

RELOCATING MODERN BRITISH FICTION: THE CASE OF ANGLO-INDIA

by

PIA MUKHERJI

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty in English in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, The City University of New York

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Aug. 18, 2004
Date

Jane Marcus
Professor Jane Marcus
Chair of Examining Committee

Aug. 18, 2004
Date

Joan Richardson
Professor Joan Richardson
Executive Officer

Professor John Brenkman

Professor Meena Alexander

Supervisory Committee

THE CITY UNIVERSITY OF NEW YORK

Abstract

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Pia Mukherji

Adviser: Professor Jane Marcus

This dissertation broadly studies issues of space, modernity and representation as it attempts, to quote Simon Gikandi, “to read Englishness as a cultural and a literary phenomenon produced in the ambivalent space that separated, but also conjoined, metropolis and colony.” The project is divided into four chapters, each an examination of the colonial, (specifically Anglo Indian,) dimensions of metropolitan self fashioning as represented in modern British fiction. Conrad’s early sea stories, Kipling’s *Kim*, the Anglo Indian fiction of Orwell, Leonard Woolf and E. M. Forster, and Woolf’s *The Voyage Out* are core texts used to study how emergent cultural discourses – of geography, political economy, gender, and the ‘liberal’ community – are revised and renegotiated to constitute a modern and ‘spatially decentered’ aesthetics of self representation.

This hypothesis brings crucial questions of ‘emplacement’ to bear upon the canon. For example, what is the (formal) geography of cultural modernism? How does it coincide with the political landscape of early twentieth century imperialism? How is the specific text ‘situated’ in relation to authorial (dis)affiliations and (dis)placements within cultural

maps of global exchange, metropolitan citizenship and gendered location? Contemporary theoretical perspectives that investigate the dialectics of social and aesthetic spaces are, therefore, principally useful in this study. The critique of abstract space found in the statements of, for example, Heidegger, Lefebvre, Foucault and Harvey, provide a frame within which the 'Anglo Indian borderland' in modern British fiction may be coincidentally interpreted as the material product of political spatial practices, or as imagined space, contesting the dominant forms of a rational order.

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Introduction

This dissertation broadly studies issues of space, modernity and representation as it attempts, to quote Simon Gikandi, “to read Englishness as a cultural and a literary phenomenon produced in the ambivalent space that separated, but also conjoined, metropolis and colony.”¹ The project is divided into four chapters, each an examination of the colonial, (specifically Anglo Indian,) dimensions of metropolitan self fashioning as represented in modern British fiction. Conrad’s early sea stories, Kipling’s *Kim*, the Anglo Indian fiction of Orwell, Leonard Woolf and E. M. Forster, and Woolf’s *The Voyage Out* are core texts used to study how emergent cultural discourses – of geography, political economy, gender, and the ‘liberal’ community – are revised and renegotiated to constitute a modern and ‘spatially decentered’ aesthetics of self representation in such narratives.

Critical debates that engage with the notion of modernism often rely on a time - bound vocabulary, which typically include the categories of myth, memory and history, to examine an emergent aesthetic.² Such descriptions of the unfolding projects of modernity often remain tied to progressive and centered narratives of Enlightenment thought.³ An examination of the spatial politics of modernism, however, exposes its

¹ Gikandi, Simon. ‘Preface.’ *Maps of Englishness: Writing Identity in the Culture of Colonialism*. Columbia University Press, 1996. xii.

² See Eliot, Meisel, Bloom, the New Critics etc. to identify a institutionalized study of modernism in terms of generational shifts, the universal myth, a unified anti - tradition, , the structured closed text etc. (King).

³ The dominant narrative of ‘Enlightenment modernity’ presents a radical connection between knowledge and subjectivity that ‘confirmed and legitimized the centrality of

radical relation to cultural territories and texts that are marginal and popular. An image that illustrates this function may be found in Benjamin's description of Proust's attempts to recover "an absent image of space from which time has exiled the artist." Benjamin calls this construction "das Bild", and designates it as 'another' place which allows the exercise of the imagination (Benjamin 202 – 203). This is the exilic margin. It is here that the modernist crises of subjectivity, community, historical disinheritance, as well as the consolations of form are narrated, a place best exemplified by the 'border' locales of modernity upon which British narratives are often based: Dublin, New Mexico, the Congo Basin, Latin America, Anglo India.

These narrative displacements emphasize that modernist texts are tied crucially to notions of territory and location, and are in dialogue with local, differentiated narratives and non-metropolitan histories. This hypothesis brings crucial questions of 'emplacement' to bear upon the canon. What is the (formal) geography of cultural modernism? How does it coincide with the political landscape of early twentieth century imperialism? How is the specific text 'situated' in relation to authorial (dis)affiliations and (dis)placements within cultural maps of global exchange, metropolitan citizenship and gendered location? For example, what does it signify that Conrad's exiled childhood was followed by a twenty year period of service, unmarked by national membership, to the French and British merchant navies as he sailed the imperial seas? Or that Kipling's

Western man.' The historical project of humanism, found, for example, in the cultural programs of sixteenth century Florence or the scientific rationalities of eighteenth century Europe, prescribed epistemological conditions necessary for the progressive development of the modern European subject. Uncovering the hierarchical binary logic of center / margin that underlies representations of such rational and enabled metropolitan identities becomes, then, an important recuperative strategy in an effective politics of anti imperialism.

Indian childhood was followed by a British decade of literary success, and the international marketing of his popular Indian writing? Leonard Woolf, George Orwell and E. M. Forster, metropolitan intellectuals, documented biographical displacements experienced as young Anglo Indian officials, while administering, policing and civilizing colonial/native territories. And Virginia Woolf famously renounced (metropolitan) gendered claims on territorial interests – “In fact, as a woman, I have no country. As a woman, I want no country.”

As such, can we read modern British fiction as ironic narratives of geography, mapping the coordinates of modernism against the impending crisis of empire at the metropolitan center, and the recovery of modernist experience at the colonial periphery,⁴ specifically, Anglo – India?⁵

⁴ By the turn of the century, the core - periphery systemization of international spaces gained a specific urgency in English social and political descriptions of the development theories of modernity and its relation to national ideology. Political geographer H. J. Mackinder theorized the ‘heartland’ as legitimizing the maintenance of the British balance of power in his 1904 thesis ‘The Geographical Pivot of History’, while J. A. Hobson’s liberal examination of the economics of imperialism in 1902 radically located the overseas investment outlets of surplus capital generated in the national core. The Royal Geographical Society, toward the close of the nineteenth century, “ sponsored and promoted expeditions to the African and American interiors and in the Canadian Arctic, and extensively published explorers’ narratives and maps.” (Phillips 6).

⁵ As the “no man's land of change” where the English community conducted the colonial encounter, Anglo India functioned as a cultural borderland where colonization reproduced the consolations and discontents of a dominant bourgeois civilization. By the early twentieth century, a century old tradition of writing the imperial ‘English’ experience of India by military men, civil servants, and imported wives had developed into a functioning and complex industry in the colonial cities of British India. Its institutions of production, distribution and marketing were distinctly modern. Corporate publishing houses with regional offices in Calcutta and Madras were established, and international routes of information exchange across imperial borders supported the production of such literature. As ships from England carried newspapers and the mail to

David Harvey's important recognition of the 'cartographic consciousness' of modernity foregrounds intimate connections between the production of identity and the politics of space.

"Locating, positioning, individuating, identifying and bounding, are operations that play a key role in the formation of personal and political subjectivities. Who we consider ourselves to be, (both individually and collectively) is broadly defined by our position in society and the world. There are mental or cognitive maps, perhaps even cartographic systems embedded in our consciousness that defy easy representation on some Cartesian grid. The intersection of formal mapping procedures with this sense of who we are and how we may locate ourselves is far from innocent. (Analysing geographical constructions) provides important clues as to how political personal and psychological subjectivities are sensitive to cartographic endeavors, and how changing the map of the world can change our modes of thought and our social behaviors" (Harvey 220 –221).

The 'constitutional instability' of early twentieth century fiction, its characteristic preoccupation with uncertainty and ambiguity, is often read as a response to a metropolitan culture in crisis. As an expression of an emergent 'cartographic consciousness', the modern British novel bears witness to complex socio - spatial transformations that disturbed existing references of stable location. In this historical context, massive refigurations of space in the face of international mercantile capitalism and global systems of exchange were complemented by projects of epistemic redrafting.

the colonies, Anglo Indian romances and social novels describing colonial work, both domestic and bureaucratic, made their way to a growing readership in England.

New technologies of travel and communication and developing disciplines of recording, analyses and classification contributed to increased abstractions and mobilizations of geographical knowledge. Local reassertions of national spaces as a reaction to policies of imperial expansion contributed to the redrawing of domestic political topographies. The spatial experience of dissolving borders of definition found specific expression in an imaginative response to the presence of the empire within the collective life of domestic cultures. The shock of strange encounters and the experience of alien terrains radically permeated the metropolitan imagination and influenced an aesthetics of modern self – representation, already uneasy with the epistemological assumptions defining the ‘subject of realism.’ Jameson’s identification of the structural significance of absent colonial experience for the modern narrative, and Said’s critical contestation that lists evidence of imported colonial scraps, detritus, memorabilia extensively present in metropolitan cultural formations, are important examples of theoretical interpellations that locate metropolitan subjectivity within a geography of imperial connections and distances.⁶

Within the field of modernist studies, the analysis of space has been conducted broadly within three distinctive theoretical paradigms. The first examines modernism in relation to the fractured sense of locality brought about by the presence of the metropolis in both national and global / extra - national landscapes. For example, Raymond Williams notices the correspondences between the western city and spaces beyond its narrated boundaries in twentieth century British fiction. " The city is not only a form of modern life; it is the physical embodiment of a decisive modern consciousness, --- this can be traced in many ways in twentieth century literature" (Williams 239). In his reading of

⁶ Jameson. ‘Modernism and Imperialism.’ Said. *Culture and Imperialism*.

Ulysses, Williams recognizes how colonized / national spaces often converge within the textual construction of subjectivity. As Bloom walks through Dublin and sees "Boland's breadvan delivering with trays our daily", "the fantasy of the Oriental city begins from the smell of bread" and "the one city (through which Bloom's private preoccupations) pass is as real as the other" (Williams 243). The second paradigm positions modernism close to the notions of exile and immigration to define its (dis) location within social and literary history, as for instance, in Lukac's identification of "transcendental homelessness," or Eagleton's study of émigré authorship characterizing the twentieth century novel.

Finally, we have the concept of modern aesthetics theorized as a political category which conforms to or interrogates what Henri Lefebvre calls the "spatial practices" of capitalist cultures. For example, Lefebvre's work theorizes "spatial representational practices" which support the material productions of abstract space in a capitalist culture. "(As) abstract space (takes) over from historical space, ... the dominant form of space, that of the centres of wealth and power, endeavours to mould the spaces it dominates (i.e. peripheral spaces), and seeks, often by violent means, to reduce the resistance it encounters there. Differences are forced into the symbolic forms of an art that is itself abstract. The representation of space, in thrall to both knowledge and power, leaves only the narrowest leeway to representational spaces, (i.e. space which the imagination seeks to change and appropriate)" (Lefebvre 49 - 50).

In contrast to such characterizations of assimilated art, there is the critical examination of modernism as metaphorical 'border' space at the margins of and separated from the discourse of culture - as – text. The philosophical analyses of the art pour l'art theorists

are predicated on this assumption, as, for instance, in the Frankfurt School's critique of the project of the Enlightenment. In their discussions, the distant or close location of modernist representation in relation to culture crucially determines its progressive or conformist politics. The assertion that the bourgeois institution of art was founded on the principle of aesthetic autonomy uses the spatial concept of distance - the separation of the organic art object from bourgeois culture - to describe the political status of art in modern society. Effective art in 'capitalist times' occupies an uncertain place in relation to 'real' social formation, in that, "necessarily detached as art from reality, it cancels the distance between the two" (Adorno 301). As such, literary modernism is close to, despite its (ironic) relation of distance "as constructed and produced objects" from that practice it signifies, "the creation of a just life" (Adorno 317). The assumption in this analysis is that modernist aesthetics uses the politics of an effectively enacted counter-site "in a relation of direct or inverse analogy with the real space of society." (Foucault 24). More discursively, the language of modernism may be conceptualized as a version of radical border rhetoric, a field to which contemporary critical theory has been attentive. The scope of such analyses range from discussions of the politics of borderland Chicano cultural texts to French post-structural analyses of the Deleuzian 'minor language' or the Derridean 'textual supplement'.

These several discussions provide the ground as well as the point of departure for a reading of the modern British novel's involvement with domestic subject formations "located elsewhere, beyond the metropolis, outside of the daily life and existential experience of the home country," while preserving "structural connections between that

and this, between absent space and daily life in the metropolis.”⁷ To read ‘Anglo – India’ in early twentieth century British fiction, requires, in the first instance, an exercise in definition. As a represented geopolitical location, colonized India provides, in these narratives, a ‘border’ space of mediations, staging issues of (extra) national identity that preoccupied metropolitan social discourse. As the metaphoric space of narrative action, Anglo India is differently textualized as fictive locale, literary convention, or as memorialized spaces of (auto) biography. Contemporary theoretical perspectives that investigate the dialectics of social and aesthetic spaces are, therefore, principally useful in this study. The critique of abstract space found in the statements of, for example, Heidegger, Lefebvre, Foucault and Harvey,⁸ provide a frame within which the Anglo Indian borderland may be coincidentally interpreted as the material product of political spatial practices, or as imagined space, contesting the dominant forms of a rational order.

Concepts that elaborate the politics of spatial modernity have been particularly helpful in attempting these critical negotiations. These include Heidegger’s particularization of local spaces of active human “dwelling”, Lefebvre’s description of the subversions of ‘representations of space’ linked to official relations of production by ‘representational spaces’ or aesthetic sites of resistance, and the presence of ‘heterotopic’ lacunas in

⁷ Jameson, Fredric. ‘Modernism and Imperialism.’ In *Nationalism, Colonialism, and Literature*. Ed. Seamus Deane. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1990. pp 50 – 51.

⁸ See, for example, Heidegger, Martin. ‘Building, Dwelling, Thinking’ in *Poetry, Language, Thought*. Trans. Albert Hofstadter. New York: New Directions, 1971. Lefebvre, Henri. *The Production of Space*. Trans. Donald Nicholson Smith. Oxford: Blackwell, 1991. Foucault, Michele. “Of Other Spaces.” *Diacritics* 16: 1 (Spring 1986). ‘Questions of Geography’. In *Power / Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other*

Foucault's account of the spatial histories of power relations, spaces that interface with the (counter) sites of modernity so as to "suspect, neutralize and invert the set of relations they happen to designate or reflect." ('Of Other Spaces' 24). The articulation of modernism as a response to new transformations of material spaces, in short, as the spatial resignifications of modernity, is most concisely articulated in Harvey's analysis of *The Condition of Post Modernity*. Here, Harvey considers textual spaces in relation to the understanding of imperial social spaces and geographical histories. Andrew Thacker's introduction to his study of 'Space and Geography in Modernism'⁹ summarizes Harvey's argument:

"For Harvey, the birth of modernism after 1848 commences a protest against the practical and theoretical rationalization of space and time in Enlightenment thought. Due to the internationalizing of capital, European space became more unified towards the latter half of the nineteenth century. Modernization, in the form of technological inventions such as the railway, the telegraph, steam shipping and the radio all helped the way in which capitalism engaged in a 'massive long term investment in the conquest of space.' Linked to this technological take off was the development of imperialism at the end of the century" (37).

After being 'deterritorialized' and stripped of past signification, global geography was 'reterritorialized' according to the convenience of colonial and imperial administrations at the turn of the century. "The map of domination of the of the world's spaces changed

Writings. London: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1980. 69 – 70. Harvey, David. *The Condition of Post Modernity*. Oxford: Blackwell, 1990.

⁹ Thacker, Andrew. *Moving Through Modernity: Space and Geography in Modernism*. Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 2003.

out of all recognition between 1850 to 1914. Such massive transformations resulted in an immensely original experience of everyday life, a new sense of modernity ---” (*The Condition of Post Modernity* 264).

Thacker concludes by describing how Harvey sketches three ways by which modernism “produced a set of correspondences to these massive revolutions in (spatial) modernity.” The defining features of the new aesthetic include the disruption of the linear frame of the realist narrative in an environment of spatially disjunct events, the idea of interiority that exists outside of rationalized spaces, and the focus on the specific meanings of localized places in the face of internationalization and abstractions of space.

Read within a conceptual field that collapses the notions of representation and spatial politics, Anglo India may be seen as significantly represented in modern British fiction as a metaphoric / material location, crucially staging the metropolitan experience of modernity. Specifically, it designates a (textual) space allowing for extensions and reimaginings of received categories, of class, gender, political affiliations. *Maps of Englishness*, Gikandi’s study of “the notion of an English identity in crisis,” elaborates “some of the ways in which Englishness was itself a product of the colonial culture that it seemed to have created elsewhere.” Gikandi explores how the “critical possibilities” provided by the early work of Raymond Williams, including *Culture and Society*, illuminate “some of the significant ways in which the central moments of English cultural identity were driven by doubts and disputes about the perimeters of the values that defined Englishness – the nature of civil society, subjectivity, the meaning of the past, and the structure of feelings.” (Preface x). Such engagements are specified by emphasizing how “colonialism (was) the event that structured important integers – (such

as) industry and democracy - that Williams considered imperative to understanding Englishness.”

Hegel’s essay on the “Geographical Basis of World History”¹⁰ presents an early teleology of the subject of modernity. In documenting the process of racial and cultural self - realization from conditions of immaturity, the thesis reinforces the Enlightenment theme of liberation achieved by rational progressions. In emphasizing the mutual interdependence between notions of historical development and emancipation, the essay uses “the idea of the spirit” as an historical agent that ascends from a ‘natural’ to a ‘political’ existence, and thus towards freedom. Geography provides the particular possibilities “from which the spirit germinates” in individual and collective historical forms. The identification of the geographical conditions that “can provide the basis for human freedoms” achieved by “world historical nations” concludes that Europe’s geographical location in the “temperate zone,” as well as the happy balance of its topographical constitution expressing the unity of its spirit, “must furnish the theater of world history.” The promotion of a certain political and topographical design emphasizing structural cohesion and centralization as the basis of mature civilizations assigns such features to the western world. The centered and organic federal state with a growing industry and population, enjoying civil order and freedom, maintains its absolute difference and superiority in relation to its subsidiary, the ‘new’ world, the place of antithesis and passivity rather than unification and activity. However, Asia, land of oppositions and division, consigned to a state of ahistorical immaturity by its own

¹⁰ Excerpted from Lectures on the Philosophy of World History (1822 – 28) in *Race and Enlightenment: A Reader*. Ed. E. C. Eza. Blackwell, 1997. 109 -149.

geographical determinations, is historically important as a place of potential and origins: “The consciousness of being in and for itself first emerges in the oriental world. --- Thus it is in Asia that the ethical world of political consciousness first arose. Asia is the continent of sunrise and of origins in general. Just as Europe is the center and the end of the old world, absolutely the West, so also is Asia absolutely the East. It is here that the light of the spirit the consciousness of a universal first emerged, and with it, the process of world history” (143).

