade, manufacturing companies often relied on imperial imagery so as to evoke the

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[185] A production company which made documentaries before the advent of television.
[186] Apart from the Wembley Exhibition, there were also imperial displays in New Zealand and South Africa. The last one was the Glasgow Exhibition (1938) which served to promote the industry of Scotland and the Scottish relationship with the Empire (Mackenzie 1999: 215–216).

feelings of patriotism and reverence for the Empire (https://www.britishempire.co.uk). It has to be acknowledged, however, that such items had much lasting impact on the public consciousness due to their prevalence in contrast to colonial exhibitions, which were organised at a specific place for a fixed duration of time.

Figure 13. Selected examples of colonial products conveying the association with the Royal Family (https://www.britishempire.co.uk).

The presented instances of the packaging and advertisements (Fig. 13) clearly indicate the connection between the products and royal leadership. The communicated message is that if it had not been for Her Majesty Queen Victoria, her subjects could not have enjoyed the array of exotic commodities from all corners of the world. In order to emphasise the familiarity and durability of their goods, the manufacturers resorted to employing various techniques. For instance, the companies identified their origins with the reign of a monarch (a paragon of stability and tradition), used memorable taglines denoting the imperial purpose of being a single family of diverse communities ("One flag, One empire"), or directly referenced the Queen who gave her own seal of approval as the supposed user of the goods ("Queen's Honey Soap").
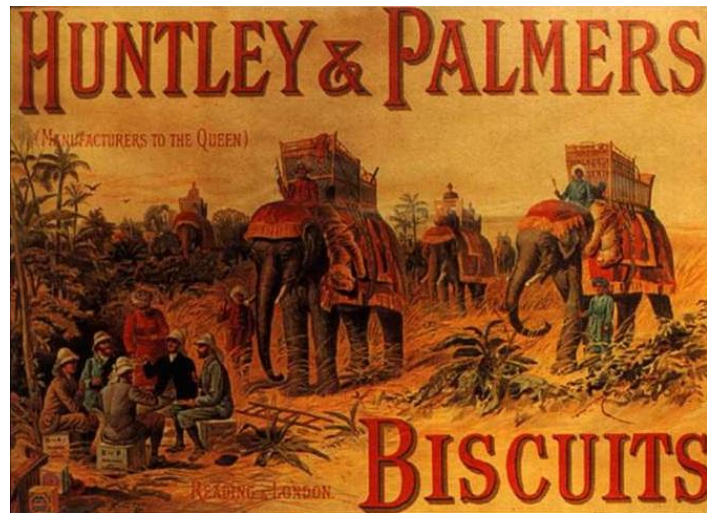
Figure 14. An example of merchandise designed to directly elicit the other-worldly allure of colonial frontiers and a spirit of adventure (https://www.britishempire.co.uk).

Interestingly, the artwork of Huntley & Palmers Biscuits (Fig. 14) makes a straightforward reference to Indian conquests. We can observe the humid plain consumed by sunlight in which fine gentlemen with pith helmets on their heads travel on elephants through uncharted territories. The assistance of native guides cannot go unnoticed either. Apart from looking after the elephants, they also serve tea and biscuits to weary explorers, who enjoy their pastime. The indigenous people function just as servants, for they are not allowed to participate in the recreational activity, reserved only for true pioneers. A small tagline "manufacturers to the Queen" reinforces the superiority of the product, as in the previous cases, but the colonial landscape also adds the sense of wonder and grandeur. On the one hand, the biscuits pack seems to be an indispensable survival item on distant journeys. On the other hand, the artwork serves as a promise that by eating the biscuits, the consumer will be transported away to the romantic reality of exotic travels.
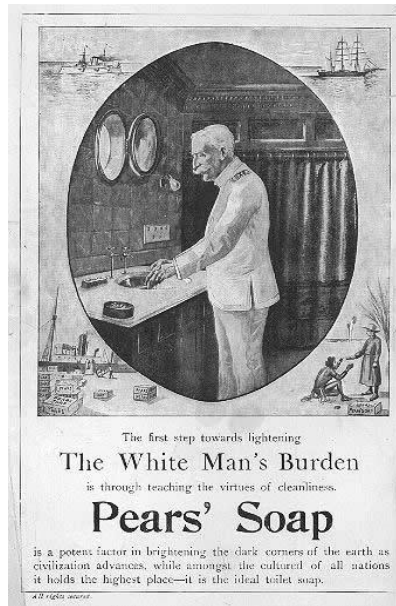
The first step towards lightening

The White Man's Burden

is through teaching the virtues of cleanliness.

Pears' Soap

is a potent factor in brightening the dark corners of the earth as
civilization advances, while amongst the cultured of all nations
it holds the highest place—it is the ideal toilet soap.

Figure 15. An advertisement for Pears' Soap in *McClure's Magazine* from 1899 (Wade, https://thesocietypages.org).

However, British consumerism came under heavy criticism from postcolonial researchers for referencing colonial undertakings. For instance, Anne McClintock meticulously analyses the advertisement for Pears' Soap (Fig. 15) which presents a steamship admiral washing his hands in a cabin. The image is accompanied by a text praising the product as a sophisticated development that will most certainly "bright[en] the dark corners of the earth" (Wade, https://thesocietypages.org). McClintock thus comments on the image: "Domestic hygiene, the ad implies, purifies and preserves the white male body from contamination in the threshold zone of empire. At the same time, the domestic commodity guarantees white male power, the genuflection of Africans and rule of the world" (McClintock 1995: 32). The researcher reaches the conclusion that imperialism manifests itself through "domesticity" (McClintock 1995: 32). "Imperial domesticity," as she calls it, is, in fact, a political space that excludes women and demonstrates "commodity racism" towards non-white groups (McClintock 1995: 32–33). She goes on to add that due to domesticity, the colonised people, women, and animals were uprooted from their pure, indigenous states and "inducted through the domestic progress narrative into a hierarchical relation to white men" (McClintock 1995: 35). Consequently, white men dominate in this manner the social strata and subjugate every individual who does not belong to their exclusive group. McClintock argues in this way that the colonial space has become domesticated; however, she does not provide more evidence to support her theory, basing her argument only on this one single advertisement. Certainly, a tagline such as "The first step towards lightening The White

Man's Burden is through teaching the virtues of cleanliness" (Wade, https://thesocietypages.org) has politically incorrect connotations today; nevertheless, one company's desire to increase a demand for their product by appealing to civil servants[187] cannot be attributed as the *perpetuum mobile* of the grand Enlightening project. Moreover, women were the most targeted group by the manufacturers. "Through government propaganda women were encouraged to buy Empire products" (Mackenzie 1999: 217). For that purpose, the aforementioned exhibitions had special "Women's Sections" and "Women's Weeks" which served to promote the goods. In addition, women were also actively engaged in the colonial as well as humanitarian societies[188], which sent them overseas to work for imperial glory (Mackenzie 1999: 218). Consequently, it becomes apparent that women – though co-opted by the imperial project – were not necessarily discriminated against or excluded from the public during the imperial heyday. The sole purpose of selling products was financial gain by any means possible, and Pears' Soap serves as the most vivid example of that practice[189].

4.1.3. *Education: Nurturing Young Knight of the Empire*

Towards the end of the nineteenth century, imperial ideas found their way into schooling. All in all, the next generation of fearless servicemen at the frontiers had to be trained. As a result, the importance of the Empire was emphasised in classes by means of history, geography, and literature (Mackenzie 1999: 220). The aim was to instil in young minds the information on the development of the Empire, on different indigenous groups as well as natural resources, and on the spirit of adventure that awaited them; that it to say: "It was this sense of a historic geographical mission, sometimes traced to medieval times, sometimes to the heroic era of the Tudors and Stuarts, which was conveyed in […] the fiction of Empire, [and] was regarded as a suitable reading material for the young by day schools" (Mackenzie 1999: 221).

Influences of imperial fiction are yet to be discussed in the following subsection, but it is important to point out that apart from the stories crafted by recognisable writers, which were taught at schools, young students were also exposed to various magazines which were suffused with pulp fiction. For example, we can enumerate such titles as *Union Jack*, *Magnet*,

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[187] Quite rightly, McClintock writes about preserving "the white male body from contamination in the threshold zone of empire" (McClintock 1995: 32). Is it evident that the product was intended as a source of hygiene for colonial officials travelling to distant territories.

[188] Victoria League, the Royal Empire Society, the Royal Geographical Society, to name just a few (Mackenzie 1999: 217).

[189] Pears transparent soap is still being sold. Interestingly, all Pears products have been acquired by Unilever and they are manufactured in India (Wade, https://thesocietypages.org).

The Great Book for Boys, *Chums*, *The Boys' Own Annual*, *Look & Learn*, and *The Wide World*[190]. These magazines contained spectacular tales about heroism and valour deep in the exotic lands, often accompanied by colourful drawings and advertisements of the previously mentioned products. The essential elements conveyed in the stories were those of Britishness, patriotism, and excitement in bringing civilisation to distant parts of the world (*Empire* documentary, episode 3, 0:37:38). Students would often receive the periodicals as prizes for good grades at school. The collector, Ashley Jackson, explains that such journals "tell us a lot about the worldview of the time" and "how people saw the world" (*Empire* documentary, episode 3, 0:38:04–0:38:10).

In public schools, the students were raised to become steady, self-reliant, honest, and Christian gentlemen, without the influence of family at home. Victorian headmasters referred to ancient Romans as the ideal prototypes of explorers. Apart from learning about the colonial conquests, the students had to read classical literature and also actively participate in sports (particularly rugby). This kind of education resulted in moulding upright graduates with readiness for teamwork (*Empire* documentary, episode 3, 0:13:42–0:14:26).

Children also received practice in survival undertakings through participation in special youth organisations, such as the Boy's Brigade, the Girl Guides, and the Boy Scouts (Deacon, https://www.telegraph.co.uk). The founding figure of these groups was Robert Baden-Powell, a British Army officer, who believed that the Empire could serve as an integrative system which would bring world peace. He perceived the Scouts as "young knights of the Empire" and used this phrase as the title of his book which was a set of special instructions and explanations of difficult terminology for the Scouts, accompanied by amusing stories and images. In the introduction, Bayden-Powell praises "young knights of the Empire" as the next generation of fine men who have to continue the colonial endeavour: "A knight [was] […] a gallant fellow […] always ready to defend weaker people […]; he was brave and honourable and ready to risk his life in doing his duty […]. [N]owadays there are thousands of boys all over the British Empire carrying out the same idea and making themselves into fine, reliable men, ready to [replace] those […] fallen at the Front" (Bayden-Powell [1917] 2019: 3).

From juvenile journals to the Scouts associations, young officials were presented with a vision of the Empire being a "playground" of limitless possibilities (Ruétalo and Tierney

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[190] Coincidentally, the magazines served as an inspiration for the comedians Michael Palin and Terry Jones to create an adventure comedy anthology series called *Ripping Yarns* (1976–1979) (translating the title from slang: "exciting stories"). The series heavily parodied fervent devotion to the Empire which, according to the comedians, was about doing strange things in a very serious manner (https://www.bbc.co.uk).

2009: 79). However, as Carl Jung mentioned in his recollections, the romantic assumptions were significantly different from reality (Jung 1965: 253). Being assigned to his colonial outpost, an inexperienced pioneer usually assumed the position of a district officer; meaning that he was responsible for a variety of affairs (collecting taxes, managing register office, supervising police forces, communicating with viceroys) while battling language barrier and harsh climate (https://www.britishempire.co.uk). What is more, the number of colonial administrators was fairly low. The statistics for British India are unknown, but in the case of Africa, it is estimated that about 1200 officers were governing 43 million of subservient natives at the turn of the twentieth century[191]. Such (in)disposition of young colonisers can be best described by a remark from an unknown European traveller who once wrote the following: "Never since the days of ancient Greece, has the world been ruled by such sweet, just, boyish masters" (*Empire* documentary, episode 5, 0:42:06–0:14:15).

4.1.4. *When the Adventure Calls: Examining British Literature in Imperial Times*

The origins of adventure novel are often traced back to the publication of Daniel Defoe's *The Life and Surprising Adventures of Robinson Crusoe… Written by Himself* in 1719. It is considered to be "the foundational text in adventure tradition" (Fitzpatrick 2020: 9) because it presents a modern hero, a young, able Englishman, who, after a series of misfortunes, proceeds to build a civilisation for himself on a desert island. Crusoe risks his life many times and he eventually manages to return to his homeland, rich in exceptional experiences. *Robinson Crusoe* is hailed as an exemplary instance of a novel that blends modern realist fiction together with adventure romance. The hero, a man of practice, uses self-reliance and scientific knowledge to stay alive in a remote setting. The novel can be perceived as "a microcosmic expression of a guide to life, in both the spiritual and temporal senses, for the model of a modern man" (Fitzpatrick 2020: 9).

Another stage in the development of adventure fiction comes with historical adventure stories, such as Walter Scott's *Waverley* (1814), *Rob Roy* (1817), and *Ivanhoe* (1819), which, considering the author's Scottish nationality, have strong nationalist themes and references to medieval romances (Trumpener 1997: 142). In addition, modern critics also identify Charles Dickens' *A Tale of Two Cities* (1859) as an adventure piece with historical elements because of the fact that the main characters relentlessly have to avoid imprisonment or even death (D'ammassa 2009: 240). However, the true cradle of adventure fiction where it matured as a

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[191] This was made possible only due to a skilful chain of command and cooperation with the local rulers.

genre in the nineteenth century is considered to be France, mainly due to the publications of Alexandre Dumas and Jules Verne. Dumas heavily relied on the style initiated by Walter Scott, which resulted in the publication of such classic adventure stories as *The Three Musketeers* (1844), *The Count of Monte Cristo* (1844), and *Queen Margot* (1845), all referring to major events in French history. Verne, however, tended to rely on the "geographic" sphere rather than the "temporal" one (Fitzpatrick 2020: 10). Verne followed Defoe's "Robinsonade" style in his narratives about castaways and deserted islands (the best example being *The Mysterious Island* from 1874). Yet, not all of his stories were primarily survivalist tales. Verne created *Voyages extraordinaires*, a set of over 50 novels which cover various types of travels (frequently aided by technological advancements) to numerous, often amazing, places. The instances of such extraordinary journeys include *Twenty Thousand Leagues under the Seas* (1969–1870) and *Around the World in Eighty Days* (1873). In view of Verne's strong emphasis on science in his writings, the author is occasionally (mis)labelled as the forerunner of science-fiction genre (D'ammassa 2009: 261).

In terms of literary works published in Britain in the nineteenth century[192], French developments of adventure fiction as well as exciting discoveries of forgotten civilisations[193] led to the creation of the aforementioned "Lost World" genre (Haggard (1885) 2002: 14). The name was retroactively attributed after the publication of Arthur Conan Doyle's popular *The Lost World* novel in 1912. However, the novel considered to be the first representative instance of the genre is Robert Louis Stevenson's *Treasure Island* from 1883. Although the author mainly wrote adventure and travel fiction, he is recognised nowadays for his Gothic novella *The Strange Case of Dr Jekyll and Mr Hyde*[194] (1886) (Stevenson 2003: 52). In fact, Stevenson enjoyed celebrity status mainly because of that playful horror tale about double identity. Yet, *Treasure Island* became his successful writing debut. Interestingly, before the official publication, the novel was serialised in form of chapters included in separate issues of *Young Folks* magazine[195]. As the title suggests, the book tells the story of a treasure hunt, which involves such elements as pirates, tropical islands, and a map with mysterious "X" marking the spot. The novel is obviously devoid of any references to colonial conquests, but it

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[192] It has to be noted that postcolonial works of fiction are not discussed in this subsection.

[193] For example, the identification of Troy as a real location, the uncovering of the Valley of the Kings in Egypt, or the excavation of Sarnath in India (https://www.britannica.com).

[194] The novella is devoid of any overt colonial undertones; however, the story has been analysed in terms of reflecting class struggle and colonial fears through the dual figure of the main protagonist (Bernhard Jackson 2013: 70). It was also subjected to numerous psychoanalytical interpretations, especially in relation to Jung's concepts of the shadow and individuation process (Sherry 2018: 14).

[195] Coincidentally, Robert Louis Stevenson, Henry Rider Haggard, George Alfred Henty, wrote short story strips for the juvenile magazines (Sutherland 2013: 126).

is possible to find in it allusions to the Caribbean practice of *privateering*, as it was already mentioned in Chapter 2 of this dissertation. All in all, Stevenson drew inspiration for the story from *A General History of the Robberies and Murders of the Most Notorious Pyrates* (1724) written by an unknown author[196] (Stevenson 2003: 63). The biographies of pirates were an important source of information and inspiration, but Stevenson, who was conscious of the desired target audience, also relied on the "Robinsonade" type of narrative. Although the book was meant for boys, as researchers claim, not only the boys were its avid readers but adults as well (Fitzpatrick 2020: 14). Henry James himself wrote about Stevenson: "He makes us say, Let the tradition live, by all means, since it was delightful" (James 1894: 166) and adds the following comment about the novel: "It is a 'boys' book', in the sense that it embodies a boy's vision of the extraordinary" (James 1894: 168). As a result, it can be inferred that Stevenson as a writer not only reproduced the adventure convention, but he also enriched it with "voyeuristic nostalgia" thanks to which the reader can feel like a child again (Fitzpatrick 2020: 14). Stevenson kept the tradition alive by adding to it at the same time (James 1894: 166). In consequence, *Treasure Island* is a story about adventure stories in that it coalesces dream-like excitement and realism into one.

The authors who followed Stevenson sought to emphasise the grandeur of exciting adventure rather than rely on the racial stereotypes (Johnson 2009: 2). In general, the novels followed the good vs. evil structure, in accordance with Joseph Campbell's concept of the monomyth, setting the conflict amidst colonial campaigns or native clashes. The hero was frequently an adventurer or an inexperienced person connected with such a superior figure. The main protagonist would travel from his homeland to exotic places, face numerous obstacles en route, and discover some sort of treasure, or even participate in a major battle towards the end of a story. At the very end, he would always emerge victorious and transformed, completing the Campbellian hero's journey.

For instance, as it was already discussed in Chapter 2, in Henry Rider Haggard's *King Solomon's Mines* (1885)[197], the main hero Allan Quatermain is not a racist elitist who looks down on the Ignosi people, but an upright gentleman who cooperates with them. The African land is by no means objectified in the novel. Instead, employing Campbell's allegory, the

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[196] Some sources claim that the man hiding behind the pseudonym "Captain Johnson" might have been, indeed, Daniel Defoe himself (D'ammassa 2009: 205).

[197] According to Mark Fitzpatrick, *King Solomon's Mines* was written as an inverted adventure formula. In contrast to Stevenson's *Treasure Island*, which inspired Haggard, the main hero of *King Solomon's Mines* is not a young boy but a middle-aged man. Quatermain, though an expert on travelling in wilderness, tends to stay away from engaging in violent acts. In addition, the natives are directly referred to as "gentlemen" in the novel, which can be interpreted as a contrast of Stevenson's "gentlemen of fortune" phrase used to describe pirates (Fitzpatrick 2020: 13).

protagonist transgresses the border between the worlds of the known and the unknown, eventually turning the latter into a familiar place, a projection of his own home[198] (Stafford 1999: 312). Moreover, much to the disappointment of postcolonial researchers, Haggard never resorted to portraying the natives as well as women and indigenous cultures in unfavourable light. On the contrary, he might have used "the formulaic adventure model" (Stiebel 2001: 104), yet his subsequent novels, especially *Allan Quatermain* (1887) and *She: A History of Adventure* (1887), contain themes such as the fragility of life and reversal of gender roles (Catizone 2012: 2). Having been shaped by his experience in Africa[199], Haggard rarely set his adventure novels in other places[200]. The reason of Haggard's continuing popularity can be found in his writing style and influence on the South African literature: "Romance formulas remain deeply embedded within South African literary experience and it may, indeed, take generations of urban living before the nostalgia for the […] idyllic is driven away from the heart" (Rich 1984: 135 in Stiebel 2001: 104).

In contrast to Haggard, George Alfred Henty often relied on "youthful fictional characters" whom he mixed with "historic events, thus providing his readers with the feel for great moments of Imperial history, and offering opportunity for moral uplift through contact with exemplary figures from the past" (Mackenzie 1999: 223). Having the experience of a war correspondent, he organised his stories around one pattern. Namely, a young man (or a group of men) is thrown into the middle of a certain historical event. This serves as an excuse to expose the reader to some essential historical information. Similarly to Haggard, the style of Henty was criticised as being formulaic due to "the predictability of the hero's triumph and the comfort to which he retires after his adventure (Johnson 2009: 2). The purpose of Henty's fiction was to first and foremost educate the reader. As a result, his books resemble exciting reports from the frontline backed by detailed historical accounts (Johnson 2009: 2). The best example to reflect this is *With Clive in India: Or, The Beginnings of an Empire* (1884), a novel which serves as an introduction to East India Company's first military struggles on the Indian subcontinent. In a nutshell, two young heroes become eyewitnesses of how the Company takes over Bengal and appoints Robert Clive as the governor of this province. In contrast to Haggard, Henty appears to modern-day readers too preachy and boring with his long expository descriptions of the historical situation. However, the researcher Rachel Johnson claims that the primary advantages of Henty are his strong storylines, which "were,

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[198] Jung's description of a District Commissioner's house in Kakamegas resurfaces yet again (Jung 1965: 257).
[199] He used to take up many administrative positions during his stay in South Africa between 1875 and 1882.
[200] The most notable exception would be *Ayesha: The Return of She* (1905), the action of which occurs in Tibet.

and still are […], recognised as a significant factor in his appeal to readers of all ages" (Johnson 2009: 2).[201] She also adds that Henty might have appeared to be a supporter of imperialism and militarism; however, he was also capable of "subverting the often erroneous, stereotypical image of his writing as promoting the English as the only worthy race" (Johnson 2009: 4). That is to say, Henty's sole desire was to offer general education and create a worthwhile story. In order to do that, he was willing to write about the events outside of the British Empire, such as the Thirty Years War, slavery in Egypt, or the American Civil War (Johnson 2009: 9–10).

Other British authors of that period such as R. M. Ballantyne, W. H. G. Kingston, and Frederick Marryat built upon the "Robinsonade" tradition established by Defoe. The heroes of the stories were frequently children who undertook exciting exploits, (often) based on the writers' real experiences. For instance, Ballantyne's *The Coral Island* (1858) focuses on three boys trying to stay alive on a remote island while avoiding pirates and cannibals. The author evidently tried to communicate some practical tips to young readers (Fitzpatrick 2020: 11). Kingston, similarly to Henty, attempted to convey educational information about real historical figures in his books, as in the case of *Travels of Dr. Livingstone* (1886); but also recounted his own journeys, as in *Many Travels in Many Lands* (1862). What is more, he also translated some of Verne's works into English. Fredrick Marryat, in contrast, was a Royal Navy officer, thus, his novels mainly revolved around maritime action with shipwrecked children and pirates.

The post-Stevensonian Anglophone adventure novel focused predominantly on the Lost World theme. Interestingly, as Avner Offer notes, without the colonial expansion, there would be no place for such literature of exploration (Offer 1999: 696). Indeed, the demand for these stories significantly increased towards the end of the nineteenth century and lasted until the 1930s[202], with the trend spilling over to the United States[203]. The usual setting of such novels was either Africa or Asia[204]. Many writers seemed to be deeply preoccupied with the

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[201] Johnson goes on to say that many of his titles were not only translated into European languages, but also adapted into graphic novels. In her comparative analysis, Johnson examines the prevalence of the historical component in these remade forms. She arrives at the conclusion that, apart from condensing the storylines (from the original 400 pages to about 50, on average), there is enough narration to get the reader up to speed (Johnson 2009: 4). However, the graphic novels put more emphasis on satisfying "the anticipation action" through vivid illustrations and quick cuts between the scenes. There is no room for Henty's monologues; thus, the reader has no need to rely on imagination in order to fill the missing gaps (Johnson 2009: 6).

[202] The Lost World trend saw revival in the 1980s (obviously devoid of colonial connotations) with the publication of Michael Crichton's *Congo* (1980) novel and *Indiana Jones* movies (D'ammassa 2009: 63).

[203] We can enumerate such titles as Edgar Rice Burroughs's *The Land That Time Forgot* (1912), H. P. Lovecraft's *At the Mountains of Madness* (1931), and A. Merritt's *The Metal Monster* (1920).

[204] Nevertheless, there were some exceptions. Arthur Conan Doyle set the story of his novel in South America.

Tibetan Plateau and the Himalayas, geographical areas cut off from the outside world, so mysterious that nearly mystical[205]. Yet, relatively little attention was given to India. Perhaps this was caused by the fact that the Indian subcontinent ceased to be an uncharted territory by the nineteenth century. With *Queen Victoria's Proclamation to the Princes, Chiefs and the People of India* in 1858, India formally became *a Jewel in the Crown*, an integral part of the Empire. Nevertheless, one particular author of fiction wrote about India with particular relish and purpose.

Rudyard Kipling is arguably best known for his collection of stories *The Jungle Book* (1894) that has been adapted numerous times to the silver screen[206]; nevertheless, Kipling wrote also an ample amount of other fiction centred on India. He was born in Bombay in 1865 and his experience of growing up in India proved to be an essential factor that propelled his writing career. To date, Kipling is perceived as the man at the threshold, torn between England and India, capable of both justifying and criticising imperialist practices (Couto 2003: 70). His texts are constantly analysed in the Oriental discourse together with the works of E. M. Forster and Joseph Conrad (Lackey 2007: 2). Whereas Forster[207] and Conrad directly expressed anti-imperialist views in *A Passage to India* (1924) and *Heart of Darkness* (1899), respectively, Rudyard Kipling still remains an ambiguous writer despite his strong affinity for India.

Kipling spent his childhood years in Bombay and Lahore. His father was a teacher and museum curator, whereas his mother was described as an "independent, well-connected, ambitious, and unsentimental" woman (Couto 2003: 70). The writer was thoroughly spoiled by Indian servants and nannies, with whom he communicated in Hindi. Allegedly, he mastered the language to such an extent that he had to be reminded to speak English with his parents (Couto 2003: 70). Unfortunately, the writer's idyllic childhood was unexpectedly disrupted when he and his sister were sent to England to receive education. Young Kipling resented this forceful relocation that deprived him of his cherished Indian habits (Chemmachery 2014: 2–3; Couto 2003: 71–72). Later on, he described the British ill-treatment of him and his sister in a short story titled "Baa Baa, Black Sheep" (1888), which

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[205] James Hilton's *The Lost Horizon* (1933), the story about a civilisation hidden deep in the Himalayas which has the solution to longevity, serves as the best example (D'ammassa 2009: 128–129).

[206] Hollywood's preoccupation with Kipling lasts to date with the release of two different adaptations of *The Jungle Book* in 2016 and 2018.

[207] Interestingly, in 1909, E. M. Forster delivered a lecture at Weybridge Literary Society which he called "Kipling's Poems." The writer heavily criticised Kipling for the political undertones present in his works. Forster claimed that Kipling was a representative of an old world order which favoured authoritarian style of rule. The author of *A Passage to India* (1924) claimed that contemporary culture should upgrade itself to a democratic political system (Lackey 2007: 1–2).

tells the story of two siblings who receive their education in England and suffer from emotional and physical abuse instigated by a foster family. Reading books is forbidden and the children are only allowed to play noisy games. Nevertheless, they find a way to cheat the abusers. Using "Baa Baa, Black Sheep" as an example, the researcher Jaine Chemmachery infers that Kipling's storytelling craft "strictly relie[d] on […] the awareness of the bonds between repression, lying, and literary creation" (Chemmachery 2014: 3).

Kipling did not have sufficient funds to pursue the career of a civil servant; therefore, he signed up to a military training course. Even though he did not become a soldier[208], this experience allowed him to look at imperial practices at close quarters. Eventually, he entered the journalist profession. After returning to India in 1882, he efficiently worked for such journals as *The Civil and Military Gazette* and *The Pioneer*. Writing exclusive reports and commentaries expanded Kipling's knowledge about the life in India as he travelled across the provinces and met with administrative officials as well as Indian workers from a variety of social classes. In other words, Kipling was "getting a degree in India" (Singh 2019: 6). Some of the true tales and anecdotes he had heard during his extensive travels made their way into a story collection *Plain Tales from the Hills* (1888)[209]. Although Kipling had no access to civil servant circles, he startled the reading public with precise descriptions of the colonial administrators' private affairs during their stay in Shimla[210] (Singh 2019: 4; Couto 2003: 73–74): "As a budding writer with literary ambitions among regimental hopefuls, he developed a constant wariness, observant of moods and tempers, with a certain reserve in his conduct, noting discrepancies between speech and action – qualities which would sustain the precocious and youthful journalist, not quite pukka enough to belong to the sahib caste" (Couto 2003: 73).

At the age of 25, Kipling enjoyed recognition in England as an acclaimed journalist and writer. Nevertheless, he stayed away from the social circles of the ruling class. Although he was writing about the shortcomings of the establishment in his works, Kipling never quite gained access to these spheres due to his military education and journalist profession (Singh

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[208] This was caused by eyesight problems (Couto 2007: 104).

[209] It should be noted that there is a degree of uncertainty nowadays about the real authorship of *Plain Tales from the Hills* collection. Amardeep Singh, the creator of a digital thematic collection, "The Kiplings and India: A Collection of Writings from British India, 1870–1900," suggests that Rudyard Kipling's sister, Alice Macdonald Fleming, co-edited and even co-authored the works of her brother at the very early stage of his writing profession. To date, only two novels, *The Heart of a Maid* (1891) and *A Pinchbeck Goddess* (1897) have been categorised as being written entirely by her (Singh 2019: 4, 10; Singh, https://scalar.lehigh.edu).

[210] During the summer periods in India, high-ranking officers and civil servants moved with their families to the city of Shimla (modern-day capital of Himachal Pradesh state), which is located near the Himalayas; thus, it has a colder climate (https://www.britannica.com). The city is alternatively called Simla.

2019: 10; Couto 2003: 74). In his early writings, Kipling frequently idealised the colonial administrators, elevating them to the status of courageous conquerors. The writer's appraisal of the British Empire is burdened by his unshakable conviction about the racial and moral superiority of the British residents in India. Maria Couto sees this attitude in Kipling's short story called "His Chance in Life,"[211] which focuses on a Eurasian telegraph signaller, Michele D'Cruze, who tries to win the favours of a woman he is in love with. At the same time, he is ordered to suppress small riots during the sacred month of Muharram[212]. Being given the opportunity of promotion, D'Cruze proceeds to take action and, in consequence, a local police inspector calls him "sahib." Nevertheless, D'Cruze's bravado returns to the state of passiveness as soon as "the white sahib" comes back: "In the presence of this young Englishman, Michele felt himself slipping back and more into the native" (Couto 2003: 76). In this manner, Kipling positions the colonisers as the paragons of composure and rationality, something to which the natives should aspire but may not be fully able to attain.

Interestingly, in some of his short stories, he positioned India within the liminal space between the reasonable and the phantasmagorical. Stephen Carver writes that Kipling was "juxtaposing images of British progress with the barbaric age of the *Arabian Nights*" (Carver 2018: 1). Nevertheless, it does not mean that the writer repeatedly presented India in as bleak tones as Joseph Conrad sketched Africa in *Heart of Darkness* (1899)[213]. More appropriately, Kipling frames India as a space in which the Enlightenment values do not apply. This is visible in such short stories as "The Return of Imray" and "The Mark of the Beast"[214].

The first story is that of a police officer who moves into a bungalow that belonged to a missing civil servant. Eventually, the officer hears the frightening sounds at night and he discovers the body of Imray, the civil servant, mummified and with a cut throat, which was apparently the source of unsettling noises. The second story is about an Englishman known as Fleete who, while being drunk, committed a blasphemy by putting his cigar out on a statue representing a deity (Hanuman). In consequence, a monk suffering from leprosy throws a curse on Fleete. From scarce descriptions, the readers can infer that Fleete is slowly turning into a wolf. In order to save Fleete, two of his friends capture the mysterious priest and, by

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[211] Originally published in *Plain Tales from the Hills* (1888).

[212] The first month of the Islamic calendar (https://www.britannica.com).

[213] The only instance when Kipling closely emulated Conrad's style was in *The Man Who Would Be King* (1888), in which he places the Colonial Gothic within the historical dimension of forgotten empires: "The dark places of the earth, full of unimaginable cruelty, touching the Railway and the Telegraph on one side, and, on the other, the days of Harun-al-Raschid" (Kipling 1890: 69) (Ching-Liang Low 1996: 149).

[214] Both published in *Life's Handicap, Being Stories of Mine Own People* collection (1891).

means of brute force[215], they persuade him to lift the curse. Needless to say, an Englishman in distress recovers, but the narrator remarks in the following manner upon the witnessed horrors: "I understood then how men and women and little children can endure to see a witch burnt alive" (Kipling 1897: 304; Carver 2018: 3)

With the Gothic context of these short stories, Kipling creates an image of India as the land where the foreigners have to suspend the unwavering belief in the rational and accept the existence of other-than-Christian religions or even black magic. India is not to be underestimated; otherwise, the disbelievers will have a high price to pay for their ignorance of the subcontinent. As Stephen Carver comments with regard to Kipling, "English Christian certainty has been elegantly undermined, by a writer who is often matter-of-factly associated with nationalism and imperial project" (Carver 2018: 3).