The Hegelian schematics marking the Oriental geographical basis of Western political subjectivities calls attention to how the British occupation of the subcontinent remains an exemplary history of a ‘place elsewhere’ that staged and infiltrated English identity politics and its encounter with modernity. Significantly, it was corporate conversion of Indian land into private, taxable property, “the creation of bourgeois landed property” by the East Indian Company institutionalized by the Crown as the “bewildering hierarchy of rights in land that emerged in the nineteenth century” that, in large part, financed the early economic basis of metropolitan industrialization in England.¹¹ British state and industrial modernization gained specific urgency at the turn of the twentieth century when geographical production was being globally foregrounded as a primary form of Western imperial action. At this time, the collective European state enterprise of geographic drafting to demarcate territorial interests essentially represented global space

¹¹ See Hamza Alavi’s seminal analysis of how “British rule in India and the new relations that were forged in the context of colonial transformation (were) a uniquely critical factor in the progress of the Industrial Revolution in England.” Alavi, Hamza. “India: Transition to Colonial Capitalism.” In *Capitalism and Colonial Production*. Ed. Hamza Alavi, P. L. Burns, G. R. Knight, P. B. Mayer and Doug McEachern. London and Canberra: Croom Helm, 1982. 23 – 77.

as the possession and object of imperial power.¹² The momentous and systematic conversion of global space into delimited state property signaled a significant spatial dynamic, a new attention to matters of geographical representation in the deployment of imperial political power. “Towards the end of the nineteenth century, European politicians felt themselves to be living in an era of world delimitation, ‘a partition of the world’ as Rosebery called it, ‘from which, as Elgin the viceroy of India agreed, Britain could not stand aside, because of her ‘mission as a pioneer of civilization.’ The *Morning Post* in January 1885 diagnosed a ‘scramble for Africa and Oceania’. Rhodes and Chamberlain often spoke with the counselor of the German empire at the Burlington, where they roughed out successive plans for possible ‘partitions of the world’. New rivalries gave fresh impetus to the future of small independent states like Morocco, Tunis, Tripoli, Egypt, Ethiopia and Siam. There was a partition of the Pacific from about 1880, and nearly one of China and Korea from about 1895. International rivalries proliferated in Turkey’s European provinces and in Central Asia, as in the Middle East and Persia (culminating in an Anglo Russian delimitation of spheres of influence in 1907), and in

¹² “The multiplication of colonial powers seeking claims on ever dwindling space, especially in the tropics, intensified rivalries between 1880 and 1914. In Africa alone, European holdings climbed from eleven percent in 1875 to ninety percent by 1902. This jump was made possible, in large part, by the Berlin – Congo Conference of 1884 – 5 which effectively partitioned Africa among England and thirteen other Western nations. By 1914 all of Africa except for Ethiopia, Liberia and parts of Morocco had been carved out and claimed by Western Powers, and the Pacific totally distributed. During this period, access to and control of the tropics, particularly, became a compelling issue of public discussion and European rivalry. --- this almost total partition of the world into territories under the formal rule or informal political domination of a few countries seemed a new phase in the general pattern of national and international development, ‘notably different from the free – trading and freely – competing liberal world of the mid century.’ (Hobsbawm, *The Age of Empire*, 59).”

the Caribbean in the 1890s. Geographical societies multiplied. In Britain, the Navy Records Society (1893) and the influential Navy League (1895) also helped to associate professional and political discussion.”¹³

By the early twentieth century, metropolitan geopolitics was characterized by its political purpose, one that expanded, reformed and modernized the geography of British imperialism. Halford J. Mackinder (1861 – 1947), the British geographer who championed an imperial ‘new geography in schools and universities in Britain, and whose political geography exercised considerable influence, not least on the Nazi geopoliticians of the 1930’s’, wrote textbook cartographies of a unified and expanding European landscape organized around the ‘heartland’ centrality of the imperial British state. An interesting byproduct of the academic institution of geopolitics as a formal discipline in British universities at the turn of the century is examined in Robin Butlin’s essay on the ‘Historical Geographies of the British Empire’ that were published between 1887 and 1925. Focusing on texts such as C. P. Lucas’ *The Historical Geography of the British Colonies / Dominions / Dependencies*, H. B. George’s *An Historical Geography of the British Empire*, and J. R. Seeley’s *Expansion of England*, Butlin argues that the “most important features of these historical geographies is the way in which they demonstrate a particular view of geography seen as a background to history and as scientific and humanistic justification for a range of imperial ideals and policies” (151).

In White, Andrea. ‘Conrad and Imperialism.’ *The Cambridge Companion to Joseph Conrad*. Ed. J. H. Stape. Cambridge University Press, 1996.

¹³ Hyam, Ronald. *Britain’s Imperial Century: A Study of Empire and Expansion*. London: B.T. Batson, 1976. 104.

The domestic production of disciplinary geography at the service of imperial interests supported a state politics whose first impulse was expansion, to establish an increased reach over global space. Anxiously reacting to a European climate of imperial competition, international threats to colonized spheres of influence, and native insurgencies including the Indian mutiny of 1857, the Irish Home Rule question and the Jamaica rebellion of 1865, Britain initiated a policy of accelerated territorial expansion and consolidation. “Between 1874 and 1902, Britain added to her empire 4,750, 000 square miles inhabited by nearly 90 million people. Apart from major acquisitions in Africa, she added Baluchistan in 1876, and annexed Upper Burma in 1886. Innumerable little South Pacific islands also came under her control, including the Gilbert and Ellis Islands, Tonga and many of the Solomons; Pitcairn was recognized as a colony in 1898. More and more Malay states accepted British Residents. The determination to hold India became more definite” (Hyam 104).

India, the destination of a “steadily growing population of British residents whose presence was needed to administer, defend and exploit new areas of conquest,” was of exceptional significance to the cultural economy and geographic imagination of the new imperial establishment. In an interesting reversal of the dominant ideology that understands capitalist forces as transforming the very regions they colonize, the contributions of subcontinental colonial experiences to the constitution of metropolitan modernity transported issues of modern identity formation to borderland spaces. Anglo Indian histories and stories of British India, therefore, provide remarkable identifications and representations of the origins and location of western modernity in ‘other’ spaces.

In this context, the examination of a literary space shared by modern British and Anglo - Indian narratives show that the literature of modernity is not confined to centralized manifestoes and the domestication of national history. The stories under analysis, linked by the themes of modern identity, community and form, demonstrate how metropolitan agendas are implemented at the Anglo Indian borders of English culture, and also how 'border' discourse infiltrates the canonical culture of modernism from within in ways recoverable from representative texts. Anglo India is also an example of the place where metropolitan modernism situates its narratives. It becomes a significant and prevalent trope dispersed throughout a textual field of narrative representation. By examining this literary \ socio - cultural locale in relation to British modernism and the novel, I am attempting to trace how the occurrence of intertextual correspondences within a range of social and literary narratives seems to suggest a "rarity" of discourse within the cultural imagination. The term implies the defined limits of and connections between 'proliferating utterances within a legitimized tradition'. (Foucault. *Archeology of Knowledge* 118 – 124). I suggest that the literary field under study establishes the boundaries of a social space characterized by the forms and desires of a colonial ideology.

To illustrate, I will conclude with a comparative reading, one that selects a specific instance of such a genealogy. The literary continuum of images and ideological structures that predicates the modernist experience upon a center / periphery relationship is figured as the "City of the Dreadful Night' in a telling interface between a metropolitan and an Anglo Indian textual alternation. The episode is fraught with the anxiety of (historical) influence and apprehensions of the (spatial) distance between the self and its other.

Raymond Williams' survey of the spatial transformations of the 'Country' and the 'City' focuses on the early twentieth century representation of the city as a particularly freighted symbol of an emergent modernity. As the British metropolitan urban population of four million in 1801 doubled by 1851, and doubled again by 1911, city life became "widely and accurately seen as a decisive experience" in the twentieth century. The city became repeatedly represented as the "image of the human condition within urban and industrial capitalism" even as the fiction of Hardy, Gaskell, Dickens, Gissing, and Collins rendered it a 'dramatically visible' entity. The figure of the 'artist as flaneur' in such literature made possible narrative observations of the urban metropolis as spectacle, illuminating the phenomena of modern production and exchange in 'dockyards, large scale manufacture, institutions of finance and banking,' as well as class divisions spatialized in the architecture of difference between East and West London. The locus of new energies as well as new discourses of reform, (municipal, electoral, labor, and education,) the city, however, become increasingly presented as the 'collective consciousness' of 'social dissolution'. Persistent images of the 'inhuman and the monstrous' conveyed impressions of "the crowding of cities as a source of social danger, the loss of customary feeling, (and) the building up of massive, irrational, explosive forces," and helped construct "a generalized scene with representative characters whose destiny seemed determined by an abstract political morality" and "industrial conflict" (216). Narratives of realism, "directly involved in social observation of actual scenes" were replaced by modernist reinventions by which "a comparable despair found a different literary mode: that of the city as symbol" (235). Representations by Woolf, Eliot, Joyce, for example, transform material aspects of the "nineteenth century social

urban experience” of “struggle, indifference, loss of purpose, loss of meaning,” to project “a powerful vision that brings together, in an influential structure, the new anguished consciousness. For the city is, in this vision, a form of modern life, the embodiment of a decisive modern consciousness” (239).

Williams notices how the ‘modernist’ city is prefigured in Blake, but identifies the definitive prototype in James Thompson’s poems: ‘The Doom of a City’ written in 1857, and the ‘City of the Dreadful Night’ written during 1870 - 1873. ‘The City of Doom’ features a ‘movement from an actual city to a visionary City of the Dead’. The protagonist, weary of the ‘familiarities of the old common world,’ is ‘driven forth to seek the dread unknown.’ He crosses the ‘desert sea,’ ignorant of ‘chart and stars’ and arrives at a ‘restless and evil city transformed into stone’. A night of ‘lonely walking’ upon streets of ‘wide and populous solitude’ follows. In the end, the experience of the doomed city ‘readjusts his vision of his own city’ as he prepares to return.

Its awfulness of life oppressed my soul
 The very air appeared no longer free
 The shapeless houses and monstrous ships
 Were brooding thunderclouds that could eclipse
 The burning sun of day
 Chief social laws seemed strictly framed to secure
 That one be corruptingly rich, another bitterly poor
 ----- (where) mansions proud
 are beleaguered with fithy hovels wherein poor wretches crowd ---.

In the City of the Dreadful Night, 'the projection is more complete'. The nocturnal walk is more intensely strenuous, the oppressions of a rational order are sharply felt.

The City is of Night, But not of Sleep
 There sweet sleep is not for the weary brain
 The pitiless hours like years and ages creep
 A night seems termless hell. This dreadful strain
 Of thought and consciousness which never ceases.

As the poet penetrates the shadowy interiors of alien city spaces, he also reaches an understanding of the ironies of modern condition within which all city dwellers exist.

They are most rational and yet insane
 An outward madness not to be controlled
 A perfect reason in the central brain
 Which has no power but sitteth wan and cold
 And sees madness, and forsees as plainly
 The ruin in its path, and trieth vainly
 To cheat itself, refusing to behold.

In 1885, Rudyard Kipling, a journalist with a provincial newspaper in Lahore, published 'The City of Dreadful Night', an early prose piece on his North Indian city of residence. Kipling used the borrowed title again in 1888, when he published a longer account of colonial city space, choosing as his subject the Anglo Indian capital,

Calcutta.¹⁴ At this time, the young ‘Anglo Indian’ Kipling, born in India, schooled in England, and imminently poised to return to Britain to enjoy a decade of literary popularity for his Indian writing, seemed to intimately inhabit both the ‘overlapping territories and intertwined histories’¹⁵ of a contemporary British / Indian imperial encounter. Appropriately, he bridges a symbolic distance between the metropolitan city and a symbolic dark city beyond the ‘desert seas’ in these representations. The experience of modern alienation on city streets is rehearsed and repeated in the shared vision and imagery of Thompson’s and Kipling’s narrative record of urban night – walking in London and in Calcutta respectively. Kipling’s account, even as it defamiliarizes the conventions of an ‘old common world,’ remains recognizably foreign and yet reminiscent of a scene “rather too familiar.”

In the ‘City of Dreadful Night,’ as the narrator begins his visit to the Bengal Presidency, he prepares to recover the “lost heritage of London” from the streets of Calcutta. There follows a meticulous detailing of the architecture of the city in the course of his tour. The boulevards of Chowringhee bordering the greens and lined with store fronts and fashionable shoppers, the imposing Writers Building housing the Legislative Council – in – session, the ports and dockyards busy with a global traffic of men and goods, and the efficient police stations coordinating patrols on the foggy city streets: all these bring to mind “the roar of the streets, the lights, the music, the millions of their own kind, a wilderness of pretty Englishwomen, theaters, restaurants,” in short, London itself.

¹⁴ Kipling, Rudyard. ‘The City of Dreadful Night’. *From Sea to Sea: Letters of Travel*. II. New York: Doubleday and McClure Company, 1899. 185 – 247.

¹⁵ Edward Said’s phrase, in *Culture and Imperialism*. London: Vintage, 1994. 1.

The visitor remarks, "Why, this is London! This is the docks. This is Imperial. This is worth coming to see!" (187).

Gradually, such initial impressions and identifications are replaced by a perception of the inadequacies and corruptions that mark such colonial similitude, and the narrator's night time incursions deeper into the 'native' decadence of the inner city bring him to further evidence of absolute negations of the domestic ideal of urban order. Gail Ching – Liang Low's careful reading of the 'City of Dreadful Night'¹⁶ sees the colonial city represented here as two distinct spaces: part ineffectual imitation of an authentic western counterpart, part the uncivilized scene of 'oriental' disease and disorder. Low concludes that this strategy is necessary in a conservative text that seeks to preserve and safeguard the 'metropolitan' status of a narrative perspective that inspects essential differences between colonial approximations and an original scene of urban modernity.

However, Kipling's survey of urban corruption, crime, and poverty, in fact remains tied to the unstable scene upon which it is staged. Unable to keep a safe distance, the assertion of metropolitan confidence cannot exclude the uneasy preoccupations of metropolitan modernity reflected as its colonized 'other' in a distorted projection. As an observation of the failures of the institutions of modernity in their colonial applications, as well as an experience of modernist anxieties and ironies transported to the colonial borderland, the narrative remains involved with the 'conditions of modern life' that find literary form in the 'influential structure' of the city in British modernism. In finding 'a new anguished consciousness' located at the "outer darkness of the mofussil", the narrative mirrors,

¹⁶ Low, Gail Ching – Liang. 'City of Dreadful Night'. In *White Skins / Black Masks: Representation and Colonialism*. London and New York: Routledge, 1996.

more darkly, a contemporary metropolitan mood. A genealogy of images is thus established.

To summarize the structural organization of the dissertation, the two initial sections will use selected fiction of Conrad and Kipling to study the textual production and local specification of the border spaces of metropolitan modernity. The last section will examine specific socio – historical displacements: revisions of a metropolitan political discourse of community and gender in the Anglo Indian and modern British fiction of Leonard Woolf, E. M. Forster, George Orwell, and Virginia Woolf.

I – Proposing the Border

‘From Landfall to Departure’: The Political Economy of Conrad’s Sea

My reading of Conrad’s early tales of the sea will focus on the narrative exercise of an analytical strategy, (in place of an aesthetic strategy), that is constitutive of the modernist text; one that may be explored in terms of a new, international political economy and its ‘proper’ method of analysis. The study will focus on three ‘socio – spatial’ narrative elements that organize a specific dialectics of exchange projected upon the Conradian seascape. These include the recurring representation of an ‘typical’ architecture of the landscape of modernity as outlined by contemporary social discourse, the textual imaging, in the form of the colonized and suffering body, of certain ‘constitutive crises’ reflecting relations of unequal exchange projected upon such a landscape, and the

employment of a textual method in these instances that challenges and subverts the dominant methods of social representation, as described, for instance, in the Marxist critique of the abstractions of political economy. The emphasis will be on how the emergence of a new center / periphery relationship is crucial to metropolitan representations of modernity, as a methodological preparation for the social / textual specifications of the Anglo Indian readings that will follow.

II – Consolidating the Border

“The Making of Kim”: Kipling’s Fiction of Anglo Indian Geography

In Kipling’s novel, Kim’s development is organized within coordinates that recall a Hegelian schematics of the geographical basis of (historical) self formation. The best expression of his maturing identity is demonstrated by a functional ability to know, use, and secure colonial space, a strategy that reflects current metropolitan institutionalizations of a political geography that employed the notion of Eurocentric cultural and national development at the service of the imperial State.

Anglo India, an originary yet essentially premature oriental location, functions as a significant illustration of an Enlightenment discourse of the geographical basis of historical development in various political forms – as national or individual self consciousness of destiny, as well as the political and epistemological object of imperial geopolitical strategies practiced by the formative imperial subject.

III – Border Revisions: Metropolitan Communities / Metropolitan Subjects

Woolf, Forster, Orwell: Colonial Liberalism and Anglo Indian Fictions of Community

The engagement with empire, community and liberal politics documented in *Growing*, a biographical account of his years in Ceylon, were themes that dominated Woolf's metropolitan public life. Such engagements also feature in the late and early fiction of E. M. Forster and George Orwell respectively. Personal and official encounters with British India, events common to the lives of the novelists, crucially influence the political self-fashioning evident in their writing. The Anglo Indian biographical displacements of Leonard Woolf – (colonial bureaucrat / post imperial liberal rationalist), George Orwell – (colonial policeman / post - imperial socialist), and E. M. Forster – (colonial secretary / post - imperial liberal humanist) – are important to their emergence as 'political' modernists with varied and differentiated affiliations with a 'liberal' sensibility. As agents and critics of a conflicted civilization at the imperial borderlands, they author fictions that conduct assessments of "community" in a newly modern, capitalist world order by emphasizing the ironies and ambiguities of liberal culture transported from metropolis to peripheries. Their Anglo Indian narratives re-examine the ironic bases of extra – national community, predicated on notions of 'freedom', the exercise of rational politics, and the deployment of a structure of 'liberties' equally available to all, yet tied to

specific metropolitan and bourgeois interests in colonial spaces. Woolf's *A Village in the Jungle*, Orwell's *Burmese Days* and Forster's *A Passage To India* may be read as the tentative statements of literary liberals – engaged in self-conscious examinations of their individual relation to an imperial culture, as well as with modernism's imperial ironies.