The writer went on to develop the uneven dynamics between the British and Indians in his other short stories. For instance, in "The Head of the District"[216], Kipling repeats the pattern of Dumas and Henty by trying to historically outline the spread of the Viceroy's power in India. The story focuses on the liberal policy implemented by the British government that allowed the middle-class Hindus to work as civil servants in the colonial administration[217] (Couto 2003: 76). In quite a humorous way, Kipling presents the figure of a native who is about to take control over a district located on a frontier that is known for violent clashes. The civil servant chooses to run away in panic, grateful that he was not officially appointed as the head of the district.

According to Kipling, Indian civil servants (and even civil servants, in general) should not be trusted. Even though he idealised the colonial administrator, this figure ought to be a determined, hardworking man, capable of resilience and self-sacrifice. People stamping papers and then moving them from one pile to the next did not possess such qualities in the eyes of the writer. He elaborates on this issue in the short story "The Bridge Builders" (1893), in which he describes the perfect relationship between an Englishman and an Indian native. Engineer Findlayson is not an idle supervisor but a man taking action, carrying the burden of

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[215] Jaine Chemmachery also highlights in the context of this story that Kipling frequently used elliptical phrases (for instance, "Words fail me") when describing (colonial) violence. In this manner, the writer emphasises the gravity of unknown atrocities. The unspeakable is not entirely said but highlighted (Chemmachery 2014: 11). Nevertheless, it can also be argued that the usage of elliptical expressions is Kipling's strategy to avoid writing about violence altogether.

[216] Originally published in *Macmillan's Magazine* (1890).

[217] The postcolonial researcher Partha Chaterjee points out that an Indian civil servant, although being the pure product of colonialism, is rejected by the rulers because they feel more secure with large uneducated populaces, which are easier to control. Still again, Chaterjee remarks that the longer colonial rule lasts, the greater the number of mixed middle class natives who, partially educated, are able to oppose the exploitative governance (Loomba 1998: 190-192).

"the Administration" on his own shoulders (Chemmachery 2014: 1). In addition, Peroo, the works overseer, skilfully manages the bridge-building process. Neither of them is afraid of diseases, accidents, unpredictable weather, thunderous river and even death. The story evokes strong connotations with Pierre Boulle's *The Bridge on the River Kwai* (1952), yet instead of the British singlehandedly erecting the bridge, Kipling depicts in his story the coloniser and the colonised working as equals in the grand project of modernising India.

Nevertheless, Kipling also resorted to making conscious omissions in his writings which, although perceived nowadays as lies of a self-censoring coloniser, served as means of subverting the imperialist agenda. The instances of such omissions are present in such short stories as "Without Benefit of Clergy" and "Beyond the Pale"[218]. The first one focuses on an English bachelor called Holden. When a contagion strikes the city, the Deputy Commissioner praises Holden's marital status, being glad that he has no family members whom he would have to evacuate to Shimla. However, the real truth is that Holden has an Indian mistress called Ameera and he is also the father of her child. The man urges Ameera to escape to Shimla but she refuses. In consequence, by being silent about this "forbidden relationship" (Chemmachery 2014: 3), Holden avoids the violation of his position in the colonial community. The interracial affair is not something to be forgiven. This is also the theme of "Beyond the Pale." In this context as well, the omission serves to hide something meaningful. Trejago, yet another English protagonist, is an inconspicuous man who happens to suffer from a stiffness in his right leg caused by horse-riding. Actually, it is kept secret that Trejago was hit by a spear, due to being camouflaged as a native woman, after visiting an Indian widow he fell in love with, Bisesa. Nevertheless, the couple's idyllic existence does not last long. While the spear is thrust at Trejago, Bisesa has her hands cut off. "Beyond the Pale" may contain a degree of outrageousness from the narrator's part in the scandalous affair, but Kipling frames the interracial relation in a favourable light. "Something terrible has happened […]. He cannot get Bisesa – poor little Bisesa – back again," (Kipling [1888] 2020: 81) the narrator states emphatically at the end. In addition, the epigraph preceding the story states the following: "Love heeds not caste nor sleep a broken bed. I went in search of love and lost myself" (Kipling [1888] 2020: 78). Much the same in Kenji Mizoguchi's *The Crucified Lovers* (1954), true love cannot exist in a community that is preoccupied with prejudices. As a result, "some truths [have] to remain untold in a society" (Chemmachery 2014: 4). There is no place for a romantic relationship between a white man and a native woman within a reality that is

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[218] "Without Benefit of Clergy" was published in *Life's Handicap* (1891), whereas "Beyond the Pale" in *Plain Tales from the Hills* (1888).

perpetuated by power dependencies and misconceptions.

It is by means of omission and lies that Kipling subverts the ideology which served as the foundation of British dominance. That is to say, "While colonial discourse abounds with stereotypes constructing natives as liars, white men in Kipling's stories are the ones who master the art of lying" (Chemmachery 2014: 6). The aforementioned story "The Bridge Builders" as well as the novella *The Man Who Would Be King*[219] contain the writer's subtle hints at the exploitative side effects of imperialism. Especially in the novella, the Empire is no longer about doing good, but also about getting rich, as it is reflected through the main characters, Carnehan and Davot, former British Army officers, who are on the search for treasures of Alexander the Great. After travelling across India and Afghanistan, they eventually reach a remote kingdom and persuade the locals that one of them is a god. Nevertheless, the natives see through their tricks and turn against them. *The Man Who Would Be King* is nowadays interpreted as a fable akin to *The Jungle Book* (Couto 2003: 77); however, the novella also functions as a cautionary tale which underlines the friction in colonial encounters. "In Kipling's stories, white men's capacity to lie easily may even be interpreted as a metaphor of the fact that the British Empire rests on lying" (Chemmachery 2014: 6). Explorers from the Old Continent should never take advantage of the indigenous people from distant lands. Although they may appear to be culturally backward, their intellect and individuality should never be underestimated.

It seems that the more Kipling wrote about India, the stronger became his relationship with the place of his birth. Undoubtedly, over the years, Kipling acquired a great knowledge of Indian landscapes, colonial district policies, and problems of Indian people. Amardeep Singh points out that Kipling addressed, though in small capacity, such difficult topics as famines plaguing India[220] (Singh 2019: 11–12). The work of a journalist allowed the writer to experience the cogwheels of colonial machinery firsthand, but he never dared to let himself become devoured by it. The problem of Kipling's ambiguous allegiance is best described by Salman Rushdie, who stated that the creative impulse was born from "a conflict between Ruddy baba, the bazaar boy, and Kipling sahib." As Maria Couto argues, "Indeed it has often been said that the protagonist of his stories is not the administrator, nor the men from the barracks, but India itself" (Couto 2003: 77). These interpretations highlight Kipling's strong

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[219] The novella was adapted for film by director John Huston in 1975. Additionally, the story served as an inspiration for an animation feature *The Road to El Dorado*, released in 2000.

[220] Singh provides the examples of two short stories: "The Enlightenments of Pagett, M.P." (1888) and "William the Conqueror" (1898). In the first one, famine is incorporated as a part of a conspiracy theory concerning "the Great Game;" whereas in the second piece, there is a more sincere account presenting the struggles of the British to combat the horrible Madras famine (1896–1897), which claimed 5 million lives (Singh 2019: 11–12).

bond with the land of his childhood. Contrary to many English school boys who were taught how to perceive the colonies, Kipling developed his own idea of India.

With regard to poetry, Kipling grappled with his ambivalent approval of and discontent with colonialism in this domain as well. He wrote "The White Man's Burden[221]," a poem condemned by postcolonial critics, in which he favours the conquest of the Philippines; but he also created an underappreciated poem "The Widow at Windsor," in which he openly criticises the colonial aspirations of Queen Victoria, accusing her of accumulating wealth by sacrificing soldiers of the Empire:

| Take up the White Man's burden—
   Send forth the best ye breed—
 Go bind your sons to exile
   To serve your captives' need;
 To wait in heavy harness
   On fluttered folk and wild—
 Your new-caught, sullen peoples,
   Half devil and half child. | Walk wide o' the Widow at Windsor,
  For 'alf o' Creation she owns:
 We 'ave bought 'er the same with the sword an'
 the flame,
  An' we've salted it down with our bones.
   (Poor beggars! – it's blue with our bones!) |

Figure 16. Fragments of "The White Man's Burden" (1899) [left] and "The Widow at Windsor" (1892) [right] (http://www.poetryloverspage.com).

Kipling evidently asserts in "The White Man's Burden" the fact of white intervention in the areas that lack Eurocentric type of civilisation. Nevertheless, he also sympathises with the difficult plight of British soldiers, who are given voice in "The Widow at Windsor". Through the usage of substandard English, the lyrical subject asserts it is not their fault that they gave up their lives in the course of the colonial endeavour. They were following orders. They were fighting for the Queen, who enjoyed the material wealth and abundant resources, which were acquired with their pain and suffering.

A complete turnaround in Kipling's perspective of British India comes with the publication of *Kim* (1901). Nirad C. Chaudhuri described the book as "the finest novel in the English language with an Indian theme, but also one of the greatest English novels in spite of the theme" (Chaudhuri in Couto 2003: 79). The writer meticulously presented the multitude of customs, languages, religious practices, and the Indian way of thinking. All of that revolves around the character of young Kimball O'Hara, the orphaned son of an Irish soldier. He

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[221] A poem originally written for the Diamond Jubilee of Queen Victoria, favouring the efforts of the United States during the Philippine-American war at the turn of the twentieth century.

journeys through India together with his mentor, Teshoo Lama, a Tibetan monk. The boy's skin is significantly tanned and he prefers to communicate in Hindi[222], so Kim is virtually unrecognisable as a European.

Both Kim and Teshoo Lama are searching for things precious to them. Kim desires to find "a Red Bull on a green field" (a crest of his father's regiment) (Kipling [1901] 2005: 27), whereas the lama is looking for a river capable of cleansing him from the sins. Kim feels mesmerised by the lama's spirituality and, consequently, their relation transforms into the *guru-chela* (master and student) dependency. Rebellious and outspoken, O'Hara learns that there is something beyond the world of material objects, as he and the lama make their way through the Grand Trunk Road[223]. Maria Couto calls it "the superiority of the active life over the contemplative" (Couto 2003: 79). In Jungian terms, we could say that Kim is exposed to the archetypal realm.

This ancient Indian roadway is called by Kipling "the backbone of all Hind" (Kipling [1901] 2005: 46). Indeed, "the broad smiling river of life" excites Kim, yet the lama is not amused by the colourful hustle and bustle of different cultures. The lama wants to let go of this world. Kim demonstrates obedience and respect in front of a wise old man, whereas the lama starts to rely on Kim as if he was his guide. As Maria Couto remarks, "The growth of this bond, and Kim's initiation into a life of action through the meditation of the otherworldly lama, is revealed through a narrative which involves Kim in high adventure, escapades, and espionage, underpinning which is Kipling's search for synthesis" (Couto 2003: 80). Indeed, Kim, and Kipling himself, embrace the spiritual aspect of India rather than reject it because they do not perceive this colonial frontier merely as a land of social darkness and unexpected dangers.

As Kim searches for his identity while participating in "the Great Game,"[224] Kipling as well attempts to capture the essence of India and define the relationship with his land of birth. In modern-day re-reading of *Kim*, it becomes apparent that Kim is Kipling's alter ego, that is a boy balancing at the threshold of two different worlds, feeling more drawn to the exotic

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[222] It is stated in the novel that when using English, Kim's speech is hard to understand because he uses Indian pace and intonation (Kipling [1901] 2005: 123). Kipling wrote about Hindi that "every word should tell, carry, weigh, taste and if need be smell" (Couto 2003: 79).
[223] One of India's longest expressway arteries which connects the Indian subcontinent with Central Asia. The road runs 2,400 kilometres. It begins in Bangladesh (goes through Allahabad, Delhi, Amritsar, and Lahore) and ends in Peshawar (modern-day Pakistan) (https://www.britannica.com).
[224] A collective term which describes political confrontation between the British Empire and the Russian Empire in Central Asia in the 19th century. It was the aim of the British to protect the Indian subcontinent from the potential Russian conquest. Contemporarily, it has been proven that the Russians had no such intention (Capoferro 2003: 120).

strangeness and culture of a different race than to his English heritage, and yet, trying to make peace with his parents by uncovering his own past.

The novel is often described as the story with simple action and multilayered structure. Although the main protagonist is just a boy, he is undergoing a mature quest in search of identity through the realms of religion, magic, and political espionage. One can see the similarities between *Kim* and Salman Rushdie's eponymous postcolonial novel *Midnight's Children* (1981)[225]. That is to say, both heroes oscillate between the West and the Orient and they have a special relationship with the country of India. In *Kim*, the boy is sent by Irish missionaries to study at a military school, yet the rigid discipline and boredom of daily duties push him to escape and participate in "the Great Game." Kim's wish is granted by Mahbub Ali, an Afghan Muslim from Lahore collaborating with British Intelligence. The mentorship of Mahbub Ali complements that of Lama Teshoo, who desires to develop Kim spiritually, but also turn him into a true *sahib*:

> The Great Game holds Kim in thrall, energising the narrative with his appetite for life and adventure. The process paves the way for a reflection on the life of action and the life of renunciation and meditation: the Occidental and the Oriental way, with qualities of observation, the acquisition and use of knowledge as the prerogative of white men [...]. Though Kim is torn by conflicting loyalties, he does not really have any doubt about his future commitment to the Great Game. (Couto 2003: 81)

Riccardo Capoferro also adds that Kim's attachment to India stems directly from his childhood, whereas his allegiance to England was forced in the adulthood (Capoferro 2003: 124). In consequence, the reader as well as Kim himself seek to recapture that child-like perspective, which enables both to look at India as an object of desire, "transcend[ing] the vetoes of orthodox Imperialism" (Capoferro 2003: 119, 127).

Modern researchers of Kipling frequently hail *Kim* as a captivating novel with adventure elements, progressing characters, and palpable spirit of true India (Couto 2003: 81; Capoferro 2003: 118; Arargüç 2003: 14). Jaine Chemmachery states that "the poetics of Kipling's works have effects of their own which do not necessarily comply with his ideological stance on imperialism" (Chemmachery 2014: 10). However, some critics claim that Kipling consciously omitted in his novel any references to Indian resistance and the rising popularity of Indian National Congress (Arargüç 2003: 14). Others go so far as to say that the

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[225] *Midnight's Children* shall be analysed in detail in Chapter 6 of the dissertation, but in the context of Rudyard Kipling's *Kim*, the central character of Rushdie's novel, Saleem Sinai, also has to make his way through the problems posed by religion (being a Hindu vs. being a Muslim), magic (special powers which the *Midnight's Children* are endowed with), and politics (opposing the State of Emergency (1975–1977) implemented by Indira Gandhi).

Grand Trunk Road was used as an example of "political mapping," which means that many characters progress along the road in order to (un)willingly serve the needs of the Empire (Shaikh 2015: 646–647).

While not undermining the imperial rule in a straightforward manner, Kipling nevertheless managed to capture the melting pot of Indian culture. Although the Indian land was clearly *British India*, the indigenous people still continued to perform their age-old customs, traditions, and lifestyles, unavoidably enchanting the newcomers from the West. Indeed, "[Kipling] was able to penetrate the heart of the Anglo-Indian's dilemma in the vivid cameos of his [stories]. Controversial yet popular, complex but accessible, the evaluation of Rudyard Kipling eludes consensus. His response to India, which in the early phase of his career was that of an unmitigated coloniser, was later modified into a deeper understanding and appreciation of a country he came to regard as his only home" (Couto 2003: 70). In consequence, Rudyard Kipling remains the rare instance of imperial fiction writer who, in his adventure novels, communicated a unique perception of India and its people: the land which is not identified with backwardness and barbarity but with mystique and wonders.

Although a discussion of selected works of Rudyard Kipling have taken up a substantial part of this subsection, they are not included in the analytical part of the dissertation because they are considered to be a part of canonical imperial fiction (Chemmachery 2014: 7). Regardless of Kipling's beliefs and true motives, he is perceived in the postcolonial discourse as an imperialist. Yet, more and more modern interpretations, as it was demonstrated, point to ambiguity inscribed in his fiction.

4.1.5. *Travel Writing: Reflecting the Colonial Past*

Another popular means of promoting the Empire, apart from literary fiction, were travel writings. As it was already mentioned in Chapter 2, personal accounts from far-flung corners of the globe were regarded in the 18th and the 19th century as first-hand educational pieces about the great unknown(s). In the age before *Discovery Channel*, the colonial administrators were not only the official guides to foreign lands, but also witnesses of other cultures (Pratt 1992: 73).

Even though old travel accounts may have fallen into oblivion or disrespect, they still constitute a vital part of imperial culture and need to be considered. Faraz Anjum in his article "Travel Writing, History and Colonialism: An Analytical Study" attempts to define the genre of travel accounts, and the researcher arrives at a conclusion that this is a multi-layered concept, difficult to pinpoint as a form (travel accounts may be a short story, an essay, or a

diary), riddled with ambiguity, and oscillating between fact and fiction (Anjum 2014: 191–192). Nevertheless, this multifaceted category has strong, albeit convoluted, connection with history as well as colonial discourse. In the context of this interdependence, Ajum goes on to add that travel narratives were utilised as valid historical sources at the time of publication. He also explains that without the act of travelling, there would be no development of colonialism (understood as a discovery of uncharted territories) (Anjum 2014: 191–192). In consequence, travels should not be regarded merely as a leisurely activity. On the contrary, the traveller (the writer of his memoirs) is at work[226] "that is filled with adversity, difficulty, and discomfort" (Brown 2000: vii). The task of the traveller is to grasp often a radically different environment from that of his own. In order to achieve this aim, the traveller writes down his recollections as various types of texts[227].

In her work, *The Witness and the Other World: Exotic European Travel Writing 400-1600*, Mary B. Campbell challenges the sincerity of colonial memoirs by framing the figure of the coloniser as that of a man who is limited by ideology (for example, the belief in the superiority of his homeland), memory gaps (the traveller may be mixing up dates and places), and other travel texts that came before his publication (Campbell 1988: 6). Furthermore, Roxanne Euben acknowledges that while "direct observation cannot guarantee depth of insight," the most important aspect of travel is "not bodily presence but the dislocating character of the encounter […] dislocating mediations between the familiar and the unfamiliar [which] serve as an invaluable resource for those who do not or cannot travel" (Euben 2006: 18). Evidently, travellers communicate (or at least used to communicate in the past) vital and unique information about encountered cultures. Nevertheless, due to excessive travelling, writers are at risk of losing their identity. That is to say, they may become detached from their homeland and embrace the periphery (Euben 2006: 39). As in the case of autobiographies, the author places himself as the authority figure, the first-hand witness, yet can he with absolute accuracy recall all those picturesque details, customs, events, and places from numerous voyages he experienced? As Peter Hulme and Tim Youngs remark, "Like autobiography, […]

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[226] Interestingly, the word "travel" derives its meaning from French noun "travail": "late 14c., 'to journey,' from travailen (1300) 'to make a journey,' originally 'to toil, labor' (see travail). The semantic development may have been via the notion of 'go on a difficult journey,' but it also may reflect the difficulty of any journey" (https://www.etymonline.com).

[227] Anjum enumerates at least twelve different modes of travel writing (for example, travel story, meta-travelogue, travel journal, etc.) (Anjum 2014: 193). However, he eventually settles on a definition proposed by Jan Borm who writes that travel writing is "any narrative characterised by a non-fiction dominant that relates (almost always) in the first person a journey or journeys that the reader supposes to have taken place in reality while assuming or presupposing that author, narrator and principal character are but one or identical." (Borm 2004: 17).

travel writing is always controlled by the first-person singular. […] [P]hysical travel often tends, in its writing, to become symbolic of interior journeys of mind and soul" (Hulme and Youngs 2002: 5). As a result, travel accounts should never be taken at face value.

One of the most striking examples of unreliable travel writing is arguably J. Drew Gay's *From Pall Mall to the Punjab or With the Prince in India* (1857). As the title of the book suggests, Gay, a journalist by profession, accompanied the then Prince of Wales (Edward VII) during his trips around India. Instead of being an honourable spokesman for the rights of the poor and the oppressed (a function performed nowadays by the great great grandchildren of Edward VII), the Prince of Wales engaged in a variety of questionable activities, such as tiger hunting, enjoying local cuisine, throwing festivities in Bombay, and even admiring the performances of *nautch* girls (native dancers) (Chari, https://scroll.in; Sharma 2016: 11). Rather than being a faithful depiction of British India, Gay's *From Pall Mall to the Punjab or With the Prince in India* fits more the formula of flashy advertisements, which can be found on modern TV channels devoted to teenage lifestyle. It is also an ironic fact that the book was published in the year of the Sepoy Rebellion.

Yet another instance of insincere travel account is John Murdoch's *Pictorial Tour Round India* (1906)[228]. The aim of the publication was to show to "the People of India" how great British India actually is; however, rather than presenting a faithful historical outline of the Indian subcontinent, Murdoch limits himself to statistics, brief (and incomplete) descriptions of Indian provinces, and a small dictionary of native terminology. The only valuable contents of *Pictorial Tour Round India* are, indeed, picturesque images of landscapes and architecture frozen in time (Chari, https://scroll.in).

Nevertheless, this is not to say that there were not well-written travel books at all. Annie Westland Marston's *Children of India, written for the Children of England* (1883) is a missionary perspective on India. Marston vehemently condemns in *Children of India*, the maltreatment of native women, the ritual of *suttee* as well as the caste system, in general. Interestingly, she concludes her work with a list of missionary centres for the natives in need. Other examples of travel accounts which are not limited by ideology or the authors' ignorance are W. S. Caine's *Picturesque Guide to India* (1890) and Edwin Lord Weeks' *From the Black Sea through Persia and India* (1895), in both of which the writers focus on the visual

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[228] To be exact, the book's full title is *Pictorial tour round India; with remarks on India past and present, alleged and true causes of Indian poverty, supposed or real, twelve means available for promoting the wealth of the country* (1906).

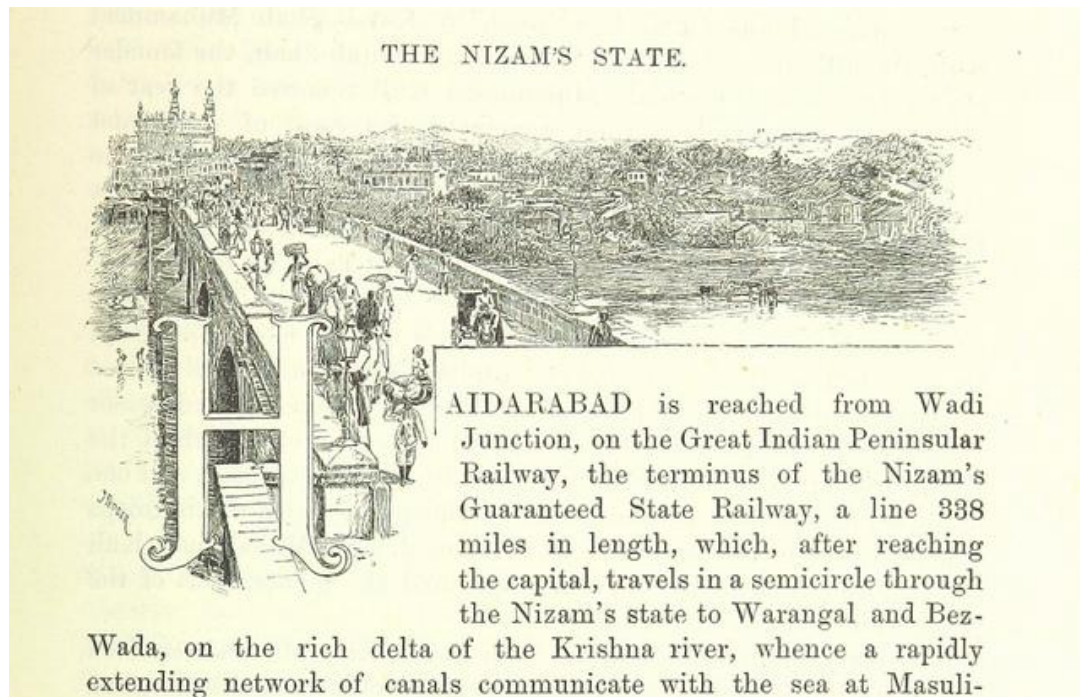grandeur of the British Raj by providing vivid descriptions and captivating images of the colony (Chari, https://scroll.in).

Figure 17. Sample illustration depicting the hustle and bustle of British India. Scanned from *Picturesque Guide to India* (1890) (Chari, https://scroll.in).

As it is visible above, travel writers wanted to describe the exotic regions for the reading public and also to "make [their] very existence a hopefully indelible 'stroke' on a visited spot" (Butor 1974: 14). Mary Campbell adds that "neither power nor talent gives a travel writer his or her authority, which comes only and crucially from experience" (Campbell 1988: 3). Indeed, the writer's experience is a crucial factor of a creative process, but the travel writer is always at risk of telling "travel lies" (Anjum 2014: 198) because of insufficient experience, publishing requirements, or the influence of ideology (for example, the constant need to affirm the British supremacy): "Although the chief causes of travel fabrications […] were money and vanity, prejudice was also a widespread motive for distorting the truth, both for the voyager who reported the distortions and for the reader who accepted them" (Adams 1983: 186).

The temptation of committing falsehood is not limited only to colonial accounts written by representatives of the colonisers. Instances of stretching the truth abound in contemporary Polish travel accounts. For example, it is hard to believe that a Bengali driver was explaining to Jarosław Kret thirty-three different types of Indian women while riding in a

rickshaw[229] or that Beata Pawlikowska had an accidental encounter with a multilingual shepherd in Northern India[230]. In fact, one of the few examples of Polish travel writing free from "travel lies" is Kinga Choszcz's *Pierwsza Wyprawa: Nepal*[231] [*First Journey: Nepal*] (2011) simply because it was a personal memoir never meant to be published.

Without a doubt, travel writings always belong to a certain time and a certain place, but regardless of the setting and time they live in, the authors are always tempted to make their stories more lively and invigorating for the readers. Nevertheless, some researchers argue that travel writing constitutes one of the ideological tools of the British Empire (Anjum 2014: 199). The researcher elaborates that the unknown corners of the world were simply "produced" for the European people via "contact zones." That is to say, spaces, as defined by Mary Louis Pratt, in which an unequal type relationship is established between groups of people who are separated by history and geography (Anjum 2014: 200). In addition, Pramod K. Nayar states that travel writings are "proto-colonial" narratives because of a three-stage, pre-determined clash of a Westerner with India, which involves: 1) imagined presuppositions about India on the basis of fables, 2) physical discovery of India through travel and transforming it into a personal experience, and 3) questioning what was witnessed on an Indian land (Nayar 2012: 3). In consequence, the writer not only travels in space, but also journeys from "imaginations" about potential explorations to the "ordering" of things which were unravelled (Nayar 2012: 3).

Even though travel accounts cannot be, with absolute certainty, perceived nowadays as conscious mechanisms of colonialism[232] (Anjum 2014: 201), we can observe today a certain degree of longing for such types of narratives. George MacDonald Fraser's *The Flashman Papers* (1969–2005) can serve as examples of nostalgia for travel writing, which also parody this convention. The main protagonist of the novels is Harry Flashman (originally, a bully from Thomas Hughes' *Tom Brown's Schooldays* (1857)), who appears to be a courageous man of honour and a true hero of the Empire. However, Flashman is, in fact, a coward, a pitiful scoundrel who is more interested in women than in the Enlightenment project. Only due to a concurrence of certain events, is Flashman thrown into the whirlwind of major historical conflicts (for instance, the Indian Mutiny, the Taiping Rebellion, the American Civil

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[229] In Jarosław Kret's *Moje Indie* [*My India*] (2009: 103–114).

[230] In Beata Pawlikowska's *Blondynka w Indiach* [*A Blonde Woman in India*] (2011: 62–63).

[231] The title is a bit misleading and it indicates that the publisher was not familiar with the contents of the book. Choszcz visited Nepal, Pakistan, and China in 1995, but she mainly journeyed around India (Choszcz 2011: introduction).

[232] Faraz Anjum labels travel writings as unwitting contributions to Oriental discourse. The colonial encounters were responsible for the creation of harmful stereotypes (Anjum 2014: 201).

War), and only due to luck (memory lapses, death of people who caught him in the act of betrayal) does he manage to survive and be hailed as hero: "The *Flashman* stories can be read, if one is so inclined, as a valedictory to a world which ended just about the time MacDonald Fraser settled down to write them. There is no dewy-eyed romanticism, no sentimentality though plenty of sentiment" (Ramsay 2003: 369).

4.1.6.   *Promoting the Empire on Film Reels*

According to John M. Mackenzie, the most influential means of brining the Empire to the public's attention in Britain was cinema (Mackenzie 1999: 225). Film as a medium was present as early as the 1890s; however, television did not develop until the 1930s. As a result, at the turn of the twentieth century, and throughout the Great War years, the audience had to watch special chronicles on the cinematic screen[233]. With the constant technological advancement of cinemas (sound, colour, larger screens), the number of cinemagoers rose accordingly. The colonial spectacles seen in the exhibitions and exotic colonial adventures featured in the advertisements were now represented on film tape. Companies commissioned the making of the so-called "travel industrials," the aim of which was to promote recreational activities in exotic locations[234]. Documentaries were, in turn, authorised by the Empire Marketing Board which wanted to promote the economic might of the Empire. Interestingly, many of the short programmes were made as a critical response to loud and audacious black-and-white motion pictures from Hollywood. The Empire had no room for larger-than-life stories from David W. Griffith, Charles Chaplin, and Cecil B. De Mille. The life in the colonies mattered the most and such documentaries with such straightforward titles as *Gold Coast Cocoa* (1930), *Cargo from Jamaica* (1933), and *African Skyways* (1939) reflected this trend (Mackenzie 1999: 227). Nevertheless, in consumer-driven reality, the informative reports from the frontiers were no match against the productions from the "Dream Factory" (Kubincanek, https://filmschoolrejects.com).

However, it does mean that feature films were completely shunned. These existed in forms of adaptations of popular adventure novels. The source material penned by Stevenson, Haggard, and Kipling guaranteed the approval of film critics as well as film censors. Even if someone wanted to make an honest period picture about, for instance, the Sepoy Rebellion of 1857, such a project was immediately banned. The British Empire on the silver screen was to

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[233] The best example is the aforementioned British Pathé, which documented major news and provided them in form of cinematic shorts. Today over 82,000 film materials from the archives of British Pathé are available on YouTube platform: https://www.youtube.com/user/britishpathe.

[234] "Seal-hunting off Newfoundland, whaling off Natal, date-growing in Egypt" (Mackenzie 1999: 226–227).

be "a source of adventure and romance, a location for moral redemption, heroic action, and military success. There were obvious parallels between […] cinematic celebration of American history and the Imperial adventures of the British" (Mackenzie 1999: 228). Onwards the late 1930s, the so-called "Imperial spectaculars" started gaining popularity among viewers, even to such an extent that imperial frenzy spilled over to the main competition, that is Hollywood (Mackenzie 1999: 228).

The British Empire on film served as a means of escapism to a distant reality with vividly green plants, wild animals, and permanent summer. Imperial accomplishments in technology and science were something to be proud of, whereas colonial encounters with the natives only validated the power of the colonial military and administration (Mackenzie 1999: 229). The colonies themselves were presented on the screen as the unconscious projection of a safe house, a second home. That is to say, just as the civil servants could find refuge in Shimla from the harsh Indian climate, the British people too could temporarily leave Britain for a better world. In Jungian terms, it can be inferred that colonial frontiers were promoted on film by the authorities as the promised land for those brave enough to participate in the imperial project (Jung 1965: 296). Nevertheless, the reality always proved to be a far cry from imagined presuppositions.

Such productions as *King Solomon's Mines* (1937), *Storm Over Bengal* (1938), *Gunga Din* (1939), *Stanley and Livingstone* (1939), *Jungle Book* (1942), *Kim* (1950), and *Zulu* (1963) continued to instil the image of the infallible Empire until the second half of twentieth century when massive decolonisation processes were already underway. Be it adaptations of popular novels or true stories (the aforementioned case of Doctor Livingstone), the motion pictures "projected myth rather than reality, an adventure tradition suffused with an ideology dating from the 1890s" (Mackenzie 1999: 229).