Gender and Dislocation: *The Voyage Out* and Anglo Indian Fictions of Voyaging and Domesticity

The Voyage Out may be read as Virginia Woolf's first significant revision of received notions of identity. The publication of the novel in 1915 initiated a feminist exploration of modern subjectivity, a project that Woolf famously developed in her later fictions. Resembling a 'novel of formation', the narrative in fact focuses on the impossibility of the protagonist's centered and sustained development, and also on the tragic separations between constructions of the intimate, interior modernist self and public, citizen identities. The tension in the text reflects Woolf's interest in the philosophical and political complexities of modern (self) representation. While early twentieth century feminist politics submitted a new claim upon public identities and social spaces, the modernist text 'made new' the structure of narrative to accommodate a 'new structure of desire' (Brooks) that escaped the imperatives of positivist grounding and objectified representation.

It is important to notice how the novel also emphasizes that the new feminist / aesthetic enterprise, (exemplified in the textual (de) construction of Rachel's identity), maintains strategic relationships with a wider imperial discourse. To investigate the multiple locations of such connections, this chapter will attempt a contextual reading. Specifically, the story of Rachel's voyaging will be studied in relation to a shared social and textual space occupied by two coincidental late nineteenth century projects of feminist self representations: colonial fictions of the feminized Anglo Indian passage, and an emergent metropolitan discourse of the 'new woman' in England.

I - Proposing the Border

'From Landfall to Departure': The Political Economy of Conrad's Sea

Fredric Jameson's study of narrative as a "socially symbolic act" ¹describes how the Conradian seascape is balanced between the "poles of ambiguity" structuring a modernist aesthetic, and inhabits a place marked by "objective tension" between bourgeois form and socio economic contingencies. The argument identifies Conrad's sea as the radical site of a new aesthetics, (specifically, the nautical image and a marine symbolic in the early tales and in *Lord Jim*), as well as a place where narrative dilemmas are represented as ethical or existential crises. Here, the political is 'managed' by such 'strategic narrative containments' to create the narrative dimension of the textual 'unconscious,' a space where contingent relations of production are displaced. "The sea is both a strategy of containment and place of real business; it is a border and a decorative limit, but it is also a highway, out of the world and in it at once, (allowing) the repression of work (so that) human relations can be presented in their ideal formal purity precisely because concrete content is relegated to --- the absent workplace" (Jameson 210).

Jameson describes systematic textual displacements of "Conrad's consciousness of the ultimate building blocks of social reality," narrative actions that rely upon the

recoding of the labor process as a myth of resentment, existentializing metaphysics, and, most crucially, the presentation of the 'impressionistic image' whose function is to "derealize (social) content and make it available for consumption on some purely aesthetic level." The strategies of exclusion in Conrad's fiction allow the "persistence of the older repressed content beneath the later formalized substance," and become instrumental in creating the symbolic dimension of narrative based on the "vertical repression and layering or sediment (characterizing) the dominant structure of the classical modernist text." The "ground base of material production continues underneath the new formal structures of the modernist text --- as the elaborate hermeneutics of the political unconscious and the ideology of form" (212 -215). Only in *Nostramo*, a late political fiction, does the sea eventually "register history" without recourse to the "ideology of form."

Jameson chooses *Lord Jim* as a specific example of such a modern narrative formation, where "the sea is the place from which Jim can contemplate the dreary prose of the world, which is daily life in the universal factory called capitalism." The correlation between this situated distance and a new representational discourse is emphasized. "Jim's externality to this world, his absolute structural difference from it, --- (is) measured by the impulse of Conrad's sentences to transform such realities into impressions. (Jim's) vocation removes him from a terrestrial area, (and takes him to) the place of the production of a harmonizing ideology that holds and naturalizes relations of production and power (from where) he may view the landscape as 'picturesque landscape.'" (211).

¹ Jameson, Fredric. *The Political Unconscious: Narrative as a Socially Symbolic Act*. Cornell University Press. 1981.

Yet, it is precisely because “Jim’s choice of sea as space and as vocation” deploys multinational wage labor and is fundamental to a geography of British imperialism, it also implies “a kind of unconscious denunciation of ideological production, namely, that of the aesthetic” (212). The material composition of “the non space of the sea, --- the empty space between the concrete spaces of life and work,” is embodied in its function and its constitution. “(The sea) is also, just as surely, itself a place of work and the very element by which an imperial capitalism draws its scattered beachheads and outposts together, through which it slowly realizes its sometimes violent, sometimes silent and corrosive, penetration of the outlying precapitalist zones of the globe” (213). Despite analyzing the Conradian sea as “a privileged place of the strategy of containment,” Jameson’s critique acknowledges that its dual “historical ambiguity” lies in the enactments of a colonizing history it obliquely allows. As the ‘symbolic location’ of an ‘absent’ place of ‘work’, Conrad’s sea “tries to reverse one of Marx’s classical ideological models – the repetition in pure thought of concrete social situation” (211).

Jameson’s reference to Marx’s ‘classical ideological model’ provides an important conceptual point of departure for my engagement with the terrain defined by Jameson’s argument. My reading of Conrad’s early tales of the sea will focus on the narrative exercise of an analytical strategy, (in place of an aesthetic strategy), that is constitutive of the modernist text; one that may be explored in terms of a new, international political economy and its ‘proper’ method of analysis. The study will focus on three ‘socio – spatial’ narrative elements that organize a specific dialectics of exchange projected upon the Conradian seascape. These include the recurring representation of an ‘typical’ architecture of the landscape of modernity as outlined by contemporary social discourse,

the textual imaging of certain ‘constitutive crises’ reflecting relations of unequal exchange projected upon such a landscape, and the employment of a textual method in these instances that challenges and subverts the dominant methods of social representation, as described, for instance, in the Marxist critique of the abstractions of political economy. The emphasis will be on how the emergence of a new center/periphery relationship is crucial to metropolitan representations of modernity.

Conrad’s turn - of - the - century shorter narratives and serialized fiction² in part chronicle aspects of his twenty - year service to the French and British merchant navies. During the period between 1874 to 1894, Conrad rose from the ranks as an ordinary seaman to master of his vessel as he sailed with the merchant marine from Australia to the Near and South East Asia, the Caribbean isles to the heart of Africa. Conrad’s choice of ocean - voyaging as a career seemed in keeping with a life marked by childhood experiences of Russian imperialism and of political exile from Poland, and early intimations of the loss of nation and homeland reflected in the fortunes of his nationalist family. The connections between Conrad’s émigré state and the anti - imperial politics present in his life and his art have been the subject of important critical studies.³ Conrad’s schoolboy dreams of adventuring to “the region of Stanley Falls, which, in ’68, was the blankest of blank spaces on the earth’s figured surface” seemed to find realization in a

² These include *Almayer’s Folly* (1895), *An Outcast of the Island* (1896), *Nigger of the Narcissus* (1897), ‘Karain’ and ‘Outpost of Progress’ in *Tales of Unrest* (1898), *Heart of Darkness* and *Lord Jim* serialized between 1899 – 1900, *Youth – A Narrative* (1902), and *Typhoon and Other Stories* (1903).

³ Most notably, Ian Watt’s seminal essay ‘Joseph Conrad: Alienation and Commitment’ in *The English Mind: Studies in the English Moralists* presented to Basil Willey. Ed.

career spent navigating an extensive political geography of empire connected by the mobile “ocean highway.”

The political significance of the sea in Conrad’s private life and writing mirrors a similar importance it maintained in contemporary public histories of the modern British imperial state. This is best documented by the academic institution of a disciplinary ‘new geography’ written by historians and colonial administrators in the early twentieth century that promoted the notion of a centralized, interconnected and progressive imperial British force empowered by its technological access to and control over international waters.⁴ The ‘historical geographers’ are described as advancing “a credo of a formal empire as an organic whole which pulled together, in a cultural and practical sense, the diverse members into an imperial nation or federation, and whose existence was to be understood primarily as a result of an inexorable historical process of evolution through three centuries of expansion, at the center of which was of course, Great Britain.” (Butlin 167). The symbolic and instrumental centrality of the sea is crucial to this conception of an evolved and organic imperial nation - state.

For example, the principles of a ‘disciplinary geopolitics’ instituted by Halford Mackinder in Oxford at the turn of the century provide a specific illustration of this model. Mackinder’s famous ‘heartland thesis’ is summarized in Christopher Gogwilt’s study of *The Fiction of Geopolitics* thus: “First formulated in the “Geographical Pivot of History”, a paper delivered in January 1904 to the Royal Geographical Society,

Davis and Watson. Cambridge University Press, 1964. Also, Terry Eagleton’s *Exiles and Emigres*.

Mackinder's thesis projects global political power as initially naturally pivoting around Central Asia, the "heartland" of land – based power, in what Mackinder sees as the fundamental strategic and historical interplay of land and sea. The thesis is concisely abbreviated, first in the form of the map of "The Natural Seats of Power", which accompanied the 1904 paper, and then in the set of maxims Mackinder wrote in *Democratic Ideals and Reality* (1919).

"Who rules Eastern Europe commands the heartland
 Who rules the Heartland commands the World Island
 Who rules the World Island commands the World" (20).

Developing the notion of "a closed political system, (yet) one of world wide scope," Mackinder describes the increasing centrality of the British nation state in a geography of expansion, derived from its unique location with regard to the seas. Gogwilt points to the influential first chapter, "The Position of Britain," in *Britain and the British Seas* (1902) that records "a whole history of geographic representation from classical antiquity to the present in which the position of Britain shifts from the periphery to the center of the world" (29).

"Before the great geographical discoveries of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the known lands lay almost wholly in the Northern Hemisphere and spread in a single continent from the shores of Spain to those of Cathay. *Britain was then at the end of the world – almost out of the world. ----- During two thousand years Britain was at the margin, not in the center, of the theater of politics, and for most*

⁴ See 'Historical Geographies of the British Empire, c. 1887 – 1925'. Robin A. Butlin. In *Geography and Imperialism 1820 –1925*. Ed Morag Bell, Robin Butlin and Michael Heffernan. Manchester University Press, 1995.

practical purposes, her position was accurately shown in the maps of the Greek geographers and in the fantastic charts of the medieval monks”⁵ (29).

But with the “Colombian discoveries” the perspective becomes a “global projection”, a “globe wide world”, and as “the eye of the reader turns from the ancient to the contemporary world maps, the contours of a familiar Mediterranean yield suddenly to the global projection.”

“Europe, Asia, Africa, and the two Americas are thus included within the visible hemisphere; but the chief feature even of the land half of the globe is a great arm of Mediterranean ocean, Atlantic and Arctic, winding northward --- No flat chart can give a correct impression of the form of the North Atlantic. Only a globe can suggest its vast bulging center, and the relative insignificance of its Arctic, Mediteranean and Caribbean recesses --- For most purposes, therefore, The North Atlantic is a rounded basin with eastward, northward and westward gulfs, and a southern exit. But the five historic parts of the world are accessible from its waters, and for the generations that followed Columbus, history centered increasingly around its shores. *Thus Britain gradually became the central, rather than the terminal land of the world*” (33).

The new configuration holds the British nation balanced between the tension of state consolidation and expansion, and uniquely equipped by its annexation of an intermediate space - the connecting and mobile seas.

⁵ The historical model is illustrated by references to contemporary historical maps, such as the 13th century Mappa Mundi, or Greek maps of Eratosthenes and Ptolomy.

“Seen thus in relation to earlier and later history, Britain is possessed of two geographical qualities, complementary rather than antagonistic: insularity and universality. Before Columbus, the insularity was more evident than the universality --- *After Columbus, value began to attach itself to the ocean highway, which is in its nature universal*” (35).

Conrad’s narrative reconstructions of global/national spaces of modernity “attach a (particular) value to the ocean highway”. To begin a consideration of the political dimensions of Conrad’s fictional sea, we may look directly to Conrad’s own engagement with the question of its historicist projection. Conrad’s preoccupation with the question of historicity in relation to his narrative locale reflects an attempt to establish primary affiliations between representational space and social modernity. The issue is explored in narrative sequences in the tales that explore the extent to which the sea is implicated within material forms of contemporary life, or, alternatively, measure the possibility that it remains ‘out of time,’ characterized by historical and teleological immaturity. The question of ahistoricity is explored in passages that propose that the sea maintains a relation of absolute difference from the business of life conducted upon the land. As such, is a place of myth, identified with the romance of ‘youth,’ an unformed phase yet not incorporated within social institutions and functions, and peopled by a timeless and displaced generation of disaffiliated multi national voyagers.

In *Youth: A Narrative*, for example, the sea symbolizes the romance and illusion of a life as yet not assimilated within the corporate institutions of a land locked bourgeois culture. Marlow reminisces nostalgically, “By all that is wonderful, it is the sea, I believe, the sea itself – or is youth alone? Who can tell?” (248). He imagines the sea as a space

not yet prepared but already lost, emptied but yet the object of undefined desire, the space of the absence of “money, love, whatever one gets on shore.” “And tell me” asks the sailor- narrator of his audience, recalling their years spent at sea, “wasn’t that the best time, the time when we were young at sea; young and had nothing on the sea that gives nothing, except hard knocks – and sometimes a chance to feel your strength – that only – what you all regret?” The company of land based officials, commercial and administrative, are affected by loss - “And we all nodded at him: the man of finance, the man of accounts, the man of law. We all nodded at him over the polished table that like a still sheet of brown water reflected our faces, lined, wrinkled; our faces marked by toil, by deceptions, by success, by love; our weary eyes looking still, looking always, looking anxiously for *something out of life*, that while it is expected is already gone – has passed unseen in a sigh, in a flash – together with the youth, with the strength, with the romance of illusions.”

Similarly, in *The Nigger of the Narcissus*, a generation of seamen is symbolized by a figure at the wheel of the *Narcissus* both timeless and immature, in either case ahistorical: “a child of time, a lonely relic of a devoured and forgotten generation – a ready man with a vast empty past and no future, with his childlike impulses and his man’s passions already dead within his tattooed breast” (39). The presence of the ship’s pilot evokes a whole generation that had “lived inarticulate and indispensable, without knowing the sweetness of affection or the refuge of a home – and died free from the dark menace of a narrow grave. They were the everlasting children of the mysterious sea. Their successors are the grown up children of a discontented earth. ---- (but) these others were effaced,

bowed and enduring, like stone caryatides that hold up --- a resplendent and glorious edifice” (38).

However, the tentative statements of the divisions between the sea – as - myth and the material constitution of British life are eventually resolved in the sea narratives by an assertion of the radical implication of the sea within ‘life,’ of the remarkable interrelation between material functions connected with the land and the sea. In *Youth – A Narrative*, for instance, the experience of the sea is emphasized as being central to the historical construction of the British imperial nation and its bourgeois economy. “In England – men and the sea interpenetrate, so to speak – the sea entering into the lives of most men, and the men knowing something or everything about the sea, in the way of amusement, of travel, or of breadwinning” (219). The sea is the place where careers originate in institutions of commerce and administration, it is the source of corporate identity, as illustrated by the profile of the company in the tavern who share a common seafaring history, and to whom the narrator addresses his own story. The audience is presented “sitting round a mahogany table that reflected the bottle, the claret glasses, and our faces as we leaned on our elbows. There was a director of companies, an accountant, a lawyer, Marlow, and myself. The director had been a Conway boy, the accountant had served four years at sea, the lawyer – a fine crusted Tory, High Churchman, the best of old fellows, the soul of honor – had been chief officer in the P & O service in the good old days when mail boats were square rigged at least on two masts, and used to come down the China Sea before a fair monsoon with stunsails set alow and aloft. We all began life in the merchant service. Between the five of us their was the strong bond of the sea, and also the fellowship of the craft, which no amount of enthusiasm for yachting, cruising,

and so on can give, since one is only the amusement of life and the other is life itself” (219).

To read the Conradian sea primarily as the location of an autarchic, self-contained ‘modernist’ aesthetic that ‘manages’ the political content of the subject and the contradictions of bourgeois form would be to neglect Conrad’s insistence on the specific interpretations of “men and the sea.” Jameson’s remarkable illumination of “the balance of non homogeneous or synchronic social relations and literary forms that unsettles conventional structure” misses how the Conradian aesthetic effects an important strategic reversal. The ‘symbolic’ seascape in fact frames a specific materialization of bourgeois form, and shows how the substantial denominators of such complexes are conventionally made invisible by the abstractions that accompany the increasing intensifications of the relations of exchange. The condition of modernity is exposed as determined by a certain structured relation of exchange, a ‘political economy’ of values, currencies and desires balanced between the open spaces of capitalist expansion and the closed spaces of capitalist exchange.

The first strategy of such narrative elaborations concerns the aesthetic problem of imaging an ‘authentic’ geography of modern exchange. How is the landscape of modernity best represented? The Conradian narrative employs two distinct spatial models to delineate contrasted structures of expansions and containment that are traced upon the imperial seascape. The alternating images figure the extensive and increasing landscapes of global capitalism, as well as the proliferation of ‘closed’ systems of organized political power. The contrasted conceptions of modern space have been theorized variously in

critical debates, for example, as global models of the world system, or local (Foucauldian) sites of institutionalized power.

The elaboration of such contrasted geographical models of the open and closed spaces of modernity is well summarized in Con Coroneos's study of Conradian modernity as a representational field that images both expansions and contractions.⁶ Coroneos describes the spatial reach of an 'Enlightenment' epistemology that defined, mapped and cleared an increasingly extensive scientific, secular space, and was supported by a parallel discourse of imperial militancy and adventure.⁷ The study cites Conrad's late essay on 'Geography and Some Explorers' that catalogues the historical stages of Western cartography, and describes the institution of 'geography militant' that progressively abolishes the medieval fantasies of a previous 'fabulous' geography. There occurs a significant moment of crisis within the development of the new expansionist geography when 'exploration reaches its own vanishing point', and precipitates the 'militant triumph of geography,' as it 'abolishes itself.' (25). Following the point when space is globally secularized, homogenized, discovered and mapped, there emerged a new world picture that presented

⁶ Coroneos, Con. *Space, Conrad and Modernity*. Oxford University Press, 2002.

⁷ Coroneos explains how "Abstract space is the space of Geography militant, but is also a condition for some important elements of Enlightenment thought. --- (If) the Enlightenment involved a secularization of consciousness and the eradication of God from the cosmos of Enlightenment science --- it seems as if that abstract fiction known as the skeptical, rational fiction of the rational subject inhabits a universe where the God of the medieval mystics has become the space of epistemology" (35). In such a universe, which, "for Pascal, (is) an infinite sphere, the center of which is everywhere, the center nowhere," --- "the maps of militant geographers are full of white space (and) the tropes of general science are aligned with the geographical tropes of geography and exploration" (35).

the notion of global / local 'closed spaces' as centralized and structured models of political power.

Coroneos points to two important theoretical articulations of the 'closed space' of modernity. Mackinder's early twentieth century thesis describes " a post – Colombian age (in which) we will have to deal with a closed political system, that none the less will be one of world wide scope. Every explosion of social spaces, instead of being dissipated in a surrounded circuit of unknown space and barbaric chaos, will be sharply re echoed from the far side of the globe and weak elements in the political and economic organism of the world will be shattered in consequence."⁸ A later theoretical history of the spatial extensions and contractions of modernity may be found in Foucault's thesis on the production of the 'site.' Coroneos describes how Foucault locates the origin of the 'history of space' in the middle ages as the 'space of emplacement,' a revealed cosmic order of political location. In his essay 'Of Other Spaces,' Foucault asserts how "the real scandal of Galileo was not the heliocentric argument, but the replacement (of the place of emplacement) with the space of infinite extension." The "anxiety of our age," according to Foucault, arises because we are witness to the destruction of this infinite world, the "extensive place of the Enlightenment," and its replacement by "a new form of closed space" in a "development no less dramatic than the one Galileo disclosed to his contemporaries." The closed, self - regulated worlds of the "clinic, the asylum, the prison," "determined spaces endowed with the aura of their exclusivity," mimic the structure of "the greater whole," the epistemic totality that, as Foucault describes in the

Archeology of Knowledge, “means the total set of relations that unite, at a given period, the discursive practices that give rise to epistemological figures, sciences, and formalized systems.”⁹

The geographically extensive yet circumscribed sea voyage is a central device in Conrad’s narrative imagination, and crucially images ‘bipolar’ spaces of modernity. “Landfall and Departure mark the rhythmical swing of a seaman’s life and of a ship’s career. From land to land is the most concise definition of a ship’s earthly fate.”¹⁰ The repeated use of two significant spatial motifs in the sea - stories correspond to the extensions and contractions variously theorized as the landscapes of modernity. The open yet framed landscape of the wide seas held between metropolitan and oriental shores functions as an enclosure and a space that positions and situates the contained, mobile, and surrounded vessel, and is often accompanied by a narrative commentary on the distance and connections between the experience and ‘meaning’ of each space.

The voyaging ship of the Conradian tale is usually framed by the metropolitan dockyards of London and the Oriental port of destination. These significant boundaries are represented both as forms of spatial organization and as affective structures. London’s

⁸ From ‘The Geographical Pivot of History’ (1904) in *The Scope and Methods of Geography*. Intro. E. K. Gilbert. London: The Royal Geographical Society, 1951. 421 – 27.

⁹ In *Archeology of Knowledge*. (1969). London: Tavistock, 1972. 191. Two important studies that specifically address the issue of political space in the Foucault’s writing include ‘Questions on Geography’ trans Colin Gordan et al. from the interview in *Herodot 1* 1976, and printed in Michel Foucault: *Power / Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings 1972 – 77*. Ed. C. Gordon. Brighton: Harvester, 180. Also, the lecture ‘des espaces autres,’ 1967, first published in English as ‘Of Other Spaces’ in *Diacritics* 16 / 11986.

ports, launching symbolic voyages and providing narrative destinations, are presented as complex metaphors of national significance and stress in relation to transnational patterns of trade, mobility and exchange.

For example, as the trading vessel *Narcissus* approaches its metropolitan home at the close of a fateful journey, the land itself assumes a larger, metonymic significance borrowed from the metaphoric ship.

“A week afterwards, the *Narcissus* entered the chops of the Channel. The coast, to welcome her, stepped out of the space into the sunshine. The lofty headlands trod masterfully into the sea. ----. The dark land lay alone in the midst of waters, like a mighty ship bestarred with vigilant lights – a ship carrying the burden of millions of lives – a ship freighted with dross and with jewels, with gold and with steel. She towered up immense and strong, guarding priceless traditions and untold suffering, sheltering glorious memories and base forgetfulness, ignoble virtues and splendid transgressions. A great ship! For ages had the ocean battered in vain her enduring sides; she was there when the world was vaster and darker, when the sea was great and mysterious, and ready to surrender the prize of fame to audacious men. A ship mother of fleets and nations! The great flagship of the race; stronger than the storms! And anchored in the open sea” (136).

The *Narcissus*, navigating “the maze of invisible channels,” enters the Thames after she has “rounded the South Foreland, passed through the Downs.” There follows an extraordinary descriptive passage organized around landlocked images of death that

¹⁰ In ‘Landfalls and Departures.’ *The Mirror of the Sea*. Joseph Conrad. New York: Doubleday, Page & Co., 1916. 1 – 18. 1.

engulf the vessel, a comment on the inimical conditions of bourgeois work and industrial production in the modern metropolis.

“The reach narrowed; from both sides the land approached the ship. She went steadily up the river. On the riverside slopes the houses appeared in groups, seemed to stream down the declivities at a run to see her pass, and checked by the mud of the foreshore, crowded on the banks. Further on, the tall factory chimneys appeared on the insolent banks and watched her go by, like a straggling crowd of slim giants, swaggering and upright under the black plummets of smoke ---. She swept round the bends; an impure breeze shrieked a welcome between her stripped spars; and the land, closing in stepped between the ship and the sea” (137).

The Narcissus is ominously reclaimed by the land:

“A low cloud hung before her – a great opalescent and tremulous cloud, that seemed to rise from the steaming brows of millions of men. Long drifts of smoky vapours soiled it with livid trails; it throbbed to the beat of millions of hearts ---. The shadows deepened; on all sides there was the clash of iron, the sounds of mighty blows, shrieks, and yells. Black barges drifted stealthily on the murky stream --- hydraulic capstans began to turn all by themselves. ----. Brick walls rose high above the waters, soulless walls, staring through hundreds of windows as troubled and dulled as the eyes of overfed brutes. At their base monstrous iron cranes crouched, with chains hanging from their long necks, --- over the decks of lifeless ships. A noise of wheels rolling over stones, --- the racket of feverish winches, the grinding of strange chains floated on the air. Between high buildings

the dust of all the continents soared in short flights; and a penetrating smell of perfumes and dirt, of spices and hides, of things costly and of things filthy, pervaded the space, made for it an atmosphere precious and disgusting. The Narcissus came gently into her berth; the shadows of soulless walls fell upon her the dust of all the continents leaped upon her deck, and a swarm of strange men, clambering up her sides, took possession of her in the name of the sordid earth. She had ceased to live" (138).

In contrast, the completion of the difficult maiden voyage of the vessel *Judea* in *Youth: A Narrative* brings the narrative to an experience of the 'other' shore, an uneasy encounter with inscrutable colonial contacts, unknown and dangerous influences, inexplicable menace.

"I had faced the silence of the East. I had heard some of its language. But when I opened my eyes again, the silence was as complete as though it had never been broken. I was lying in a flood of light, and the sky had never looked so far, so high, before. I opened my eyes and lay without moving".

The narrator awakes to an epiphany, a tense recognition, in the shock of arrival, of the inexorable consequences of colonial exposures.

And then I saw the men of the East – they were looking at me. The whole length of the jetty was full of people, I saw brown, bronze, yellow faces, the black eyes, the glitter, the colour of an Eastern crowd. And all these beings stared without a murmur, without a sigh without a movement. ----. I see it now – the wide sweep of the bay, the glittering sands, the sea blue like the sea of a dream, --- the high sterned outlandish craft floating still, and the three boats with the tired men from

the West sleeping, unconscious of the land and the people and the violence of sunshine. They slept thrown across the thwarts, curled on bottom boards, in the careless attitudes of death. ----. The East looked at them without a sound.

I have known its fascination since; I have seen its mysterious shores, its still water, the lands of brown nations, where a stealthy Nemesis lies in wait, pursues, overtakes so many of the conquering race, who are proud of their wisdom, their knowledge, of their strength" (246 –247).

The expansive regions of passage are evoked as both geographically mapped and natural space. While the *Narcissus* travels a specific trade route “from Bombay’s Byculla bay, past the stormy Cape, to within sight of the West Indies, to the Channel and London docks,” the *Judea* sails “enveloped in languid and unclean vapors, --- a pestiferous cloud defiling the splendour of sea and sky,” within a circumscribed yet infinite horizon of water and sky; upon a “sea (that) was polished, was blue, was pellucid, was sparkling like a precious stone, extending on all sides, all around to the horizon, as if the whole terrestrial globe had been one jewel, one colossal sapphire, a single gem fashioned into a planet” (231).

The textual seascape, thus extensive, yet specifically and uneasily bounded, is often structurally offset by a second architectural design, that of concentric and recessed ‘deep’ spaces. These spatial journeys, therefore, materialize an imperial seascape that represents both the ‘open spaces’ of a progressive global system of economic exchange and production and contained sites enclosing structured relations of organized power. The narrative coincidence of expansive territorialization and the presentation of closed ‘Foucauldian’ sites, both spaces constituted by and furthering an imperial project and

consolidating unequal relations of exchange, together comprise an appropriate geography of modernity. In this narrative design, the extensions of the bordered sea is a representation of the first feature, while the layered architecture and recesses of the sailing vessel is a repeated image of the second. The textual composition of a such a 'bipolar' landscape, expressive of imperial social ordering, has a specific narrative function. The layered recesses of the expansive circumference of modernity, its 'deep structure', radically enfolds images of 'constitutive crises' uncovered by the narrative, an important concept in theoretical accounts of the formations of modern geographies. This is most vividly imaged, for example, in narrative illustrations of the significant and destructive cargo contained in secret holds– the burning ballast, the dying nigger, the secret sharer.¹¹

¹¹ Possibly, the most evocative description of the hidden, dangerous cargo is to be found in *Youth: A Narrative*. The Judea leaves "London in a ballast, to load a cargo of coal in a northern port for Bangkok." The journey commences, "the old bark lumbered on heavy with her age and the burden of her cargo." After being delayed and stranded for months by storms and structural faults from London to Tyne and back to Falmouth, followed by gales from the Channel to the North Sea, the cargo catches fire as the ship enters the Indian Ocean. "The cargo smoldered at the bottom somewhere,' 'and on the luster of the great calm waters the Judea glided imperceptibly, enveloped in languid and unclean vapors, in a lazy cloud that drifted to leeward, light and slow; a pestiferous cloud defiling the splendor of sea and sky.' 232. As the hold quietly blazes, "The smoke kept coming out through imperceptible crevices; it forced itself through bulkheads and covers; it oozed here and there and everywhere in slender threads ----. It made its way into the cabin, into the fore-castle; it poisoned the sheltered places on the deck, it could be sniffed as high as the mineyard. --- The combustion refused to be stifled." Hopelessly trying to drown the embers, ("we poured salt water as into a barrel with no bottom"), the crew abandon ship and watch from the long boats as the coal gas explodes, and the vessel implodes from its depths. " The deck was a tangle of planks on end, of splinters, of ruined woodwork. The masts rose from that chaos like big trees above a matted undergrowth. The interstices of that mass of wreckage were full of something whitish, sluggish, staring – of something like a greasy fog. The smoke of the invisible fire was coming up again, was trailing, like a poisonous thick mist in some valley choked with deadwood. Already lazy wisps were beginning to curl upwards among the mass of splinters. Here and there a piece of timber

Kevin Hethrington notices, in his examination of the spatial ordering of the landscapes of modernity, the constitutive importance of ambiguity and crises at the center of geopolitical landscapes of unequal exchange. Hethrington emphasizes how "the issue of social ordering as an uncertain process has to be at the heart of our thinking about the character of modernity," and this orients his examination of "the spatializing processes within modernity and its relation to modes of social ordering." 10. Hethrington notices that "by looking at modernity through some of the spatializing processes that emerged within (modernity) and their relation to social ordering, we see uncertainty and ambiguity as central to the utopian vision of modernity rather than as things that always had to be subject to panoptical surveillance or planned eradication" (10).

Theoretical analyses that illustrate how the economic landscape of modernity is characterized by the ability to transform itself based on the absorption of spatial crises specifically illuminate principles of the constitutive function and spatial manufacture of modernist ambiguity. For example, David Harvey's study of the emergence of "a distinct spatial structure with the rise of capitalism" forwards the notion of radical and constitutive crises, resulting from the paradoxical dynamics of the geography of accumulation, that clear space for the increased development of the landscapes of modernity and the intensification of imperial control. In the *Geography of Capitalist Accumulation*, David Harvey describes the spatial dynamics of imperialism organized as the dialectics of expansion/concentration, center/periphery. The annihilation of spatial barriers brought about by the growth of markets produces structural stress in a dynamic,

stuck upright, resembled a post. Half of a fife rail had been shot through the foresail, and the sky made a patch of glorious blue in the ignobly soiled canvas. A portion of several

expansory system driven by twin impulses, to expand and to consolidate. The absorption of spatial stress is managed by the further production of peripheral outposts.

Here, Harvey's argument elaborates Marx's theory of growth under capitalism that places accumulation of capital at the center of systemic transformations. Periodic moments of crisis within the process of accumulation¹² have the effect of "expanding the productive capacity and renewing the conditions of further accumulation." 241. As "capital comes to represent itself in the form of a physical landscape created in its own image --- to enhance the progressive accumulation of capital on an expanding scale," these expansions and transformations, aided by innovations in "the physical conditions of exchange such as transport and communications", contribute to the imperial project of the "further production of peripheral outposts." The connection between accumulation and an imperial geography is established. Because "capital accumulation is bound to be

boards holding together had fallen across the rail, and one end protruded overboard, like a gangway leading over the deep sea, leading to death ---." 235 -36.

¹²Harvey explains Marx's concept of a revolutionary capitalism that constantly reshapes the world we live in: "A stationary state of simple reproduction is, for Marx, logically incompatible with the perpetuation of the capitalist mode of production (where) internal contradictions frequently erupt as crises. We can understand these stresses more easily if we recognize that the progress of accumulation depends upon and presupposes: The existence of a surplus of labor, requisite quantities of means of production, and a market to absorb the quantities of commodities produced. In each of these respects, the progress of accumulation may encounter a serious barrier which, once reached, will likely precipitate a crisis of some sort. --- Marx concludes that capitalism tends to produce barriers to its own development. This means that crises are endemic to the capitalist accumulation process. Manifestations of crises include chronic unemployment, capital surplus and lack of investment opportunities, falling profit rates, lack of demand in the market. These crises have an important function - they create the conditions which force some kind of order and arbitrary rationalization of the capitalist production system. --- Periodic crises must in general have the effect of expanding the productive capacity and renewing the conditions of further accumulation. We can conceive of each crisis as shifting the accumulation process onto a new and higher plane (by bringing about)

geographically expansionary,” it promotes “the production of cheap and rapid forms of communication and transportation in order that ‘the direct product can be realized in distant markets in mass quantities’ at the same time as new ‘spheres of realization for labor, driven by capital’ can be opened up” (244).

Paradoxically, in this stage, expansion is shadowed by the concentration of power that further reinforces a dominant center / periphery, metropole / colony relationship. The spatial dialectics of spaciousness and concentration, expansion and intensification, is maintained. Harvey describes how, “as the reduction in realization and circulation costs helps to create fresh room for capital accumulation, --- improvements in the means of transportation tend, to quote Marx, ‘in the direction of the already existing market, that is to say, towards the great centers of production and population, towards ports of export, etc’. These (increased) traffic facilities and the resultant acceleration of the capital turnover ---- give rise to the quicker concentration of both the centers of production and the markets.” (Marx. *Capital*. 1967. v2. 250). In this way, Harvey concludes, “geographical expansion and geographical concentration are both to be regarded as the product of the same striving to create new opportunities for capital accumulation. The imperative to accumulate produces concentration of production and of capital at the same time as it creates an expansion of the market for realization.” While “the market expands spatially, the periphery in relation to the center is circumscribed by a constantly expanding radius,”¹³ and “some sort of center periphery relation is bound to arise out of the tension between such concentration and geographical expansion.” (244 –246).

revolutions in the modes of production (and economic / spatial organizations).” 231 - 243.

To conclude, Harvey's analysis elaborates Marx's general theory that "tells of (capital's) necessity to expand and intensify geographically." Such progress is driven by the "manifestation of crises" that "renew conditions of further accumulation," (241), and its proper analysis requires a specific method that may apply to its representations. In order "to specify the relationships between the Marxian theory of accumulation and the theory of imperialism as it is usually construed, --- we have to specify how the inner logic of the capitalist mode of production, abstractly conceived, relates to the concrete realities, the phenomenal forms, of the historical process" (259).

In the Conradian tales, the shape of a materialized landscape of expansion and homogenization as well as enclosure, concentration and penetration is both projected upon and connected by the mobile seas and the encircled, voyaging ship with secret and violent depths. The textual image represents an international circuit of exchange and transaction, staging moments of crisis marking the catastrophic advance of bourgeois forces and the accumulation of capital, the violence of abstraction, and unequal exchange relations.

The notion of the landscape of unequal relations produced and consolidated by inherent structural crisis is presented in the narratives as a problem of analysis applied to transactions between the core and the periphery. The geography of modernity thus represented is a productive, constitutive geography, dialectically reinforcing and extending its global territory by means of significant moments of crises. Primarily, the Conradian sea narrative illuminates the 'conversion of products into commodities' that result from this geographical dynamics of exchange, the historical " movement of an

¹³ (Marx. *Theories of Surplus Value*. v3. 1972. 288).

antithesis' involving center/periphery that is best expressed by a Marxian axiom. "Different communities find different means of production, and different means of subsistence in their natural environment. It is this spontaneously developed difference which, when different communities come into contact, calls forth the mutual exchange of products, and the consequent gradual conversion of those products into commodities. The foundation of every division of labor that is well developed, and brought about it by the exchange of products, is the separation between town and country. It may be said that the whole economic history of society is summed up in the movement of this antithesis." (*Capital* 393).