According to George Orwell, whenever there was a threat that could cause the collapse of the Empire, the authorities always unwaveringly communicated the supremacy of colonial endeavours through means of culture (Orwell 1970: 564 in Mackenzie 1999: 229–230). Nevertheless, it has to be emphasised that the citizens of the United Kingdom were not coerced into participating in the imperial promotional practices. With improving economic conditions, the British public became a group of consumers who willingly bought novels, travel memoirs, journals, comic books, and tickets to the exhibitions as well as the cinema. All of that changed irreversibly after the Second World War. Geopolitical changes across the globe as well as the loss of India in 1947, much to the dismay of conservative politicians and the monarchy (Lapierre and Collins 1975: 11), led to the downfall of the Empire. In the

course of decolonisation processes in the second half of the twentieth century, millions of migrants flocked from former colonies and settled in the imperial centre, the United Kingdom. Contrary to modern fiction of young and angry diaspora writers[235], the first immigrants from the 1960s who arrived from West Africa and India consider Britain to be their second home. For instance, Ramilla Shah, who fled with her family from turmoil-ridden Kenya in 1968 states fervently that "[Indians] should thank the British Empire because of everything we had achieved and what we are. Whichever country they ruled, the country was good. It was ruled good, it was better, there was no corruption. As soon as the British left any country, I think that just went downhill. These are my own feelings about it" (*Empire* documentary, episode 2, 0:55:34–0:56:14).

Evidently, promoting the Empire became pointless in the 1960s; nevertheless, Britain's colonial history found new utterances, especially on the silver screen. British film industry yet again resorted to adapting famous works of literature, such as *Autobiography of a Princess* (1975), *A Passage to India* (1984), or *Kim* (1984) and making biographical pictures (*Gandhi* (1984), whereas Hollywood became enamoured with the idea of not just the Orient itself, but the Westerner encountering, and being changed by, the Orient. This concept is especially visible in the adaptations of James Clavell's historical pieces, such as *Shogun* (1980), *Tai-Pan* (1986), and *Noble House* (1988), as well as in other popular motion pictures. For instance, Indiana Jones ends up battling an evil Indian cult in *Indiana Jones and the Temple of Doom* (1984)[236], Allan Quatermain once again searches for African treasures in *Allan Quatermain and the Lost City of Gold* (1987), whereas a corrupt police officer from New York regains his integrity after defeating Japanese yakuza in *Black Rain* (1989). In consequence, the colonies may have been no more, but the Orient remained a space onto which the West continued to project its unspoken desires and fantasies.

As it was stated in Chapter 1, the former colonies were indeed "writing back," but they were also, we could say, "filming back." Colonialism was not only celebrated on film, but evaluated as well by now independent filmmakers. That is to say, cinematic texts frequently discussed decolonisation and its consequences. For instance, director Fruit Chan made the aforementioned *The Handover Trilogy*, a set of three films which detail the everyday drama of Hong Kong citizens during the fateful summer of 1997 when Britain transferred the control of the colony to China (McIntyre and Zhang 2002: 1). In terms of movies focusing on the

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[235] We can enumerate such authors as Hanif Kureishi (*The Buddha of Suburbia*, 1990), Andrea Levy (*Small Island*, 2004), and Monica Ali (*Brick Lane*, 2003), whose works are more than critical of the United Kingdom.
[236] Director Steven Spielberg claimed that the film was an homage to the aforementioned *Gunga Din* from 1939 (van Ginneken 2007: 143).

Partition of India, we can mention such titles as *Scorching Winds* (1973), *Mammo* (1994) and *Earth* (1998). In accordance with Ramilla Shah's controversial statement, these movies depict the disastrous ramifications of the colonisers leaving India. All three movies, either directly or indirectly, depict how the newly-founded Republic of India plunged into chaos on the 15th of August, 1947, and how this moment affected the lives of Hindus, Muslims, and Sikhs, marking them as the Partition victims. The Partition of India was not just the division of the colony, but also the partitioning of family members, individuals, and communities. In the epilogue of *Earth* (1998), the main protagonist, while limping through the Queen's Garden of Lahore, asks herself rather bitterly, "Two hundred and fifty years of the British Empire ended in 1947, but what's there to show for it, except a country divided? The massacres and kidnapping, vendettas and more violence, was it all worth it?" (1:34:59–1:35:15).

On the basis of the outlined practices of the Empire, it becomes visible that the colonial endeavour as well as the figure of the coloniser had prevalent presence in British cultural representations. The public was continuously invited by the authorities to participate in the imperial project by means of, for instance, civil service, missionary help, or buying special products. The spirit of adventure and information about the colonies were repeatedly communicated through exhibitions, literature, travel accounts, magazines, and television. The popular culture of Empire in Britain is not a prevalent topic in colonial discourse; nevertheless, it deserves modern discussion because it constitutes an integral part of the colonial enterprise, giving us, the researchers, a direct access to the past.

<h1 align="center">Chapter Five</h1>

<h1 align="center">The Coloniser from the British Literary Perspective</h1>

5. Romancing the Empire: (In)glorious Raj

The fifth chapter examines a selection of literary examples of the British coloniser and Indian colonialism, its depictions, critical commentary and results from the perspectives of British writers after the dissolution of the Empire. Three titles are included: *The Jewel in the Crown* (1966) by Paul Scott, *The Siege of Krishnapur* (1973) by J. G. Farrell, and *The Far Pavilions* (1978) by M. M. Kaye.

5.1. *Reassessing Colonial India: Supposed Glorification, Nostalgia, and Bitter Realism*

As it was already outlined in the preceding chapter of this dissertation, the second half of the twentieth century saw a renewed interest in British colonial history. India achieved its independence in 1947, whereas colonial outposts in Africa were being gradually transferred to the natives in the 1960s. Conscious promotion of the Empire at the stage of its dissolution made no sense, yet the realm of culture focused on the subject of distant territories that (not so long ago) used to belong to the Crown. Fervent critics of these works may categorise them under an umbrella term "Raj revival genre" (Roy 2013: 257), yet one has to be careful when differentiating between these cultural representations so as not to fall into the trap of generalisation. Rampant release of a great number of publications, movies, and radio dramas in now de-imperialised Britain cannot be equalled to such promotional projects of the past as imperial exhibitions and advertisements. We have to take into account that Larry Collins and Dominique Lapierre's *Freedom at Midnight* (1975) or Christopher Hibbert's *The Great Mutiny* (1975) are non-fictional accounts, the purpose of which is to shed light on the most important moments of Indian history. The same applies to a 1974 BBC programme *Plain Tales from the Raj* and *Echoes of the Raj* (2000), which aimed at documenting the testimonies of men and women who lived in British-ruled India and presenting them for a generation of viewers unfamiliar with the Empire (Roy 2013: 258). Such presentations were not simply meant to evoke longing and nostalgia for the colonial glory days, but to record history for posterity.[237]

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[237] Similar activities are carried out by The British Library in London which has a substantial audio/visual catalogue (https://www.bl.uk/).

In terms of fiction, however, we can notice a variety of different utterances ranging from radio dramas (*Shadow of the Moon*) through stage plays (*Phaedra Britannica*) to literature (*The Raj Quartet*, *The Siege of Krishnapur*, and *The Far Pavilions*). Preoccupation with colonial themes within the British film industry reached its peak in the 1980s when such popular adaptations premiered as *Staying On* (1980), *A Passage to India* (1984), *Kim* (1984), or *The Jewel in the Crown* miniseries (1984). Indeed, the abundance of works of fiction in the 1970s and 80s shows a considerable degree of interest in colonial themes, from the side of animators of British culture. Interest in colonial themes did not amount, however, to a conscious agenda that "sought to introduce the seemingly forgotten heroism of imperial Britain to contemporary youth" (Roy 2013: 259). One may arrive at such a presupposition upon superficial inspection of these popular adaptations, yet a closer analysis contradicts this notion.

In *Delusions and Discoveries: Studies on India in the British Imagination 1880–1930* (1972), Benita Parry writes that "There were thoughtful and humane men in the Anglo-Indian community as well as mindless authoritarians, and generalisations must inevitably shrink the range of experiences which they knew as individuals" (Parry 1972: 1–2). According to the researcher, postcolonial interpretations of the British presence in India should not look upon them as overconfident tyrants but victims; in other words, "displaced persons in India" (Parry 1972: 2). She explains further that the colonial encounter can be best understood in terms of a psychological crisis. Indeed, the British arrivals were perplexed by the radically different lifestyle, philosophy, religion, and ethical conduct of the indigenous people (Parry 1972: 4). At times, they tried to resist and fight the undesirable elements, such as the abuse of women; yet, the spiritual allure of the other-worldly frontier crept into their minds and led to either disenchantment or appreciation of India. The literary texts discussed in this chapter were crafted by writers who experienced at first hand the imperial system, having been born in India or having visited it. It is very easy to regard these works, written after the dissolution of the Empire, as merely nostalgic hagiographies of the saintly lives of the colonial officers. In any case, they shed light on the complicated Anglo-Indian relationship with the benefit of the hindsight. This chapter is an attempt to understand the British post-imperial experience of India and the ways in which the colonisers perceived their legacy.

5.1.1.   *The Jewel in the Crown* (1966) by Paul Scott

The origins of *The Jewel in the Crown* and the entirety of *The Raj Quartet*[238] go back to the early 1940s when Paul Scott, a member of the Intelligence Corps, was reassigned to Indian Army Service Corps, which was gradually reclaiming the Burmese territories from the Japanese occupation. The young officer was initially surprised at the sight of the colony he had never seen before. To him, India was indeed a land of extreme differences posited alongside each other: the rich and the poor, the Civil Lines and crowded streets, private schools and children of beggars. Nevertheless, the subcontinent greatly enchanted Scott with its plurality of customs, colours, and deities (Patil 2016: 550). Upon his return to Britain after the end of World War II, his admiration for India found an outlet in a literary form. Although working primarily as a literary agent for other authors (including M. M. Kaye), Scott managed to write and publish such novels as *Johnny Sahib* (1952), *Six Days in Marapore* (1953), *A Male Child* (1956), and *The Chinese Love Pavilion* (1960). In addition, he penned the following radio plays: *Lines of Communication* (1952) as well as *Sahibs and Memsahibs* (1958). Scott's literary pieces frequently featured such themes as interracial love and family drama set amidst the turmoil of imperial servitude. Having relied on personal experiences from army excursions, he tried to map out the uneasy moment of colonial encounter and its implications; however, his novels did not gain wide acclaim in the United Kingdom.

Even though Scott initially attempted to distance himself from using India as the main framework for his stories throughout the early 1960s, he eventually returned to his creative *modus operandi* in 1965. The writer started visiting old friends, both Indian and English, and interviewing them. These conversations eventually inspired him to take a trip to the Republic of India and see how the country changed after 20 years. His personal analysis of the relations between the coloniser and the colonised resulted in the novel *The Jewel in the Crown* (1966).

As it is stated at the beginning of the novel, *The Jewel in the Crown* revolves primarily around the event of rape. On the 9th of August, 1942, a certain Daphne Manners was brutally violated by a gang of thugs in the Bibighar Gardens, Mayapore[239]. Through multiple perspectives[240] and different narrative forms (interviews, letters, diary entries or conversation

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[238] The series consists of the following 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).

[239] This is actually a fictional city created by Paul Scott for the purpose of the story. From its description, it can be inferred that Mayapore is located somewhere in the North of India, either in Punjab or United Provinces (Scott 1998: 58, 104).

[240] In order to ensure clarification within the analysis, I enumerate the primary characters of the novel: Daphne Manners, a woman raped in the Bibighar Gardens, Edwina Crane, a teacher who is attacked by rioters while travelling; Hari Kumar, Miss Manners' love interest; Lady Chatterjee, the influential owner of the McGregor's House; and Ronald Merrick, the Superintendent of Mayapore.

reports), we follow the unnamed British narrator who investigates the case of Miss Manners and gathers all testimonies together. On the basis of this research, it appears that Daphne Manners was involved in a secret relationship with Hari Kumar, an Indian educated in England who was forced to return to the colony due to his father's suicide. The superintendent of the local police unit, Ronald Merrick, by complete coincidence targets Hari Kumar as the primary suspect. Being personally prejudiced against India, the police officer imprisons the man and subjects him to humiliating tortures in order to elicit a confession. Nevertheless, Hari remains silent. The truth is that he was with Daphne in the Bibighar Gardens, making love to her, until both of them were suddenly attacked by unidentified assailants. Daphne, in order to protect their relationship, makes Hari promise that he will never reveal the fact that he was present at the scene. Even though the most likely participants of the rape are later rounded up, Daphne is unwilling to confirm their involvement so as not to incriminate Hari as well.

Evidently, the main plot line of the novel functions as an intertextual response of Paul Scott to E. M. Forster's critically-revered *A Passage to India* (1924): "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 but in their totality incommunicable in isolation from the moral continuum of human affairs" (Scott 1998: 10). For the characters in the novel, this horrible act of violence has not only the literal but also the symbolic meaning.

The story begins with a historical context rather than the suffering of Daphne Manners. The readers are told that the events are set in the year 1942[241], just as the Japanese took over Burma and Mahatma Gandhi's movement of civil disobedience started gaining wider recognition. The socio-political situation in British India became so tense that the colonists as well as the natives realised the status quo initiated by Queen Victoria in 1858 could not last indefinitely.

The heroine of the first chapter is Miss Edwina Crane, a missionary teacher who, albeit being English, vehemently supports the struggles of Gandhi. Her admiration for Indian independence movement shows in the poster presenting Gandhi, which she hangs in her classroom. However, her idealism is soon put to the test. While travelling from Dibrapur to Mayapore, she and a fellow teacher, Mr Chaudhuri, are stopped by rioters championing the Quit India campaign. The conflict gets out of hand and, in an attempt to save Miss Crane, Mr Chaudhuri opposes the men, but they drag him out and beat him to death. Miss Crane is also

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[241] A few months before Scott's arrival in India (https://www.britannica.com).

abused and thrown into a ditch. After regaining consciousness, she approaches the dead body of her colleague: "'Oh God. Oh God, forgive me. Oh God, forgive us all.' [...] 'There's nothing I can do, nothing, nothing,' [she] turned away and began to walk with long unsteady strides through the rain, past the blazing car, towards Mayapore. As she walked she kept saying, 'Nothing I can do. Nothing. Nothing'" (Scott 1998: 68).

By describing this incident, Paul Scott actually criticises "the coloniser who refuses." Albert Memmi rightfully observed that such a figure is an idealist (Memmi [1957] 2003: 67), and Scott also adds that this type of a person may have pure intentions, yet he or she should also be aware of the fact that the Other may not always recognise and appreciate the upright values: "For her the only hope for the country she loved lay in the coming together at last of its population and its rulers as equal partners in a war to the death against totalitarianism" (Scott 1998: 46). Miss Crane initially champions the quest of Mahatma Gandhi, but she learns the hard way that the respected leader has no control over the masses lost in nationalist frenzy. In a utopia that Miss Crane envisages, the rioters would recognise that she poses no threat to them, but this is not the case in the real world. To them every white individual is a target, and Miss Crane escapes alive from the showcase of racist brutality only due to Mr Chaudhuri's sacrifice. This horrifying scene shows that prejudice-fuelled violence is not simply one-sided, as some critics, like Shashi Tharoor, would have wanted to believe.

After this ordeal, Miss Crane replaces a portrait of Gandhi with a painting simply called "The Jewel in Her Crown," which presents Queen Victoria on the imperial throne, receiving tributes from Indian noblemen. She utilises the painting as an educational resource to teach children English in her classroom. Undeniably, the jewel which is given to the Queen is a symbolic representation of India, the greatest colony of the Empire. Edwina Crane's act of switching the paintings marks her disenchantment with Mahatma Gandhi and his philosophy of nonviolent disobedience. The truth is that the public never fully listens to its leader. As a result, the prospect of peaceful co-existence between the British and the Indians on equal terms definitely seems more unattainable than ever before. Miss Crane's presuppositions were too idealistic and could not withstand the brutal confrontation with reality. She decides to switch sides due to her disappointment, which denotes that the British think they know India, but this is not the case at all.

Nevertheless, there is still hope for a cross-cultural encounter or even a relationship, as it is visible in the case of Daphne Manners. She used to work as an ambulance driver during the bombing of the United Kingdom. Having been diagnosed with a heart condition, she had to refrain from her activity in emergency services; and after losing her family in the course of

the war, she went to India to live with her only living relative, Aunt Ethel Manners. The woman criticises English sentiments toward the war in the following fashion: "I can't, as most of the English here do, blame the Indians for resisting the idea of war, a war they have no proper say in. After all I've seen the real thing [...] but most of the people who lay down the law here about beating the Jap and the Hun [...] haven't even heard a rifle fired in anger. British India is still living in the nineteenth century. To them Hitler is only a joke" (Scott 1998: 107).

During Daphne's sojourn in Rawalpindi (a real city located in Punjab Province), Aunt Ethel quickly realises that the girl has a hard time getting into the social life of local community, especially due to her boyish demeanour and unattractive appearance. Therefore, Daphne is sent to Mayapore to live with a certain Lady Chatterjee. Miss Crane personally regarded the Indian noblewoman as an "overwesternized" kind of person (Scott 1998: 42); however, the missionary teacher had never visited her mansion known as "the Macgregor House,"[242] located at the edge of the Civil Lines, which was allegedly the place where "English and Indians came together as equals" (Scott 1998: 42). Without a doubt, Lady Chatterjee, nicknamed by Daphne as Auntie Lili, has strong ties to the British administration because her late husband, Sir Nello Chatterjee, established the Mayapore Technical College. This does not mean, however, that the woman is a privileged elitist at the service of the colonial power.[243] It is quite the contrary; as later actions and remarks of Lady Chatterjee show, she bridges the gap between high-class colonisers and nationalist natives.

Ironically, it is at the McGregor's House that Daphne encounters Hari Kumar. Similarly to Lady Chatterjee, Kumar is also well versed in British culture. This is primarily due to the fact that Hari spent his youth in Britain. His father was a prosperous businessman in Didbury, whereas Hari attended a public school in Chillingborough. Young Hari was not treated with hatred and disdain by his fellow students, but he was fully accepted as a member of the school community. What is more, Hari made friends as well. In particular, he stayed in close contact with Colin Lindsey, who never judged young Hari on the basis of his skin

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[242] The narrator details the origins of the household in the second part of the novel. Originally, it was built in the eighteenth century by an Indian prince as a gift to a classical singer he fell in love with. After the singer's death, the prince passed away out of grief and his son took over the princely kingdom. Due to exploiting his subjects and poisoning an Englishman, the son was dethroned and his state taken over by the East India Company. The house was uninhabited for decades until a certain Scotsman by the name of McGregor rebuilt the premises. In addition, he burnt down the son's stand-alone house which he perceived as an atrocity. Unfortunately, the Scotsman was killed together with his wife during the Sepoy Rebellion.

[243] Such an attitude goes against Partha Chatterjee's conviction that reaching an understanding between the coloniser and the colonised is simply impossible. The natives are only bought with privileges but they are never allowed into the ruling class (Chatterjee 2012: 188, 271).

colour. The two supported each other and frequently exchanged letters. When Hari was forced to go back to India due to his father's untimely death[244], Colin stayed in contact, even though the friends were no longer able to see each other: "Sometimes when a letter reached him from Colin Lindsey he looked at the writing on the envelope as if to confirm to some inner, more foolishly expectant and hopeful spirit than his own that the letter was not one from his father telling him that everything was a mistake. He longed for letters from England" (Scott 1998: 239). Hari is brought back to his native homeland by his father's relatives and stays together with Mrs Gupta Sen, a widow and a sister of Duleep Kumar, who always wanted to raise a child. Because of her motherly attitude, she becomes Aunt Shalini to Hari: "The affection he had for her, grudging at first, when he first recognized it as affection, had become genuine enough. In her self-effacement he saw evidence of a concern for his welfare [...]. He could not help knowing that in her odd, retiring way his Aunt Shalini was fond of him" (Scott 1998: 260).

Due to his upbringing and education in England, Hari considers himself to be an Englishman. He is not Hari Kumar, but Harry Coomer, born and bred in the United Kingdom. His father actually came up with the corrected spelling and Aunt Shalini embraced it. Like the colonial administrators from Jung's memoirs, Hari/Harry cannot help but dream about his European homeland: "Home. It still slips out. But this is home, isn't it, Colin? I mean I shan't wake up tomorrow at Chillingborough or Sidcot, or in what we always called 'my' room at Didbury?" (Scott 1998: 242). In view of Richard Nisbett's research, we could say that Hari Kumar's mindset is driven by rationality and belief in personal agency. He rejects to embrace the reality in a holistic manner, which is visible when he expresses distaste towards less-than-civilised conditions in his supposedly "native" homeland:

> I detest the others. From their point of view I'm unclean. They want me to drink cow-piss to purify myself of the stain of living abroad, crossing the forbidden water. Purify! I have seen men and women defecate in the open, in some wasteland near the river. At night the smell of the river comes into my bedroom. In my bathroom, in one corner, there is a hole in the floor and two sole-shaped ledges to put your feet on before you squat. There are always flies in the bathroom. And cockroaches. You get used to them, but only by debasing your own civilized instincts. At first they fill you with horror. Even terror. It is purgatory, at first, to empty the bowels. (Scott 1998: 241)

In consequence, Hari refuses to accept the *harmony* of India which mixes ancient customs with dubious superstitions in a setting that suffers from poor sanitary standards. Kumar is unwilling to perform his role of a benevolent, effeminate, god-obeying Hindu within

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[244] Mr Duleep Kumar committed suicide because his business venture went bankrupt.

the grid of person-to-person dependency[245] because he had experienced a completely different world where there is no place for magic, spirituality, and disregard for hygiene. Therefore, Hari's stay in India invokes a playful spin on Abdul R. JanMohamed's "The Manichean Allegory." The researcher claimed that the colonial environment frightens the colonists, which in turn, makes them fall back on racial prejudices in order to avoid experiencing a personality crisis. Ironically, Hari Kumar is, in biological terms, a native of India, yet he acts not like the oppressed Other but the stereotypical representation of the "coloniser who refuses." Consequently, Paul Scott's novel eludes JanMohamed's accusation that European writers primarily demonise indigenous people in literature. Hari is actually a hybrid torn between two radically disparate dimensions, but by no means is he a symbolic "mediator" who provides a remedy for "the Manichean opposition" (JanMohamed 1985: 66). In fact, the situation is much more complex than that. Hari may indeed look up to the imperial *modus operandi*, yet he experiences a great deal of prejudice as well.

Halfway through the novel, it is revealed that Colin arrived in India due to his army service. Hari is exhilarated and worried at the same time. He is afraid that his best friend will feel deep repulsion upon witnessing the dirty and overcrowded hustle and bustle of Mayapore. Nevertheless, Hari is also convinced that Colin will see and accept "the real India" (Scott 1998: 277); that is to say, all the luxuries of the Civil Lines, such as the recreational clubs, administrative facilities, lavish bungalows, and railway stations. While eagerly awaiting a letter from his English friend, settling the details of their meeting, Hari accidentally encounters Colin Lindsey, now a captain in the ranks of India Command, at a cricket pitch. Colin consciously averts his eyes and does not recognise a childhood friend. Devastated Hari rushes back home and attempts to convince himself that that man he saw definitely was not Colin at all, for the real Colin would have surely written to him if he happened to be near Mayapore.

This sad situation serves as an exemplary instance of Edward Said's division between the ruler and the Other. Hari is not at fault during this unexpected encounter on a colonial ground. It is the imperial environment which used and subsequently transformed Colin Lindsey into a hegemonic figure of the oppressor. People who were or seemed to be equals about 10 years before in England assumed and performed the polar opposites of power relations in the colonies. Sister Ludmila, a missionary running a free clinic for the poor, tries

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[245] As Richard Nisbett explains, there is no single, non-Western concept of "I" (Nishbett 2004: 49). A resident of Southeast Asia functions in relation to other people, performing specific social functions. Being independent of the social web of connections is impossible.

to explain this incident by attributing the tense situation in British India to the impending invasion of the Japanese soldiers in the East. Nevertheless, nothing at all can excuse Colin's shameful behaviour. The man has evidently adopted racist and contempt of his military superiors and fellow officers. In his eyes, Hari ceased to be a friend and instead became a dehumanised object (part of Indian setting) unworthy of any attention whatsoever.[246]

Incidentally, the encounter with Colin happens on the same day as the tragic event at the Bibighar Gardens. In consequence, Hari drinks during the night together with the colleagues from the *Mayapore Gazette*, his place of employment. The next day, he is spotted by Sister Ludmila patrolling a wasteland near the river where Hari slept. She informs Superintendent Ronald Merrick about this unusual encounter, and the police officer immediately targets Hari as the prime suspect in the case of assault on Daphne Manners.

Ronald Merrick the representative of law enforcement in Mayapore is a vile and petty human being. His social background is that of a lower-class commoner; thus, a colonial post in India allows Merrick to alleviate his personal insecurities. Among Indian natives, the police officer feels the need to exercise his power and demonstrate that white people are, without a shadow of a doubt, bound to rule over the inferior races of this world: "The Indians always had a tendency towards the tawdry, the English towards the apparently straightforward, the workable. But there was nothing straightforward about Mr. Merrick. He worked the wrong way, like a watch that wound up backwards, so that at midday, for those who knew, he showed midnight. Perhaps no one could have cheated destiny by so arranging things that Kumar and Merrick never met" (Scott 1998: 139). In this manner, Hari could continue to blissfully cherish his dream of home in England and regard Colin as a lifelong friend who always understood him.

What is more, Merrick actively seeks to improve his position within the British social strata. Frequently, he stylises himself to be, in his own words, "only a grammar school boy" whose family is composed of "pretty humble sort of people" (Scott 1998: 111), but the officer secretly envies those who are better off and have higher education. The desire to be recognised by the elite makes him strive for Daphne Manner's favours. Nevertheless, the woman finds the officer repulsive and rejects his advances. This in turn only fuels Merrick's hatred towards dark-skinned people and the whites who associate with them.

It is revealed in the second volume of *The Raj Quartet*, *The Day of the Scorpion* (1968), that Hari Kumar was sexually molested and subjected to torture by Ronald Merrick.

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[246] At least, this is what Hari and the readers infer on the basis of this situation because the narrator does not grant us access into Colin's mindset.

The researcher Steven Earnshaw claims that "When Merrick tortures Kumar to extract a confession, he self-consciously re-enacts his view of the relationship between England (Britain) and India as one of master-servant imbued with sado-masochism" (Earnshaw 2013: 61). It can be inferred that apart from displaying a racist attitude towards the Other, Ronald Merrick is, in fact, also a latent homosexual. Back in Britain, in the world of Victorian virtues and public order, the officer was forced to suppress his desires, but in India he could indulge in the forbidden behaviour because the colony itself was the dark territory of the strange and the unexplained. If he regarded himself as an individual placed within the Jungian realm of the unknown, the Superintendent felt psychological permission to release his inhibitions and engage in devious activities. In this manner, Merrick re-enacts the archetype of the Outlaw. Paradoxically, although his social role is to protect and serve, Merrick's true nature is that of a vengeful misfit with a destructive, nearly borderline psychotic frame of mind, who strives to be at the top of the dominance hierarchy[247] (Peterson 2002: 76) and rule over others.

That being said, Paul Scott still manages to introduce some ambiguity around the character of the Superintendent. In subsequent parts of *The Raj Quartet*, more (mis)adventures of Ronald Merrick are revealed. For instance, in *The Day of the Scorpion* (1968), he is promoted to the post in military intelligence and spends a lot of time in the company of the Laytons. What is more, he tries to save his friend, Teddie Layton, from the ambush set up by the Indian National Army[248]. The attempt is unfortunately futile and leaves Merrick permanently disfigured. In *The Towers of Silence* (1971), he is given Miss Crane's painting of "The Jewel in Her Crown," which makes him ponder on the relationship between the British and the Indians. To the officer, Queen Victoria depicted in the painting appears to be a motherly figure looking after her innocent and uneducated Indian children.

Ultimately, Merrick marries the widow of his friend, Susan Layton, but happiness is short-lived as the woman loses her sanity due to personal trauma. In *A Division of the Spoils* (1975), the Superintendent himself is ruthlessly killed by unknown attackers (presumably Indian nationalists) while engaging in a homosexual act with a native adolescent. His corpse is found in a bathroom with a word "BIBIGHAR"[249] written on a mirror.

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[247] The dominance hierarchy stands for a social order with a linear or non-linear ranking in which dominant units control those below them. The term is often applied in biology, but also has its use in psychology (https://www.britannica.com).

[248] A military organisation led by Subhas Chandra Bose, and supported by the Empire of Japan, which sought to liberate India from the British rule during World War II (https://www.britannica.com).

[249] The word not only refers to the Bibighar Gardens, the place where Daphne Manners but also functions as an intertextual reference to the Siege of Cawnpore in 1857 when British women and children were rounded up and executed by the Sepoys. The word itself literally means in Hindi "the House of the Ladies" (Matthews, https://www.mimimatthews.com).

The character of Ronald Merrick represents the duality of human nature. The readers can notice that the officer commits bad deeds, but he is also capable of carrying out heroic acts as well. However, the coloniser is blinded by a false set of presuppositions towards the Other, which ultimately lead to the man's damnation. In *Maps of Meaning*, Jordan Peterson views "the tendency towards evil as an intrinsic, heritable aspect of human nature" (Peterson 2002: 248). In other words, it is up to an individual to work against wrongdoing and change his or her fate for the better. Ronald Merrick ultimately fails this task; yet, in contrast to wishful thinking of Shashi Tharoor and idealisation by Bruce Gilley, it is impossible to frame this colonial figure as an all-positive or all-negative character. Some researchers claim that the colonial officer functions as "a viciously unflattering self-portrait" of Paul Scott, who was struggling with his own bisexuality and never dared to reveal this secret to his wife (Paterson 1993: 115; Unais 2020: 3).

Still, the original novel provides us with a standpoint of righteous characters, such as Lady Chatterjee. This noblewoman treats her houseguest, Daphne Manners, with extreme courtesy, and does everything in her power to release Hari Kumar from his confinement. That is not to say that she approves of the relationship between Daphne and Hari. Lady Chatterjee perceives Hari with a sort of disdain in view of the fact that he considers himself to be a member of the British elite. Paradoxically, Lady Chatterjee oscillates between the same social spheres as well, but she has never given up her Indian identity:

> Westernized though she was, Lady Chatterjee was of Rajput stock, a Hindu of the old ruling-warrior caste. Short, thin, with greying hair cut in European style, seated upright on the edge of a sofa, with the free end of her saree tight-wound around her shoulders, and her remarkably dark eyes glittering at you, her beaky Rajput nose and pale skin proclaiming both authority and breeding, she looked every inch a woman whom only the course of history had denied the opportunity of fully exercising the power she was born to. (Scott 1998: 42)

Indeed, Lady Chatterjee is proud of her Indian heritage and gives the allure of being a skilled woman of politics, similar to Indira Gandhi. Incidentally, she likens herself to Indira's father, Jawaharlal Nehru, whom she considers to be the representative of traditional, *non-westernised* India. She reflect on post-partitioned Republic in the following fashion:

> I am not a Hindu but I am an Indian. I don't like violence but I believe in its inevitability. [...] [I]t doesn't worry me in the least that in the new India I seem already to be an anachronism […]. You could say that the same thing has happened to Mr. Nehru for whom I have always had a fondness because he has omitted to be a saint. I still have a fondness for him because the only thing about him currently discussed with any sort of lively passion is the question of who is to succeed him. I suppose we are still waiting for the Mahatma because the previous one disappointed and surprised us by becoming a saint and martyr in the western sense when that

silly boy shot him.[250] I'm sure there's a lesson in that for us. If the old man were alive today I believe he'd dot us all one on the head with his spinning wheel and point out that if we go on as we are we shall end up believing in saints the way you English do and so lose the chance of ever having one again in our public life. I have a feeling that when it was written into our constitution that we should be a secular state we finally put the lid on our Indianness, and admitted the legality of our long years of living in sin with the English. Our so-called independence was rather like a shotgun wedding. (Scott 1998 79-80)

In consequence, Lady Chatterjee[251] implies that perhaps the British were never meant to be in India. Due to their very presence, they have irreversibly changed this land. With the moment of embracing the state of being independent from the colonisers, the country is bound to follow, at least on the level of politics and economics, the principles of rationality and European secularity in order to survive in the post-World War II reality. The realm of spirituality, the one that frightens the Western newcomers so much, is meant to be rejected. Indeed, Lady Chatterjee is quite right that new generations of independent Indians are keen on adopting the trend of Americanisation, as described by Richard Nisbett; nevertheless, this does not mean that communicating in English, wearing baseball caps, or driving automobiles made in Europe automatically represses traditional modes of indigenous lifestyle (Nisbett 2004: 221). The history of India since 1947 has shown that there is still a space for the spiritual realm in the public sphere. From ritual bathing in the Ganges to the *Durga Puja*[252] festivities, Indian people continue to underline their peculiar position at the threshold of the modern and the traditional.

Daphne Manners herself exemplifies the colonial encounter that can result in an unexpected, yet positive outcome. It turns out that the woman is actually pregnant. In view of the gruesome gang rape, the fatherhood of the baby is very much unknown; however, Daphne believes that the father must be Hari Kumar. She wishes to be with her loved one and create a family, but in view of the controversial court trial in the course of which she does not identify any assaulter, the British community excludes Daphne from their sphere. Ultimately, she gives birth to a child but dies in the process because of a pre-existing heart condition, which she developed during the war. The child called Parvati is taken care of by Ethel Manners and Lady Chatterjee, who conclude together that Hari, indeed, must have been the natal father:

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[250] Lady Chatterjee refers to the assassination of Mahatma Gandhi which took place on the 30th of January, 1948 in New Delhi. A Hindu fundamentalist, Nathuram Godse, fired three bullets at point-blank range. The assassin was sentenced to death in 1949 (Wolpert 2002: 285).