The 'town and country' geography of unequal exchange relations constituting the emergent modern world system has been variously theorized as the production of an imperial landscape, in which the consolidation of capitalist centers require the simultaneous proliferation of supplemental landscapes of underdevelopment.¹⁴

¹⁴ Some important theoretical models of the landscapes of underdevelopment are well summarized in Joe Cleary's investigation of the historically specific colonial location of Ireland. "In the work of Paul Baran, Andre Gunder Frank and Immanuel Wallerstein, capitalism as a mode of production is equated with the penetration of capitalist market relations. As capitalism comes into contact with other modes of production through trade, all economic activity is increasingly subordinated to the profit maximizing imperatives of the market. As such, all distinctions between the capitalist modes and modes initially outside the capitalist sphere is rapidly eroded and the problem that then poses itself is that of analyzing the relationships of unequal exchange that subsequently emerge between capitalist core and periphery. An alternative position, associated with the works of Ernesto Laclau and Robert Brenner holds that while capitalist expansion is often accompanied by the expansion of capitalist class relations, it may also result in the combination of capitalist and non capitalist modes of production in ways that contribute to underdevelopment – ie - the emergence of class structures that determine economic development." Cleary notices how such models generally account for the creation of 'colonial' outposts by mercantile capitalist modernity, exemplified, for instance, by the expanding English mercantile state. The typologies of settlement patterns and economic systems include "administrative, plantation, mixed settlement and pure settlement

Conrad's sea, imaging 'bipolar' spaces of unequal international exchange and imperial concentrations of power, becomes not only a subject of representation, but also the object of a specific mode of analysis. Such a method exposes the radical material forms that dramatize narrative moments of 'constitutive crises' upon which the (spatial) structures of modernity are erected. In this regard, the staging of the alien, economic body, colonized by the relations of exchange imaged by the narrative topography and architecture, becomes an effective subject of embodiment. Such narrative disclosures reveal the materiality of substance transformed and co-opted within the spaces of modernity, and thus perform critical reversals. The textual strategy, therefore, may be read as one that effectively reverses a dominant method of abstraction underlying the geography of modernity, one that is instrumental in both the expansive landscape of exchange as well as the closed sites of power. The Marxist critique of political economics exposes an historically inauthentic method of political analysis that neglects to proceed from abstract relations to arrive at concrete totalities of social forms. Instead, "the economists of the seventeenth century" engaged in a "process of thinking" by which "the concrete, the concentration of many determinants," "appears as a process of concentration, as a result, not as a point of departure, even though it is a point of departure in reality and hence also the point of departure for observation and conception.

colonies, state structures, historical transformations." These provide examples of "the 'service' sites co-opted by the North Atlantic trade – specific historical compositions of land, labor, capital relations and modalities of state formations in specific colonial situations within the emergent imperial capitalist order, --- (in short) the international circuit of investment and extraction." Joe Cleary. "Misplaced Ideas? Locating and dislocating Ireland in Colonial and Postcolonial Studies." *Marxism, Modernity and Postcolonial Studies*. Ed Crystal Bartolovich and Neil Lazarus. Cambridge University Press. 2002. 101 – 125.

Along the first path, the full conception was evaporated to yield as abstract determination --- whereas the method of rising from the abstract to the concrete is the only way in which thought appropriates the concrete, reproduces it as the concrete in the mind.” The “obvious scientifically correct method” of analysis must study “economic systems which ascend from simple relations such as labor, division of labor, exchange value, to the level of the state, exchange between nations, and the world market.” (*Grundrisse* 237).

Conrad’s fiction employs a method that, in this sense, may be termed ‘correctly modern’. It recognizes how the combined and abstract forms of modernity that preserve the (spatial) relations of unequal exchange necessary to a logic of bourgeois spatial development rely on the transformations, combinations, abstractions of simple concrete categories and relations. To represent “modern bourgeois society (as) the most developed and the most complex historic organization of production,” the texts perform strategic manifestations, crucially exposing “the radical categories that express its relations, the comprehension of its structure, thereby allowing insights into the structure and relations of production of all the vanished social formations out of whose ruins and elements it built itself up, and whose partly still unconquered remnants are carried along within it --.” (*Grundrisse* 241).

In thus staging the “the materiality of substance” by exposing corporeal elements co-opted, erased and colonized by the economics of exchange, the texts challenge dominant modes of capitalist production/representation that “obscure the particularity of the object.”¹⁵ In the landscape of modernity, where “the production and circulation of

¹⁵ The important critical act of exposing, making visible, the “constitutive crisis” of modernity has been described as representational spatial practice by two interesting theses. Hethrington points to how “for Lefebvre, spatial practice is associated with the

commodities are the general prerequisites of the capitalist mode of production,” “the value of commodities is the very opposite of the coarse materiality of their substance --- and can only manifest itself in the social relationship of commodity to commodity.” (*Capital* 313 –15). The violence of abstraction is visited upon subject/object both in the course of the “material process of production,” as well as during “exchange in all its moments, (for example, exchange between town and country, exchange in the town, in the country etc.), that appears as either directly comprised in production, or determined by it.” (*Grundrisse* 236.)

The narrative illustrations of such systemic conversions, the undoing of the “most general abstractions” that arise in the “midst of the richest possible concrete development” exposes a fundamental relation between two important units in the relations of circulation – money as the register of currency and labor as the register of corporeality. The abstractions of the first category requires the commodification of the second. “The self expansion of capital,” evident as global systematizations of the circulation of commodities, is an “augmentation at the expense of the laborer,”¹⁶ and the

production of distinct spaces by social relations associated with capitalist production and reproduction. Representations of space are the hegemonic ideological representations associated with the space that is produced. It is Lefebvre’s belief that within the capitalist social formation, its social practise is rendered invisible as abstract space by the dominant representations of space, obscuring the social relations of power by which that space is produced. Space (is) fetishized in the same way that commodity is fetishized in capitalized societies. Resistance to the dominant social relations must make this space visible.” 22. This resistance takes place through alternate, politically progressive practices of spatial representations. Again, Coroneos’ points to Foucault’s assertion that “space is fundamental in any exercise of power” in *Space, Knowledge and Power*, (252), and his call for the ‘exposure of the strategies of power deployed through implantations, distributions, demarcations, control of territories and organization of domains’ in *Questions of Geography* (76).

¹⁶ *Capital* 400.

“dazzling money form of capital” requires that the value of labor be expressed “as the very opposite of the coarse materiality of their substance.” (*Capital* 313 –15). In Conrad’s tales, the chosen figures that negotiate the necessary distance between town and country, center and periphery, are seafaring, de - situated labor transported to and from colonial outposts. As labor that has been “sold to capital,” they are disciplined by the economies of exchange that, by various means, “converts the laborer into a crippled monstrosity (and) makes man a mere fragment of his own body.” The “subdivision of man,” the “crippling of the body and the mind” in a manufacturing economy leads to the domination of living labor by ‘dead’ capital in a “monetary system (that) still locates wealth, altogether objectively, as an external thing, in money.” (*Capital* 239 – 41.) The violence visited upon the colonized and laboring body intensifies with the progressions of modernity. “As the simplest abstraction which modern economics places at the head of its discussions”, the monetary exchange system “achieves practical truth as an abstraction only as a category of the most modern society.” “Money, as a simple category, achieves its full development only in a developed, combined form of society.” It does so most importantly by prescribing that “the abstraction of labor become the means of creating wealth in general,” and thus “economically conceives of labor as a modern category in that the abstraction of this category becomes true in practice”, as currency units possessing exchange value. (*Grundrisse* 240 - 41). As “money becomes capital,” it is contingent that “labor become capital positing, capital creating wage labor --- re producing the estranged conditions of its realization as alien powers opposite itself,” as “alien material, alien instrument and alien property.” (*Grundrisse* 252 - 54).

It is significant that narrative recoveries of the ‘abstractions’ of modernity in Conrad’s fiction choose as crucial units subjects that are politically colonized and spatially marginalized within the spaces of modern exchange. Disclosures of inherent crises within the landscapes of imperial exchange depend on the visibility of a ‘revealed’ corpus; an aesthetic presentation, the display and exhibition, of the fragmented, oriental, broken, dark, dying, stolen body circulated spatially as well as within the balance of global transactions. The Conradian representation of a geography of material exchange uses as constituent elements such performative and symbolic bodies abstracted in relation to global systems of currency, staged within the incursions and penetrations of an inescapable, interconnected spatial system. In this way, the texts present the aesthetics of a dynamic global traffic relying on the incorporation and transaction of abstracted non metropolitan material. For example, *Karain: A Memory* stages the penetration of imperial control over transgressive ‘lost’ space under Karain’s native rule as it is incorporated within reified relations of exchange. The disciplining of the excesses and fantastic violence and dangers of an erotic narrative of colonial desire is made effective here by means of a fetish- the abstract currency of metropolitan economic and political control. In short, Karain’s story represents the alienation of local agency under the false comfort of reification. Similarly, in *The Outpost of Progress*, the price required for the funding of London based ‘civilization’ comes from the exchange of living African bodies for ivory extracted from murdered African animals.

Bodies and Currencies:

I will end this discussion of the Conradian analytical method by choosing three narrative occasions where abstractions of form are materialized using (colonized) bodies and (metropolitan) currencies. These events are organized around the motif of the mercantile sea voyage that allows for the violence of imperial exchange visited upon the laboring body.

At the turn of the twentieth century, “the dialectic of labour and capital was thoroughly reconfigured by the emergence of the distinctly new mode of production of industrial capitalism from the cocoon of the older mode of mercantile capitalism. Such an emergence was crucially enabled (among the other factors) by the overdetermined encounter between, on the one hand, an accumulation of --- purely independent capital, and, on the other hand, the creation of the wage and the attendant industrial organization of the first labor force in history that was no longer bound to serfdom. Modern capitalism, in other words, emerged at the point of intersection between free labor and free capital.”¹⁷

Conradian stories of seafaring labor and transported capital extend the borders of this interactive movement, and emphasize its imperial dimensions. The dramatic resignification of unfree, endangered and colonized bodies held within an imperial order of exchange mark moments of ‘constitutive crisis’ in the tales, exposing, in such embodiments, the abstractions determining modern productions of international space.

¹⁷ Casarino, Cesare. *Modernity at Sea: Melville, Marx, Conrad in Crisis*. University of Minnesota Press, 2002. 2 - 3.

Karain: A Memory

'Karain' is first presented as an actor in a remote, colonial, scenic theater, "the ruler of three villages on a narrow plain; the master of an insignificant foothold on the earth – of a conquered foothold that, shaped like a young moon lay ignored, lay ignored between the hills and the sea." The enclosed region is described as a stage, vividly constructed in colors and shapes, a backdrop and a setting for a performative, exotic body that plays out "behind the footlights the condensed falseness of some grossly tragic situation."

"(Karain) indicated by a theatrical sweep of his arm along the jagged outline of the hills the whole of his domain; and the ample movement seemed to drive back its limits, augmenting it suddenly into something so enormous and vague that for a moment it appeared to be bounded only by the sky. And really, looking at that place, landlocked from the sea and shut off from the land by the precipitous slopes of mountains, it was difficult to believe in the existence of any neighborhood. It was still, complete, unknown ---. The bay was like a bottomless pit of intense light. The circular sheet of water reflected a luminous sky, and the shores enclosing it made an opaque ring of earth floating in an emptiness of transparent blue. The hills, purple and arid, stood out heavily on the sky; their summits seemed to fade into a colored tremble as of ascending vapour; their steep sides were streaked with the green of narrow ravines; at their foot lay rice fields, plantain patches, yellow sands. --- The sun blazed down into a shadowless hollow of colors and stillness" (146 – 147).

The constructed landscape becomes a “ stage where, dressed splendidly for his part, (Karain) strutted, incomparably dignified, made important by the power he had to awaken an absurd expectation of something heroic going to take place – a burst of action or song ----. He was ornate and disturbing, for one could not imagine what depth of horrible void such an elaborate front could be worthy to hide. He was not masked, there was too much life in him, and a life is just a lifeless thing; but he presented himself essentially as an actor, as a human being aggressively disguised. His smallest acts were prepared and unexpected, his speeches grave, his sentences ominous like hints and complicated like arabesques” (147).

Karain’s figure, a ritual and aesthetic construction of local power, is under Western observation from the shore by English traders who, by illegally trafficking with Karain, occupy a location that escapes the confines of imperial law and regulated marine transactions. “It was almost impossible to remember who he was, a petty chief of a conveniently isolated corner of Mindanao, where we could, in comparative safety, break the law against the traffic in fire arms and ammunition with the natives” (146).

"In many subsequent visits we came to know his stage well, the purple semicircle of hills, the slim trees leaning over houses, the yellow sands, the streaming green of the ravines. All that had the crude and blended coloring, --- the suspicious immobility of a painted scene; and it enclosed so perfectly the accomplished acting of his amazing pretences that the rest of the world seemed shut out forever from the gorgeous spectacle” (148).

Karain plays out his part in a revenge narrative of transgressive sexuality. He accompanies the avenging leader of the tribe in pursuit of his sister, marked and excommunicated by her marriage to a Dutch colonist. Karain betrays their cause and his

tribe by the murder of his friend, and breaks the laws of a new economic order as well as traditional codes of brotherhood. He is haunted by memories of his wanderings beyond the native sea in the mainland where “every man you meet is a slave, and the rulers live under the edge of a foreign sword.” In the end, Karain seeks the protection of a new order, figured as a sign of fetishized power – the imprinted monarch on an English coin – that leaves him reintegrated and “relieved from the fear of outer darkness. He held his head high, he swept a serene look over his conquered foothold of the earth.” 179. Karain is left secure and colonized under a promised ‘peace and protection,’ a charm first promised by the agents of a new civilization.

“I fancied that to the last he believed us to be the emissaries of the government, darkly official persons furthering by our illegal traffic some dark scheme of high statecraft. Our denials and protests were unavailing. He only smiled with discreet politeness and inquired about the Queen. Every visit began with that inquiry; he was insatiable of detail; he was fascinated by the holder of a scepter the shadow of which, stretching from the westward over the earth and over the earth and over the seas, passing far beyond his own handsbreath of conquered land” (151).

The talisman that Hollis, the Englishman, offers Karain is a residual effect in a desacralized, rationalized world. It is chosen from a box of everyday scraps, “reels of cotton, a packet of needles, --- a girl’s portrait, --- a bunch of flowers, --- a slim packet of letters carefully tied up.”

“Amulets of white men! Charms and talismen! Charms that keep them straight --- Potent things that procure dreams of joy, thoughts of regret ---. All the ghosts driven out of the unbelieving West by men who pretend to be wise and alone and

at peace, - all the homeless ghosts of an unbelieving world. ----. Hollis was facing us alone with something small that glittered between his fingers. It looked like a coin. 'Ah! Here it is,' he said. He held it up. It was a sixpence – Jubilee sixpence. It was gilt. ---. 'A charm for our friend,' (Hollis) said to us. 'The thing itself is of great power – money you know'. --- Hollis advanced towards Karain, who stood up as if startled, and then, holding the coin up, spoke in Malay. 'This is the image of the Great Queen, and the most powerful thing that the white men know', he said, solemnly. Karain covered the handle of his kriss in sign of respect, and stared at the crowned head. 'The Invincible, the Pious,' he muttered. "She is more powerful than Suleiman the Wise, who commanded the genii, as you know," said Hollis, gravely. "I shall give this to you." He held the sixpence in the palm of his hand, and looking at it thoughtfully, spoke to us in English. 'She commands a spirit, too – the spirit of her nation – a masterful, conscientious, unscrupulous, unconquerable devil ---' (177).

The Nigger of the Narcissus

At the launch of the *Narcissus*, James Waite, 'a St. Kitt'snigger,' arrives during roll call. "The nigger was calm, cool, towering, superb. The men had approached and stood behind him in a body. He overtopped the tallest by half a head. He said: "I belong to the ship." He enunciated distinctly, with soft precision. The deep rolling tones of his voice filled the deck without effort." 33. The chief mate, "Mr. Baker, lounging over the after hatch, sniffed the humid night in the company of the second mate. "Those West Indian

niggers run fine and large, some of them --- Ough --- Don't they? A fine big man that, Mr. Creighton. Feel him on a rope. Hey? --- I will take him into my watch, I think." (35).

As the ship, at the service of the East India trade, travels through a commercial seascape of trade routes and transactions, the reader is witness to the degeneration and the gradual degradation of Waite's suffering body in the ship's hold, "belonging neither to life and death," suspended and spatially precarious. The body's vulnerability is emphasized by a detailed evocation of disease, threats of drowning, and premonitions of death. In the process, Waite's presence becomes a source of infection within a psychologically affected community.

As the illness draws out its course, Donkins witnesses the effects of the fever.

"(Donkin) looked at James Waite and saw him long lean and dried up, as though all his flesh had shriveled on his bones in the heat of a white furnace; the meager fingers of one hand moved lightly upon the edge of the bunk playing an endless tune. To look at him was irritating and fatiguing; he could last like this for days; he was outrageous – belonging wholly neither to death nor life, and perfectly invulnerable in his apparent ignorance of both. --- James Waite had a grimacing smile that passed over the deathlike impassiveness of his bony face, incredible and frightful as would, in a dream, have been the sudden smile of a corpse. --- There was something of the immutable quality of eternity in the slow movements of his complete restfulness. --- His shirt clung to him. Every rib was visible. His emaciated back was shaken in repeated jerks by the panting catches of his breath." (126 –127).

Waite's helplessness during the theft of his hoarded gold is embodied in the in the body's immobility, its inability to protest the violation.

“James Waite rallied again. He lifted his head and turned bravely at Donkin, who saw a strange face, an unknown face, a fantastic and grimacing mask of despair and fury. Its lips moved rapidly; and hollow, moaning, whistling sounds filled the cabin with a vague murmur full of menace, complaint and desolation, like a far off murmur of a rising wind. Wait shook his head; he rolled his eyes; he denied, cursed, threatened; and not a word had the strength to pass beyond the sorrowful pout of those black lips” (128).

“It was incomprehensible and disturbing; a gibberish of emotions, a frantic dumb show of speech pleading for impossible things, promising shadowy vengeance ---. (Donkin) seemed to catch the shape of some words in the continuous panting hiss. He trembled with alarm and rage. ---. ‘They clouted me, kicked me - an’ yer laffed – yer black, rotten incumbrance, you! You will pay for it. They give yer their grub, their water, yer will pay fur it to me, by Gawd! --- Yer will pay fer it with yer money. I’m goin’ ter have it in a minynte; as soon as ye’re dead, yer blomin’ useless fraud. That’s the man I am. An’ ye’re a thing – a bloody thing. Yah – you corpse!’” (129).

As the sound of Jimmy's dying breathing fills the cabin, “Donkin instinctively glanced over his shoulder at the brilliant flame; then, still looking away, felt under the pillow for a key. He got it at once, and for the next few minutes remained on his knees shakily, but swiftly busy inside the box. When he got up, his face – for the first time in his life – had a pink flush – perhaps of triumph” (130).

The violent moment of Waite's death is significantly marked by the theft of his gold hidden in his chest, the loss of all physical strength, and the final conversion of his body into a corpse prepared for the ocean.

“(Belfast) would help the sailmaker to prepare what was left of Jimmy for a solemn surrender to the insatiable sea. He arranged the weights carefully at the feet: two holystones, an old anchor shackle without its pin, some broken links of a worn out stream cable. ----. ‘Lift his shoulders --- Pull to you a bit, --- So -o-o, --- Steady.’ Belfast obeyed, pulled, lifted, overcome with sorrow, dropping tears on the tarred twine. ‘What are you fashing yourself for? He will be comfortable enough,’ assured the sailmaker, cutting the thread after the last stitch, which came about the middle of Jimmy’s forehead. He rolled up the remaining canvas, put away the needle. ----. On two planks nailed together and apparently resigned and still under the Union Jack with a white border, James Waite, carried aft by four men, was deposited slowly, with his feet pointed at an open port. A swell had set in from the westward, and following the roll of the ship, the red ensign, at half mast, darted out and collapsed again on the grey sky, like a tongue of flickering fire. Charley tolled the bell, and at every swing to starboard, the whole vast semi circle of steely waters visible on that side seemed to come up with a rush to the edge of the port, as if impatient to get at our Jimmy. --- -. ‘Go!’ (Belfast) shouted, and sprang out of the crowd with his arms extended --- His fingers touched the head of the body, and the grey package started reluctantly to whiz off the lifted planks all at once, with the suddenness of a flash of lightning. --- The ship rolled as if relieved of an unfair burden; the sails flapped” (134).

Typhoon

The implications of the possession and loss of currency experienced by the colonized body and laboring body, is again explored in *Typhoon*. At the start, the master of the Nan Shan describes the human cargo and the provisions for their journey to be transported in the hold of the vessel.

“Jukes was directed --- to keep the forward ‘tween deck clear of cargo. Two hundred coolies were to be put down there , the Bun Hin company were sending that lot home. Twenty five bags of rice would be coming off in a sampan directly, for stores. All seven years men they were, said Captain MacWhirr, with a camphorwood chest to every man. The carpenter should be set to work nailing three inch battens along the deck below, fore and aft, to keep these boxes from shifting in the seaway” (256).

“(A) Chinaman was coming with the ships as far as Fu Chau – a sort of interpreter he would be. Bun Hin’s clerk he was, and wanted to have a look at the space. Jukes had better take him forward. ---- (Jukes) was gruff, as became his racial superiority, but not unfriendly. The Chinamen, gazing sad and speechless into the darkness of the hatchway, seemed to stand at the head of a yawning grave. ‘No catchee rain down there - savee?’ pointed out Jukes. “Suppose all’ee same fine weather, one piecie coolieman come topside,’ he pursued, warming up imaginatively. ‘Make so – phoo!’ He expanded his chest and blew out his cheeks. ‘Savee, John? Breathe – fresh air. Washee his piecee pants, chowchow topside – see, John?’” (256).

The narrative crisis is arranged around the disclosure of a violent moment deep within the hold of the typhoon battered trading ship, derailed as fragmentary impressions of storm tossed oriental bodies and broken caskets of silver dollars.

As the ship is gripped by a violent typhoon, the boatswain hears, with “every roll --- profound, ponderous thumps, as if a bulky object of five ton weight or so had got play in the hold. But there was no such thing in the cargo. Something on deck? Impossible. Or alongside? Couldn’t be” (287).

“He straddled his legs the whole width of the doorway and stretched his neck. At first he perceived only what he had come to seek: six small yellow flames winging violently on the great body of the dusk. ----. The whole place, with the shadows and the shapes, moved all the time. The boatswain glared: The ship lurched to starboard, and a great howl came from the mass that had the slant of fallen earth. Pieces of wood whizzed past. Planks, he thought, inexpressibly startled, and flinging back his head. At his feet, a man went sliding over, open eyed on his back, straining with uplifted arms for nothing: and another came bounding like a detached stone with his head between his legs and his hands clenched. His pigtails whipped in the air; he made a grab at the boatswain’s legs, and from his opened hand a bright white disc rolled against the boatswain foot. He recognized a silver dollar, and yelled at it in astonishment. With a precipitated sound of trampling and shuffling of bare feet, and with guttural cries, the mound of writhing bodies piled up to port, detached itself from the ship’s side and sliding, inert and struggling, shifted to starboard, with a dull brutal thump. ----. Through the roar and whistling of the wind; he saw an inextricable confusion of

head and shoulders, naked soles kicking upwards, fists raised, tumbling backs, legs, pigtails, faces” (288).

Making his way to the storm swept deck to Jukes and Captain MacWhirr, “he managed to convey the idea that the Chinamen had broken adrift with their boxes, and he had come up on purpose to report this.” (289).

Jukes, sent down to examine the crisis “desired irritably to know what they were fighting for. ‘Dollars! Dollars, sir. All their rotten chests got burst open. Blamed money skipping all over the place, and they are tumbling after it head over heels – tearing and biting like anything. A regular little hell in there.’ Jukes convulsively opened the door. The short boatswain peered under his arm. One of the lamps had gone out, broken perhaps. Rancorous, guttural cries burst out loudly on their ears, and a strange panting sound, the working of all these straining breasts. A hard blow hit the side of the ship; water fell above with a stunning shock, and in the forefront of the gloom, where the air was reddish and thick, Jukes saw a head bang the deck violently, two thick calves waving on high, muscular arms twined around a naked body, a yellow face, open mouthed and with a set wild stare, look up and slide away. An empty chest clattered turning over; a man fell head first with a jump, as if lifted by a kick; and further off, indistinct, others streamed like a mass of rolling stones down a bank, thumping the deck with their feet and flourishing their arms wildly. The hatchway ladder was loaded with coolies swarming over it like bees on a branch. They hung on the steps in a crawling, stirring cluster, beating madly with their fists the underside of the battened hatch, and the headlong rush of the water above was heard in the intervals of their yelling. The ships heeled over more, and they began to drop off: first one, then two, then all the rest went away together falling

straight off with a great cry. --- The whole place seemed to twist upon itself, jumping incessantly the while; and when the ship rose to a sea Jukes fancied that all these men would be shot upon him in a body. He backed out, swung the door to, and with trembling hands pushed at the bolt ----” (291 – 92).

In the engine room, as the crew bears the force of the typhoon, Jukes imagines the violent conclusion of the subterranean narrative. “He could perfectly imagine the coolies battened down in the reeking tween deck, lying sick and scared between the rows of chests – or perhaps several at once – breaking loose in a roll, knocking out others, sides splitting, lids flying open, and all these clumsy Chinamen rising up in a body to save their property. Afterwards every fling of the ship would hurl that tramping, yelling mob here and there, from side to side, in a whirl of smashed wood, torn clothing, rolling dollars. A struggle once started, they would be unable to stop themselves. Nothing could stop them now except main force. It was a disaster” (299).

The rescue of the Chinese labor occupies the rest of the narrative, and is conducted at two levels: the safeguarding of their surviving bodies and their reincorporation within a ‘just’ system of exchange. The narrative conclusion reinforces the abstraction of the saved bodies by reclassifying them as ‘wage labor’ in redistributing the recovered currency as ‘just possession.’

The crisis – ridden embodiments and substantiations staged within the Conradian seascape are fundamental to the narrative analysis of ‘borderland’ modernity conducted in the stories. They illustrate, in a sense, the argument that the body is at once the site of political - economic contestation, and of the social forces that constitute it.¹⁸ Bodily

manifestations of abstracted labor significantly implicated in the circulation of capital effectively disclose the imperial relations underlying the formations of a modern spatial order.

¹⁸ See, for example, David Harvey. 'The Body as an Accumulation Strategy.' In *Environment and Planning: Society and Space*. 16: 1998. 401 – 421. Harvey describes the laboring body, constituted through its work, as a corporeal entity as well as a consumable good, and bodily practices as a means to transform relations of production and a means to create an emancipatory politics.

II - Consolidating the Border

'The Making of Kim': Kipling's Fiction of Anglo Indian Geography.

This chapter will focus on the significant spatial architecture of Kipling's turn of the century novel, *Kim* (1901). The text presents an Anglo Indian landscape as the constitutive location of a 'cartographic consciousness' that is 'English' as well as imperial.¹ In this, it exemplifies a specific metropolitan discourse of modern socio spatial engineering. Kipling's 'Anglo India' effectively represents an early twentieth century 'geographical imaginary,' one that insisted that a stable metropolitan history of individual and cultural development relies upon (extra) territorial principles. In these narratives of modernity as (historical) development, a complex of progressive Enlightenment thought and disciplinary geopolitics supported the natural potential and function of metropolitan identity. The location of such identities within geographical models predicated upon assigned and unequal spatial relations of center - periphery, east - west removed the threat of relative and relational frames of reference, the characteristic ambiguity "at the

¹ Historically, the end of the nineteenth century was a period marked by increased British colonial activity, notably the expansions of territory in southern Africa and the securing of the northern frontiers of the Indian subcontinent. At this time, India, as the largest British colony, became politically significant for a metropolitan community increasingly connected to and confident in the possession of a global Empire. The 'Anglo Indians', part of the vast bureaucratic machinery of the Indian Civil Services and its related civil and cultural institutions as well as a significant quota in the Indian army, traveled east from every section of domestic society, as soldiers, administrators, governors. The imperial work of political consolidation undertaken by this expatriate community reinforced familiar notions of British civilization and culture at home, as entities to be established and defended in remote and foreign spaces. Kipling's fiction provides a measure of such deflected images of "British self regard" primarily 'by tailoring India to the destinies of his protagonists.' *Kipling's Indian Fiction*. Mark Paffard. Macmillan, 1989. 5.

heart of our thinking about modernity,"² and re-affirmed dominant notions of development, order, form.

To illustrate, we may look to two key metropolitan texts, philosophical and social, that theorize some geographical determinants of historical development. In Kipling's novel, similar assumptions are redeployed in a narrative argument concerning the Anglo Indian basis of Kim's functional imperial identity. Hegel's essay on the "Geographical Basis of World History"³ presents a teleology that, in documenting the process of racial and cultural self-realization from conditions of immaturity, reinforces the Enlightenment theme of liberation achieved by rational progressions. In emphasizing the mutual interdependence between notions of historical development and emancipation, the essay uses "the idea of the spirit" as an historical agent that ascends from a 'natural' to a 'political' existence, and thus towards freedom. Geography provides the particular possibilities "from which the spirit germinates" in individual and collective historical forms. The identification of the geographical conditions that "can provide the basis for human freedoms" achieved by "world historical nations" concludes that Europe's geographical location in the "temperate zone," as well as the happy balance of its

² Kevin Hethrington notices, in his study of the spatial ordering of the landscapes of modernity, how "the issue of social ordering as an uncertain process has to be at the heart of our thinking about the character of modernity." "The spatializing process within modernity" preserves a complex relation to "modes of social ordering" "One approach to modernity --- sees it as something based on an overwhelming desire to order around some grand design that began with the Enlightenment. In this sense, modernity is seen as having an order that is driven by the Grand Narratives of freedom, progress, utopia and emancipation, which have effects that have anything but to do with freedom, and which end in overall social control and the marginalization of all who do not fit into its grand designs." 10.

³ Excerpted from Lectures on the Philosophy of World History (1822 – 28) in *Race and Enlightenment: A Reader*. Ed. E. C. Eza. Blackwell, 1997. 109 -149.

topographical constitution expressing the unity of its spirit, “must furnish the theater of world history.” The promotion of a certain political and topographical design emphasizing structural cohesion and centralization as the basis of mature civilizations assigns such features to the western world. The centered and organic federal state with a growing industry and population, enjoying civil order and freedom, maintains its absolute difference and superiority in relation to its subsidiary, the ‘new’ world, the place of antithesis and passivity rather than unification and activity. However, Asia, land of oppositions and division, consigned to a state of ahistorical immaturity by its own geographical determinations, is historically important as a place of potential and origins: “The consciousness of being in and for itself first emerges in the oriental world. --- Thus it is in Asia that the ethical world of political consciousness first arose. Asia is the continent of sunrise and of origins in general. Just as Europe is the center and the end of the old world, absolutely the West, so also is Asia absolutely the East. It is here that the light of the spirit the consciousness of a universal first emerged, and with it, the process of world history” (143).

Kim charts the distance between Eastern origins and European completion. The structural narrative trope of an oriental quest eventually also brings its eponymous protagonist to a mature political identity. In this sense, the final constitution of Kim’s Anglo Indian identity embodies a symbolic unity. It illustrates how “the natural world and the spiritual world together form the living totality of history,” exemplified as the historically active and organic Hegelian European subject, product of a seamless and ordered geographical landscape. South Asia remains, in this narrative of formation, “the theater of completely contrasted ways of life, (of the highlands and of the plains),

(whose) relationship is one of interaction.” The places traversed by Kim in his journeys with the Lama, the highlands and plains of the subcontinent, provides the setting for a relationship between opposite dispositions in Kim’s hybrid and diverse history, necessary for the mapping of a course of progressive development that connects the space between the potential of Kim’s orphaned oriental childhood and the efficient resolution of his imperial adulthood.

The institution of the early twentieth century discourse of disciplinary geopolitics in Europe provides a second useful frame of reference for my reading of Kipling’s narrative geography. Christopher Gogwilt’s comprehensive study of *The Fiction of Geopolitics* describes the institution of a timely ‘political’ geography that reflected Enlightenment concepts of historical development. In its conception of Eurocentric cultural development supported by the study and scripting of a descriptive, ‘historical’ geography that shapes a rational, democratic scheme of progress, modern geopolitics supported official nationalism and imperialism. It designated and differentiated hierarchical locations of culture – as – bildung, and then suggested that an imperial mission be undertaken by the historically active European subject, geographically situated and enabled as the representative and leader of a globally dispersed cultural order, who must extend and study the ‘geography of development’ as an object of epistemological and political domination.⁴

⁴ These theoretical arguments are initially most notably available in the work of “Friedrich Ratzel (1844 – 1904), the German geographer whose theory of Lebensraum and political geography set the terms for the later development of “Geopolitic,” and Halford J. Mackinder (1861 – 1947), the British geographer who championed an imperial ‘new geography in schools and universities in Britain, and whose political geography exercised considerable influence, not least on the Nazi geopoliticians of the 1930’s” (19). Both geographers contributed to a “continuous” epistemological argument unifying

It is important to emphasize the key notion of (cultural) development in the establishment and legitimatization of geopolitics. For example, in *Britain and the British Seas* (1902), Mackinder presents the present geopolitical image of Britain as a constellation of the political contradictions of European geography threatened by the breakdown of 19th century notions of 'culture', a term relying on "the assumptions of the coordination of natural individual, national, human, and ultimately, universal processes of development." The 'European hypothesis of culture' draws from contemporary socio-historical theories. These include "German idealist notions of "Bildung" as a process of individual development, aesthetic education, and national culture, Wilhelm Humboldt's educational theories, Herder's arguments on national development and world history, the aesthetic theories of Schiller and Goethe, as well as the paradigmatic example of Goethe's *Bildungsroman*." (Gogwilt 19).

Mackinder's texts promote a specific geographical structure of power. They do so by scripting a centralized, unified and expanding European landscape, and by arguing for the study of geography as a unified discipline with a central place in general education. The "continuous argument" of geography, from physical geography to political geography enables the discipline to bridge "one of the greatest of all gaps, (one that) lies between the natural sciences and the study of humanity."⁵ This movement is central to

physical and political geography. The 'rhetoric and iconography' of the new discipline, in analyzing the geopolitics of historical development in collective and individual forms, reflected the tradition of Enlightenment concepts of development and the ideals of German *Bildung*, education / culture.

⁵ Mackinder's claim for what connects "physical geography" to "political geography" "abbreviates most notably the theoretical debates in Germany on geography, and above all those raised in Friedrich Ratzel's *Anthropogeographie*, dated between 1882 – 1892." (Gogwilt 21). In the opening sections of the first volume, Ratzel divides geography into "Physikalische Geographie" (physical geography) and *Anthropogeographie* (human

geographical descriptions of the necessary growth and global diffusion of European culture, and therefore the production of a “geography at the service of an expansionist, imperialist politics.”⁶

Geopolitics designates the territorial locations of culture -as -Bildung as progressive models that support the politics of an official geography. These work as “technologies of power in the service of a centralizing and imperialist state.”⁷ Using uneven, contrasted models of culture to situate and measure individual and collective development, geopolitical strategies endorse metropolitan imperial actions. Differentiated, hierarchical and progressive notions of culture support the “geopolitical teaching” of the state as unified spatial organism whose cultural constitution facilitates its (imperial) development. “Describing the shift from Anthropogeographie to Politische Geographie,” Ratzel’s *Volkerkunde* designated “culture as the sum of all the spiritual and mental achievements of an epoch. Yet this (designation) was not a simple or firm one. We speak of levels of culture, of higher or lower culture, of semi culture, and above all we set in opposition

geography.) His definition of ‘anthropogeographie’ asserts, first, that primacy should be given to human geography, since the human being is the main object of study for every science. He then goes on to insist however that anthropogeography is intimately connected with the natural sciences. Importantly, it is this connection between the natural and the human sciences that provides geography with its distinctive object of study, namely, “the geographical diffusion of humankind across the earth’s surface.” (Gogwilt 22).