[251] It can be inferred that the characters' names in Paul Scott's novel are highly emblematic. Lady Chatterjee may serve as a reference to D. H. Lawrence's Lady Chatterley. Daphne Manners goes against the social *manners* of the British community by displaying her devotion to Hari, whereas Ronald Merrick desires power, as implied by his surname.

[252] An annual Hindu festival serving as a tribute to the goddess Durga. Indian women paint on their foreheads the *sindoor* sign (mark of a married female) with vermilion powder (Kret 2009: 82).

"She is a sweet and pretty child. Her skin is going to be pale, but not nearly pale enough for her to pass as white. I'm glad. As she grows older she won't be driven by the temptation to wear a false face. At least that is one thing she'll be spared — the misery and humiliation experienced by so many Eurasian girls. I intend to bring her up as an Indian, which is one of the reasons I have called her Parvati," explains Aunt Manners (Scott 1998: 469).

Yet, the birth of Parvati also has its counterbalance in the form of Miss Crane's death. After her ordeal, she gradually loses touch with reality, mumbling nonsensical things, and constantly repeating "I'm sorry it's too late. [...] There's nothing I can do" (Scott 1998: 428). Edwina Crane eventually commits suicide in a manner resembling the barbarous ritual of *suttee*. That is to say, similarly to oppressed Hindu widows, she immolates herself. Miss Crane's tragic fate is a grim foreshadowing of what is going to happen to other white *memsahibs*[253] in subsequent novels. The heroines suffer from insanity, abortion, and betrayal; however, in spite of various forms of maltreatment experienced in the Raj, they come to realise that the imperial colony is not granted to the British for all eternity. It is only a matter of time for the indigenous people to come and take back what once was rightfully theirs. Nevertheless, we may ask: at what cost? Daphne Manners was brutally raped, Hari Kumar wrongfully accused, and Edwina Crane lost her faith in the Anglo-Indian symbiosis.

Ethel Manners in one of her letters to Lady Chatterjee admits moral responsibility of the colonisers in setting in motion the Partition when, in fact, the very opposite was needed. The East and the West clashed together on this desolate land with a harsh climate, and the British should do everything in their power to prevent the nationalist violence, to undo "little pockets of dogma and mutual resistance" (Scott 1998: 474). The reality turned out to be otherwise, but there is still hope for future reconciliation between the two cultures, as Lady Chatterjee takes it upon herself to raise a representative of a new postcolonial generation, untainted by historical shortcomings: "Dinner is the only meal Parvati has with the family, such as the family is: that is to say Lili Chatterjee and young Parvati, the two of them. When there are no guests there is this picture to be had of them sharing one end of the long polished dining room table [...] the old woman and the young girl, talking in English because even now that is the language of Indian society, in the way that half a century ago French was the language of polite Russians" (Scott 1998: 94).

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[253] *Memsahib*: a Hindu term used to describe a white, foreign woman (https://www.merriam-webster.com).

5.1.2. *The Siege of Krishnapur* (1973) by J. G. Farrell

Although James Gordon Farrell was not born in India, he was exposed to imperial mechanisms from an early age. His father was a member of the colonial civil service, having worked in the province of Bengal as an accountant in the 1920s. After the turbulent period of World War II, the family moved to Ireland, where Farrell received his education and learned the history of Irish independence. Perfectly fluent in several foreign languages and heavily inspired by French existentialism, Farrell set out to start the career of a novelist. After lukewarm reception of his debut novel, *A Man from Elsewhere* (1963), which metaphorically presented a conflict between Jean-Paul Sartre and Albert Camus, the young author turned to his personal experiences when drafting *The Lung* (1965)[254] and *A Girl in the Head* (1967) (Goodman 2015: 142). It was with the so-called *Empire Trilogy* a couple of years later that Farrell achieved critical acclaim.

Each entry in the trilogy presents imperial microcosms on the verge of sudden annihilation: the Irish War of Independence of 1919, the Sepoy Rebellion of 1857, and the invasion of Singapore by the Japanese army in 1942, respectively.

The Siege of Krishnapur (1973) focuses on the second event, the most important act of Indian disobedience in the colony apart from the Partition of India. Farrell not only conducted meticulous research on the history of British India, but also, similarly to Paul Scott, visited the Republic in the early 1970s.[255] As the greatest source of inspiration, he cited private diaries of Maria Germon, Reverend Henry S. Polehampton, F. C. Scherer, Mark Thornhill, and Lady Julia Inglis, which were written during the real siege of Lucknow (Goodman 2015: 145; Farrell 1985: 125). The reasons behind creating *The Empire Trilogy* remain in the realm of speculation. Perhaps it was the family heritage or fascination with historiography that pushed Farrell to pen these novels; nevertheless, the writer went on to say in an interview that "the really interesting thing that's happened during my lifetime has been the decline of the British Empire" (Erll 2017: 345).

The novel is set in the fictional town of Krishnapur.[256] Upon arriving in Calcutta, a certain George Fleury and his sister, Mrs Miriam Lang, grieving after the loss of her husband, encounter the Dunstaples, who also happen to live in Krishnapur. Another acquaintance the

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[254] During his study years, Farrell contracted polio, which left him partially paralysed. This traumatic experience led the writer to include the themes about ailments and medicine in his later works (Goodman 2015: 142).

[255] To be more specific, Farrell, visited the cities of Cawnpore and Lucknow, which were the sites of Mutiny battles back in 1857 (Goodman 2015: 145).

[256] The reason as to why Scott and Farrell set the action of their stories in fictional towns may perhaps be their intention to avoid spoiling the image of real-life locations, which could potentially function as tourist destinations visited by readers of their novels.

Fleurys meet is the District Collector, Mr Hopkins, whose wife is returning to England. Soon after, Mr Hopkins starts noticing crumbs of *chapati*[257] scattered near the Civil Lines. The Collector interprets this act as foreshadowing of a rebellion, and informs his superiors in Calcutta about the matter. Unfortunately, the colonial administrators completely ignore the worries of Mr Hopkins; as a result, the Collector himself orders the construction of protective fortifications. After the Sepoy mutiny at the town of Captainganj[258], the threat of invading Krishnapur becomes a tangible reality. For the next four months, the citizens of the town, both British and Eurasian, do whatever they can to withstand the attacks and hold out until the arrival of colonial reinforcements. During the time of their struggle, the Victorian values and ethics are put to the arduous test. George Fleury will be able to prove himself as a courageous man; Doctor Dunstaple will have the chance to "substantiate" his medical theories; and the Collector will reassess his outlook on the British presence in India.

On the basis of the following synopsis, it can be inferred that *The Siege of Krishnapur* is a very stereotypical and one-dimensional depiction of colonial relations in India of the nineteenth century. However, the Saidian "us vs. them" dichotomy is by no means present in the story. J. G. Farrell utilises the real-life event of the Sepoy Rebellion as a pretext to draft a quizzical image of British residents desperately holding on to their anachronistic and invalid convictions.

The novel starts off in the spirit of a romantic adventure. We see members of the British elite socialising with each other. George Fleury seems infatuated with the Dunstaples' daughter, Louise, but the woman does not reciprocate the advances of a frail poet. Instead, she turns her attention to the ideal object of her desires, the supposed archetype of a courageous warrior, Lieutenant Stapleton. Nevertheless, Farrell subverts the expectations by turning George Fleury into an upright hero who eventually wins the favour of Louise. Even Doctor Dunstaple, the benevolent father figure, who is also a respected physician, is not biased against George. Nevertheless, the medical practitioner reveals his tendency to indulge in rather hedonistic practices:

> If the ladies were a little disappointed by their first glimpse of Fleury, the Doctor was definitely cheered. His misgivings had increased overnight so that when Fleury turned out to be a relatively normal young man, the doctor prepared himself to take a cautiously optimistic view of his friend's son. But in no time caution gave way to outright satisfaction, and so pleased and confident did he become, so grateful that Fleury was not the effeminate individual he had been

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[257] *Chapati*: unleavened flatbread made in India (https://www.bbc.co.uk).
[258] Real Indian town located in the modern-day state of Uttar Pradesh. The actual name of the settlement is "Kaptanganj." Farrell chose to use the anglicised spelling in order to reaffirm the context of British imperialism (Mittal, https://www.stanforddaily.com).

expecting, that he even began to hint to Fleury about the manly pleasures he might find in Calcutta [...] and he began to count off the pleasures of the city: the racecourse, the balls, the pretty women, the dinner parties and good fellowship and other entertainments. He himself, he hinted, forgetting that Fleury's sister was a widow, as a younger man, had spent many a happy hour in the company of vivacious young widows and suchlike. (Farrell 1985: 7)

Fleury is visibly surprised having heard such an unexpected revelation from an old friend of his father's, even more so when Dunstaple reasserts that he has never touched native women. The indecent suggestions of the doctor only show that, just as in the case of Merrick from *The Jewel in the Crown* (1966), the colony functions as a land of taboo pleasures which were previously forbidden back in the British homeland. Still, it cannot be said that all Englishmen engage in such dubious activities. We can say that the polar opposite of Doctor Dunstaple is the character of Mr Hopkins, the District Collector.

As a representative of the East India Company, Mr Hopkins' duties consist in handling bureaucracy, maintaining order in the town, and communicating with native noblemen as well as traders. Needless to say, the Collector exhibits an unwavering belief in the compassionate nature of the Empire. Frequently, he reinforces his opinions on how the British improved India by pointing to the Great Exhibition. Mr Hopkins explains to Doctor Dunstaple: "Humani generis progressus… I quote the official catalogue of the Exhibition. […] The progress of the human race, resulting from the labour of all men, ought to be the final object of the exertion of each individual" (Farrell 1985: 17). Indeed, Mr Hopkins loves reminiscing about the great promotional campaigns of the Empire because he was an active participant of such endeavours:

> Miss Carpenter had begun to read a poem in praise of the Great Exhibition; the Collector groaned inwardly, not because he found the subject unsuitable, but because it had so evidently been chosen as homage to himself; poems about the Exhibition recurred every few weeks and seldom failed to excite the Magistrate's most cutting remarks. This was undoubtedly because his own interest in the Exhibition was as well-known to the Magistrate as to the ladies; indeed, it was more than an interest for he had been a prominent member of the selection committee for the Bengal Presidency and, having taken his furlough in 1851, had attended the Exhibition in an official capacity. (Farrell 1985: 4)

In consequence, the Collector replicates the formulaic concepts of progress and Enlightenment, which were aggressively advertised by lavish pavilions, scientific developments, and "races in residence," as it was already mentioned in Chapter 4 of this dissertation. Nevertheless, this is not to say that Mr Hopkins is a cruel and villainous character. He is the only person within "the Residency" (Farrell 1985: 2) who accurately reads

the warning voiced by indigenous people and acts accordingly. If it had not been for his quick thinking, then Krishnapur would have met the same fate as Captainganj in the blink of an eye.

Still, the horrific four months in the course of which the residents try to defend Krishnapur take a toll on the Collector's psyche. The emissary of a company that once conquered India clings, together with his fellow residents, to everyday practices, however ridiculous they are, in the setting filled with cannonades, screams, and fallen buildings (Farjoodi 2018: 137). For example, there are tea parties without any tea or ridiculous auctions of food rations[259] which are absolutely worthless. A priest from Krishnapur simply known as the Padre exclaims among flying gunshots that the present situation is a damnation from the Almighty. While urging Fleury to seek repentance for his sins and disbelief in God, the poet replies: "It's wrong to talk of a 'superior civilization' because there isn't such a thing. All civilization is bad. It mars the noble and natural instincts of the heart. Civilization is decadence!" (Farrell 1985: 63).

The conflict of opinions between the Padre and Fleury denotes contrasting approaches towards imperialism. The clergyman believes that the ability to rule over colonies was given to the British by divine intervention, whereas Fleury completely disregards the spiritual aspect of "the white man's burden" and implies with his statement that civilisation does nothing to improve the condition of the natives. Evidently, Farrell favours the stance of the poet, which is visible in yet another symbolic scene where a swarm of cockchafers attack Miss Lucy Hughes: "As you looked at her more and more insects swarmed on to her; then, as the weight grew too much for the insects underneath to cling to her smooth skin, great black cakes of them flaked away and fell fizzing to the ground" (Farrell 1985: 92). This vivid image of Lucy may well stand for Krishnapuras attacked by the Sepoys, but it also serves as a metaphorical embodiment of the British Empire which is being under siege by its own subalterns. Little by little, piece by piece, they carve out and reclaim fragments of the Empire for themselves.[260]

Another interesting ideological idiosyncrasy set up by Farrell is reflected through the characters of the Magistrate and Hari[261], the son of a local Maharaja. The latter willingly defected to Krishnapur and allowed himself to become a hostage after his father's refusal to provide the colonists with military support. Needless to say, Hari is fascinated with the British culture. We see him eating a boiled egg and reading *Blackwood's Magazine* (Farrell 1985:

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[259] Researcher Alan Johnson suggests that Farrell establishes with the theme of starvation in Krishnapur an intertextual correlation with the Great Irish Famine of 1840 (Johnson 2011: 275–276).

[260] This scene is all the more ironic when considering the fact that Lucy is regarded by the residents of Krishnapur as "a fallen woman" (Farrell 1985: 42). As a result, perhaps Farrell implies that the Empire is a fallen entity itself. Still, there is at least some hope for Lucy because she is aided by Harry Dunstaple.

[261] Not to be mistaken with Hari Kumar from *The Jewel in the Crown* (1966).

27). Indeed, Hari is an effeminate figure[262] enamoured of the West. He functions as a classic example of Homi Bhabha's theory of mimicry in motion (Demirer 2010: 526). Hari's fascination grows to such an extent that he becomes an informal disciple of the Magistrate when practicing the archaic study of phrenology[263]: "Frenla-ji! Correct? Science of head!" cries out excited Hari (Farrell 1985: 71). Both men are especially focused on the aspect of the so-called "Amativeness" (Farrell 1985: 96). That is to say, they tend to determine the level of Lucy Hughes' sexual drive on the basis of her skull structure and general behaviour. The Magistrate is sure beyond any doubt that Miss Hughes would be willing to offer her services if he were to show her a token of kindness:

> The Magistrate put a companionable hand on her shoulder and then, after a moment's hesitation, slipped it on to the back of her neck. Perhaps Lucy would have melted weakly into his bony arms had not an expression of dismay and incredulity come over his face. She promptly slapped him as hard as she could, which was not very hard. She did not know what the matter was but knew instinctively that this was the right thing to do. And it was just as well that she did so because Harry appeared at that moment, to lead her out for sherry and soda. "How dare he, that despicable atheist!" cried Harry, both indignant with the Magistrate and gratified by Lucy's response. The Magistrate, mortified, had made himself scarce. (Farrell 1985: 123)

This embarrassing situation exposes the hypocritical attitude of British colonisers. Explorers and men of adventure who pride themselves on following the principles of Enlightenment actually believe in such outdated superstitions as the organ of amativeness behind one's ear (Goodman 2015: 151). Interestingly, of all people in the town, it is Hari who embraces this illusion of progress offered by a civilisation supposedly better than his own: "Hari, firmly on the side of Progress, had insisted on leading the Palace army to [the British] defence. But the Maharajah had declined to let him do any such thing. [...] [H]is own power was certain to increase once the Company was destroyed. He did not want Progress... he wanted money, jewels and naked girls, or rather, since he already had all of these things, he wanted more of them. Hari, like any reasonable person, found these desires […] incomprehensible." (Farrell 1985: 51). Undeniably, the figure of the Maharaja is depicted as a shrewd and opportunistic native consumed by greed, but Hari's opposition against his father does not make the young man any better. Intoxicated by his steadfast belief in Eurocentric science, he proceeds to study the intricacies of phrenology.

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[262] The character does not participate in such manly activities as hunting or sports (Demirer 2010: 526).
[263] Phrenology: a set of hypotheses developed by Franz Joseph Gall who believed that by careful observation and/or examination of human skull, one can determine psychological attributes of a given individual. Nowadays, Gall's findings are considered to be pseudoscience (https://www.britannica.com).

The character of Hari is the only representative of the indigenous community who is given a considerable amount of attention by the narrator. It could be argued that his presence serves merely as a comic relief, to underline the inferiority of the colonised group. All in all, Farrell is contemporarily criticised for not giving proper voice to subaltern subjects in his novels (Mittal, https://www.stanforddaily.com). However, it has to be noted that Hari is not just an oblivious executor of the East India Company's power because he refuses to succumb to the Collector's urges to help the residents withstand the siege for fear of killing his fellow countrymen. Hari retorts to Mr Hopkins: "You keep me prisoner but you pretend to yourself that you do not keeping prisoner myself and Prime Minister. You want me to kill for British perhaps my own little brothers and sisters who plead with me for lives, raising little hands very piteously? I will not do it, Mr Hopkins, I will rather die than do it, I can assure you. It is no good. You torture me first. I still not killing little brother and sister." (Farrell 1985: 70). In consequence, Farrell subverts the basics of JanMohamed's Manichean allegory by making Hari refuse to conform to the "exchange-value" framework. The colonised character may have admiration for the colonial hegemony, yet he is unwilling to turn his father's dominion into a battlefield. In this manner, the native rebellion prevents, or at least delays, the transformation of British Raj into "a pathological society" (JanMohamed 1985: 61).

Last but not least, the author sets the scene for the conflict of medical nature in the novel. Namely, Doctor Dunstaple and Doctor McNab quarrel over the proper way of treating cholera, which is decimating the residents of a town under siege. Dr McNab arrives in the town as one of the survivors of the raid at Captainganj. Obviously, his presence is not welcomed by Dr Dunstaple, who makes fun of McNab's unconventional ways to treat wounded men. Dunstaple's obsession with exposing the fraudulent conduct of McNab reaches its peak in a conversation with the Collector:

> Suddenly, he seized the Collector's wrist and dragged him across the ward to a mattress on which, pale as milk beneath a cloud of flies, a gaunt man lay shivering, stark naked.
> "He's now in the consecutive fever . . How d'you think I cured this man? How d'you think I saved his life?"
> The Collector offered no suggestions so the Doctor explained that he had used the best treatment known to medical science, the way he had been taught as a student, the treatment which, for want of a specific, every physician worthy of the name accorded his cholera patients . . . calomel, opium and poultices, together with brandy as a stimulant. [...]
> At this point the Doctor tried to pull the Collector to yet another bed, where a Eurasian orderly was spreading mustard thickly with a knife on the chest and stomach of yet another tossing, groaning figure. But the Collector could stand no more and, shaking himself free, made for the door with the Doctor in pursuit.
> The Doctor was grinning now and wanted to show the Collector a piece of paper. The Collector allowed himself to be halted as soon as he had inhaled a draught of fresh air. He

> stared in dismay at the unnaturally bright flush of the Doctor's features, at the parody of good
> humour they wore, remembering many happier times when the good humour had been real.
> (Farrell 1985: 66)

Without a doubt, Dr Dunstaple is losing grip on reality. Desperately wanting to prove to the Collector that his means of treating cholera patients are the best ones, her resorts to copying a fragment of "a quack's medical diary" (Farrell 1985: 66), in which Dr McNab described unconventional treatment of his ailing wife. Dunstaple perceives it as the ultimate proof that McNab will not hesitate from torturing his patients in order to develop unconfirmed and ineffective modes of treatment. Ironically, Dr Dunstaple has the moral high ground in this argument, considering the fact that he is a physician functioning within the confines of the nineteenth century medicine (Maurya and Kumar 2020: 62–63). Namely, in the age before antibiotics and fledgling knowledge about bacteria, the approved way of looking after patients was the one described above by Dunstaple. Farrell was perfectly aware of this issue, for it was confirmed that the author did extensive research on that matter.[264] Nevertheless, it turns out that McNab is the one who is ultimately right.

Whereas Dunstaple employs opium, calomel, and poultices, McNab resorts to keeping patients hydrated and closing their wounds by using "burtunga ants" (Farrell 1985: 37). What is more, the unorthodox physician puts forth a theory that peculiar Indian climate plays a primary part in transmitting the disease. Dunstaple rejects such heretic theories, claiming that contaminated water and air are the main culprits.[265] In order to support his standpoint, Dunstaple willingly contaminates himself with cholera and proceeds with his own treatment. The respected doctor dies shortly afterwards.

This sort of medical dispute would make an excellent skit material for Michael Palin and Terry Jones' *Ripping Yarns* (1976–1979) series, but it has to be noted that Farrell never abandons the serious tone of his narrative throughout the story. Bitter comedy emerges through situations rather than descriptions, as in the case of garrison soldiers who are torn between both doctors and their theories, so they prepare special cards "in their pockets which [give] the relevant instructions in case they should find themselves too far gone to claim the doctor they wanted. […] [S]uch was the atmosphere of indecision which gripped the enclave" (Farrell 1985: 100). Consequently, Farrell communicates with the cholera problem the fact

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[264] Farrell read special medical journals of the period (*Medical Times & Gazette* from 1854). In addition, he prepared special index cards with information on "HEALTH" and "CHOLERA." The author also entitled the confrontation between Dunstaple and McNab as the "Great Cholera Debate" in the initial outline of the novel (Goodman 2015: 146–147).

[265] Dunstaple is only partially right. Indeed, cholera can spread by water if it was previously contaminated by feces (https://www.cdc.gov).

that, albeit superficially following the principles of rationality and progress, the British Empire is, in reality, hopelessly stuck in the past. The imperial institution dismisses presumptions leading to certain improvement, and instead resorts to falling back on tradition, which renders its agents no different from the indigenous people they were supposed to enlighten with indisputable scientific principles. Doctor McNab, though not as friendly and respected as Dunstaple, emerges as a man of success because he utilises native knowledge in his research.

The "Great Cholera Debate" can be interpreted in postcolonial context as well. That is, not only does it expose the double standards of the Empire, but it also serves as a metacritical commentary on the postcolonial condition of the Republic of India. Should modern Indians follow the conservative principles of non-materialism and self-restraint as put forth by Mahatma Gandhi? Maybe they should disregard the legacy of the past and wholeheartedly embrace lifestyle conveniences offered by globalisation? The present socio-political situation in India goes on to show that its citizens opt for the middle way: cultivating the colonial struggle of the ancestors, while progressively turning the country into a high-tech superpower (Banerjee et al. 2012: 8).

The irony of civilisational benefits which are supposed to reinforce the Empire's purpose of ruling over India becomes more apparent during the final stages of the siege. When the fortifications are destroyed, the residents find shelter in a banqueting hall. They use any means necessary to defend themselves, be it bust statues, violins, and chandeliers. Having already suffered through multiple attacks, cholera outbreak, starvation, and scurvy, the decimated colonists can only rely on tokens of Enlightenment which reassure them that their identity is different from that of the Other. Nevertheless, their current indisposition is significantly worse than the general state of allegedly backward people they wanted to help. Farrell mercilessly rides the British Empire to the ground, without ambiguity or subtlety exhibited by contemporary postcolonial writers, and he lets the residents survive only to voice further disdain against the Crown. That is to say, reinforcements finally arrive and defeat the Sepoys. Years later, George Fleury and the District Collector accidentally meet each other in London and discuss the state of the distant colony. Mr Hopkins, once a follower of imperial principles, expresses his disdain for the colonial endeavour: "Culture is a sham. […] It's a cosmetic painted on life by rich people to conceal its ugliness." (Farrell 1985: 124). Fleury, now a true romantic hero, disagrees with the Collector and declares that Western society is perpetuated by culture and ideas, but the retired administrator remains unconvinced. Ideological divisions remain prevalent in spite of the siege.

Consequently, Farrell indicates that the British are not at all on a hero's journey. They are very much mortal men who crossed the threshold between the realms of the known and the unknown, but they had not mastered these dimensions at all. The Empire as well as its legacy are a hoax. The primary fallacy committed by the imperialists is the assumption that India is a primitive and backward land. In fact, as it was accurately described by Carl Jung, India functions as a mirror which exposes the degeneracy of a white man, who emerges as a conqueror devoid of individuality. The only realisation which former colonists have to arrive at is that their civilisation is by no means perfect. One should never impose control onto another person regardless of how lofty the reasons are for doing so. Instead of implementing order, such a state of affairs will generate only chaos (Peterson 2002: 229).

In 1973, *The Siege of Krishnapur* was awarded the Booker Prize, and J. G. Farrell did not let this occasion pass to emphasise his critique of neo-colonialist practices in the capitalist world. The author openly attacked the Booker McConnell Group for participating in "commercial exploitation," and remarked that he will use the awarded money to expose these dubious undertakings (https://nyrb.typepad.com).

Indeed, Farrell was a deeply anti-colonial activist, perhaps even more so than Shashi Tharoor or Arundhati Roy. Ironically, *The Siege of Krishnapur* went on to be shortlisted for the Best of the Booker title in 2008, which was ultimately given to Salman Rushdie's *Midnight's Children* (1981) (http://www.themanbookerprize.com). The writer himself suddenly passed away in a drowning accident at the age of just 44, leaving behind the unfinished fourth part of his *Empire* series, *The Hill Station; and An Indian Diary* (1981). The novel was to focus on personal accounts of Doctor McNab who married George Fleury's sister and stayed on in India.

5.1.3. *The Far Pavilions* (1978) by M. M. Kaye

Mary Margaret "Mollie" Kaye was born in Shimla, British India on the 21st of August, 1908. The Kaye family had long first-hand experience of the Empire. For example, her grandfather worked in the Bengal Civil Service, her cousins were either appointed officials in the revered India Office or military officers, and her father was a Director of Central Intelligence group in the northern regions of the colony. From an early age, Mollie, as she nicknamed herself, communicated fluently in Hindi and frequently joined the cultural melting pot of New Delhi together with her native *ayahs*[266] and guardians (Rankhambe 2016: 272; Kourt,

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[266] An indigenous woman working as a nursemaid for European families in the colonies (https://www.merriam-webster.com).

http://www.mmkaye.com). Unfortunately, like many other British teenagers in colonial frontiers, she was sent to the United Kingdom to receive education. Having worked as an illustrator for children's books, she started writing novellas on her own, which ensured a steady income. As a result, Kaye was able to travel back and forth between London and India. Towards the end of the Second World War, she married an officer of the Indian Army, Godfrey John Hamilton. Because of her husband's demanding profession, the couple had to relocate numerous times. Visiting various places across the globe inspired Kaye to pen a series of crime novels in the style of Mignon G. Eberhart and Agatha Christie (Kourt, http://www.mmkaye.com). It was in the 1950s that her literary agent, going by the name of Paul Scott, persuaded Kaye to try her strengths in historical fiction. Kaye realised quite belatedly that her own agent is also an author of her favourite books set in India, so she accepted the proposition. Such novels as *Shadow of the Moon* (1957) and *Trade Wind* (1963) were warmly received by the critics (Kourt, http://www.mmkaye.com), but it was the third historical piece, *The Far Pavilions* (1978) that turned out to be Kaye's *magnum opus*.

Due to family problems and health issues, it took M. M. Kaye approximately 15 years to complete *The Far Pavilions*. It was an arduous effort indeed; especially in view of Kaye's intention to give justice to the intrinsic nature of Indian land and its people. The author confessed that her primary inspiration to write the novel was a story of an arranged double marriage which she found in an old diary given to her by a friend (Kourt, http://www.mmkaye.com).

The title of *The Far Pavilions* refers to the mountain range in the Himalayas known as the Dur Khaima (Kaul, https://www.indiatoday.in). It is in this cool region of the British Raj that Ashton Hilary Akbar Pelham-Martyn was born. He is a son of a botanist who, unfortunately, died shortly before the Sepoy Rebellion of 1857. What is more, Ashton's mother also passed away after his birth. Consequently, Ashton's Hindu nanny, Sita, takes the child to his English relatives living in the distant city of Mardan[267], but she discovers all the residents lost their lives due to the Mutiny. Sita takes it upon herself to raise the child and so she settles with him in the kingdom of Gulkote. Ashton assumes the name "Ashok" and is virtually indistinguishable from other natives because of his dark skin.

After befriending young Princess Anjuli and saving the life of Lalji, the crown prince of the kingdom, Ashok and Sita have to escape Gulkote because of conspirators who wanted

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[267] A settlement located in modern-day Pakistan, in the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Province. It is very near the Himalayan regions of Kashmir and Ladakh, surrounded by the countries of Afghanistan and India (https://www.britannica.com).

to assassinate the prince. Sita dies due to an illness, but on her deathbed, she reveals to Ashok his true ancestry. On the basis of her instructions, the boy surrenders himself to a military squad and is recognised by English soldiers as Ashton. After 8 years of rigorous training, now adult Ashton returns to India after having been suspended from his duties as an officer of the Corps of Guides[268] in Afghanistan for standing in defence of his subordinates. Now, Ashton is tasked with the mission of escorting two princesses from the region of Karidkote (former Gulkote) who are to be married off to a ruthless Rana of Bhithor. It turns out that the party is composed of Princess Anjuli, her sister Shushila, and her brother Jhoti. Having seen Anjuli after such a long time, Ashton immediately falls in love with the princess. Anjuli reciprocates his advances but rejects the idea of eloping together. It is too outrageous, especially in view of the fact that she accompanies her sister as a second bride.

Two years pass by and Ashton is informed that Rana is on the point of death. Consequently, his wives have to follow the ritual of *suttee* and burn themselves alive in order to prove their devotion to him. Ashton rushes to Bhithor and miraculously manages to save Princess Anjuli. In the finale, Ashton infiltrates the region of Kabul in order to acquire vital information for the Empire about this territory. The officer and his dear friend, Walter Hamilton, witness the outbreak of the Second Afghan War as the natives murder the British emissary. Thankfully, the main protagonist and his beloved survive the uprising and they set out in search of "the Far Pavilions," where they can live peacefully without racial prejudice and cultural constraints.

The synopsis of *The Far Pavilions* is long because the novel itself comprises approximately 1000 pages and is divided into eight parts. The publisher accurately described M. M. Kaye's endeavour as "a Himalayan achievement" (https://us.macmillan.com). Indeed, the author set out to create a historical novel with as much accuracy as it was possible. Not only did Kaye rely on her personal experiences, but she also studied the literature concerning Afghan-Indian relations, and engaged her husband to evaluate military aspects of the novel. What is more, Paul Scott also served with a piece of advice, demanding more action in the narrative and a tragic ending for the protagonists (Spurling, https://www.mmkaye.com).

Kaye's primary source of influence was Rudyard Kipling (Kourt, http://www.mmkaye.com). After reading about the lives of both authors, it becomes noticeable that their childhood period mirrored each other. Both were born and bred in India,

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[268] The most popular regiment of the Indian Army in the period of the British Raj. It originated in the region of Peshawar in the year 1846. M. M. Kaye's husband was also a member of the Corps (https://www.britishempire.co.uk).

both had extreme affection for this exquisite land of wonders, and they also hated being forced to study in England. Mollie Kaye stated in an interview that she wished she could have written such an outstanding novel as *Kim* (1901) (Kourt, http://www.mmkaye.com).

Indeed, Kaye's Ashton Pelham-Martyn symbolically evokes the figure of Kimball O'Hara. The two characters have exciting adventures from an early age, they search for identity while oscillating between the spheres belonging to the colonisers and the colonised, and they participate in the covert geo-political machinations instigated by the British Raj. The only difference is that Ashton does not undergo spiritual Enlightenment. Following reason and relying on allies is enough to get him through the trials and tribulations. Kim, in contrast, does not win the heart of a native lady.

"Ah, he is a strong, bold boy. He shall be a soldier – a captain of many sabres," (Kaye 1978: 14) declares Sirdar Akbar Khan, an ex-cavalry officer, while helping Sita in taking care of Ashton. The Muslim's prophecy is fulfilled when the 19-year-old Ashton performs his duty as a member of the Corps of Guides, but the protagonist's prestige was not achieved without making sacrifices:

> Nothing in Ash's formative years had prepared him for life in an English public school, and he detested every aspect of it: the regimentation, the monotony and the lack of privacy, the necessity to conform and the bullying and brutality that were meted out to weaklings and all whose opinions differed from those of the majority; the compulsory games and the reverence paid to such gods as the Head of Games and the Captain of Cricket. He was not given to talking of himself, but the fact that one of his names was Akbar had elicited questions, and his replies having revealed something of his background, he had promptly been nicknamed 'Pandy', a name applied for many years by British soldiers to all Indians, whom they termed 'Pandies' in reference to the Sepoy, Mangal Pandy, who had fired the first shot of the Indian Mutiny. (Kaye 1978: 142–143)

This passage provides the readers with vital information that Ashton is not feeling at home in the Corps, in spite of the fact that he is British. Ashton experiences nothing but alienation. He is overwhelmed by the strict regime devised by Pelham Abbas[269], an institution whose sole purpose is to churn out proper men of civilisation, skilled and racially-prejudiced administrators who will divide and conquer distant frontiers. In this manner, M. M. Kaye highlights the issue of nature vs. nurture. Clearly, Ashton's personality is defined by the way in which he was raised by Sita, and the environment around him reacts negatively to his unknown, indigenous, and possibly threatening, aura that is emphasised even by his additional name "Akbar." In Jungian terms, it can be inferred that a psychosocial persona of Ashton does

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[269] Kaye refers in the novel to a real-life school from the times of the British Empire which prepared the soon-to-be civil servants for life in the colonies (Kaye 1978: 142). The school was attended by Kaye's relatives (http://www.mmkaye.com).

not conform to a given set or requirements of a cultural domain. In fact, Ashton undergoes his individuation process free from any collective demands he was forced to embrace. The protagonist himself elaborates on the issue of belonging to a group in the following passage:

> 'I still think of it as my own country, and that I belong here,' confessed Ash, 'even though I've learned that feeling one belongs doesn't mean much, unless one is accepted as belonging; which I am not – except by Koda Dad, and sometimes by strangers who don't know my history. To those who do, it seems I am and always will be a "Sahib". Though when I was young I was, or thought I was, a Hindu for almost seven years – a life-time, to a child. In those days it never occurred to me or to anyone else that I was not one, yet now no high-caste Hindu would care to sit at the same table with me, and many would have to throw away their food if my shadow fell on it, and wash themselves if I so much as touched them. Even the humblest would break any dish or cup that I had eaten or drunk from, so that no one else would be defiled by using it. That sort of thing isn't so with Mohammedans, of course; but when we were hunting Dilasah Khan and I lived and fought and thought as one of them, I don't think that any of the men who knew who I was ever really forgot it. And as I can't seem to learn to think of myself as a Sahib or an Englishman, I presume that I am what the Foreign Office would call "A stateless person". A citizen of no-man's-land.' (Kaye 1978: 262–263)

Although Ashton perceives himself as a man without any nationality, all of his childhood experiences and traits point to his transformation into the Campbellian "master of the two worlds." Namely, he responds to the call of the adventure at an early age by saving the life of Prince Lalji, he is taught the ways of native people by the stableman Koda Dad and his son Zarin, he journeys back and forth between the worlds of the known (India) and the unknown (England) only to rise up to the challenge (surviving the outbreak of the Second Afghan War) and win the boon (saving Princess Anjuli). M. M. Kaye presents the perfect image of a monomythical hero, torn between two disparate realms, who breaks their taboo conventions (standing up for the soldiers of the regiment, interrupting the *suttee* ritual) so as to implement order over the chaotic state of affairs in the colonial domain. Therefore, the protagonist undergoes the process of "creative exploration" in the course of which he actively opposes injustice by means of courage and hard work (Peterson 2002: 259). Ashton is at the same time "the hero with a thousand faces" as well as the personification of Bruce Gilley's ideal concept of the coloniser. This is the romantic character who understands the mentalities of the West and the East while being drawn to the latter.

Ashton's intent to do good manifests itself when he wants to rescue Anjuli from certain death in the course of the *suttee* ceremony. M. M. Kaye demonstrates detailed knowledge about the plight of widowed women in India (Rankhambe 2016: 272–273), as it is demonstrated in the following excerpt:

> A widow must never wear colours or jewellery, but shave her head and dress only in white. She could not marry again, but must end her days as an unpaid drudge in her husband's family, despised on account of her sex and resented as the bringer of bad luck. It was not surprising that in the days before the law of the Company had forbidden it, many widows had preferred to become suttees and burn themselves alive on their husband's funeral pyres rather than face the bitterness of long years of servitude and humiliation. But a stranger in a strange town could adopt any identity she chose, and who was to know that Sita was a widow – or care? She could pretend that her husband had taken work in the south, or run off and left her. What did it matter? She could hold up her head as the mother of a son, and wear gay colours and glass bangles and her few modest pieces of jewellery. And when she found work she would be working for the boy and herself, and not as an unpaid slave. (Kaye 1978: 51–52)

As a result, the omniscient narrator suggests through the character of Sita that the dreadful ritual of *suttee* was still being continued although it had been abolished by the British administrators in 1829 by the so-called Bengal Sati Regulation (https://www.indiatoday.in).[270] This did not discourage devout Hindus who wanted to please the Goddess Sati through the act of immolating a widow that would cleanse her soul: "The British had forbidden the barbaric custom of suttee, but everyone knew that in remote and independent states, where white men were seldom seen, it was still practised" (Kaye 1978: 99). There are no official statistics about *suttee* since the early 1990s. It is estimated that the ritual was performed about 30 times between 1944 and 1987 (https://www.indiatoday.in).

When Ashton expresses his disdain for the practice and emphasises that it has been forbidden, Anjuli retorts in the following manner:

> Have you really become so much an Angrezi[271] that you believe your people have only to say "It is forbidden", for such old customs as this to cease immediately? Bah! – widows have burned themselves with their husbands for centuries, and the tradition will not die in a day – or a year or a score of years – at the bidding of feringhis[272]. In places where there are large numbers of Angrezis and police and pultons[273] to enforce the law, there will be those who will obey. But many others will not, and your Raj will never even know of it; for this is too vast a land for a handful of feringhis to keep watch over. Only when women themselves refuse to submit to this custom will it cease. (Kaye 1978: 366)

As a result, the powerlessness of the British Raj is exposed. Although white, European men want to aid Indian women who are forced to commit the most gruesome form of suicide, they cannot control every village in each part of the vast colony (especially when we take into account the existence of princely states). Princess Anjuli herself is very much against *suttee*;

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[270] Surprisingly, the British were not the only European power in India that implemented the ban. The Portuguese forbade practicing *suttee* in Goa already in 1515. What is more, the Mughal Emperors in the 16th century also prohibited the ritual, and imposed strict control on women willing to burn themselves on their husbands' pyres (https://www.indiatoday.in).

[271] *Angrezi*: an onomatopoeic loanword referring to English people (Kaye 1978: 1200).

[272] *Feringhis*: literally, foreigners (Kaye 1978: 1201).

[273] *Pulton*: a Hindi word to describe infantry regiment (Kaye 1978: 1203).

however, she refuses to escape from the kingdom of her abusive husband because she is loyal to her sister, who is going to surrender her chastity to the will of Goddess Sati. Ashton, in turn, reaches the conclusion that the colonial administration cannot intervene because Rana of Bhithor is not dead but on the verge of passing away; thus, disrupting the ritual would mean invading his kingdom.

Nevertheless, Ashton resolves to perform this desperate act in order to save his beloved Anjuli. The officer, together with his friends, rushes to the scene on his loyal horse, the majestic Dagobaz, and manages to rescue Anjuli just in time, but it is too late for Shushila, who is being consumed by fire. In the course of a large fight, Ashton shoots Shushila so as to end her suffering. Although having lost his horse and a large party of men, Ashton and Anjuli flee the vicious kingdom. The protagonist goes against all the taboo restrictions and proposes to the princess.

In view of the discussed fragment, the character of Anjuli can be interpreted as not just a hopeless damsel in distress, but an active heroine, the archetype of a Caregiver, who is capable of thinking for herself, knows the disastrous outcome of *suttee*, yet chooses to stand by her sister's side to the end. She even withstands years of discrimination at the Rana's palace for being categorised as a "half-caste"[274]. As M. M. Kaye observed herself, her concept of a female hero stands in stark contrast to how Paul Scott imagined women characters in *The Raj Quartet*. As it was previously mentioned, the two writers had long discussions about the overall structure of *The Far Pavilions*. Paul Scott wanted the action to be tighter and to end the storyline on a tragic note. He found Princess Anjuli too independent, to which Kaye responded that his heroines are too neurotic and sensible (Spurling, https://www.mmkaye.com). Nevertheless, in spite of these differences of opinion, both authors remained on good terms and supported each other's work.[275] Although pointing out contextual inaccuracies in *The Raj Quartet*, Kaye greatly enjoyed the four novels; whereas Paul Scott felt deeply entertained and touched by *The Far Pavilions*: "He saw a quite different India to the one I had seen and known. [...] I would give anything to write like that" (Spurling, https://www.mmkaye.com), stated Kaye in an interview. Upon one of their phone conversations, Kaye remarked the following: "Sir, you are telling me to buy diamonds. And

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[274] Half-caste: an Indian person of mixed heritage (Kaye 1978: 824; Rankhambe 2016: 273).

[275] M. M. Kaye even suggested to Scott that he should create an addendum to *The Raj Quartet* in the form of *Staying On* (1977), focusing on British residents who never left after the Partition of India. The novel went on to win the Booker Prize the same year (Spurling, https://www.mmkaye.com; Harwell, https://www.theguardian.com). In 1980, it was adapted into a television drama.

every word that falls from lips of 'Master' is diamonds to humble *chelah*[276]" (Spurling, https://www.mmkaye.com). The two remained in contact until Scott's death in 1978.

The excerpt quoted above indicates an abundance of native terminology in M. M. Kaye's writings. In contrast to Paul Scott and J. G. Farrell, Kaye made an effort to reflect the Hindu language within the confines of an English novel as accurately as possible. The author even provided a short glossary at the end of the novel in order to explain to her readers the phrases which were used in dialogues. Another writer who set out to employ a similar strategy of preserving indigenous expressions was Shauna Singh Baldwin in *What the Body Remembers* (1999). In this manner, Kaye pays respect to the native community while not turning Indian culture into a hostage of a European mode of perception. As a result, the act of including Hindu words conforms with Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o's line of reasoning that an author is always purely focused on history, and that implementing native language, symbolism, and larger-than-life characters lead to making a political statement (Ngũgĩ 1981: 72).

Indeed, *The Far Pavilions* becomes a politically incorrect story because of its interracial romance, which belonged to the domain of taboo in the nineteenth century. Ashton and Princess Anjuli emerge triumphantly from the ashes of a conflict between the Afghans and the British. The pair sets out towards "the Far Pavilions," which can be best described as a subconscious concept of paradise where the Westerner can unite with the Other in body as well as in spirit:

> He could not kiss Juli because she was wearing a bourka, but he put his arms about her and held her close for a brief moment, before turning aside to change quickly into the clothes that Gul Baz had ready for him. [...] They rode out together from the shadows of the trees, leaving the Bala Hissar and the glowing torch of the burning Residency behind them, and spurred away across the flat lands towards the mountains...
> And it may even be that they found their Kingdom. (Kaye 1978: 1196)

Does such a place of understanding between the coloniser and the colonised truly exist? M. M. Kaye seems to believe in it by giving her hero and heroine a happy ending on a neutral ground where both of them can be equals. That is to say, they neither come back to Britain nor do they stay in India; they find their own living space in the mountains, a no man's land where borders and national divisions are not clear-cut. One can imagine that their lifestyle in the cold and desolate Himalayan environment, the same which deeply enchanted the protagonists of *A Passage to India* (1924), is going to be a challenging endeavour;

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[276] *Chelah*: meaning in Hebrew a pure female, but the noun itself is also used as a name in India (https://www.names.org).

nevertheless, they are together, free from judgement of their respective racial groups. In this manner, their personal individuation processes reach a completion.

Although the novel did not receive enormous attention in the academic discourse, it left a substantial cultural legacy. Namely, HBO network adapted the work into a mini-series as well as theatrical motion picture in 1984[277]. In addition, travel agencies organised special tours around the northern parts of India specifically to show tourists around the real locations described in the book. Furthermore, there was a West End musical in 2005[278], which was subsequently followed by a BBC-produced radio play in 2011. The producer of the musical adaptation, Michael E. Ward, obtained M. M. Kaye's permission to write a continuation of *The Far Pavilions*. The sequel entitled *Fireflies* was to be made in the form of a stage play in Mumbai and focus on the character of Koda Dad, a dear friend of Ashton Pelham-Martyn (Momin, https://www.dnaindia.com). However, 15 years after the project's announcement, no news about its current state of development was released.

After the author's death, Michael E. Ward transported Kaye's ashes to India and, in accordance with her wish, scattered them in the province of Rajasthan. To Kaye, Indian land was never a place where white *memsahibs* were constantly suffering from harsh climate and miscommunication with native servants. She perceived it as the centre of great wonders and striking contrasts: "Ash coached [Wally] in Pushtu and Hindustani, and talked to him by the hour of India and its peoples; not the British India of cantonments and Clubs, or the artificial world of hill stations and horse shows, but that other India: that mixture of glamour and tawdriness, viciousness and nobility. A land full of gods and gold and famine. Ugly as a rotting corpse and beautiful beyond belief…" (Kaye 1978: 262).

What is more, Kaye never shied away from affirming her Indianness. She appeared together with her sister in a documentary *Echoes of the Raj* (2000) in which she stated that she simply derived from a different caste. It never occurred to her that she was not a part of the Indian community (*Echoes of the Raj* documentary, 00:20:22–00:21:19). Consequently, M. M. Kaye contradicts the postcolonialist vision of superficial, European women appalled by India and its intricacies. In "Notes for the Curious" section at the end of *The Far Pavilions*, the writer explains that she strived to develop the story as faithfully as possible in relation to historical records. Evidently, the characters of Ashton and Princess Anjuli are fictional but the

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[277] These live-action adaptations received mixed reviews because of the fact that the cast was composed mainly out of American and European actors portraying Indian characters. Salman Rushdie himself called the mini-series a "blackface minstrel-show" (http://www.screenonline.org.uk).

[278] In contrast to the 1984 series, this particular adaptation had a variety of British-Indian actors (Momin, https://www.dnaindia.com).

events in which they are participating (escort of the wedding party, disrupting the *suttee* ritual, conflict in the Kabul Residency) happened in real life. The author also clarifies that British women and children were saved and sheltered by Indian natives unaffiliated with the Mutiny of 1857; a historical act of kindness which is not frequently discussed in modern postcolonial discourse (Kaye 1978: 1198–1199). Although Kaye does not believe in this tale, she names a daughter of General Wheeler of Cawnpore as the officially recorded example of a white child raised by an indigenous community. Nevertheless, the writer does not disapprove of the possibility that some children, just like Kim and Ashton, might have spent their lifetimes "believing that they were Indian by blood" (Kaye 1978: 1199).

On the basis of discussed novels, it can be inferred that the colonisers are composed of a plurality of identities which consequently disrupt the figure's stereotypical integrity. The coloniser can be a lower-class individual suffering from envy and prejudice towards the native (for instance, Ronald Merrick) or a representative of the elite with real power (the Collector from Krishnapur). He may accept the colonial state of affairs or attempt to change it for the betterment of Indian people. He may be a realist (George Fleury) or an idealist (Ashton Pelham-Martyn). Paul Scott and James Gordon Farrell attack the coloniser for his ineptitude to act properly in interracial relations and backwardness when it comes to embracing true values of progress and mutual respect. Mary Margaret Kaye, in contrast, crafts a utopian image of a hero who points out and opposes the inadequacies of the colonisers as well as the colonised. Yet, he is unable to become a native and live happily with his beloved one within the colonial territory. The only hope for real change and breakaway from coloniser/colonised dichotomy lies in the new generation of indigenous people, as represented by Miss Manner's daughter whose uncertain fatherhood gives her a symbolic meaning. All in all, the Republic of India could not have come to existence had it not been built on the ashes of British India.

Chapter Six

The Coloniser from the Postcolonial Literary Perspective

6. Postcolonial Evaluation of the British Raj

The sixth chapter, similarly to the fifth one, explores the British coloniser and colonialism in India, but from the stance of postcolonial writers, who were either born in India or have an Indian heritage. The discussion focuses on three novels: *Heat and Dust* (1975) by Ruth Prawer Jhabvala, *Midnight's Children* (1981) by Salman Rushdie, and *What the Body Remembers* (1999) by Shauna Singh Baldwin. These instances of historical fiction were selected because they encompass nearly a quarter of a century of reflections and memory of colonial legacy in India. The period between the 1970s and the 1990s marks a shift in literary trends from the First World to the Third World which undeniably contributed to the popularity of postcolonial novels. The works to be analysed have representative value because, as in the preceding chapter, they convey perspectives of both male and female writers. These are the people of different ages and social standings who experienced India after it regained independence, yet they tried to capture and evaluate its colonial status and subsequent implications it had for the country's future.

6.1. *The (Former) Colonised People Are Writing Back: The Challenge of Literary Mediacy*

When discussing Indian literary fiction in English, it is necessary to take into consideration a rich and diverse tradition that goes back to the nineteenth century. As it was mentioned previously, India is not a unified country in linguistic terms. Although today there is a large prevalence of Hindi and English across many states, especially in the northern parts, over 56% of citizens communicate in the remaining 30 languages present in their native regions (Khan, https://www.news18.com). As Arvinda Krishna Mehrotra explains, the legacy of English writing in India is often treated with perplexity and embarrassment by Indian writers (Mehrotra 2003: 6). Departing from the theory of mimicry as a means of challenging the coloniser's identity, devised by Homi Bhabha, Mehrotra praises the fact that Indian writers of the early 19th century started writing in English (Mehrotra 2003: 6). The researcher claims that writing novels, poetry, dramas, and travel accounts in the language of the coloniser were acts of revolutionary self-expression by the native writers, which aimed at reflecting feelings of the masses. One could think that those raised on Thomas Babington Macaulay's

educational curriculum, which favoured only English literature, would solely focus on embracing the Western literary tradition, yet Indians appropriated the English language and mixed it with their own perceptions of colonial rule. For instance, Kylas Chunder Dutt's *A Journal of Forty-Eight Hours of the Year 1945* (1835) tells the story of an armed uprising against the British administration in India. This *what-if* fable is significant for the fact that it was made 27 years before the Sepoy Rebellion; and that the supposed date of independence was miscalculated by Dutt by only 2 years (1947). Mehrotra calls it the "imaginative beginnings of a nation" (Mehrotra 2003: 7).

English language also heavily influenced the development of Indian journalism. Indeed, Rudyard Kipling might have been a popular *non-Indian* journalist, but the natives were also participating in the process of fact reporting in the English language since the first half of the nineteenth century. That is to say, getting to know the problems, as well as the history, of India at first hand allowed the native writers to expand their literary horizons and examine the Indian legacy in a rational manner (Mehrotra 2003: 8–9). As a result, some of them started experimenting with the English convention by transferring it onto native languages. For instance, O. Chandu Menon's *Indulekha* (1889) bears the title of the first novel officially published in the Malayalam language. Nevertheless, it does not represent the intricacies of contemporary lifestyle of the citizens of Kerala. The author's aim, as he admitted, was to write an English-style novel in a language that could have been understood by his wife (Mehrotra 2003: 10). Consequently, *Indulekha* bears resemblance to Benjamin Disraeli's *Henrietta Temple* (1837) or Charlotte Brontë's *Jane Eyre* (1847) rather than to the epic poems *Mahabharata* and *Ramayana*. Menon's novel remains the example of a forgotten experiment which indirectly exposed the Malayalam people to English literature, and which tried to promote a new trend in Indian literary writing, a trend which would go on to flourish after Indian independence, over 58 years after the book's publication.

The would-be India's first Prime Minister, Jawaharlal Nehru, wrote to his young daughter, Indira, in the 1930s that the value of languages lies in their delicate nature (Mehrotra 2003: 12). Although Nehru was one of the leading figures of the independence movement, he was aware of the fact that India is composed of multilingual communities and it is a fool's errand to impose one, official language onto all of them. He referred to Hindi as "one of the national languages" (Mehrotra 2003: 12), yet he knew that the southern part of the country (communicating in Tamil, Malayalam, Kannada, and Telugu) would never accept it. Nehru's worries were confirmed in the 1960s when the states in the North attempted to completely ban English in the public sphere, which led to counter-protests in the South that

tried to forbid using Hindi. This conflict on the administrative level initiated a deadlock which lasts to date. This means that though Hindi and English are used across the Republic of India, neither of these has the status of a dominant language. Nehru himself stressed that English should not be regarded as a form of cultural backwardness but as a sign of Indian progress. The national leader was convinced that English can provide everyday communication as well as literature with new dynamics (Mehrotra 2003: 14).

If we can label a *Journal of Forty-Eight Hours of the Year 1945* (1837) and *Indulekha* (1889) as the beginning of Indian literature which assimilated (and played with) the English convention, then the second stage of development started with the publication of Salman Rushdie's *Midnight's Children* (1981) (Chaudhuri 2004: xiii–xiv). Together with the rise of postcolonial discourse, a new generation of naturally "bilingual" writers emerged (Mehrotra 2003: 23). Writing in English ceased to be an activity to be frowned upon by Indian purists, it became a means of expression that could reach across Oriental boundaries. The international popularity of *Midnight's Children* inspired[279] other Indian writers, particularly Anita Desai, Vikram Seth, Amitav Gosh, and Arundhati Roy to create a wide range of novels in English about India: its social problems, mysticism, magical culture, superstitions, and nostalgic influence. Interestingly, Arundhati Roy, after the publication of *The God of Small Things* (1997), was heavily criticised by the representatives of the Sahitya Akademi[280] for writing purely for export, and to gain acclaim among the Western readers (http://sahitya-akademi.gov.in).[281] According to the Indian historian Sumit Sarkar, in view of extensive globalisation in postcolonial times, the Anglo-Indian (not Indian) literature has become a respected literary genre. However, the literary researcher Arvinda Krishna Mehrotra opposes such a claim and suggests that Indian novels are not merely consumerist commodities sold overseas, but rather, cultural products which are discovered and revered not in the Occident but in the country of their origin (Mehrotra 2003: 24–25; Chaudhuri 2004: xxxi). Mehrotra gives the example of Irwin Allan Sealy's *The Trotter-Nama* from 1988. A historical chronicle of the seven generations of Anglo-Indian family, written by an Anglo-Indian himself, did not receive much attention in the United Kingdom and the United States, but it did meet with a

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[279] According to Amit Chaudhuri, "Post-Rushdie, the Indian novel in English has been constructed, in both popular and critical terms, as […] an alternative to […] the conventional English novel" (Chaudhuri 2004: xxv).

[280] Sahitya Akademi, also known as India's National Academy of Letters, is a central organisation established by the Ministry of Culture in 1954 devoted to promoting literature created in the languages of India (http://sahitya-akademi.gov.in).

[281] If this was truly the case, then Arundhati Roy could have certainly written more fiction apart from the aforementioned *The God of Small Things* and the recently released *The Ministry of Utmost Happiness* (2017). The author seems to be concerned with modern-day challenges for India in the age of globalisation, which she described in such essay collections as *The Algebra of Infinite Justice* (2001) and *Broken Republic* (2011).

positive critical appraisal in India, which greatly shocked the author (Mehrotra 2003: 26). Perhaps the Indian readers welcomed the historiographic attempts of Sealy as they were more open to social sensibilities of a family unit experienced against the backdrop of grand national events.

In view of this historical outline, it is visible that Indian writing in English remains an integral part of the rich and diverse canon of literature in India because Indian as well as Anglo-Indian writers engage in hybrid activities: from adapting foreign genres to mixing such languages as English, Hindi, or Malayalam.

6.1.1. *Heat and Dust* (1975) by Ruth Prawer Jhabvala

It is difficult to categorise Ruth Prawer Jhabvala within the postcolonial discourse. She was the daughter of Jewish parents who moved from Poland to Germany around the 1920s. Having received an education in England, she married an architect from India and settled there in the 1950s. Evidently, unlike Paul Scott, M. M. Kaye, and J. G. Farrell, Jhabvala was not an English writer representing the British perspective. However, she was not a fully accepted member of the indigenous community, either. To date, literary critics attempt to challenge Jhabvala's ambiguous position as an author of numerous novels[282] about India. Some without hesitation include her within the group of the Anglo-Indian writers (Singh 2016: 336), whereas others rush to disregard her Eastern European roots and label Jhabvala as a distinctly "Indian" writer or, alternatively, an "inside outsider" (Roy 2013: 262). Jhabvala, however, dismissed such classifications. Instead, she considered herself to be an international author writing about life in India from the European perspective (Williams 1973: 2).

Just as the many *memsahibs* who came before her, Jhabvala was mesmerised by the romantic image of India as a land of spiritual wonders and great adventures. However, the postcolonial reality turned out to be a stark contrast to the expectations. Jhabvala noticed that the citizens of the newly-created Republic suffered from social inequality, inadequate legislative system, and natural disasters. While collaborating with James Ivory and Ismail Merchant, the founders of the prominent Merchant Ivory productions company, on a 1975 movie called *The Autobiography of Princess*[283], Jhabvala was in the midst of going through extensive research on Indian history (particularly the Princely States) in preparation for the

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[282] From her famous works, we can enumerate, for instance, *The Householder* (1960), and *A Backward Place* (1965). She also released such collections of short stories as *An Experience of India* (1971), *How I Became a Holy Mother and Other Stories* (1976), and *Out of India: Selected Stories* (1986).

[283] The movie focuses on an Indian princess from London reminiscing about her past. The story touches upon a controversial issue of incorporation of the Princely States back into the Republic of India initiated by the then Prime Minister Indira Gandhi (https://www.imdb.com).

script. It was at that time that she read E. M. Forster's *A Passage to India* (1924) and *The Hill of Devi* (1953). Jhabvala started writing large chunks of fictional memoirs, about both colonial and post-colonial India, as a way of establishing a dialogue with Forster's works, in order to elaborate upon the motif of the British living in India and the convoluted cultural relations they had with the Indian natives (Roy 2013: 267). She later combined the two texts and published them as a single novel *Heat and Dust* (1975).

Imam Hosen characterises the novel as being somewhere in-between, torn between the canons of colonial and postcolonial literature because it actually presents two disparate visions of India (Hosen 2006: 45). In addition, fervent critics of Jhabvala accuse the novel of being a sensational rather than an intertextual piece because it does not live up to the grandeur of *A Passage to India* and contains immoral themes of extramarital affair and abortion. Also, the title itself, *Heat and Dust*, was condemned as offensive and favouring the British imperialism: "Is there not a demeaning motive in this characterising of a country and its culture in terms of its climate and the least valuable element lying on the physical territory designated? How would an English reader respond to a novel set in England, entitled in the same spirit by an Indian writer *Cold and Fog*?" (Ezekiel 1982: 138). The title may indeed carry a certain degree of negative connotation, but it is by no means directed at India. On the contrary, Jhabvala sought to emphasise through the phrase "heat and dust" the mental state of the British forced to live within the cultural environment they had not been accustomed to.

The novel presents two storylines taking place, alternately, in India of the 1970s and of the 1920s. An unnamed female[284] narrator recollects her journey to the Republic of India in order to find out more information about the first wife of her grandfather, Olivia Rivers. The narrator comes into a possession of letters exchanged between Olivia and her sister, Marcia, which become a sort of a guidebook[285] for the narrator's journey through modern India. The main protagonist unravels Olivia's tragic history: her marriage with Douglas Rivers, her interactions with other civil servants living within the safe boundaries of the so-called Civil Lines[286], and her passionate enchantment with, "an Indian prince" (Jhabvala 1992: 2), the Nawab of Khatm. Thanks to the correspondence, the narrator tracks down living witnesses as well as dilapidated places which served as the setting of Olivia's story. However, the narrator

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[284] The narrator's gender becomes apparent from the context at the beginning of the novel. The character describes first night in India spent in a dormitory for women (Jhabvala 1992: 3).

[285] The novel's memoir-like framework can be interpreted as Jhabvala's intertextual reference to an autobiographical travel account *Olivia in India* (1913) written by Anne Buchan (using the pseudonym Olivia Douglas) (Roy 2013: 269).

[286] Residential areas raised in Indian cities by British officers in order to provide accommodation for the non-military staff. Such establishments were prevalent especially in the North (New Delhi), but their remains can also be found in the South of India (https://www.britannica.com).

gains her own unique experience of India, completely different from that of her step-grandmother's.

Focusing on the novel's content in the chronological manner, we firstly turn to India of 1923 as described through the eyes of Olivia Rivers. The heroine seems to be incredibly energetic and enthusiastic about the prospect of living in an unknown land, far away from Britain: "When she first came here, she may really have been what she seemed; a pretty young woman, rather vain, pleasure-seeking, a little petulant. […] [S]he could have remained the same person she had been. But there is no record of what she became later, neither in our family nor anywhere else as far as I know" (Jhabvala 1992: 160). She is happily married to Douglas, who is to perform the function of the Assistant Collector in the town of Satipur. This civil servant is first and foremost "upright and just," but he also works "like a Trojan" (Jhabvala 1992: 1). Olivia and Douglas are initially happy together, even though they have troubles with procreation. However, the arrival in the British Raj makes Olivia suffocated within the stale community of colonial housewives. She spends most of her free time with such *memsahibs* as Mrs Saunders, Mrs Crawford, and Mrs Minnies, who are far from entertaining. The wives of colonial civil servants appear to have great knowledge of India, yet they opt for not mixing with the native people: "Their experience went back several generations, for they were all members of families who had served in one or other of the Indian services since before the Mutiny"[287] (Jhabvala 1992: 15). It is added that "Olivia had met other such old India hands and was already very much bored by them and their interminable anecdotes […]. She kept asking herself how it was possible to lead such exciting lives – administering whole provinces, fighting border battles, advising rulers – and at the same time to remain so dull" (Jhabvala 1992: 15). Instead of embracing and enjoying wonders of the Orient, the *memsahibs* tend to perform "matronly things" and seem "comfortable with each other" (Jhabvala 1992: 33); that is, without Olivia's company.

Similarly, Olivia finds the presence of men equally boring. Douglas serves as an assistant of Mr Crawford, the District Collector. In addition, Mr Saunders performs the duties of a Medical Superintendent at Satipur Hospital, whereas Major Minnies is the "agent" specially appointed as an advisor to local rulers on political matters (Jhabvala 1992: 14–15).

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[287] Ruth Prawer Jhabvala does not directly explain the significance of the term "Mutiny." Evidently, it denotes the Sepoy Rebellion of 1857, but viewers who do not have necessary knowledge about the history of the British Raj may not completely infer the true meaning of the word. Jhabvala refers to the event yet again a few pages later when Olivia visits a cemetery and discovers the graves of brave soldiers as well as that of the Saunders' child (Jhabvala 1992: 25). Arguably, by not referring to the Sepoy Rebellion in an open fashion, Jhabvala may signal in this manner that *Heat and Dust* is not necessarily a historical novel but a subjective, out of time, record of feelings, emotions, and musings connected with India.

Inarguably, the conversations of the men who manage the daily life of Satipur and its vicinity do not captivate Olivia either. In accordance with Albert Memmi's observation that the coloniser plays his function due to economic reasons, we can see that each of these fictional administrators supervises a specific branch within the social structure of the indigenous community (Memmi [1957] 2003: 42). They maintain proper communication with the Indian people, treat their illnesses, and help in proper governance. Yet, by no means do the colonisers engage in the process of ruthless and violent exploitation of India, as envisioned by Shashi Tharoor. Douglas Rivers makes a condescending remark that Indians are full of tricks, they "think they're frightfully cunning but they're like children" (Jhabvala 1992: 38), but he and other administrators work for the betterment of Satipur. For one thing, they try to eradicate the barbaric ritual of *suttee* and, for another, they protect the town against bandit raids. Illustrating Bruce Gilley's claim that colonialism was also "doing good," the officials try to make India a better place, yet the fault lies not in their actions but in their lack of understanding of the unfamiliar society. In order to avoid being devoured by *the heat and dust* of the colony, they shelter themselves in the Civil Lines, the Jungian bottle "filled with European air" (Jung 1970: 519). Consequently, the foreigners attempt to mentally escape to a familiar setting, even at the cost of becoming out of touch with Indian reality. What is more, they physically journey to Shimla every summer to avoid the most scorching weather. This is the image of an enclosed British community which Jhabvala crafts.

In contrast to the uneventful Satipur, the readers are presented with Khatm, a princely state located nearby, which serves as a relic of the past, a traditional representation of the times in which *maharajas* and *maharanis*[288] were regarded as respected aristocrats. The only awe-inspiring landmark located on this barren land is the palace, the owner of which is Khatm's rightful ruler, the Nawab. It seems as if time stood still inside the palace. Traditional ornamentation takes the foreground, whereas European souvenirs (pianos, pinball machines, a croquet set, sanitary equipment, etc.) are meticulously hidden in the underground chambers.[289] Apart from the Nawab and his servants, the dominating position in the palace is occupied by his mother, the *Begum*[290], and the courtesans she oversees. Such an image mesmerises Olivia. Upon meeting the Nawab for the first time, she "felt she had, at last in India, come to the right

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[288] *Maharaja* (masculine); *Maharani* (feminine): Terms used to denote a Hindu prince or princess who has the authority to rule a princely state. Since the 1960s, when the princely states were incorporated back into the Republic of India, the titles have purely honorific meaning (https://www.britannica.com).

[289] This kind of showcasing of Europe in the lower parts of the Nawab's palace may be interpreted as the aristocrat's ironic response to imperial exhibitions.