⁶ An interesting byproduct of the academic institution of geopolitics – as - discipline in British universities at the turn of the century is examined in Robin Butlin’s essay on the ‘Historical Geographies of the British Empire’ published between 1887 – 1925. Focusing on texts such as C. P. Lucas’ *The Historical Geography of the British Colonies / Dominions / Dependencies*, H. B. George’s *An Historical Geography of the British Empire*, and J. R. Seeley’s *Expansion of England*, Butlin argues that the “most important features of these historical geographies is the way in which they demonstrate a particular view of geography seen as a background to history and as scientific and humanistic justification for a range of imperial ideals and policies.” 151.

peoples with culture and peoples without culture.” The breakdown of the “singular unfolding culture of all humankind into different levels of culture leads to the problem of ‘Kultur’ as an --- object of military power, political strategy, and territorial control. In short, the geopolitics of Mackinder’s map.”⁸

The connection between individual histories of progressive acculturation and larger national/collective imperial histories of development is best expressed here by the historical scope of the progressively enlightened Eurocentric subject whose imperial mission is to extend the political scope of metropolitan cultural borders. For example, the argument of Ratzel’s *Anthropogeographie* “depends on viewing the unity of humankind in its historical development and diffusion throughout the world.” The text inscribes hierarchy into “a grand process of human development” to which “one people after another” contribute as the as the “carriers” of its “own phase in the unfolding” of culture. “The racially highest of contemporary humankind are not only the carriers of culture,

⁷ In *Modernity and the Writing of Space: The Geographic Invention of Ireland*. 10.

⁸ The emergence of the ethnographic and strategic idea of Kultur in the nationalistic and patriotic writings of Ratzel’s writings prefigured in a 1886 commemorative essay on Herder’s *Ideen zur Philosophie der Geschichte der Menschheit*, also called ‘The Geographical Image of Humankind’. In posing the question of European culture and its rank above other people, the essay is particularly relevant for the later formation of geopolitics because of its concern for the relation between natural laws of development and the cultural development of humankind. Both senses of development natural and human, inflect Herder’s conception of culture as *Bildung*. (Gogwilt 27). The essay describes the completion of Herder’s hundred year old idealist project of grounding science in the unfolding development of physical nature and human history as being realized. The project of *Bildung* over for Germany, geographical science has arrived at the true picture, *Bild*, of humankind – and can now be put to the service of the new German state. (Gogwilt) 42.

because they are so highly developed, but also on the other hand are so highly developed, because they are the carriers of culture.”⁹

In Kipling’s novel, Kim’s development is organized within coordinates that recall a Hegelian schematics of the geographical basis of (historical) self formation. The best expression of his maturing identity is demonstrated by a functional ability to know, use, and secure colonial space, strategies that reflect current metropolitan institutionalizations of a political geography that endorsed the notion of Eurocentric cultural and national development at the service of the imperial State. Anglo India, an originative yet essentially 'primitive' oriental location, functions as a significant narrative illustration. It specifies an Enlightenment conception of the geographical basis of historical development expressed, for example, as national or individual self consciousness of destiny. Simultaneously, Anglo India remains the political and epistemological object of imperial geopolitical strategies practiced by the formative imperial subject.

Joe Cleary’s study of the “displacements of indigenous social relations” in colonized Ireland¹⁰ identifies (colonial) modernity as a transformative force that produces “a new orientation to spatial structures – landscape, cityscape, cultivation architecture, scenery, travel, cartography, surveillance, patrolling”. This is achieved by an “imperial praxis” involving a “dialectical relation between the knowing subject and his surrounding world,

⁹ Similarly, the late nineteenth series *La Nouvelle Geographie Universelle* by Elisee Reclus comprehensively traces how “the destiny and mission of Europe is equated with the destiny and mission of mankind. The hypothesis on which Reclus’s ‘universal’ descriptive geography depended claimed that the “progress” of Europe’s historical development may be linked to furthering the universal history of mankind. This hypothesis of culture in the broadest sense might be said to be the founding ideal of European historical geography, and thus made European geography the condition of imagining what principles of development and culture connects European destiny with the history of all humankind”. (Gogwilt 26).

including both nature and built environment, that asserts a series of differences as well as dialectic mediations.” Kipling’s novel chooses the ‘Anglo Indian’ boy protagonist Kim, orphaned son of an Irish subaltern, raised ‘native’ in the Lahore bazaars, to engage with the dialectical spatial praxis of colonial modernity. Kim’s heterogeneous constitution registers the ‘cartographic consciousness’ of the novel. As spiritual acolyte and imperial agent, Kim is apprenticed to the interplay of two distinct landscapes: the ‘historical’ colony, space of geopolitical practice, and the metaphoric topography of the lama’s Search retraced upon the path once taken by the traveling Buddha. Together, these crossover territories provide a political location as well as a ‘cognitive map’, the basis of the “formation of personal and political subjectivities,”¹¹ here exemplified as Kim’s individuation.

The progressive narrative frame of the journey undertaken by Kim towards a political and spiritual adulthood uses an episodic and picaresque structure: the commencement of the pilgrimage apprenticed to the Lama’s quest for salvation, the interlude of his absence during the period of his education that prepares him as an official agent of the empire, and the final return to the road in the service of the state as well as of the interrupted

¹⁰ Joe Cleary. *Misplaced Ideas*. 111.

¹¹ “Locating, positioning, individuating, identifying and bounding, are operations that play a key role in the formation of personal and political subjectivities. Who we consider ourselves to be, (both individually and collectively) is broadly defined by our position in society and the world. There are mental or cognitive maps, perhaps even cartographic systems embedded in our consciousness that defy easy representation on some Cartesian grid. The intersection of formal mapping procedures with this sense of who we are and how we may locate ourselves is far from innocent. (Analysing geographical constructions) provides important clues as to how political personal and psychological subjectivities are sensitive to cartographic endeavors, and how changing the map of the world can change our modes of thought and our social behaviors.” (Harvey 220 –221).

quest.¹² Kim's (political) pilgrimage uses the linear frame of the open road towards a culminating destination: that of the mythical river – of - salvation, a final submergence preceding an anticipated ascension and maturity. The progressive movement of the narrative contrasts with cyclical geographical patterns underlying its incremental advancements. The journey toward manhood and self definition ascends and descends and ascends again – north to south to north, hills to the plains to the hills. Kim's passage, organized around the theme of development expressed as dimensions of individual and collective growth, political and spiritual maturity, is projected upon a complex textual space, conjoined and crossover landscapes of (pre) modernity and its supportive political 'other'. Railroad tracks and state highways connect organized oriental city centers to village fringes, farmland, countryside, forested hillsides. Imperial 'chainmen' and surveyors map and measure the land, intelligence officers watch for breaches in its political order, and English police and army men protect and secure its reaches and its borders.

At the same time, the spiritual pilgrimage undertaken by the Buddhist Lama and his 'chela' maps the geographical coordinates of the mythical path to Nirvana, organized according to directions provided by the Buddha's life, upon such an imperially produced landscape of modernity. At the heart of the cartographic composition lie the mutually reinforcing devices of a secret and a revelation, that of Kim's birth and the vision of the 'river of Truth.' The geographic design resolves the contradictions, ambiguities and instabilities of political and cultural formation produced by the interplay of imperial

¹² Interestingly, the narrative structure echoes a biographical pattern; Kipling's own 'Indian' childhood was followed by a sequestered period of 'English' education, and then a return, as a Sahib, to a career, in this case as a regional journalist, qualified by his intimacy with local and native life.

identity and a determining colonial environment. Managing a problematic dialectic of dependence and knowledge based control, the narrative emphasizes a symbiotic relationship, seemingly beneficial to both, that establishes Kim's adult identity and aids the lama's search. Specifically, the narrative development of identity - as - history uses the paradigms of oriental prophecy, transformation, miracle and spiritual quest that protect, support, finance, and make more efficient the production of an imperial identity; one that must assert its geopolitical agency in securing the spatial networks of modernity at the margins of colonial power.

The narrative sets up, at the start, the lost origins of Kim's identity in a 'magic' amulet containing a prophecy interpreted as the mythic prediction of Kim's birth and destiny, and the possibilities of the divination are played out in the course of the narrative. The emblematic talisman of the 'Red Bull on a Green Field,' initially understood as the 'sign of war,' is eventually deciphered as the regimental emblem of an Irish contingent in the British - Indian army, a record left by Kim's dead father of his child's subaltern Irish parentage. However, when the Buddhist Lama finds his chela upon the steps of the Lahore museum, Kim is still a child of the streets and bazaars, passing as native, living by his wits, and as such, qualified to manage the pragmatics of sub - continental journeying. Kim's primary relation to the 'oriental' city, the public space of his early nurture, introduces the reader to the nature of his connection with the land in terms of belonging and knowledge. Gail Ching - Liang Low describes the "self/other binary" that uses "different symbolic domains, including the psyche, the city, and the empire," to describe the "contact between the colonial self and its racial others in the native quarters of the colonial city." Threatened by the dangers of crime, infection, and moral enervation,

the imperial self remains enclosed in the “disciplinary regime of order and cleanliness” that organizes European enclaves, civil stations and military barracks in colonial spaces. In doing so, it preserves itself from the “impurities of its own identity, by producing the ‘other’ city – the native quarters and the slums”. It uses “ the language of disciplinary and regulatory discourse” that encodes the absolute division of native and colonial sections of the oriental city. Kim’s ‘Indian’ childhood rejects such an architecture of absolute difference. Dramatizing perhaps Kipling’s own childhood intimacies with the city of Lahore, Kim’s local negotiations of city place require and encourage cultural acclimatization. Kim’s fluency in native speech and disguise, familiarity with crowd psychology and interactive communication, enables an active mediation of city space. Kim controls city space, and shapes it, by means of close social contact and acculturation, into a space of formative play and sustenance. Lahore’s streets prepare him for his pragmatic guardianship of the river –quest, as well as for his future service to the British Intelligence Service, as he performs local assignments for the ‘Great Game’¹³ directed by the horse trader and secret agent, Mahbub Ali. Kim’s native childhood establishes a particularly significant relationship to space that is, to use Ching – Liang Low’s phrase, “not subversive of colonial discourse, but is constitutive of the dominant.”

The introduction of a second narrative map, charting the course of the pilgrimage intended by the Tibetan Lama who finds Kim upon the steps of the Lahore museum,

¹³ “The ‘Great Game’ of espionage originated in the context of the First Afghan War of 1839, and the became current as a description of British Eastern diplomacy in general, so that its use in *Kim* relocates it and indirectly asserts the political primacy of India and its north eastern frontier. The actual system of espionage described in *Kim* is based on fact, down to the terminology of ‘players’ and ‘games’, and the use of a wooden rosary to count the paces in clandestine work.” (Paffard 83.)

offers Kim an immediate route out from the local – urban formative space of his childhood toward a ‘national’ experience of space. The events following the arrival of the Tibetan lama at the Lahore Museum introduces the reader early to the spatial reach of imperial cartography, as illustrated by the display of figured documents of historical/mythic journeys preserved by the museum curator.

“The Lama --- spoke to the Curator of his lamasery, the Suchzen, opposite the Painted Rocks, four months march away. The Curator brought out a huge book of photos and she owed him the very place, perched on its crag, overlooking the gigantic valley of many hued strata.

“Ay, ay!” The lama mounted a pair of spectacles of Chinese work. “Here is the little door through which we bring wood before winter. And thou – the English know of such things? He who is now the Abbot of Lung – Cho told me, but I did not believe. The Lord – the excellent one – he has honor here too? And his life is known?” “It is all carven upon the stones. Come and see, if thou are rested.”

The scripting of ancient Buddhist myths in European texts traces the expanses, coordinates, and details of the subcontinent as geographic as well as spiritual / psychic space. Kim is initiated into an alternate trajectory of growth as he prepares to accompany the Abbot lama on the path to the Truth as his appointed disciple. “Coming and going across India as softly as a bat”, Teshoo Lama conducts his pilgrimage “following the traces of the Blessed Feet throughout all India”, upon the Road toward the River of Enlightenment under the protection of his chela’s companionship. “There remained nothing in more in life but to find the River of the Arrows. Yet it was shown to him in

Also, Paffard recommends the study of espionage in colonial India by Michael Edwardes in *Playing the Great Game*. London: Hamish Hamilton, 1975.

dreams that it was not a matter to be undertaken with any hope of success unless the seeker had with him the one chela appointed to bring the event to a happy issue ---” (140).

In the course of their travels, the novel’s extraordinary celebration of the Grand Trunk Road, “the broad, smiling, river of life”, in passages vibrant with ‘painterly images’ and Kim’s ‘delinquent pleasures,’ evokes “all India spread out to right and left” as a social spectacle. “And truly the Grand Trunk Road is a wonderful spectacle. It runs straight, bearing without crowding India’s traffic for fifteen hundred miles – such a river of life as nowhere else exists in the world.” The road bears commercial traffic, “heavy carts (of) grain and cotton and timber, folder, lime and hides,” and is protected by imperial policing. “Sahibs traveled up and down here in hundreds. --- A man goes in safety here, for at every few koss there is a police station.” A “happy Asiatic disorder” of varied Indian life animates the highway, and delights Kim.

“All castes and kinds of men move here. Look! Brahmins and chamars, bankers and tinkers, barbers and banias, pilgrims and potters. All the world coming and going” (51). “Here and there they met or were overtaken by the gaily dressed crowds of whole villages turning out to some local fair; the women with their babes on their hips, walking behind their men, the older boys prancing on sticks of sugarcane, --. These merry makers stepped slowly, calling one to the other, and stopping to haggle with sweetmeat – sellers, or to make a prayer before one of the wayside shrines ----. A little later a marriage procession would strike into the Grand Trunk with music and shoutings, and a smell of marigold and jasmine even than the reek of dust. One could see the bride’s litter, a blur of red and tinsel,

staggering through the haze ----. Then Kim would join the Kentish – fire of good wishes and bad jokes ----. Still more interesting and more to be shouted over it was when a strolling juggler with some half trained monkey, or a panting, feeble bear, or a woman who tied goats’ horns to her feet, and with these danced on a slack – rope, set the horses to shying and women to shrill, long drawn quavers of amazement” (56).

“Thrilled with delight,” Kim admits that “this was seeing the world in real truth; this was life as he would have it – bustling and shouting, the buckling of belts, and the beating of bullocks and creaking of wheels, lighting of fires and cooking of food, and new sights at every turn of the approving eye. --- India was awake, and Kim was in the middle of it, more awake and more excited than anyone” (65).

Even so, the mapped journey toward the ‘river of truth’ seems to inhabit a space curiously outside of the political geography of the ‘river of life’ underpinning the narrative of Kim’s development. Nostalgic for the empty mountains, the Abbot – lama averts his eyes from the life ‘bound upon the Wheel’. Kim remains an eternal subordinate, a perpetual child to the Lama’s spiritual guardianship, in an autonomous and complete moral space empty of political commitments and historical relations of situation and action. The ideology of removed, ‘metaphysical’ space contests the politics of (imperial) engagement and differentiation embodied in the ‘Wheel of Action’ and the ‘Road of Life’ to which Kim’s identity as a Sahib is tied. At the conclusion of Kim’s formal education at St. Xavier’s School, the Lama teaches the meaning of the Search to counter the acquired lessons of historical agency. : “To abstain from action is well – except to acquire merit.’

‘At the gates of learning, we were taught that to abstain from action was unbecoming a Sahib. And I am a Sahib.’

‘Friend of all the world,’ – the lama looked directly at Kim – ‘I am an old man, pleased with shows as are children. To those who follow the way, there is neither black nor white, Hind nor Bhutiyal. We be all souls seeking escape. No wonder what thy wisdom learned among Sahibs, when we come to my river, thou wilt be freed from all illusion – at my side. --- The Search is sure” (178).

However, because the narrative - organizing quest must be conducted upon an imperially produced landscape of modernity, Kim’s function as navigator relies on his expert negotiations with the institutions and modes of modernization and imperialism, his knowledgeable manipulation of the socio psychic landscapes of (pre) modern Indian culture. To this end, Kim is unwillingly coopted into the disciplinary institutions of Anglo India. The British military clergy, who find Kim on the road to Lucknow in the company of the Abbot lama, identify his racial identity and subaltern parental history coded as the genealogical and regimental meaning of the ‘Red Bull on a Green Field’ on Kim’s amulet. Fittingly, Kim is then adopted by the institutions of organized colonial education, military and government. Kim’s journeying is suspended during the following interlude of schooling, extra - disciplinary instruction, cultural training – necessary preparations toward a colonial career. Recognizing the political imperatives of “the prophecy of the ruling Star of War,” and that Sahibs “sell, not give learning, ---and the more money is paid, the better the education,” (104), Teshoo Lama defers his own travels, finances an education appropriate for Kim’s imperial socialization, and waits for his return to the road as an ‘educated’ traveler and agent. In this enterprise, Kim’s

schooling and the Lama's quest are mutually supportive events. By helping his "chela to wisdom," the Lama preserves his guardianship, and also progresses in the effort to "acquire merit." Kim's education and the Lama's pilgrimage, distinct projects of the road, are mutual reinforcements of each other. The Lama summarizes the equation, "It was written in thy horoscope that a Red Bull on a green field – I have not forgotten – should ring thee to honor. Who but I saw that accomplished? Indeed, I was the instrument. Thou shalt find me my River, being in turn the instrument. The Search is sure!" 192.

The interruption of the primary narrative journey allows for a period of education and preparation toward a final resumption of the protagonist's role as imperial agent and Buddhist disciple. Kim's education – cultural, epistemological, civil – has as its aim the formation of a functional citizen identity¹⁴ at the "the threshold of a modernity that was to distinguish itself by its ambitious redrafting of space around the principles of empire and state sovereignty." Describing the Renaissance project of 'geographically scripting' Ireland, Geroid O Tuathail studies the links between the establishment of modernity and the imperial recording of space using geographical technologies of power. "Crucial to the

¹⁴ The central episodes of Kim's education provide a functional model of the Marxist / Hegelian conception of the bureaucratic notion of culture as the education (Bildung) of citizen identities participating in world history, on which is premised the sovereignty of the state. For Hegel, state sovereignty is premised on the idea of education, Bildung, as what gives universality to the formation of citizens serving the state, its relation to other states, and to the process of world history as a whole. In *The Philosophy of Right*, and also in *The Phenomenology of Spirit*, Hegel develops the argument that "through culture -- the individual acquires standing and actuality" which he then relates to the conception of "state power". For Marx, Hegel's Doctrine of the State depends on a bureaucratic notion of culture as the education of civil servants, as a "formalism of the state" that misrecognizes the true agents, (family and civil society), of state formation. (GoGwilt 48).

imposition and the increasingly intensified functioning of this modernity were those governmental apparatuses that produced the territorialization of space, and also the (Euclidean – Galilean) spatialization of territory. These governmental practices and the art of government insinuated within them sought, with varying and uneven degrees of force and reason, to impose ordered visions of space, territory and geography upon ambivalent lands, terrains, and cultures.” O Tuathail designates the method of this “genealogical conundrum” as “geo power - the functioning of geographical knowledge not as an innocent body of knowledge and learning, but as an ensemble of technologies of power concerned with the governmental production and management of territorial space.”¹⁵ Tuathail refers to Foucault’s elaboration of the question of governmentality, central to the project of the ‘modern governmentalization of geography from the sixteenth century onward’, in his 1978 course ‘Security, Territoriality, and Population’. The study looks at how the administrative state, concerned with “territory in its specific qualities, climate, irrigation, fertility etc.,” exercises “permanent bureaucratic technologies of power that can map, describe, catalogue, inventory, order, and arrange” its provinces. As “the state secures its authority as the omniscient illustrator and narrator of territory” it seeks to “systematize and codify a singular imperial geography at the expense of multiple local geographies” by “the use of geographical knowledge to supervise the seizure and the disciplining of space.” (6 –11). Kim’s colonial schooling prepares him for assuming a governmental identity whose historical agency is directly tied to his proficiency as a ‘cartographic operator’ of the state, and thus is uniquely modern and functional. In this sense, Kim’s education primarily teaches “technologies of power concerned with the

¹⁵ Gearoid O Tuathail. *Critical Geopolitics: the Politics of Writing Global Space*. University of Minnesota Press, 1996. 6 – 7.

governmental production and management of territorial space,” and so inducts the student within the practices of geopower.