[290] *Begum*: A title used in reference to a married Muslim woman who is extremely respected in her community (https://www.oxfordlearnersdictionaries.com).

place" (Jhabvala 1992: 15). A man who has adopted European customs and who loves entertaining Europeans is praised by Major Minnies as a fine fellow, but the one who lacks self-restraint and self-discipline. The Nawab certainly has an extraordinary charisma which, coupled with courtly wealth and exoticism of his premises, makes Olivia perceive him as a true aristocrat: "He is a fascinating man… And terribly handsome" (Jhabvala 1992: 149). Although Olivia is in love with Douglas, she cannot help but gradually drift away from her husband, who is too preoccupied with maintaining the colonial endeavour: "She waved to him for as long as she could still see him. A servant held the door open for her to go back into the house, but she stayed looking out a bit longer. Not in the direction of which Douglas had left, but the other way; towards Khatm, towards the palace" (Jhabvala 1992: 117).

It has to be noted that the Nawab is not the only person who provides Olivia with entertainment. Harry Hamilton-Paul can be best described as a *permanent guest* at the Nawab's palace. He is the only Englishman who does not live in the Civil Lines and does not perform a specific colonial assignment. Instead, he passes time by playing cards with the Begum or playing a piano. Undeniably, the presence of this cheerful fellow, who clearly displays too much of the Jungian *Anima* factor; that is, being overly effeminate, serves not only to parody the figure of E. M. Forster but also to underline the homoerotic nature of the Nawab. It is never explicitly stated by Jhabvala but readers can easily infer that the Nawab and Harry engage in taboo activities, but interestingly, the Nawab is the dominant figure in this power-dependency relationship, which manifests itself later on in the story.

Harry may seem to enjoy his sojourn in Khatm, yet he confesses to Olivia that he feels like a prisoner. Due to his effeminate personality, Harry unconsciously assumes the role of a victim. He desires to return to his mother in England. Douglas and Olivia help him in the travel arrangements, but the Nawab ruthlessly snatches him away from the Rivers: "But don't you see, Mr. and Mrs. Rivers, he is like a child that doesn't know what it wants! We others have to decide everything for him" (Jhabvala 1992: 78).

The incident with Harry is the true demonstration of the Nawab's wicked character. Far from being a respected aristocrat, the Nawab fulfils "the Shadow" archetype (Faber and Mayer 2009: 309). Similarly to such Gothic villains as Lord Ruthven or Dracula, the Indian ruler represents the darkest shade of humanity. The Nawab may not be a vampire, yet he exercises emotional control over people around him. Olivia as well as Harry are merely objects to him, just like the various gifts in the underground chambers, which he desires to possess for all eternity, so they could satisfy his ego. As a matter of fact, his entire existence revolves around the act of possession: his kingdom has gone bankrupt, he has no money,

therefore, he is responsible for the attacks on Satipur in order to regain wealth. In addition, it is revealed that he has a wife who, similarly to Bertha Mason from *Jane Eyre* (1847), lost her senses. With regard to Olivia, the Nawab uses her to take revenge on the British injustice, which he allegedly experienced; in order to become "the Master of the Two Worlds" (Campbell 2004: 213). After seducing and impregnating Olivia, he triumphantly states to Harry, "Wait till my son is born […] then they'll laugh from the other side of their throats" (Jhabvala 1992: 161).

Although Olivia is infatuated with the Nawab and the Indian culture[291], in general, she ultimately fails to embrace the colonial encounter. Her assimilation into India was only subjective and superficial for she permits to terminate her pregnancy because of her apprehension about the potential colour of the baby. With the help of the midwifes at Khatm, a miscarriage is induced and ailing Olivia is rushed to Satipur Hospital:

> But he [Dr. Saunders] knew about Indian "miscarriages" and the means employed to bring them about. The most common of these was the insertion of a twig smeared with the juice of a certain plant known only to Indian midwives. […] "Now my young madam," he said as he confronted her. The matron, a Scottish woman born in India – between them, […] stood grim faced behind him. Both were outraged, but Dr. Saunders was somewhat triumphant as well, having been proven right. He had always known that there was something rotten about Olivia: something weak and rotten which of course the Nawab (rotten himself) had found out and used to his advantage. (Jhabvala 1992: 169–170)

As Modhumita Roy argues in her paper "Memsahibs in the Sun: Ruth Prawer Jhabvala's *Heat and Dust* and 'Feminist' Orientalism," the writer presents in her novel a clichéd image[292] of upright and moral colonisers who try to reorganise the Third World (Roy 2013: 286). This is not the case at all. The central issue of *Heat and Dust* is the ambiguity concerning proper localisation of the coloniser and the colonised. Indeed, Olivia may seem to be a symbolic representation of the coloniser who liberates herself from social constraints by engaging in a relationship with the native (Memmi [1957] 2003: 63); however, her idealisation of the Other proves to be too naïve. She is actually enslaved by the dominating persona of the Nawab.

Whatever the Nawab does, he does it in pursuit of his own interests and he is never worried about the fate of India, which lies in the hands of foreign authorities. Imam Hosen confirms that the Nawab is very much an irresponsible and reckless man who neither fights

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[291] That is to say, Olivia naively attempts to defend the barbaric ritual of *suttee* when the subject is brought up in a conversation between male administrators: "[I]t is their culture and who are we to interfere with anyone's culture especially an ancient one like theirs" (Jhabvala 1992: 58).

[292] To be specific, Roy calls the novel, using Mary Louise Pratt's terminology, a perfect instance of "grumpy metropolitan discourse" (Roy 2013: 286).

for his subjects nor upholds the British rule (Hosen 2006: 83). In other words, he lives for himself and his misadventures. Douglas Rivers quite rightfully describes this villainous figure as "a menace to himself, to us, and to the wretched inhabitants of his wretched little state. The worst type of ruler – the worst type of Indian – you can have" (Jhabvala 1992: 148). Eventually, he goes away to London, leaving Olivia like an abandoned toy to spend her days all alone in an unnamed town in India. Consequently, the Nawab performs the role of a manipulative oppressor, who is only interested in possessions that prove his power: goods imported from Europe as well as living trophies, such as Olivia and Harry.

The second storyline presented in the novel takes place in India of the 1970s. We are introduced to an unnamed narrator who tries to follow the footsteps of Olivia Rivers. From the first page of her recollections, we can notice a striking image of an Indian land. The narrator's neighbour in a missionary hostel, a Swiss lady, warns her about the possible urban dangers: "You have to be very careful with your food in the beginning: boiled water only, and whatever you do no food from these street stalls. Afterwards you get immune. I can eat anything now if I want to. Not that I'd want to – I hate their food, I wouldn't touch it for anything" (Jhabvala 1992: 3).

If it had not been for a Swiss lady's remark, it would have seemed that contemporary Bombay, no longer under the British rule, could be like any other metropolis, yet Ruth Prawer Jhabvala constructs quite a grim vision of postcolonial reality. The Republic of India may be an independent entity, yet the country is also suffering from many problems: unlawfulness, extreme poverty, racial discrimination, to name but a few. We could say that the narrator serves as a post-war traveller who, drawn by the allure of the Orient, escapes from the confines of Western materialism. As a result, the process of *Anglicisation of India* is replaced by *Indianisation of a British woman*.

The narrator enjoys wearing local dresses, eating local foods, befriending local people, and learning Hindi. She expresses her positive appreciation of an apparently alien culture: "The town has become a communal dormitory. […] I have never known such a sense of communion. Lying like this under the open sky there is a feeling of being immersed in space […]. How different from my often very lonely room in London with only my own walls to look at and my books to read" (Jhabvala 1992: 52). The narrator lives at the family house of Inder Lal, an Indian civil servant, who is frail, uninteresting, and afraid of everything. The man is visibly ashamed to be seen in the company of a tall, white woman during their excursions through Satipur and Khatm. The narrator also makes an acquaintance with Inder Lal's wife, Ritu, and his mother. The mother of Inder Lal is the one who introduces her to the

cultural hustle and bustle of India. The women join an energetic group of middle-aged widows, which is led by the charismatic Maji. Nevertheless, the narrator also notices issues in Inder Lal's house. Ritu, albeit kind and reproached, suffers from some kind of physical ailment. However, the mother treats her in such a way as if the cause of the sickness was spiritual, not medical. This little incident underlines the prevalence of superstition in India as well as the intricate nature of relations between mothers and their daughters-in-law[293].

The narrator also encounters a variety of Westerners during her journey. Those are people who, dissatisfied with capitalism, arrived in India to seek spiritual Enlightenment as well as peace and mind. For instance, a young enthusiast of Indian culture, Chid, follows the instructions of his guru and attempts to become an exemplary yogi. He participates in pilgrimages, but he finds he cannot live the ascetic lifestyle. What is more, children frequently throw stones and other objects at him because they think they are allowed to torment a religious disciple. Due to his pitiful situation, Chid resorts to stealing and staying at cheap hotels. Although trying to maintain physical as well as mental purity, Chid[294] also exhibits a strong sexual drive towards the narrator. Evidently, the character is a complete antithesis of Indian monks. Primarily because of his Western mindset, Chid is not willing to let go of materialistic pleasures and starts perceiving reality in a holistic manner, instead of cause-and-effect framework (Nisbett 2004: 193). In addition, Chid's failure to embrace (and eventually become) the Other stems from the fact that India simply rejects the unfaithful ones who go through the process of *reversed mimicry*[295].

Apart from Chid, the narrator also interacts with a couple from Britain who are wandering near old bungalows in the Civil Lines. They are visibly dissatisfied with India. Instead of finding "peace," they have only found "dysentery" (Jhabvala 1992: 21). The narrator summarises their misadventures as follows:

> They had been robbed of their watches in a house of devotion in Amritsar; cheated by a man they had met on the train to Kashmir who had promised them a cheap house-boat and had disappeared with their advance; also in Kashmir the girl had developed dysentery which was probably amoebic; they got cheated again in Delhi where a tout, promising them a very

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[293] To date, domestic violence directed at daughters-in-law is a topical issue in India. First reports on this matter date back to the 1990s. Experts suggest that parents of a husband (especially the mother-in-law) regard the new member of a family as a commodity, not a living being (Punj, https://www.theindusparent.com/why-its-difficult-to-be-a-daughter-in-law-in-india).

[294] Chid's real name is never revealed in the novel. Indian pilgrims simply call him Chidananda, which means "brilliant" in Hindi (https://hamariweb.com).

[295] That is to say, contrary to the phenomenon of the native performing the mimicking, it is the outsider who blends in with the indigenous population by means of changing appearance, clothing, and adopting local customs (Singh, https://www.lehigh.edu). For example, Robert Fortune posed as a Chinese merchant while journeying through the areas of China which were forbidden for the Westerners (https://www.britannica.com).

favourable rate of exchange for their money, disappeared with it by the back door of the coffee house where they had met him; in Fatehpur Sikri the girl had been molested by a party of Sikh youths; the young man's pocket was picked on the train to Goa; in Goa he had got into a fight with a mad Dane armed with a razor, and had also been laid up with something that may have been jaundice (there was an epidemic); the girl had contracted ringworm. (Jhabvala 1992: 21)

Consequently, Chid as well as the English couple symbolise the proverbial *useful idiots*[296], people fascinated with the exotic and unknown, perceiving an object of their fixation as an antidote to their problems. In this context, India functions as a spiritual remedy to the detrimental effects of capitalism. However, this kind of obsessive projection only leads to subsequent disappointment and personality crisis: "This rejection of the process of creative exploration means lack of effortful update of procedural and declarative memory; means adaptation to the present, as if it still were the past; means refusal to *think*." (Peterson 2002: 259). Indeed, the new arrivals refuse to think for themselves because they blindly believe in a presupposition that India is a communal paradise where everyone experiences free love and free salvation. This is not the case at all. Jhabvala describes the Republic in its most challenging decade. Due to a number of financial scandals, questionable redevelopment of New Delhi, and failed implementation of the family planning programme, there was a growing disdain for Indira Gandhi. The Prime Minister initiated the controversial State of Emergency[297], which generated street protests and gang looting across India. The new government that followed did more harm than good by favouring corruption[298]. This was India in which Ruth Prawer Jhabvala lived, India which enchanted people from abroad and later punished them for their naivety[299].

Upon revisiting Olivia's past, the narrator willingly engages in an intercourse with Inder Lal. Alone and with child underway, she decides to live among the *swamis*[300] in Olivia's "Town X" (Jhabvala 1992: 180). The narrator goes into the mountains so as to finish Olivia's incomplete assimilation into the Orient. The pregnancy can be interpreted as an embracement of India; in other words, a fruit of cross-cultural encounter. In contrast to the disastrous relationship between the Nawab and Olivia, the narrator functions neither as the coloniser nor

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[296] Useful idiots: a phrase used to describe people who believe and uphold a certain ideological cause without fully comprehending it. The author of the term is said to be Vladimir Lenin (https://dictionary.cambridge.org).

[297] State of Emergency: a period between 1975 and 1977 which, with the President's approval, allowed the government of India to use extraordinary measures in order to fight off internal turmoil. To date, historians vary on the evaluation of Indira Gandhi's actions during that time (Jayakar 2000: 856).

[298] The government composed of opposition parties known as the Janata Alliance fell apart quickly after the election and Indira Gandhi returned to power with a landslide victory in 1980 (Jayakar 2000: 853).

[299] In India of the 1970s, particularly private *ashrams* boomed in popularity, drawing the attention of Western hippies. However, such developments often scammed the foreigners financially. The most prominent figure practicing such criminal activities was a "spiritual leader" Rajneesh who owned a lot of ashram settlements in India as well as in the United States (Wollaston, https://www.theguardian.com).

[300] Yogis living in monastic orders (https://www.merriam-webster.com).

the colonised. She wishes to choose her own fate; one may wonder, however, if it is truly a wilful decision. Interestingly, Jhabvala introduces towards the end of the novel yet another type of a coloniser:

> There are many ways of loving India, many things to love her for – the scenery, the history, the poetry, the music, and indeed the physical beauty of the men and women – but all, said the Major, are dangerous for the European who allows himself to love too much. India always, he said, finds out the weak spot and presses on it. […] [F]or the Major this weak spot is to be found in the most sensitive, often the finest people – and, moreover, in their finest feelings. It is there that India seeks them out and pulls them over into what the Major called the other dimension. […] One should never, he warned, allow oneself to become softened […] by an excess of feeling; because the moment that happens – the moment one exceeds one's measure – one is in danger of being dragged over to the other side. (Jhabvala 1992: 170–171)

Consequently, we can infer that India functions in Jhabvala's novel as a colonising entity which has a profound influence on its inhabitants and the newcomers. "I think perhaps God never meant that human beings should live in such a place" (Jhabvala 1992: 158), confesses Dr Gopal to the narrator while treating ailing Chid. Indeed, the harsh climate as well as the mystical timelessness turn India into the ultimate type of coloniser, the one who rejects the weak and accepts the courageous. All things considered, India according to Ruth Prawer Jhabvala can be perceived as half-medieval, half-modern, more abstract than real, yet certainly not inferior to other countries. On the contrary, it is the spiritual beacon of the Orient which deeply affects the outsiders with the heterogeneity of a cross-cultural encounter.

6.1.2. *Midnight's Children* (1981) by Salman Rushdie

Salman Rushdie is, arguably, best known to the general public for such works of fiction as *The Satanic Verses* (1988) and *The Moor's Last Sigh* (1995). He also engraved himself into the socio-political consciousness with the *fatwā*[301] incident, a directive motioned against him by the Iranian authorities in 1989. This popular Indian writer, born in Bombay to a Kashmiri-Muslim family and educated in England, initially tried his luck in acting before turning his interest to writing. Rushdie's first novel *Grimus* (1975), a blend of science-fiction and fantasy, went largely unnoticed among the literary critics; however, the author eventually gained recognition with the publication of his second novel, *Midnight's Children* (1981).

The novel is contemporarily hailed as a "giant edifice" and "Nehruvian epic" which set the trend for the manner in which Indian writing in English "is supposed to be read and

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[301] *Fatwā*: a non-binding official order issued by an Islamic leader (https://dictionary.cambridge.org). In the case of Salman Rushdie, Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini called for the assassination of the author. Although the Iranian authorities claim that the order to kill Rushdie is not valid since 1998, it has never been officially lifted (Cain, https://www.theguardian.com).

produced" (Chaudhuri 2004: xxiii–xxiv). *Midnight's Children* went on to win the Booker Prize in 1981 as well as the Booker of Bookers in 1993 and 2008 respectively.[302] This exemplary blend of magical realism and historical fiction undeniably popularised postcolonial literature among Western readers and initiated a resurgence of international interest in India, its religion, culture, and politics: "Rushdie's style, robustly extroverted, rejecting nuance, delicacy and inwardness for multiplicity and polyphony, and, moreover, the propensity of his imagination towards magic, fairy tales and fantasy, and the apparent non-linearity of his narratives – all these are seen to be emblematic of a non-Western mode of discourse" (Chaudhuri 2004: xxv). Indeed, *Midnight's Children* is a unique take on the Indian subcontinent, devised by an Indian writer.

The main protagonist of the story, as well as its main narrator, is Saleem Sinai. The man is approaching the age of 31 and he is absolutely convinced that he is going to die soon. The novel serves as a recollection of his memories because Saleem, having been born on the memorable date of the 15th August, 1947, feels that his fate is inseparably connected with the history of India. From a first-person perspective, the protagonist writes down his personal experiences for his three-year-old son, Aadam Sinai. However, Saleem's musings are frequently interrupted by his female companion, Padma, who questions the validity of his narrative.[303]

Saleem begins rather pompously by stating that his existence started at "the precise instant of India's arrival at independence" (Rushdie 2006: 3), yet the story of his life has its source in the figure of the grandfather, Aadam Aziz. Mr Aziz, a physician in Kashmir, who is forced to treat an ailing woman through a perforated sheet. Although being able to examine one part of the body at a time, the doctor becomes obsessed with the mysterious patient. The face of the woman is eventually revealed and Ahmed marries Naseem. The couple moves to the city of Agra and they conceive five children: Emerald, Mustapha, Hanif, Mumtaz, and Alia. The story of the daughter Mumtaz is especially important. She falls in love with Nadir Khan, a political activist who hides in the Aziz's household from the Muslim extremists. The marriage falls apart due to Khan's infertility. Consequently, Mumtaz marries a businessman, Ahmed Sinai, who previously courted her sister, and she changes her name to Amina.

Upon arriving in Delhi, Ahmed and Amina rent a house as part of a large estate

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[302] What is more, the book was adapted to film in 2012 by an acclaimed Indian director Deepa Mehta. Salman Rushdie himself wrote the screenplay (Khan 2015: 3).

[303] Some researchers position Saleem and Padma as the polar opposites within the grid of historiographic metafiction. The two characters can be understood as competing translators with different approaches towards Indian historicity. As a result, Saleem tries to undermine the historical events by mixing them with personal memories, whereas Padma focuses on real, chronological facts, outside of Saleem's agency (Ramone 2014: 3, 8).

belonging to a certain Mr William Methwold. The British gentleman willingly rents parts of his domestic establishment to the locals on condition that they purchase every item within the house and that the legal transfer of ownership will take place concurrently with the Partition of India. Other inhabitants of Methwold's premises include entrepreneurs, scientists, film moguls, and soldiers. They are entertained by a wandering tramp Wee Willie Winkie and his wife, Vanita.

At midnight, on the 15th of August, 1947, Amina as well as Vanita give birth to their children. However, the midwife Mary Pereira, in an act of rebellion, decides to switch the babies. As a result, it is revealed that Saleem Sinai is not the biological son of Ahmed and Anima, but the fruit of an illicit affair between Methwold and Vanita. The Sinais' real son, Shiva, is taken care of by Wee Willie Winkie because Vanita dies in childbirth.

In physical terms, Saleem's body resembles the Indian subcontinent due to his cucumber-like nose, blue eyes, and cracks in his body. What is more, Saleem discovers that he has the power of telepathy, which allows him to enter other people's minds. In consequence, he finds out that there are plenty of magical children like him. Initially, 1001 children were born on the 15th of August, but the number reduced to only 581 within ten years. Each child has a unique magical ability, depending on how close to midnight he or she was born.[304] Evidently, Saleem as well as Shiva are the most powerful individuals. The children participate in special Midnight Children's Conferences which aim at discussing Indian problems. Nevertheless, the formula of these meetings breaks apart as the children grow up and become subject to racial, class, and religious divisions. Saleem himself journeys between India and Pakistan. After having his nose operated on, Saleem is not able to communicate with his magical friends anymore; however, the protagonist's misfortunes do not end there. In the course of the Indo-Pakistani war of 1965, nearly all of Saleem's relatives die due to the bombings. Saleem in turn suffers from amnesia, but he recollects his identity as a soldier in Bangladesh in 1971. Thanks to the assistance of Parvati-the-witch, a fellow midnight child, Saleem returns to India. Parvati tries to form a relationship with him, but Saleem is hopelessly in love with his (non-biological) sister, the Brass Monkey. When a State of Emergency is announced in the Republic, Saleem has to confront Shiva as well as the mysterious figure known as the Widow in order to protect the midnight's children.

This rather short synopsis does not fully reflect the contents of the novel, for Rushdie included multiple subplots and side-characters throughout 448 pages of the story, all of which

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[304] That is to say, children are capable of performing such activities as stepping into mirrors, travelling in time, transforming into animals, reducing size, changing sex, flying, to name but a few.

revolve around the central character of Saleem Sinai. Needless to say, the protagonist repeatedly hints at the fact that his body, his whole being in fact, is the personification of India. As the fortune teller says to pregnant Amina, "A son… such a son! […] who will never be older than his motherland – neither older nor younger" (Rushdie 2006: 81). What is more, Saleem constantly reaffirms his linkage with history, even with the important events that took place before his birth. As a result, the following correlations take place in the novel:

1) On the day when the First World War ends, Ahmed Aziz sees the face of Naseem;

2) Nadir Khan goes into hiding in 1942 when the Muslim supporter of Indo-Pakistani unity is murdered;

3) When it is revealed that Nadir and Mumtaz/Amina never had an intercourse, Naseem breaks her silence on the day when the United States drop the nuclear bomb on Japan;

4) Saleem, Shiva, and the rest of 999 midnight's children are born when the British Raj ceases to exist and India undergoes partition;

5) Saleem unwittingly participates in the 1956 Bombay protests that lead to clashes between linguistic groups;

6) When the Republic implements a Five-Year Plan[305], Saleem uses his powers to cheat on exams at school;

7) After being sent away to Pakistan, Saleem takes part in a *coup d'état* staged by his uncle, General Zulfikar;

8) In the course of the first conflict between India and Pakistan in 1965, the Aziz family is wiped out from existence because of the bombings of Karachi;

9) Saleem loses memory and finds himself as a soldier battling in the Indo-Pakistani war of 1971; and

10) Upon coming back to India in 1975, he is sent to Indira Gandhi's infamous sterilisation camp.

This enumeration covers the majority of events in which Saleem and his family are entangled. These are, according to Rushdie, the most crucial episodes of Indian history, and the protagonist's involuntary participation in them turns him into a Forrest Gump-like character[306], who involuntarily becomes a part of India's fate. Wherever he goes, whatever he does, the country either influences him (points 1–4 and 8–9) or he influences the country

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[305] Between 1947 and 2017, India's economy relied on a series of Five-Year Plans which were meant to boost the country's GDP in centralised sectors (https://www.britannica.com).

[306] Evidently, Rushdie did not draw inspiration from Winston Groom's novel because it was released 5 years after the publication of *Midnight's Children*.

(points 5–7 and 10).

Indeed, Salman Rushdie meticulously weaves the history of independent India into the life of Saleem Sinai. Yet, we have to bear in mind that the main hero is also an unreliable narrator, constantly mixing facts and dates that need to be corrected by his loyal listener, Padma. Additionally, while certainly obsessed with history, Saleem fails to provide crucial details when describing specific events that affected his existence. For instance, when it comes to discussing the Partition, he purposely "avert[s] [his] eyes from the brutality in Bengal and the long pacifying walk of Mahatma Gandhi" (Rushdie 2006: 111). The narrator explains rather arrogantly his modus operandi by stating "Selfish? Narrow-minded? Well, perhaps; but excusably so, in my opinion. After all, one is not born every day" (Rushdie 2006: 111).

Certainly, in Campbellian terms, Saleem can be perceived as a hero experiencing the most crucial stages of the monomyth. However, the difference is that he understands the call to the adventure as the call to sacrificing himself for all of India. Exemplifying the narrative pattern of "Voyage and Return" (Booker 2004: 7–8), Saleem journeys back and forth between India and Pakistan. However, he also enters the realm of the unknown; that is, quite literally, his own subconscious, which serves as the stage for free exchange of thought between the midnight's children. Nevertheless, the utopian conferences start to disintegrate because the children lose their uniqueness by adopting the limiting perspective of haves and have-nots dichotomy. Saleem tries to intervene in desperation: "Brothers, sisters! […] Do not let this happen! Do not permit the endless duality of masses-and-classes, capital-and-labour, them-and-us to come between us! We […] must be a third principle […]; for only by being other, by being new, can we fulfil the promise of our birth!" (Rushdie 2006: 254). However, Shiva quickly counteracts Saleem's outcry: "No, little rich boy; there is no third principle; there is only money-and-poverty, and have-and-lack, and right-and-left; there is only me-against-the-world! The world is not ideas […]; the world […] is things. […] All that importance-of-the-individual. All that possibility-of-human-ity. Today, what people are is just another kind of thing" (Rushdie 2006: 254–255). In this manner, Shiva demonstrates the futility of idealism, which almost always becomes devoured by materialism. To him, Saleem is yet another lofty politician who desires to build a social paradise in India

In consequence, we can gather from an exchange between the opposing characters that Saleem displays a highly idealistic (if not nearly Leninist) attitude towards reforming India.

According to the protagonist, the 1001 children[307] were meant to be a new generation; the ones who would usher in a heterogeneous order in postcolonial India (Horn 2014: 2), tainted by decades of foreign rule and exploitation. Nevertheless, Saleem's subconscious, his self-stylisation of being a hero, and the magical reality of the whole novel are external elements constituting the projection of his own psyche (Jung 1964: 61–62). In other words, historical events presented in *Midnight's Children* are in no way factual and objective because Saleem purposely builds them around his own persona. This is especially ironic in view of the fact that, at the time of its release, the novel was regarded in the West as a history book, a reliable source of information about Indian culture, history, and politics. Yet, the Indian critics denounced Rushdie's distortion of historical facts[308], especially the ones concerning the independence movement (Mukherji 2014: 1; Ramone 2014: 6).

Therefore, the character of Saleem comes off not so much as a saviour of the subcontinent, but as an incurable idealist who propagates a nearly communist agenda. Shiva, however, is a complete ideological opposite of Saleem, an individual who praises the advantages of capitalism. Unfortunately, both approaches (resembling of *Lok Sabha* parties that clashed with each other in the 1960s[309]) are subjective and inadequate means of alleviating India's difficult (postcolonial) condition. At best, Saleem may be interpreted as Rushdie's conscious parody of the British coloniser: a man also perceiving himself as a hero on a mission, projecting his subconscious desires onto all of India, in order to save it from primordial dangers. Saleem's apparent incompatibility with Campbell's monomyth framework[310] at the very end of the novel only results in the protagonist's total disintegration: "Yes, they will trample me underfoot, the numbers marching one two three, four hundred million five hundred six, reducing me to specks of voiceless dust" (Rushdie 2006: 459).

What is more, it seems ironic that Saleem is the fruit of an illicit affair between a British citizen, Mr Methwold, and an Indian woman, Vanita. Therefore, the protagonist appears to be a biological hybrid. However, in spite of genetic heritage, he feels a strong attachment to the Aziz family, most notably his aunt Pia and uncle Hassan, who become substitute parents to Saleem after Ahmed and Amina accidentally discover that Mary Pereira

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[307] Rushdie clearly alludes to *One Thousand and One Nights*, a collection of Arabian folk tales (Farris 1995: 164).

[308] The Indian literary critic Rukmini Bhaya Nair remarked that Rushdie purposely represented "history as gossip" in the novel (Mukherji 2014: 1).

[309] As it was described in Chapter 2 of this dissertation.

[310] Instead of becoming an archetypal "Sage" possessing the solution to all problems (Campbell 2004: 159), Saleem had not learned anything from his quest. He did not even defeat his mortal enemies: Shiva and the Widow. Rather than that, he indulges in self-narcissism while narrating the story.

switched the babies during India's "tryst with destiny" (Nehru, https://www.humanities.uci.edu).

The character of Mr William Methwold, in particular, serves to underline the one-dimensional, almost entirely negative, attitude of the British colonisers towards India. Confirming Shashi Tharoor's conviction that the British administrators only crippled the development of the Indian subcontinent by their ignorance and desire to achieve material wealth (Tharoor 2016: 18–19), Mr Methwold explicitly states that he is against the partitioning of the colony: "Never seen the like. Hundreds of years of decent government, then suddenly, up and off. You'll admit we weren't all bad: built your roads. Schools, railway trains, parliamentary system, all worthwhile things. Taj Mahal was falling down until an Englishman bothered to see to it. And now, suddenly, independence. Seventy days to get out. I'm dead against it myself, but what's to be done?" (Rushdie 2006: 90). Undeniably, the accomplishments of the British rule, as enumerated by Methwold, are true, but it does not mean by default that the people do not deserve independence. To him, the transfer of power is yet another game, just like "the Great Game" featured prominently in Rudyard Kipling's *Kim*: "'Lock, stock and barrel,' Methwold said, 'Those are my terms. A whim, Mr Sinai… you'll permit a departing colonial his little game? We don't have much left to do, we British, except to play our games'" (Rushdie 2006: 90).

Moreover, "Mr Methwold's Estate" (Rushdie 2006: 89) may be interpreted as an inverted parody of the aforementioned famous imperial exhibitions, so popular in England of the 1920s. The premises are composed out of four uniform houses built in Roman style with lavish verandas, roofs, and staircases. Each house is named after a famous European palace: "Versailles Villa, Buckingham Villa, Escorial Villa and Sans Souci" (Rushdie 2006: 89). As a result, when the Sinais are forced to live among Mr Methwold's belongings, which Amina greatly despises, and also adapt customary activities like having cocktail hours, speaking in a slow manner, or cooking food in European style, they initiate a mockery of the old exhibitions which had many specials pavilions (also appropriately named, depending on a featured colony), local handicrafts, animals, and, of course, "races in residence" (Mackenzie 1999: 214). In this manner, the image of Indians residing at the houses of Mr Methwold foreshadows the future of the Republic of India; that is, a country constantly grappling with the colonial legacy inherited from the colonisers. Instead of dilapidated open-air museums, the natives are left with technological (and social) advancements which are not so easy to be done away with: "With our ancient civilization, can we not be as civilized as [Mr Methwold]?" (Rushdie 2006: 94) asks Ahmed Sinai while sipping Scotch whisky.

With regard to the transfer of power, Mr Methwold attempts to recreate his own microcosmic version of the partitioning as well: "My notion [...] is to stage my own transfer of assets. Leave behind everything you see? [...] [H]and everything over absolutely intact: in tiptop working order. Look around you: everything's in fine fettle, don't you agree? Tickety-boo, we used to say. Or, as you say in Hindustani: Sabkuch ticktock hai[311]" (Rushdie 2006: 92). Being a descendant of the British arrivals who participated in the expansion of Bombay, Mr Methwold feels compelled to "play" his part (Rushdie 2006: 92). Consequently, he is determined to leave his belongings to new successors, not caring about what will happen with them after his departure. On the day of the Partition, William Methwold stands proudly and salutes the setting sun, removing his hairpiece with perfect centre-parting in the process: "A baldie!" (Rushdie 2006: 113) exclaims Padma upon hearing this revelation from Saleem. Through this overtly comical situation, Rushdie signals the tragic loss of the British administrators. Without the precious jewel in the crown (which has become partitioned in the centre[312]), they are, in fact, naked.

In terms of historical (in)accuracies contained in the novel, the character of the Widow, modelled on Indira Gandhi, also deserves attention. Salman Rushdie stated that he purposely included Indira Gandhi because he felt that the story needed some kind of a terror figure, a villainess. Indeed, international media of the 1970s unfavourably portrayed Mrs Gandhi as a sort of a witch-like monster who oppresses her subjects. In addition, she was portrayed by her political opponents as the embodiment of everything negative about Indian politics since 1947. The author himself explains in an interview[313] some of the political implications in *Midnight's Children*:

> There is certainly a very strong political idea in the book […] that independence despite the blood, the gore, […] was, nevertheless, some kind of a time of optimism. People felt the sense of possibility […], and the argument of the book is that during the course of the next 30 years that hope was betrayed, and whatever the optimism that the independence presented, the next 30 years represented the annihilation of that optimism. (*A Tall Story* documentary, 00:34:34–00:36:28)

Furthermore, the author goes on to add that he really had a nightmare about Indira Gandhi devouring children, which made him reflect on the symbolism behind the Prime

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[311] Meaning literally in Hindi: "Everything is alright." This phrase also serves as a reference to a popular song from the 1970s sung by a Pakistani singer Farida Khanum (https://www.youtube.com).
[312] "If William Methwold had lacked a centre-parting, I might not have been here today" (Rushdie 2006: 417), says Saleem while pondering on the connection of hairstyles with history.
[313] It has to be pointed out that Rushdie keenly comments on his novels in a variety of forms, be it interviews, documentaries, or essays (Mukherjee, https://www.indiatoday.in).

Minister's recognisable hairstyle, which had one large streak of white hair on the right side of the head. According to Rushdie, white hair signifies Mrs Gandhi's light side (the first female, and the longest ruling, Prime Minister of India), whereas the rest of black hair denotes the hidden aspects of Indian economy (corruption, nepotism, favouritism, etc.) (*A Tall Story* documentary, 00:38:23–00:39:00). As Saleem Sinai[314] states in his narration: "[I]f the Mother of the Nation had had a coiffure of uniform pigment, the Emergency she spawned might easily have lacked a darker side" (Rushdie 2006: 417). Evidently, the majority of the population of India has dark hair because of the genetic predispositions induced by weather conditions (Ganapathi, https://scroll.in); however, it is interesting that the author makes a hyperbolic attribution of the Prime Minister's personality to her hairstyle.

Figure 18. A photo of Indira Gandhi at her house at Safdarjung Road 1 in New Delhi, circa 1970s
(Image courtesy of Indira Gandhi Memorial Trust, http://indiragandhi.in/en/memorial).

Hairstyle is a matter of taste, but parabolic attribution of everything that is wrong with the Republic of India just to her person is an exaggeration. Nevertheless, the narrator does not

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[314] As in the case of Scott's *The Jewel in the Crown* (1966), the readers can also spot emblematic meaning of Rushdie's characters in *Midnight's Children* (1981). Saleem may appear to be a standard Muslim name, but it can serve as a reference to Salem witch trials, underlining the hero's magical ability. The surname Sinai, in turn, can denote the Sinai Peninsula, therefore underlining the prophetic fate of the protagonist. The name Shiva obviously harkens back to the Hindu god of destruction, whereas William Methwold directly refers to a real coloniser of the same name who discovered and helped develop the city of Bombay in the 16th century. Vanita may also carry an emblematic reference to the noun "vanity".

restrict himself to such lurid images as the following: "[T]he Widow's hand is lifting one by one the children," who are "torn in two in Widow's hands" (Rushdie 2006: 208). In fact, he holds the whole Nehru-Gandhi dynasty responsible for the betrayal of the first generation of postcolonial natives; that is, midnight's children.

It has to be explained that not only Indira Gandhi and her father, Jawaharlal Nehru, were prominent politicians wielding the steering wheel of India for decades, but also Indira's son, Rajiv Gandhi[315], and her daughter-in-law, Sonia Gandhi[316], were important government leaders in the 1990s and the early 2000s. Undeniably, the family formed itself into a quasi-political dynasty enjoying international popularity[317]; nonetheless, this was not caused by Nehru's conscious intention but by historical coincidence. Therefore, it is difficult to hold Rushdie's accusation towards the Nehru-Gandhi family as valid.

In the novel, the Widow is ruthlessly portrayed as an out-of-touch dictator who perceives the midnight's children as a personal threat to her power. Consequently, she desires to track down and destroy them. For this purpose, she devises with her son, Sanjay Gandhi[318], the so-called Project M. C. C., in accordance to which the nation-wide Emergency is declared to capture the now-adult children and subject them to gruesome vasectomy procedures in special "hostels" (Rushdie 2006: 430). Additionally, the ghettos inhabited by Saleem and his friends are torn to the ground in order to make way for the "civic beautification programme" (Rushdie 2006: 425).

The figure of the Widow may be interpreted as Rushdie's metaphor of the incompetent postcolonial leader, too engrossed in the colonial past of the country, which clouds her judgement. Nevertheless, the Widow may also function as an allegory for a stereotypical coloniser, the vicious conqueror who employs any means necessary in order to maintain hegemony over the Other (Memmi [1957] 2003: 120). In this manner, the Widow, unlike Shiva, is not a contradiction of Saleem but his counterpart who employs more radical means so as to change India *for the better*: "[D]id Saleem's dream of saving the nation leak, through

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[315] Rajiv Gandhi was the eldest son of Indira Gandhi who repeatedly shied away from politics. Nevertheless, after the tragic death of his mother in 1984, he was elected the Prime Minister of India. He occupied this position until 1989. Two years later, Rajiv Gandhi was assassinated during a public meeting in Madras by a group of Tamil terrorists from Sri Lanka (https://www.britannica.com).

[316] Sonia Gandhi: the wife of Rajiv Gandhi and daughter-in-law of Indira Gandhi. She was born and raised in Italy. After the death of her husband, she took over the duties of the leader of the Indian National Congress. She led the party to victory in the 2004 parliamentary elections, but she did not assume the position of the Prime Minister. Instead, Manmohan Singh became the 13th Prime Minister of India (https://www.britannica.com).

[317] Nehru and his daughter visited Poland in 1955. Indira made an additional visit in 1967 as the Prime Minister of India (https://www.britishpathe.com).

[318] Sanjay Gandhi: the second son of Indira Gandhi who was being trained by his mother to take over the Indian National Congress and, eventually, run in the parliamentary elections. He died in an airplane accident in 1980 (https://www.indiatoday.in).

the osmotic tissues of history, into the thoughts of the Prime Minister herself? Was my lifelong belief in the equation between the State and myself transmuted, in 'the Madam's mind', into that in-those-days-famous phrase: *India is Indira and Indira is India*[319]? Were we competitors for centrality – was she gripped by a lust for meaning as profound as my own – and was that, was that why...?" (Rushdie 2006: 416–417). Saleem asks himself all these questions, pondering on the validity and unquestionable popularity of Indira Gandhi's rule. The protagonist equates himself to the Prime Minister because both of them attempt to reform India according to their individual visions.

Rushdie may attempt to communicate through the character of the Widow that the postcolonial leaders' failure consists in replicating the practices of the colonisers. In view of this, he or she should step down so that the new generation of Indians, not remembering the colonial times, could take the fate of the country into their own hands. However, the reality of Indira Gandhi as the Prime Minister was significantly different from that of the novel. Most importantly, she was not directly designated by Jawaharlal Nehru as the succeeding Prime Minister, but she legally won the general elections in 1966 with the support of the poorest classes, two years after her father's passing (Jayakar 2000: 485–486). What is more, she reformed the country's crippling agriculture by introducing new technologies (water channels, tractor feeds, etc.) that made India independent from international food aid (Jayakar 2000: 538, 1197). Under her leadership, major commercial banks were nationalised, which prevented a nation-wide financial crisis (Jayakar 2000: 560). Moreover, similarly to Nehru, Indira Gandhi fought with the dowry system as well as family abuse (for example, honour killings[320]), but these issues are still prevalent today, regardless of the governmental countermeasures (Jayakar 2000: 777). Also, she led to the liberation of Pakistan East in the course of the Indo-Pakistani conflict of 1971.[321] Therefore, in view of the enumerated accomplishments, it is difficult to impulsively, and without a shadow of a doubt, frame Mrs Gandhi as a stereotypical and two-dimensional evildoer. Admittedly, not every policy change was flawless under her tenure. The already-mentioned sterilisation programme was, in theory, meant to slow down the rapidly growing population of India[322]; however, it achieved a snowball effect when civil servants at local levels were forcing their subordinates and their

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[319] This famous catchphrase was coined by the President of the Indian National Congress, Dev Kant Barooah, in the mid-1970s to reinforce his support for Indira Gandhi's policies (Bobb, https://www.indiatoday.in).

[320] The bride's family feels entitled to kill her if she married someone outside of her caste. Nowadays, special helplines and groups of volunteers try to help couples in danger (Chamberlain, https://www.theguardian.com).

[321] Consequently, Pakistan East was transformed into the country of Bangladesh (Jayakar 2000: 629–631).

[322] It is projected that by 2050, the population of India will surpass that of China. The Republic currently has 1.3 billion citizens (Chandrashekhar, https://e360.yale.edu).

families to undergo the procedure (Jayakar 2000: 792–793). The civic beautification programme was primarily initiated by Sanjay Gandhi (Jayakar 2000: 786), yet the Prime Minister revoked it after learning about the plans to eradicate ghettos and holy places.

With regard to the State of Emergency, it was not implemented on the spur of the moment but due to large-scale attacks of rioters and looters supported by the aforementioned (in footnote 298) Janata Alliance[323] (Jayakar 2000: 1013). In view of the enforced Emergency, the crime rate in India drastically dropped and ordinary citizens could carry on with their businesses, which were previously raided or interrupted by aggressive protests. However, the Emergency also gave enormous executive powers to the army, the police, and officials at lower levels. In consequence, the national press and television suffered from censorship, whereas many opponents of Indira Gandhi's government were thrown into prison (Jayakar 2000: 787). The case of the Emergency is controversial in Indian political discourse even today; yet, modern historical sources clearly indicate that Indira Gandhi was not aware of the scale of malpractices committed by her cabinet members and other collaborators. Convinced that the public had absolute trust in her, she eventually lifted the Emergency period and declared new elections in 1977 (Jayakar 2000: 845), in the course of which the Indian National Congress[324] lost: "In the haze of her defeat and the grace and dignity with which she accepted it, few people have acknowledged the nature of Indira Gandhi's action. [...] Her action brought strength to the democratic roots of the country and gave its vast electorate a never-to-be-forgotten understanding of the power of the vote. Perhaps her action was the most significant of any action since India's independence" (Jayakar 2000: 851). However, as the opposition demonstrated its vivid incompetence while governing the country, Mrs Gandhi rehabilitated herself in the eyes of the public and won the 1980 elections, approximately 15 months before the publication of *Midnight's Children*.

It is clear that the process of writing *Midnight's Children* took Salman Rushdie four years (Mukherjee, https://www.indiatoday.in). Nevertheless, the author did not have direct access to first-hand accounts of the Prime Minister's actions in the second half of the 1970s (Mukherjee, https://www.indiatoday.in). Although Rushdie's intention was to write a comprehensive book about India of his adolescence period, the kind he wanted to read in English, this does not justify the writer in succumbing to the narrative of international media

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[323] It is called the People's Front in the novel (Rushdie 2006: 408).
[324] It should be noted here that Midnight's Children Conferences in the novel function as imitations of the Indian National Congress' rallies.

and turning Indira Gandhi into a despicable, child-hungry Widow.[325] Indira Gandhi functions within the novel's framework as a flawed leader whose actions remind readers that Saleem Sinai himself is not a crystal-clear saviour of mankind with perfect solutions. The two characters want to implement changes in the country that is learning independence but good intentions are not enough, at least according to Rushdie. However, absolute demonisation of Indira Gandhi, coupled with the aesthetics of magical realism, only led to clouding the image of India in the West, where the book met with great success and, as it was previously stated, was also regarded as a history book by those unfamiliar with the postcolonial condition of the country (Ramone 2014: 6).

In view of the discussed aspects of the novel, one might argue that *Midnight's Children* is a highly politically-charged book in which the author takes a stand together with people and activists disillusioned with the Nehru-Gandhi reign. The figure of the coloniser is constantly in flux as Rushdie does not equate it with non-Indians but transposes it on individuals obsessed with the idea of saving the country, such as Saleem and the Widow. Apart from criticising the less-than-nonchalant attitude of the British towards the Partition, the novel also presents the titular children as an idealised hope for the divided country. One might argue that *Midnight's Children* tells the story of postcolonial India, in which the *post-colonised* fight against the *post-colonisers*, which in turns creates friction between social classes and a general atmosphere of misunderstanding and discontent. As Jordan Peterson accurately explains, "The simultaneous production of two antithetical emotional states, such as those of hope and fear, means conflict – and the unexpected produces intrapsychic conflict like nothing else" (Peterson 2002: 53). According to Rushdie, they are supposed to be the generation of change; however, as history of the twentieth century shows, Indians born in now-independent Republic contradict Rushdie's dreams, as they continue to vote for the Indian National Congress or the Janata Alliance[326], the polar opposites[327] which have dominated the parliamentary stage of India for decades. What is more, Indira Gandhi did not fade into obscurity as the memory of her is cultivated through numerous monuments, special online/offline events, and publications.[328]

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[325] Salman Rushdie, in fact, had a lawsuit filed against him by Indira Gandhi in 1984. According to Mrs Gandhi, she was defamed in the 28th chapter of *Midnight's Children*. One sentence implies that she contributed to the death of her husband, Feroze Gandhi. The case was settled through an agreement in which Rushdie promised to remove the controversial sentence in subsequent editions of the novel (Winmayil 2015: 463).

[326] The Bharatiya Janata Party won the 2014 elections and remains in power to date with Narendra Modi serving as the Prime Minister (https://www.bbc.com).

[327] The polarisation of politics is visible in many countries across the globe nowadays. It can be said that India has *caught up* with the Western mode of governance.

[328] For instance, Indira Gandhi is celebrated nowadays thanks to a special centenary programme initiated in 2017

6.1.3. *What the Body Remembers* (1999) by Shauna Singh Baldwin

The year 1999 marked the publication of *What the Body Remembers*, a debut novel written by Shauna Singh Baldwin, a Canadian-American author of Indian descent. Inspired by the family stories as well as the difficult situation of the Sikh community during the Partition, the writer set out to write a story set in British India that will present the intricacies of colonial lifestyle, its abrupt end, and disastrous consequences that ensued in the process (Baldwin 1999: 1). Baldwin spent a great deal of time researching the topic of colonialism in India as well as interviewing Sikh survivors of the Partition and consulting fellow writers. She purposely decided to write the novel in English rather than Punjabi because it is intended for "a hybrid, global audience," instead of just for "a white, middle-class audience" of the First World (Baldwin 1999: 2). Nevertheless, the novel retains a lot of Punjabi and Urdu vocabulary which plays a major function in the storyline by enabling the main heroine to achieve empowerment thanks to Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o's linguistic path (Barison et al. 2018: 281).

The author claims that she decided to write *What the Body Remembers* in order to highlight the controversial problems of racial prejudice and mass uprooting. According to her, "There will never be enough novels either by Indians and Pakistanis or by diasporic Indians and Pakistanis to tell the tales of each of 17 million people who became refugees as the two countries celebrated their independence from the British" (Baldwin 1999: 1). Upon its initial release, the novel was awarded the Commonwealth Writers' Prize and was voted one of the top 10 books on Canada Reads (https://www.shaunasinghbaldwin.com). Recently, Penguin Random House released the 20th anniversary edition of the novel.

The time span of the novel ranges from 1928 to 1947 with each chapter set at a specific date. The readers follow the story of Roop, a 16-year-old Sikh girl living in the village of Pari Darvaza, which is located in the pre-partitioned Punjab Province. In view of the fact that her mother died while Roop was a little girl, and her grandmother committed suicide out of grief[329], Roop is raised together with her older siblings, brother Jeevan and sister Madani, by a widowed farmer Bachan Singh, called "Papaji" by the family. Other members of the household include the loyal servant Gujri and Roop's aunt, Revathi Bhua. Having organised the wedding ceremony of his eldest daughter, Bachan Singh does not have

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by Indira Gandhi Memorial Trust. In addition, the Indian National Congress organises commemorative conferences as well as issues publications. Also, the Indira Gandhi Museum offers free, online tours for visitors of their site. For further information about the memorial events, please refer to *I am Courage – Indira Gandhi, The Iron Lady of India* at http://www.indiragandhi.in.

[329] The grandmother beat herself with an iron lock because she could not handle the grief after the loss of her daughter (Mallot 2006: 170).

enough financial resources to ensure the espousal of Roop. Yet, all of a sudden, the elderly farmer is made an offer of marrying Roop off by a stranger from the city of Rawalpindi. This outsider who wishes to have a young and healthy spouse is Sardarji, an executive engineer who is already married, but his first wife, Satya, is unable to conceive an offspring. The Singh family is initially reluctant about the proposal, but Roop wants to accept it. The girl desires to leave the home village and start a family, convinced that she will find a common ground with Satya. Nevertheless, the reality turns out to be completely different from Roop's expectations. The first wife treats the newcomer with contempt and disrespect, jealous of the attention she receives from Sardarji. As Roop gives birth to two children, a son and a daughter, Satya takes them away from the rightful mother and becomes their caretaker. Roop attempts to retrieve her children, yet at the same time, the deadline of India's Partition is inevitably approaching.

Shauna Singh Baldwin stated in an essay devoted to the novel that her prime challenge while working on the book was to accurately tell the history of the Sikhs, without relying on the theological dogmas of the Sikh scholars, on the one hand, or the historical accounts of the British administrators, on the other. What is more, she wanted to put more emphasis on the Sikh women living within this religious minority: "This quickly became very frustrating because books on Sikh history are usually written by men. They contain on average a single index entry under 'women' or mention a maximum of two Sikh women by name" (Baldwin 1999: 2). As a result, the author resorted to reliance on oral testimonies as well as her own imagination to present the story of Satya and Roop (Baldwin 1999: 2).

The novel begins with an image of colonial court in British India. Satya is depicted as the sole ruler of the household, supervising Roop, summoning servants, and monitoring all the activities:

> Satya's shouts, in Urdu and Punjabi, prodded an ant-line of men entering the courtyard below. From bent heads and backs, they heaved sacks bubbled by apricots, picked from Sardarji's orchards, to the stone floor of the courtyard. Then they shuffled the outside haveli for more. With Mani Mai following behind, Satya descended the steep staircase to enter the sorting room on the ground floor. Now the servants rolled the apricots out before her on gunny sacks, the heavy sweet scent of the fruit mixing with the smell of wet coir (Baldwin 2000: 12).

In the manner which Satya runs her household, she contradicts the stereotypical image of a submissive Indian woman, and instead, resembles the figure of white *memsahib*, who was also the master of colonial premises (Roy 2013: 263).[330] However, she does not embrace the

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[330] In an interview with ex-colonialist, Diana Roberts, conducted in 2007, the interviewee introduces a very lavish image of living in the British Raj. Thanks to her husband's military post, they moved into a large bungalow with spacious gardens and a great number of servants lodging in their own quarters. She and her

British lifestyle wholeheartedly. According to her, the colonisers constantly rely on the quirky "git-mit, git-mit talk" (Baldwin 2000: 165); the tongue of deception and trickery, and her husband's rapid promotion to an engineering post is simply a sham that is meant to "justify the blood spilled" (Baldwin 2000: 171), whereas the leaders of independence movement do nothing to ensure the safe transfer of power. Satya also bitterly exclaims to her husband that "Muslims fear that Hindus will make their raj in the very image of this British raj, claiming to be the origin of all ideas, claiming all knowing, categorizing each man by blood, caste and skin, auctioning opportunity to the privileged few, controlling protest by blows of hard bamboo sticks, by torture and prisons, and by guns." (Baldwin 2000: 141). As a result, Satya counteracts the patriarchal hierarchy with her independent, nearly feminist attitude. Nevertheless, Baldwin rushes to underline the fact that, albeit Satya is the metaphorical embodiment of "Truth,"[331] she is, unfortunately, a fictional character (Baldwin 1999: 2). Indeed, her only weakness is the inability to have children, which ultimately leads to her giving up the struggle to come close to Sardarji's privileged status within the patriarchal society.

Sardarji himself may at first glance appear to be a cold-hearted, oppressive male figure. Yet actually, the man displays a noticeable degree of ineptitude when interacting with his wives and other people. One could think that he functions as the allegorical conqueror who "partitions" and rules over Satya and Roop (Banerji 1999: 39), but in fact, both women skilfully manipulate him. Satya constantly clashes with Sardarji over socio-political matters, but always persuades her husband to do her bidding due to her exceptionally sharp tongue which always utters the truth, whereas Roop resorts to slipping into playing the part of the innocent, dutiful, and attentive lady, the one who always says "achchaji" rather than "nahinji"[332] (Baldwin 2000: 288). Most importantly, Roop wins the attention of Sardarji by giving him much-desired offspring.

Sardarji's interaction with people outside of his household is limited to his colonial superior, Mr Timothy Farquharson in the Irrigation Department. In contrast to the initial echoing of a *fruitful* collaboration as presented in Rudyard Kipling's "The Bridge Builders" (1893), Mr Farquharson appears to be a prejudiced ignorant who constantly upholds his foreign supremacy and does not care at all about the native people: "Twenty years ago, […]

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relatives were evacuated from Bombay in 1947. Upon recalling her stay in India, Mrs Roberts remarked that she was "very fortunate" and had "a jolly good time" there, both with fellow British citizens as well as the indigenous people (*Diana Roberts, born in India under the Raj. Bampton in Oxfordshire*, 00:23:19).

[331] The name literally means in Sanskrit "truthful" or "the essence of truth" (https://www.definitions.net).

[332] As it is clarified in the novel, both expressions mean respectively "yes" and "no" (Baldwin 2000: 288).

these plains were but sand dunes and salt. One day all those Indians in Lahore now shouting '*Inquilab zindabad*!' – I can't even pronounce it. 'Long live protest' – and asking for their bloody independence before they are ready for it, will look back and thank us, Sardarji. […] All the years in India, […] they are wearing me out. […] It will take more than civil engineering to civilize these people" (Baldwin 2000: 193–194). Indeed, on the basis of such controversial remarks, one can argue that Mr Farquharson conforms with the concept of the "coloniser who accepts" the colonial machinery with all the inventory of its disadvantages (Memmi [1957] 2003: 120). To him, Sardarji, and his native peers, shall always stand for "the Other" who, similarly to Satya's struggle in the marital order, cannot attain equality. It is revealed in the same chapter that Mr Farquharson was actually born in India and he spent his education years in England. Then, due to his father's untimely death, he was forced to attend an Indian school of engineering in Shimla, learning the craft together with the natives. What is more, it was Sardarji who showed his senior the ins and outs of building irrigation channels. Nevertheless, Mr Farquharson is not in the least grateful for the kindness he received in India. Quite rightfully, he enumerates all the things that the colonisers "did good" in India, yet he is unable to grasp the idea that in spite of all the positive advancements and achievements, the Indian people deserve to take matters into their own hands. In consequence, the administrator is both physically and conceptually short-sighted: "See what the Dutch have done in the Dutch East Indies. I draw your attention to the cruelty of the Frenchman, the Belgian in the Congo. But the Englishman – always the gentleman! It's our undoing. Education, uplift, banning of that awful habit women have here – what it's called? Self-immolation on their husband's funeral pyres. Yes, suttee – the railroads, the telegraph, these canals. [...] And what do we get? *Inquilab zindabad*! Positively *ridiculous*. Protest for protest's sake." (Baldwin 2000: 193). Perhaps Mr Farquharson's possessive attitude towards India stems from his intention to turn the colonial environment into a reflection of the familiar image of English motherland, just as in the case of a District Commissioner in Kakamegas who provided shelter for Carl Jung at his homestead which resembled an English mansion (Jung 1965: 257). Having been born in India, the official feels more entitled to decide on further development of India than the natives who have lived there for generations.

Mr Farquharson's troubled relationship with India is a contrast to Sardarji's fascination with Great Britain. Although the engineer was born in Punjab and derives from the Sikh community, he actually studied in England and keenly reads books in English. This causes a lot of ideological clashes with Satya, who does not share her husband's passionate enthusiasm: "You pretend everything English is perfect. […] Other invaders became part of

India – we gave, they gave. Can you tell now from looking at anyone's face today who is Muslim, who is Hindu? These people you work for though you need not work at all, these men only take, take, take. And the English women – *hai*, they are worse" (Baldwin 2000: 277). Satya vehemently states that English sahibs are not good at stealing other people's ideas and uncover concepts that are already common knowledge. Sardarji is, evidently, of a different opinion. Despite the visible disdain from the side of Mr Farquharson, the Sikh worker believes that the British are building upon previously established ideas in order to act for the betterment of civilisation, in general. The husband makes a case for colonialism; however, his intensive adoration of it also has its negative side.

That is to say, Sardarji develops an inner alter ego, the censor of inappropriate thoughts, in the form Mr Cunningham[333]: "Sardarji cannot remember how he thought before he learned to think with Cunningham. […] Cunningham can edit paragraphs in Sardarji's mind before releasing them for utterance, and now that he has trained Sardarji on what is Done and Simply Not Done, generally stays within the bounds of reasonable discourse. If Cunningham becomes overpowering, Sardarji can silence him with land revenue and octroi estimates, gurus Cunningham reveres more than Christ" (Baldwin 2000: 147). Exemplifying Jung's idea of suppressing his urge to revolt, Sardarji does not go against Mr Farquharson's ramblings and complaints. Nevertheless, Mr Cunningham does not display the same racist attitude as Mr Farquharson simply due to the fact that he is Sardarji's own "English-gentleman-inside" (Baldwin 2000: 145). If it had not been for Cunningham, Sardarji would have never received education in England, let alone being given an engineering post in Punjab. Mr Cunningham allowed Sardarji to survive in British India without the need of succumbing to the revolutionary activity of mimicking the white man. Rather than engaging in ideological conflicts, the two participate in a playful banter. When Sardarji states his intention to have children free of colonial burden, who will be able to deal with "Mr Timothy Farquharsons of this world" (Baldwin 2000: 148), Cunningham concurs, but also kindly reminds Sardarji about the Doctrine of Lapse in the event of which the engineer will lose his land; that is, of course, if he is not be able to have a natural male heir. This is the nightmare which Sardarji dreads the most, hence his decision to marry Roop.

Roop ever since childhood has been taught about the value of *izzat*[334] and *kismat*[335]

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[333] By introducing this character, Baldwin refers to Joseph Davey Cunningham (1812–1851), an expert of Punjabi historiography who published in 1849 the book called *History of the Sikhs* (Baldwin 2000: 226).
[334] *Izzat* can be translated from Urdu as a concept involving ethics, dignity, and self-respect. A Sikh woman has to do whatever it takes to protect her *izzat* from violation (Banerji 1999: 39).
[335] *Kismat* in Urdu language is the equivalent of fate in English (Banerji 1999: 39).

which are not always favourable for women. The girl was endowed with magnificent beauty which is reflected in "her Pothwari skin, smooth as a new apricot beckoning from the limb of a tall tree, her wide, heavily lashed brown eyes" (Baldwin 2000: 22). Thanks to Guru Granth Sahib[336] scriptures and the guidance of female relatives surrounding her, Roop learns that she has to act like a good woman rather than a promiscuous movie star from Bollywood movies: being virtuous, speaking softly, and accepting the opinion of elders.

Yet, no matter how much Roop tries to become a woman complying with the rules of her social group, she does not have a mother who could explain to her that first wives in the husband's house are a serious danger. Satya exploits Roop's inexperience and pokes fun at the girl who is only able to say "How do you do" and "Delighted to meet you." In comparison to Satya, Roop is evidently not much of a *memsahib*-like housewife ruling with a firm hand. In fact, the girl conforms with the archetype of the Innocent by being a naïve and faithful individual from Pari Darvaza[337], yearning for happy family life (Faber and Mayer 2009: 309). However, due to being repeatedly humiliated by Satya, Roop gains much needed confidence in order to become a passionate Caregiver; that is, a mother fighting to reclaim her children from a competitive lover and also save them from the Partition violence (Faber and Mayer 2009: 309). In this manner, *What the Body Remembers* serves with its storytelling framework as Roop's *bildungsroman*. It is her character, not Sardarji or Mr Farquharson, who experiences the Hero's Journey, both physically; that is, migrating from Pari Darvaza through Rawalpindi and Lahore to New Delhi, and spiritually: her body, initially an empty vessel to breed offspring, eventually achieves liberation and self-respect.

Even though the villainous Satya contracts tuberculosis and dies shortly before the Partition, Roop does not feel relief. Instead, she reconciles with her adversary who, from this point onward, "will live on in Roop, the way every older woman who uses a younger one is reincarnated in a betrayed young woman's body. Sister and sister they will truly be, the way they could never be while Satya was alive. Roop will be Satya's vessel, bearing Satya's anger, pride and ambition forward from this minute. She will contain her, woman within a woman, hold her within. Like the Gurus, they might be one spirit, different bodies" (Baldwin 2000: 358).

In contrast to Rushdie's Widow, Satya is not portrayed as a one-dimensional monster. Similarly to Roop, she as well used to be an innocent girl, hoping to establish a family. However, she was forced to take care of Sardarji's ailing mother-in-law while her husband

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[336] The holy manuscripts of Sikhism (https://www.britannica.com).
[337] Literally, "Doorway of the Fairies" (Banerji 1999: 38).

was studying in England. Because of her infertility, instead of a reward for her sacrifice, she faces the arrival of Roop. Satya is the only character who provides the first-person narration, appropriately in the prologue and the epilogue of the novel. Thus, the readers come to realise that Satya's soul journeys between the realms of the known and the unknown spans the entire Indian history. Yet, in contrast to the Campbellian monomyth, the only kind of knowledge the heroine gains is that men have not changed; be it in Rawalpindi of 1895 or in New Delhi of 1965:

> "I am again... born a woman. All I have in the life I live is my *kismat*: my wits and my will conjoined with my stars. [...] [N]ever open your eyes in a new life without forgetting your past ones. [...] A girl who comes into this world with her eyes wide open will never lower them before a man. If I find any of those *pandits*[338], I'll tear their hearts out" (Baldwin 2000: 1).

By implementing the Buddhist imagery, Shauna Singh Baldwin introduces the concept of body memory being transferred by means of reincarnation. As a result, Satya preserves her female independence while confronting oppressive males in different lifetimes. Nevertheless, the situation of India did not improve when the country itself became independent. Apart from territorial wars and political assassination carried out on Mahatama Gandhi, Indira Gandhi, and Rajiv Gandhi, the violence against women is still very much prevalent in postcolonial reality and manifests itself in various forms. For instance, Indian women suffer from such horrible practices as sex-selective abortion, domestic abuse, acid attacks, human trafficking, marital rape, forced prostitution, and honour killings (Omvedt 2000: 2–3). Although the dowry system has been banned, the financial exchanges between patriarchs still take place, which results in treating a young woman as a commodity in her family household (Banerji 1999: 40). That is why, according to Satya, India achieved very little in terms of social progress after freeing itself from colonial constraints. The first wife herself, due to transgressing the boundaries of Buddhist cycle of life, evokes the image of real female participants of the Sepoy Rebellion like Rani Lakshmibai or Begum Hazrat Mahal, as already mentioned in Chapter 2 of this dissertation.

Roop and her family also experience a great deal of cruelty and brutality on the eve of the Partition. Sardarji's dream of working for the technological betterment of India falls through as he transfers his engineering post to a Pakistani counterpart exactly at midnight on the 15th of August, 1947. He has to do this because, considering his Sikh ancestry and cooperation with the British administrators, the region of Lahore is no longer under his

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[338] *Pandit*: a term denoting a Hindu priest or a respected scholar (https://dictionary.cambridge.org).

control. The Muslims ruthlessly take control of everything much to the dismay of Sardarji.

What is more, he and his loyal servant have to flee the city of Lahore, which is descending into chaos as the groups of Hindus and Muslims are clashing with each other on the streets. With the help of a kind Muslim, Sardarji boards a train to New Delhi, yet the engineer is aware that this is not the end of obstacles as the transportation will certainly be raided by groups of bandits en route.

Roop's brother, Jeevan, at the same time, rushes to the home village of Pari Darvaza in order to save his family, but the soldier arrives too late:

> A simple white-clad mound lay at his feet in the centre of the room. […] A woman's body lay beneath, each limb severed at the joint. This body was sliced into six parts, then arranged to look as if she were whole again. […] The woman's body […] was also cut below the ribs. Looking closer he realised that he, like her assailants, could put his hand into her flesh the way a European surgeon might. He did not. Could not. […] He received the message. Kusum's womb, the same from which his three sons came, had been delivered. Ripped out. (Baldwin 2000: 490–491)

It turns out that Papaji already left with Kusum's children; whereas the servant Gujri and Roop's aunt Revathi Bhua stayed behind, not willing to participate in the arduous march to new India. However, the fate of Jeevan's wife, Kusum, is much more tragic. Namely, when the Muslim rogues raided Bachan Singh's house, the farmer did not want to take any chances and killed Kusum before the oppressors could touch her. Papaji confesses to Roop the following:

> But Kusum, she was my responsibility […] Kusum was entrusted to me by Jeevan, she is young, still of childbearing age. I cannot endure even the possibility that some Muslim might put his hands upon her. Every day I had been hearing that the seeds of that foreign religion were being planted in Sikh women's wombs. No, I said: I must do my duty. […] I called to Kusum. […] I took her into my sitting room and I told her what Sant Puran Singh said we Sikhs must do, and that I had to do it now. She understood. Always she made no trouble. […] I raised my kirpan high above her head. Vaheguru did not stop it; it came down. Her lips still moved, as mine did, murmuring, 'Vaheguru, Vaheguru,' as her head rolled from my stroke. […] I opened the wedding trunks and pulled out clothes as fast as I could, my tears mingling with it. (Baldwin 2000: 499–500)

In this manner, the father and the son reveal to Roop the tragic fate of her sister-in-law. It has to be underlined that the case of Kusum represents blind obedience in the moment of desperation which only leads to the death of a woman. Had Kusum been more valiant like Satya, she might have fled the flames of Pari Darvaza, and presumably, reached safety in New Delhi with her children. Nevertheless, this theory is only in the realm of speculation because Kusum blindly followed the instructions of her father-in-law, who was convinced that he

knew better than her. In consequence, devastated Jeevan seeks revenge and he searches the village for a Muslim friend from the army, in order to kill him, to repay an eye for an eye, but the man is nowhere to be found. Jeevan eventually realises the futility of violent retaliation as he notices that the household has been set on fire by Bachan Singh's jealous brother. He leaves bitter and guilt-ridden.

Roop herself also confronts the abyss of darkness as she rides in Sardarji's car with her servant, the children, and two bodyguards through the infamous Grand Trunk Road. Outside the windshield, she notices an elderly woman with her breasts cut off who falls down on the road unable to get up. In addition, she converses with a farmer, similar in features to her father, about the topic of "Sikhistan" (Baldwin 2000: 371). The farmer wants to know where the promised land is for the Sikhs, but Roop knows that there is none because, as Satya predicted, Master Tara Singh's Akali Dal party was not successful in fighting for the safety of their religious minority. Therefore, Roop kindly lies that she has no idea where to find Sikhistan. This incident shows the ineptitude of independence leaders in the face of nationalist attitudes propelled by racism and religion-motivated hatred.

The journey of Roop ends abruptly when the car breaks down at night. After quick inspection, the guards conclude that the radiator needs water. One of them goes to a nearby village to bring some, but he never comes back. Roop and the others hide in the fields; however, the heroine and the servant go back to the car in order to retrieve the Guru Granth Sahib book. They are surprised by a gang of Muslim soldiers who drag out the servant, wanting to rape her. All of a sudden, Roop hears Satya's voice: "Don't die like this. […] If you die, let death have meaning, let it be for a reason" (Baldwin 2000: 460). As a result, Roop behaves in a very outspoken, nearly defiant fashion towards the assailant. She shouts in Urdu that she is a Muslim *Begum* and the soldiers will face consequences for assaulting her because she has a high-profile relative in the army. What is more, Roop shows them a tattoo, a playful remnant of childhood times, with her name written in Urdu, in order to prove her religious affiliation. The soldiers become obedient in an instant, even to such an extent that they repair the car.

This situation clearly shows that Roop transforms into an independent individual through the usage of linguistic means, as postulated by Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o (Barison et al. 2018: 274). The woman does not rely on deceptive "git-mit, git-mit talk" or the holy verses of Guru Granth Sahib, but she speaks in her native tongue of Urdu which happens to be recognised as lingua franca by the Arabic communities (Rumi, https://tribune.com.pk).

Encouraged by Satya's *atma*[339], Roop takes a stand against the male oppressors. This act symbolises her ultimate rejection of the real type of coloniser; that is, nationalist violence inscribed on women's bodies time and time again by indigenous patriarchs. The British do not wish to have anything to do with the conflict motivated by tribal aspirations (Peterson 2002: 156)[340], which makes their passiveness become their undoing, according to Baldwin. Regardless of the time frames and political reforms, female trauma of suffering, as well as strong will for equality and independence, survives through reincarnation: "Foolish girl-child with two whole lungs to scream and a body that remembers, remembers the thought, remembers the un-thought, the good deeds and the bad, even as others remember only the bad. This is my karma" (Baldwin 2000: 517), declares Satya in the epilogue. Towards the end of the novel, Roop finally becomes mature and also attains decolonisation of her own mind: "See me not as a vessel, a plaything, a fantasy, a maidservant, an ornament, but as Vaheguru[341] made me" (Baldwin 2000: 479).

In view of presented novels, it can be observed that postcolonial writers localise the figure of the coloniser in uncommon places. Ruth Prawer Jhabvala describes an image of British officials dissatisfied with their stay in India, yet they do not function as real villains of the piece. The Nawab becomes the real enemy of the public after humiliating Olivia on a social level. The real coloniser, to Jhabvala, appears to be the land of India itself which manifests strong influences over its native residents as well as newcomers from the West. Salman Rushdie, in contrast, emphasises the fate of an individual within the political system. People desiring to reform India may have good intentions and stylise themselves to be messiahs, like Saleem Sinai and the Widow, but they are unable to implement any action because the country itself is consumed by extreme polarities which allow colonial mentalities to exist and flourish in the postcolonial reality of India. Shauna Singh Baldwin, in turn, greatly focuses on the psychological implications of the colonial endeavour. The author attacks the colonisers for their treacherous attitude but also exposes the violence against women within the native circles. According to her, India is a melting pot of double standards where there is no clear distinction between black (the British Empire) and white (freedom fighters). It is up to women like Roop to take matters into their own hands and (mindfully)

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[339] *Atma* means in Buddhist imagery the essence of the soul (Lee: 2009: 20; Baldwin http://www.sawnet.org).

[340] Jordan Peterson is convinced that the root cause behind the majority of conflicts known to world's history stems from the people's tendency to act in groups and bully each other because of a certain intrapsychic factor, like the desire to occupy a territory. These tribal aspirations for territoriality which reinforce the "us vs. them" dichotomy can be seen as templates of communal clashes resulting from the Partition of India.

[341] *Vaheguru* (also *Waheguru*) is a reference in Sikhism to God. Traditional meaning of the term can be translated as "a wonderful teacher" (https://www.definitions.net).

fight the patriarchal status quo. In this manner, they can become as empowered as the male colonisers.

Conclusion

In view of the conducted analysis, it can be concluded that the figure of the coloniser is in constant flux. In the literary dimension, the character assumes and replicates a variety of archetypal patterns, but it cannot be determined beyond a shadow of a doubt if he is a hero or a villain.

Paradoxically, the historical fiction crafted by writers of British origin is extremely critical and reproachful of the coloniser and the colonial endeavour, in general. In Paul Scott's *The Jewel in the Crown* (1966), the readers are presented with the image of India as a territory in deep political turmoil plagued by World War II and the unrest propelled by the civil disobedience movement. The colonisers themselves appear to be oblivious to these factors; that is, until a disaster strikes. Miss Crane witnesses the death of her Indian friend, whereas Miss Manners is brutally raped by a gang of assailants. Hari Kumar is targeted as the prime suspect in the case of Daphne Manners, and he is tortured by the vicious Superintendent Ronald Merrick. In the end, Daphne's child, a fruit of interracial affair raised by noble Lady Chatterjee, serves as a promise of hope and change for the better in the land consumed by racial prejudice and violence. The coloniser is not "the Hero" or "the Sage" who has a remedy for all the topical problems and effortlessly undergoes all the stages of the monomyth structure. In fact, the imperial representative, according to Paul Scott, is directly responsible for crippling the Indian subcontinent by setting in motion the process of the Partition. There is no place for mutual understanding between the Westerner and the Other, and it is up to Manners' daughter (and her generation) to usher in a new era of respect and rapprochement in postcolonial reality.

In James Gordon Farrell's *The Siege of Krishnapur* (1973), the author puts a strong emphasis on the ethics of the Enlightenment project and the fallacies of imperial mindset. The British residents troubled by the Sepoy Rebellion of 1857 display nothing more than backward thinking in all crucial spheres (social, religious, medical). Lack of willingness to progress only enhances the degradation of the Empire, which is composed of inept white men, forced to fight for their lives with chandeliers, violins, and other beneficial inventions of the European culture. Once again, the coloniser is not a crystal-clear hero of the piece, but rather a fake, an impostor who intrudes himself into the native lifestyle and attempts to alter it according to his own liking.

Mary Margaret Kaye's *The Far Pavilions* (1978), on the other hand, closely follows the structure of Rudyard Kipling's *Kim* (1901). In this regard, the main protagonist is an individual torn between two clashing cultures. Born in India as a British resident, raised by indigenous Indians, and re-assimilated by imperial dogma, Ashton Pelham-Martyn constitutes the example of a virtuous hero who oscillates between the groups of the colonisers and the colonised while relentlessly questioning dubious privileges of both domains. Indeed, he opposes prejudice against native soldiers as well as fights in defence of women who are to be killed in a horrendous ritual. He does not care about class or racial divisions when he offers his hand to Princess Anjuli. In Kaye's novel, Ashton is the epitome of the Campbellian protagonist who transcends the taboo boundaries and implements order in the land of lawlessness. However, India does not function as a Garden of Eden where Ashton and Anjuli can live happily ever after. They have to flee to a distant, nearly illusory, plain outside of India, known as the Far Pavilions. It is only there that they can live free from colonial dichotomies motivated by class, nationality, and gender misconceptions.

Interestingly, postcolonial writers pay a lot more attention to the consequences of colonialism and consider how that period shaped the modern-day situation of the Republic of India. Ruth Prawer Jhabvala envisions in *Heat and Dust* (1975) a concept of colonisers who generally do not engage in reprehensible activities although they do not feel comfortable in a colony infamous for its demanding climate. Olivia Rivers falls victim to the Nawab's mesmerising charisma, which inevitably leads to her exclusion from the British community. On the other hand, the narrator revisiting the historical footsteps of Olivia in India of the 1970s, acts in a very liberal manner, consciously resolving to repeat Olivia's fate by conceiving a child and settling in Town X. While the Nawab, not the colonial administrators, assumes the role of the archetypal villain, it is the land of India itself that operates as an abstract incarnation of the coloniser: attracting newcomers with its beauty, spirituality, cultural mystique, and continues to do so in the present as well. The country is primarily a site of cross-cultural encounter regardless of the outcomes, positive or negative, it may bring.

Salman Rushdie's *Midnight's Children* (1981) encapsulates the entirety of India within the persona of Saleem Sinai, an individual who desperately desires to reform his homeland. Nevertheless, this kind of idealistic attitude pushes him dangerously close to the villainous figure of the Widow (Indira Gandhi), who, according to Rushdie, attempts to enforce autocratic rule over the nation. The author examines how the Indians were left to themselves by the British with a whole inventory of cultural heritage, which is useless to them. Saleem fashions himself as a hero who triumphantly crosses the borders between India

and Pakistan, conscious and unconscious, real and magical. Nevertheless, Saleem is nothing more than a narcissist consumed by lofty purposes. Therefore, he becomes the personification of the coloniser. The only way to implement any sort of change in the country lies in the hands of the titular "Midnight's Children," a generation of Indians free from colonial constraints; however, their efforts are futile because they let themselves be divided in accordance to post-Partition dichotomies into Hindus vs. Muslims or Indians vs. British.

Last but not least, Shauna Singh Baldwin's *What the Body Remembers* (1999) is a direct deconstruction of British India and its topical problems. Apart from presenting the morbid image of the Partition of India, the author's primary focus is centred on the abuse of women. We see how the main heroine, Roop, achieves her own independence from the patriarchy by using her wit and native language. To Baldwin, the colonisers are nothing more than insidious administrators driven by their own complexes and insecurities (like Mr Farquharson). Their departure does not denote freedom but an onset of bloodshed between religious groups. Even Sardarji, a man enamoured of the imperial culture, who developed his inner British voice, experiences the violence while fleeing from Pakistan to India. In other words, there is no point in looking up to the allegedly democratic, postcolonial parties which, in the name of religious principles, propel violence against women and children. Fortunately, Roop manages to reject this type of colonising weapon. It is she, not the male coloniser, who emerges triumphant as the monomythical protagonist (the archetypal Caregiver) who decolonises her own mindset. This, consequently, creates a positioning shift: the coloniser as a female. As a result, it becomes possible to also categorise woman as the figure of the coloniser: an individual who ascertains male independence and power.

What is more, it has to be noted that all of the discussed novels present the British residents of Colonial India in the state of perpetual psychological crisis. Their desire to be "at home" reaches such heights that they construct special Civil Lines or reaffirm their identity by means of language, architecture, exhibitions, consumer products, pastime activities, etc. Nevertheless, feeling distinctly British is not always the case. India had been an idiosyncratic, nearly mystical colony within the vast spectrum of the Empire. Its mesmerising charisma is acknowledged by such characters as Miss Crane, Mr Hopkins, Ashton Pelham-Martyn, Major Minnies, Saleem Sinai, and Sardarji. It is, indeed, a land where a cross-cultural encounter is possible to happen but it does not give an opportunity for equality between the Westerner and the Other. This can be set in motion only *a posteriori*, after the misunderstandings, ideological prejudices, and nationalist urges stemming from colonial legacy. As the writers suggest, only new generations of British and Indians can serve as mediators between the two cultures in the

world of today. Richard E. Nisbett calls such people "bicultural" (Nisbett 2004: 228), the agents of global unification who operate between the many international domains and even merge together and become Anglo-Indians, Japanese-Americans, etc.

The aspect of intertextuality is also important. Undeniably, Edward Morgan Forster's *A Passage to India* (1924) served as a point of departure for Paul Scott's *The Jewel in the Crown* (1966) as well as for Ruth Prawer Jhabvala's *Heat and Dust* (1975) in terms of its theme of Anglo-Indian encounters and problematic consequences ensuing from that. In turn, traces of Paul Scott's novel can be found in Salman Rushdie's *Midnight's Children* (1981) in form of numerous references.[342] Furthermore, as already mentioned, Mary Margaret Kaye's *The Far Pavilions* (1978) had its source of inspiration in Rudyard Kipling's *Kim* (1901).

Nevertheless, most importantly, all of the novels discussed in this dissertation appropriately ground their stories within the appropriate historical context. *The Jewel in the Crown* takes place during World War II, *The Siege of Krishnapur* revolves around the Sepoy Rebellion, *The Far Pavilions* is set at the beginning of the Second Afghan War, *Heat and Dust* unfolds in two timelines (Colonial India and the Republic of India under Indira Gandhi's rule), *Midnight's Children* present the image of India before and after the Partition, whereas *What the Body Remembers* focuses on the pre-Partition situation of the Sikh community. Although the Partition event itself is widely described in English as well as Hindi literature, the remaining historical episodes, especially the condition of the natives before the Partition and the Sepoy Rebellion, are not widely discussed nowadays, which emphasises the abovementioned writers' preoccupation with Indian themes and widens the comparative potential (Colonial India of the past vs. the Republic of India today).

In addition, the possibility of prospective sequels to the source literature should also be considered. Evidently, Paul Scott created *The Raj Quartet* as well as the addendum to the saga, set after the Partition of India, *Staying On* (1977), but maybe there is a place for a subsequent continuation in a transmedial form[343] (a film or a visual novel) evaluating the

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[342] For instance, there is a visible correlation between the characters of Sister Ludmila and Mary Pereira. Both women function outside of the Indian communities and are devout Catholics. Additionally, Parvati-the-witch may also serve as an intertextual allusion to Parvati Manners, Daphne's daughter. The two children were born at the end of colonial rule and mark a new, postcolonial generation of indigenous citizens. Likewise, Salman Rushdie seems to be particularly fond of the TV show version of *The Jewel in the Crown* because actor Charles Dance, who portrayed the character of Sergeant Guy Perron, also played the part of William Methwold in *Midnight's Children* motion picture adaptation.

[343] Transmedial reinventions provide yet another point of departure for future research. For instance, there is the 1947 Partition Archive, a independent organisation which is focused on "giving voice to untold stories" (https://www.1947partitionarchive.org/); that is, preserving the Partition history through recording witness accounts, developing educational resources, and conducting special seminars for students. Additionally, Amardeep Sing established the aforementioned, digital thematic collection, "The Kiplings and India: A

situation of the British and the Anglo-Indians in India post-Nehru/Gandhi heyday of the 1970s and the 1980s. It was confirmed that James Gordon Farrell was working on the follow up to *The Siege of Krishnapur*, titled *The Hill Station*, yet the author's sudden death rendered the book unfinished. Still, the incomplete 140-page-long manuscript was officially published (https://www.goodreads.com) and presents a rough outline of Farrell's attempt at examining the colonial society set in the popular city of Shimla. With regard to *The Far Pavilions*, as it was previously stated, Mary Margaret Kaye gave her blessing to a stage-play sequel called *Fireflies*, yet the project remains on hiatus to this day.

As for *Heat and Dust* as well as *Midnight's Children*, the only media which elaborate on these postcolonial works are their respective movie adaptations[344]. Indeed, these are finite stories, but the motion pictures provide us with a couple of interesting changes. That is to say, the narrator from *Heat and Dust* is actually named in the picture (Anne) and her relation with Inder Lal is nuanced rather than bluntly comical; her sojourn in Town X is also presented in a positive, nearly nostalgic manner; whereas in the finale of *Midnight's Children*, Saleem Sinai is given a happy ending: he reunites in Bombay with his nanny Mary Pereira and his son, Aadam, speaks for the first time ever. Given the fact that the original writers themselves implemented these changes opens up a space for further mediation in the context of modern-day India and its geopolitical place in the global realm. Perhaps Shauna Singh Baldwin as well would revisit the character of Roop in a continuation of *What The Body Remembers* or some kind of televised reimagining. As of 2021, the novel remains without any adaptation.

The research conducted in preparation for this dissertation is by no means complete. The figure of the coloniser can be analysed from a variety of modern-day perspectives and within a multitude of transmedial forms. That is to say, such postcolonial novels as Hari Kunzru's *The Impressionist* (2002) and Anita Rau Badami's *Can You Hear The Nightbird Call?* (2006) may serve as the basis for evaluation of India's revisionist approach towards its colonial history. In addition, the coloniser–colonised power dependency may also manifest itself in diasporic communities that struggle to find their voice in a foreign land, as presented in Monica Ali's *Brick Lane* (2003) and Tishani Doshi's *The Pleasure Seekers* (2010). However, the present issues of religious fundamentalism and increasing nationalist tendencies cannot go unnoticed either. Therefore, the violent (and not always successful) transformation of the Other into the Westerner should also be considered, as in Hanif Kureishi's *My Son the*

Collection of Writings from British India, 1870–1900," which can be accessed online by everybody interested in Rudyard Kipling's works (Singh, https://scalar.lehigh.edu).

[344] Coincidentally, both writers wrote the screenplay adaptations and were actively involved in the production processes.

Fanatic (1997), Jhumpa Lahiri's *The Namesake* (2006), and Mohsin Hamid's *The Reluctant Fundamentalist* (2007).

With regard to transmedial domains outside the realm of literature, it is worth considering how the image of the coloniser is negotiated in such motion pictures as Deepa Mehta's *Earth* (1998) or Rakeysh Omprakash Mehra's *Rang De Basanti* (2006). The first movie signifies in a very brutal and graphic manner that the Partition of India was set into motion by the British and fanatic Indians, whereas the second film provides hope for a mutual understanding and collaboration between young generations from the United Kingdom and India in the process of rediscovering their traumatic past.

Moreover, television also remains enamoured of imperial themes, as it can be observed on the basis of such TV shows as Steven Knight's *Taboo* (2017), which focuses on the activities of East India Company in the 19th century, and *Doctor Who* (2005–ongoing), which in Series 11 devoted an entire episode[345] to the Partition event. In the realm of video games, there is a whole array of strategy-oriented titles which allow the potential player to assume the role of a colonial administrator and expand the territories of the British Empire either by means of diplomacy or military conflict. Nevertheless, there is also an opportunity to play as the colonised and re-enact[346] some of the most important historical events in favour of indigenous people. Some of the most prominent titles which saw the light of day include the following: *Champion of the Raj* (1991), *Victoria: An Empire Under the Sun* (2003), and *Age of Empires III: The Asian Dynasties* (2007). Interestingly, no first-person perspective adventure game has been released to date which would focus on the colonial activities (diplomacy, spying, participating in the Great Game) as depicted in Rudyard Kipling's *Kim* and Mary Margaret Kaye's *The Far Pavilions*.[347] Rather than that, game developers tend to frame India as an exotic setting for fantasy tales or stealth narratives as visible in such instances as *Tom Clancy's Rainbow Six* (1998), *Lego Indiana Jones: The Original Adventures* (2008), *Prince of Persia: The Forgotten Sands* (2010), and *Lost Horizon* (2010).

Furthermore, we should also consider the following issue; namely, who assumes the role of the coloniser in the postcolonial reality. This dissertation focused on the historical issues concerning India and an in-depth understanding of these problems could allow for

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[345] Full title: *Demons of Punjab*. The episode aired on November 11, 2018 was written by an Indian filmmaker Vinay Patel.

[346] For instance, in *Age of Empires III: The Asian Dynasties*, the players can participate in the Sepoy Rebellion and win the uprising.

[347] Transposing George MacDonald Fraser's *The Flashman Papers* into a series of action-oriented games would undoubtedly fill in these missing aspects. Since 2016, an independent developer company based in India has been working on a game inspired by the novel *Kim* (Wawro, https://www.gamasutra.com).

proper alleviation of modern problems plaguing the country. In terms of international stage, it is difficult to estimate the degree of neo-colonial impact of the United Kingdom on the Republic of India, but undeniably, the People's Republic of China increasingly marks its presence in the northern parts of India by taking control over the territories of Nepal and Kashmir. Indeed, the adjacent countries compete with each other on the global stage in terms of lucrative economies as well as exploration of outer space; nevertheless, it is estimated that by the year 2027, India will surpass China as the most populated country on Earth, which will evidently contribute the country's GDP potential (https://www.business-standard.com).

With regard to internal problems troubling India, there is still a lot to be done. One can perceive fundamentalist autocrats on the central as well as the local levels of governance as modern-day reincarnations of the coloniser in view of their desire to keep the masses of indigenous people uneducated about Indian democracy and the most topical problems. For example, residents in small villages obliviously believe that Indira Gandhi is still the Prime Minister of the country, over 30 years after her assassination. Moreover, many people are not taught basic principles of sanitation, which leads to numerous outbreaks of diseases. Additionally, they use outdated means of cultivating soil when it comes to agriculture. What is more, people resort to superstitious medicine rather than proper healthcare because it is not accessible to everybody (Goswami 2021, conference paper). These are the unfortunate practices inherited from colonial times. Thankfully, the central government, with Bharatiya Janata Party and the Prime Minister Narendra Modi in the lead, started taking measures to alleviate these issues. Today, more and more residents in the cities and villages are taught and informed about how to live properly without conforming to the stereotype of Third World's feral individuals (https://www.unicef.org).

As I have shown in Chapters 5 and 6, the coloniser assumes a variety of positions in literary representations. He is a hero as well as a villain whose imperial endeavour went through the crucial stages of the monomyth: departure (setting up the colonies), initiation (encountering the natives), return (decolonising processes). He is an administrator directly responsible for implementing order and creating an oppressive system which made a profound (negative) impact on the colonised's psyche. That is not to say, however, that the indigenous population was the only group that suffered. Indeed, the British colonists felt threatened by the deceptive simplicity and ambiguous spirituality of India that functioned as a contact zone. Nevertheless, there is no possibility for mutual understanding and symbiosis. "No, not yet […]. No, not there," as it is stated in the closing line of *A Passage to India* (Forster [1924] 2010: 322). Indeed, Forster wrote this line nearly 100 years ago, but in my opinion, it is still

applicable today, in the world of constant technological progress which does not necessarily fuel knowledge by default. As Carl Jung used to postulate, the descendants of the colonisers and the colonised have to shed ideological biases, learn about history, and look inside themselves in order to initiate a meaningful dialogue about the colonial past. Reconciliation between both groups has yet to take place.

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The universe is my mind, and my mind is the universe.

~Lu Jiuyuan, c. 12th century

Abstract

India is nowadays known for its rich and diverse cultural heritage, high technology, rapidly developing economy, and the highest numbers of official languages in use. Nevertheless, the country's historical past deserves an in-depth study and a full appreciation. For centuries this territory functioned as a place of colonial encounter between the native people and travellers from the West (Portugal, France, and Great Britain). Undeniably, the imperial hegemony resulted in exploitation of natural resources, reappropriation of cultural goods, and rebellion from the side of indigenous residents. However, there is much more to the colonial past than just instances of prejudice and racism. The subject of this dissertation is the figure of the British coloniser in India, explored on the basis of selected works of historical fiction.

The reason for undertaking this subject matter lies in the exceptional status of British India as a colony. The historical context as well as geopolitical status of India are crucial for the conducted research. It is common knowledge that the process of colonialism was initiated in the fifteenth century by Portugal and Spain, and it concluded in the twentieth century with worldwide independence movements (Brown 1999: 444). Encouraged by the prospect of financial gain combined with intellectual curiosity, European traders of the transition period from the Middle Ages to modernity would travel to exotic areas which were granted to them as special spheres of influence by means of treaties. Subsequently, some form of cooperation would develop between the colonisers and the native inhabitants. With the passage of time, the Europeans would acquire control of these places and convert the locals into their subjects. Given the numerous examples and forms of colonial expansion, the researcher's intent is to narrow the area of study to Indian colonisation, which constitutes in many ways an exceptional realisation of the abovementioned process. That is to say, the colonisation of India stands out among other instances of imperial conquest because of the diversity of its territories. Namely, their indigenous inhabitants derived from a wide range of cultural and social backgrounds. The Republic of India currently consists of 29 states and 7 union territories that have remained disparate for centuries.

The principal methodological approach used in this dissertation relies on postcolonial theories. In view of a wide range of research approaches, postcolonial studies, as literary critic Leela Gandhi correctly observes, function as a site of encounter as well as war between diverse disciplines and theories (Gandhi 1998: 42). To ensure an original contribution to

knowledge, my intention is to utilise as well the field of psychoanalysis, which is currently experiencing a renaissance in academia and is crossing into postcolonial discourse more frequently than ever before (Smith, http://www.brockpress.com). To be specific, the figure of the coloniser is analysed in this dissertation through the lens of Carl Jung's theory concerning archetypes. The hypothesis to explore is the coloniser's conformity with the archetypal patterns. Furthermore, it should be determined if he functions as an entirely positive or negative character.

Joseph Campbell expands on Jung's studies on archetypal attitudes by introducing his own concept of a hero on a personal journey. According to the researcher, the main protagonist in the great majority of contemporary novels goes on an adventure during which he or she overcomes a variety of hurdles until the journey is completed and the boon is obtained (Campbell 2004: xxv). In that situation, it should be established whether the coloniser is a wanderer of such nature. For example, he could be a kind hero or a cruel villain. The coloniser, like the monomythical hero, may have straddled the line between the known and the unknown realms as he or she travelled between Britain and India. It is worth noting that for some Britons born and raised in India, Britain was the unknown realm. Their role as the figure of a coloniser was hence in many ways insecure.

Corroborating and expanding Jung's and Campbell's findings, Jordan Peterson claims that ideological beliefs contain narrative frameworks that influence an individual's emotional stability. As a result, the domain of values (carried within myths, fictional stories, and religious systems) may well be more essential for the well-being of individuals and societies than reality. When these ideals are rejected, an oppressive system emerges, which is subsequently reproduced and replicated across numerous civilizations (Peterson 2002: 7). I intend to connect Peterson's ideas to the complex aspect of the coloniser's psyche and the colonised's subordinate position.

The aim of the dissertation is to show how the interpretation of the coloniser portrayed in selected contemporary historical novels allows the reader to understand the issue of colonialism in present times as clashing ideologies increasingly generate quarrels over a historical past rather than leading to a mutual understanding. In realities represented by these works of literature, the relationship between the coloniser and the colonised is frequently illustrated in a complex manner, which indicates a departure from Edward Said's binary oppositions and an evolution of colonial imagery. The interconnection of the domains of postcolonialism and psychoanalysis allows to expose the convoluted mechanisms of

colonisation and decolonisation of mind. This appears to be particularly significant in the case of India, which has an equivocal relationship with its past.

Streszczenie

Indie są znane w dzisiejszych czasach z bogatego i różnorodnego dziedzictwa kulturowego, zaawansowanych technologii, szybko rozwijającej się gospodarki i największej liczby używanych języków urzędowych. Niemniej jednak, historyczna przeszłość kraju również zasługuje na wnikliwe studia i pełne zrozumienie. Terytorium to przez wieki funkcjonowało jako miejsce kolonialnych spotkań tubylców z podróżnikami z Zachodu (zwłaszcza z Portugalii, Francji, Wielkiej Brytanii). Niewątpliwie hegemonia imperialna zainicjowała eksploatację zasobów naturalnych, przywłaszczenie dóbr kultury i bunt ze strony rdzennych mieszkańców. Jednak kolonialna przeszłość to znacznie więcej niż tylko seria przypadków uprzedzeń i rasizmu. Przedmiotem rozprawy jest analiza postaci brytyjskiego kolonizatora w Indiach na podstawie wybranych powieści historycznych.

Powodem podjęcia tej tematyki jest wyjątkowy status Indii Brytyjskich jako kolonii. Kontekst historyczny oraz położenie geopolityczne Indii mają kluczowe znaczenie dla prowadzonych badań. Powszechnie wiadomo, że proces kolonializmu został zapoczątkowany w XV wieku przez Portugalię i Hiszpanię, a zakończył się w wieku XX wraz z masowymi ruchami niepodległościowymi (Brown 1999: 444). Europejscy kupcy w okresie od średniowiecza do nowoczesności, zachęceni perspektywą korzyści finansowych, ale też z ciekawością poznawczą, udawali się na egzotyczne tereny, które zostały im przyznane na mocy traktatów jako specjalne strefy wpływów. Później rozwinęła się pewna forma współpracy między kolonizatorami a rdzennymi mieszkańcami. Z biegiem czasu, Europejczycy przejmowali kontrolę nad tymi miejscami i przekształcali miejscowych w poddanych swoich mocarstw. Biorąc pod uwagę liczne przykłady i formy ekspansji kolonialnej, intencją badacza jest zawężenie obszaru badań do kolonizacji indyjskiej, która stanowi pod wieloma względami wyjątkową realizację wspomnianego procesu. Innymi słowy, kolonizacja Indii wyróżnia się na tle innych podbojów ze względu na różnorodność swoich terytoriów. Mianowicie, rdzenni mieszkańcy wywodzili się z różnych środowisk kulturowych i społecznych. Republika Indii składa się obecnie z 29 stanów i 7 terytoriów związkowych, które nadal zachowują swoją różnorodność.

Podstawowe podejście metodologiczne zastosowane w tej rozprawie opiera się na teoriach postkolonialnych. Wobec szerokiego zakresu podejść badawczych, studia postkolonialne, jak słusznie zauważa krytyk literacki Leela Gandhi, funkcjonują jako miejsce

spotkania i wojny między różnymi dyscyplinami i teoriami (Gandhi 1998: 42). Aby zapewnić oryginalny wkład w wiedzę, wykorzystuję też dziedzinę psychoanalizy, która przeżywa obecnie renesans w środowisku akademickim i częściej niż kiedykolwiek wcześniej wkracza w dyskurs postkolonialny (Smith, http://www.brockpress.com) . Mówiąc konkretnie, postać kolonizatora jest analizowana w niniejszej rozprawie przez pryzmat teorii Carla Junga dotyczącej archetypów. Hipotezą do zbadania jest zgodność kolonizatora z archetypowymi wzorcami. Ponadto należy ustalić, czy funkcjonuje on jako postać całkowicie pozytywna czy negatywna.

Joseph Campbell rozwija badania Junga nad archetypowymi postawami, przedstawiając własną koncepcję bohatera doświadczającego podróży. Zdaniem badacza, główny bohater w zdecydowanej większości powieści współczesnych wyrusza na spotkanie z przygodą, podczas której to wyprawy pokonuje rozmaite przeszkody, aż do osiągnięcia celu i otrzymania nagrody (Campbell 2004: xxv). W takiej sytuacji należy ustalić, czy kolonizator jest wędrowcem o takim właśnie charakterze. Może działał on jako prawdziwy bohater lub też jako okrutny złoczyńca. Kolonizator, podobnie jak monomityczny bohater, mógł przekraczać granicę między światami znanymi a nieznanymi, ponieważ podróżował między Wielką Brytanią a Indiami. Warto zauważyć, że dla Brytyjczyków urodzonych i wychowanych w Indiach Wielka Brytania stanowiła nieznany świat. Ich kolonizatorska rola była więc pod wieloma względami niepewna.

Potwierdzając i uzupełniając spostrzeżenia Junga i Campbella Jordan Peterson twierdzi, że przekonania ideologiczne zawierają ramy narracyjne, które wpływają na stabilność emocjonalną jednostki. W rezultacie domena wartości (przenoszonych w mitach, fikcyjnych opowieściach i systemach religijnych) jest bardziej istotna dla poszczególnych osób i społeczeństw niż rzeczywistość. Kiedy te ideały są odrzucane, wyłania się opresyjny system, który jest następnie reprodukowany i powielany w wielu cywilizacjach (Peterson 2002: 7). W rozprawie odnoszę idee Petersona do złożonego aspektu psychiki kolonizatora i podrzędnej pozycji kolonizowanego.

Celem rozprawy jest pokazanie, w jaki sposób interpretacja kolonizatora w wybranych współczesnych powieściach historycznych pozwala zrozumieć problematykę kolonializmu w teraźniejszości, kiedy zderzenie ideologii coraz częściej generuje spory o przeszłość historyczną, nie zaś wzajemne zrozumienie. W realiach reprezentowanych przez te dzieła literackie związek między kolonizatorem a kolonizowanym jest często ilustrowany w sposób kompleksowy, co wskazuje na odejście od binarnych opozycji Edwarda Saida i ewolucję wyobrażeń kolonialnych. Wzajemne połączenie domen postkolonializmu i psychoanalizy

pozwala wyeksponować zawiłe mechanizmy kolonizacji i dekolonizacji umysłu. Wydaje się to być szczególnie istotne w przypadku Indii, które mają niejednoznaczny związek ze swoją przeszłością.

Appendix

Figure 19. Present-day map of India (https://www.mapsofindia.com).