Kipling’s Anglo Indian prep school is carefully chosen. St Xavier’s School in Partibus in Lucknow, provides “the best schooling a boy could get” at the cost of “two or three hundred rupees a year”, and is Kim’s alternative to a Regiment sponsored military training at an orphanage school. The years at the missionary school help Kim train for eventual colonial service to the empire, seemingly as a chainman in the Geographical Survey of India, and actually as an operative of the Anglo Indian Intelligence Service directed by Colonel Creighton, a distinguished ethnographer. A functional schooling, directed at the fashioning and improvement of an imperial geographic disposition distinguished by a localized epistemological proficiency, prepares the student for the extensive inhabitation, deep knowledge, and efficient management of colonial space. The profiles, predispositions and histories of the elite student body at St Xavier’s illustrates this principle. As Kim “quietly measured himself against his self reliant mates,” he finds

“They were sons of subordinate officials in the Railway, Telegraph and Canal Services; of warrant – officers, sometimes retired and sometimes acting as commanders in chief to a feudatory Rajah’s army; of captains of the Indian Marine Government pensioners, planters, Presidency shopkeepers, and missionaries. A few were cadets of old Eurasian houses ---. Their homes ranged from Howrah for the railway people to abandoned cantonments like Monghyr and Chunar; lost tea gardens Shillongway; villages where their fathers were large landholders in Oudh or the Deccan; Mission – stations a week from the nearest railway line; seaports a thousand miles south, facing the brazen Indian surf; and

cinchona plantations south of all. The mere story of their adventures, which to them were no adventures, on their road to or from school, would have crisped a Western boy's hair. ----. And every tale was told in the even passionless voice of the native born, mixed with quaint reflections borrowed unconsciously from native foster mothers, and turns of speech that showed they had been that instant translated from the vernacular. Kim watched, listened and approved. This was not insipid, single word talk of drummer boys. It dealt with a life he knew and in part understood. The atmosphere suited him and he throve by inches” (106).

As Kim prepares to go to school, his initial introspections following the newly revealed implications of his identity and history bring him to an apprehension of fateful geographical determinations of identity that seem to overshadow the singularity of his subsequent imperial socialization.

“ Hai mai! I go from one place to another as it might be a kickball! It is my Kismet. No man can escape his Kismet. But I am to pray to Bibi Miriam and I am to be a Sahib.’ He looked at his boots ruefully. ‘No; I am Kim. This is the great world, and I am only Kim. Who is Kim?’” He considered his own identity, a thing he had never done before, till his head swam. He was one insignificant person in all this roaring whirl of India, going southward to he knew not what fate.”

At this crucial moment, Kim is reminded of the possibility of a future career at the service of geographical knowledge and state power. He recalls Colonel Creighton's plan: “He was to be diligent and enter the Survey of India as a chain man. If he were very good and passed the examinations, he would be earning thirty rupees a month at seventeen years old, and Colonel Creighton would see he would find employment.” In an interesting exchange, Creighton, enumerating

future tasks, tests Kim's potential and self conception as an eventual member of the secret service: "Yes, and thou must learn to make pictures of roads and mountains and rivers – to carry these pictures in thine eyes till a suitable time comes to set them upon paper. Perhaps some day, when thou art a chain man, I may say to thee when we are working together: "Go across those hills and see what lies beyond." Then one will say: "These are bad people living in these hills who will slay the chain men if he be seen to look like a Sahib." What then? ---. (If I offered) to give thee a hundred rupees for knowledge of what is behind these hills – for the picture of a river and a little news of what the people say in the villages there?" Kim answers, significantly, "How can I tell? I am only a boy. Wait till I am a man" (101). Imagining an adult career in the securing and trading of geographical knowledge as a loyal and efficient member of the 'Great Game' provides a moment of clarity, a definite answer to Kim's self – searching, and balances the claims of the school and the road. He admits "I say now, Hajji, that it was well done; and I see my road all clear before me to a good service. I will stay in the madrissah till I am ripe." Replying to Kim's resolve, Mahbub Ali notes "Well said. Especially are distances and numbers and the manner of using compasses to be learned in that game. One waits in the Hills above to show thee" (115). Kim submits to the imperatives of his socialization. "To the madrissah I will go. At the madrissah I will learn. In the madrissah I will be a Sahib. But when the madrissah is shut, then I must be free and go among my people.'

'Who are thy people, Friend of all the World?'

"This great and beautiful land" (115).

The reinforcements of geography continue in extra – disciplinary ways during the period of Kim’s training. An early recommendation by Mahbub Ali to Creighton stresses Kim’s primary qualification for a career in the intelligence services – his affiliations and mobility within ‘the great and beautiful land’. “He was born in the land. He has friends. He goes where he chooses. He is a chabuk sawai (a sharp chap). He needs only to change his clothing, and in a twinkling he would be a low class Hindu boy” (93). “Perfecting his knowledge” in preparation for “the Great Game”, Kim’s vacation wanderings help revise the lessons of the road necessary for the formation of a geographically mobile, performative identity, and acquaint Kim with unexplored regions of the country. Kim first journeys on mountain roads upcountry to Simla, to train in the ‘magic of the Great Game’ with Lurgan, who provides lessons in mind control, cross cultural dressing and disguise, native speech and charms. Mahbub Ali describes Lurgan’s expertise. “Men say he does magic, but that should not touch thee. Go up the hill and ask. Here begins the Great Game” (125). Holidays with Mahbub take Kim to Western India, Bombay, Karachi, and a last examination assignment in Rajasthan, a test of the art of redrafting and recording oriental space. “It was not a amusing trip for Kim (to the mysterious city of Bikaner) because the Colonel ordered him to make a map of that old walled city --- He used the compass for bearings as occasion served, --- and by the help of his little Survey paint box of six color cakes and three brushes, he achieved something not unlike the city of Jeysulmer. Mahbub --- advised him to make up a written report as well; and in the back of the big account book that lay under the flap of Mahbub’s pet saddle, Kim set to war. --- The report in its unmistakable St Xavier’s running script, and the brown, yellow and lake daubed map was on hand a few years ago (a careless clerk filed it with the rough

notes of E23's second Siestan survey, but by now the pencil characters must be almost illegible. Kim translated it, sweating under the light of an oil lamp" (144).

The art of cartography and geographical recording, using instruments of measurement, scripting and scale, is presented both as a narrative theme and as a central political method in facilitating imperial knowledge, control, exploitation and protection over territorial claims. At the Lahore museum, the English curator presents scholarly, annotated maps of the Buddha's pilgrimage to the astonished Lama, and Kim's supervisors in the 'Great Game', the intelligence agents Creighton and Huree Babu, aspire to the scientific conquest of space as ethnographers with academic ambitions within the Royal Society of the ethonological survey. Huree Babu, who "likes to collect manners and custom information by taking ethnological notes" also "wants to be made a member of the Royal Society, founded by Charles II for the advancement of science." And Colonel Creighton, head of the Indian intelligence service, secretly desires metropolitan comforts and intellectual rewards.

"No money and no preferment would have drawn Creighton from his work on the Indian Survey, but deep in his heart also lay the ambition to write FRS after his name. Honors of a sort he knew could be obtained by ingenuity and the help of friends, but, to the best of his belief, nothing save work – papers representing a life of it – took a man into the Society which he had bombarded for years with monographs on strange Asiatic cults and unknown customs. Nine men out of ten would flee from a Royal Society soiree in extremity of boredom; but Creighton was the tenth, and at times his soul yearned for the crowded rooms in easy London where silver haired, bald headed gentlemen who know nothing of the

Army move among spectroscopic experiments, the lesser plants of the frozen tundras, electric flight measuring machines, and apparatus for slicing into fractional millimeters the left eye of the female mosquito. By all right and reason, it was the Royal Geographic that should have appealed to him, but men are as chancy as children in their choice of playthings” (148).

At the end of his period of formal schooling, Kim is primarily certified as being proficient in geographical studies, in calculating and representing territories, and is therefore immediately qualified to enter the colonial Survey office. In a last report, “the record of a boy's education – primarily, his proficiency in mathematical studies and mapmaking,” it was noted that “(Kim passed) an examination in elementary surveying with great credit, his age being fifteen years and eight months. From this date, the record is silent. His name does not appear in the year's batch of those who entered the subordinate Survey of India, but against it stand the words ‘removed on appointment.’” (139).

In fact, Kim covertly enlists with the colonial intelligence service and resumes his service to Teshoo Lama's quest, during a six month period of training upon the road allowed by Creighton. The parallel trajectories of the holy search and Kim's assignments in the ‘Great Game’ coincide again upon the expansive Indian landscape. The lama decides to go north, by train to Delhi and onto Simla by road. “They were the lords of the villages of Aminabad, Sahaigunge, Akrola of the Ford, and little Phulsea, where Kim gave the soulless woman a blessing.” 179. The route matches Kim's plotting of the Great Game. “Now I shall go far and far into the North playing the Great Game. Truly, it runs like a shuttle through all Hind.” 188. Clad in the working clothes of a trained and paid

agent, Kim now inhabits a transformed and secret identity as he travels with the lama. “The nickel plated revolver he could feel in the bosom of his sad colored robe, the amulet was on his neck; begging – gourd, rosary, and ghost dagger --- were all at hand, with medicine, paint – box, and compass, and in a worn old purse – belt embroidered with porcupine quill patterns lay a month’s pay.” (155).

Kim’s engagements with two covert assignments that follow introduce him to complex tasks of fashioning a colonial geography. In the first adventure, Kim identifies and saves a hunted agent and his intelligence from native mercenaries on the train to Simla. The incident exposes the geographical ambiguities of location negotiated by British agents securing territory at contested imperial borderlands. Kim undertakes to help the disguised and fugitive agent, defenseless against rival powers in native country, and denied official protection in British India. The efficacy of the imperial spy relies on his placeless identity, the ability to dangerously inhabit all spaces under secret surveillance. The singularity of his situation necessarily exposes him to the limits as well as the extensive reach of the Game through the land. The fugitive agent describes his vulnerability: “At Chitor, look you, I was all in King’s country; for Kotah to the East is beyond the Queen’s law, and East again lie Jaipur and Gwalior. Neither love spies, and there is no justice.” Kim wonders ‘But now, cannot the Government protect?’ and gets his answer, “We of the Game are beyond protection. If we die, we die. Our names are blotted from the book.”¹⁶⁸. However, the flexible and unconventional provisions of imperial power, utilizing particularly the services of modern communication and transport, the ‘taar’ and the ‘te rain’, to disseminate its effects through the land, extend a far reaching protection over the players of the game, Kim’s intervention sets into motion

a geographical chain of cause and effect that effectively safeguards the agents and functions of imperial espionage everywhere. “There was then being handed in at Simla a code wire reporting the arrival of E23 at Delhi, and more important, the whereabouts of a letter he had been commissioned to abstract. Incidentally, an over zealous policeman had arrested, on charge of a murder done in a far southern state, a horribly indignant Ajmer cotton – broker, who was explaining himself to a Mr. Strickland on Delhi platform, while E23 was paddling through byways into the locked heart of Delhi city. In two hours several telegrams had reached the angry minister of a southern State reporting that all trace of a somewhat bruised Mahratta had been had been lost; and by the time the leisurely train halted at Saharanpore the last ripple of the stone Kim had helped heave was lapping against the steps of a mosque in far away Roum – where it disturbed a pious man at prayers” (176).

Beyond Simla, the pilgrimage continues into the extraordinary regions of the northern mountains. Kim is affected by an uncommon experience of uncharted and mysterious space.

“At last they entered a world within a world, a valley of leagues where the high hills were fashioned of a mere rubble and refuse from off the knees of the mountains. --- they skirted a shoulder painfully for hours, and, behold, it was but an outlying boss in an outlying buttress of the main pile! A rounded meadow revealed itself, when they had reached it, for a vast tableland running far into the valley. Three days later, it was a dim fold in the earth to southward. ‘Surely the Gods live here!’ said Kim, beaten down by the

silence and the appalling sweep and dispersal of the cloud shadows after. 'This is no place for men.' (196).

The mountains and passes of the northern borders of the subcontinent seem to be of particular political and narrative significance in the concluding episodes of the novel. The second geopolitical adventure that plays out in these remote and difficult terrains presents an imperial confrontation. As Kim intercepts and outmaneuvers the 'foreign men who bear chains and levels and compasses' in the Himalayan foothills, the intrigue reflects current historical rivalries being played out at the north - western frontier between the English and the Russian empires. Interestingly, the competition is articulated in the novel in terms of the question of representational authority over colonized space. Who controls the scripting of 'l'espace trouve', and who undertakes the protection of indigenous space? The art of textually composing national and metaphysical spaces, as political maps and as scriptural picture making, introduces issues of claiming and preserving space as colonial property under imperial guardianship in these significant episodes.

Kim's final assignment follows the betrayal of the British interests by native Rajahs who had undertaken, "for a price, to guard the passes against all coming from the North," and were now "sold to the North." (186). Secret surveillance of the building of "new roads in the hills", contracted out as the "roadmaking (that) was part of the bond between Bunair, Hillas and the Government," provides intelligence that the enterprise was being financed for the "Feet of Strangers and enemies." (186). Kim, undercover as the Lama's traveling companion, is commissioned to intercept a pair of foreign intelligence gatherers as they descend from the foothills of the Himalayas, disguised as game hunters and as geographers. "The Russian and the Continental representatives" bear guns, "but they bear

also chains and levels and compasses” to “plot and survey and map.” (186 -188). Kim is commissioned to intercept their descent to Simla, where they will relay information to Russia as they “march away East to Leh, --- and down the Indus to Hanle and then down --- to Bushahr and the Chini valley.” (195). Assuming the persona of western cartographers or ‘chainmen’, Kim and the European agents seemingly compete as to create imperial archives of spatial knowledge. Their ‘official’ tasks of travel, map making, inventories, classification, measurement, in short, the mobilizing of material and imaginative resources and the equipment and tools of material and political representation, help textualize colonial territory. In this they, participate in a larger contemporary project of geographical scripting conducted by the imperial state to establish its claim on contested land.

Ian Baucom’s study of the early twentieth century British enterprise of systematizing and codifying its Indian territories identifies the history of "The Survey of India" as an essential epistemological exercise in territorial control.¹⁶ In explicitly positioning Kim within the tradition of the ‘mapping of India’ historically undertaken by trained

¹⁶ “The mapping of the subcontinent, officially known as the survey of India and colloquially known as the "Great Game", was an immense, protracted and varied task. The survey began in 1767, when Lord Clive appointed James Rennell surveyor general of Bengal, and continued without interruption until India's independence in 1947. In the earliest years of this survey, English cartographers concentrated on plotting serviceable roads, productive land, hill forts and remarkable natural features. In 1806, William Lambton, armed with a theodolite, began the work of triangulating the entire subcontinent, and reducing the surface of India to a comprehensive and rigorously accurate chart. In 1865, Thomas Montgomerie addressed the survey's most intractable problem: that of getting mapmakers into the forbidden territories of Tibet. Montgomerie alighted on the solution of training Indians in the use of the compass and of the sextant, disguising them as pilgrims, equipping them with an array of hidden instruments ---- and sending them across the border to advance the work of the survey. It is among this group of costumed cartographers that Kipling places Kim.” Baucom, Ian. *Englishness, Empire and the Locations of Identity*.351.

cartographers, Baucom's analysis connects narrative identity politics with a historical cartographic project of imperial representation.

“In joining Kim to this band of wandering mapmakers, Kipling identifies the problem of refashioning Kim's identity with the dilemma of India's Montgomerie era cartographers. The mapping of India, (as Thomas Richards has demonstrated in *The Imperial Archive: Knowledge and the Fantasy of Empire*,) was a vital element to control the Empire less by occupying it than by knowing it, classifying it, and rendering it visible. Faced with possession of imperial territories too vast to be directly and continuously controlled, the English state had little choice but to exercise its power in the production of knowledge. The accumulation of information in what Richards termed an 'imperial archive' created the illusion of control for a (nervous) imperial state" (351).

The intrigue practiced by the masquerading foreign chainmen, in a sense, represents a historical challenge to the authoritative British charting and disciplining of colonized terrain. Kim encounters the pair of European spies at the Himalayan foot hills and learns that the secret topographical plans, charting unguarded paths of access into British territory, is hidden in “a kilt full of maps and documents – an extra large one with a double oil skin cover,” part of the luggage carried by their escort of coolies. Kim retakes possession of the geographical ‘archive’ following a significant stand in defense of the lama's art, a map charting the aesthetics of metaphysical space, desired by the foreign agents, and under Kim's protection during the length of the Search.

Kim, entrusted with the guardianship of the lama's quest, has been previously instructed in the metaphysics of such non discursive space when the lama teaches him the

lessons of his art using charts and maps to communicate a transcendental reality. Believing that Kim has been trained as a “scribe in the service of the government”, Teshoo Lama prescribes a final lesson to complete Kim’s education - an introduction to the philosophical mysteries of Buddhist art. “I write pictures of the Wheel of Life. Three days to a picture. --- I will show thee my art – not for pride’s sake, but because thou must learn. The Sahib’s have not all this world’s wisdom.” 161. The lama’s oppositional wisdom finds expression in an aesthetics of transcendence, illuminating and endorsing the unfettered spaces of the soul. The lama practices a marvelous art, using metaphor and theological convention to construct an ahistorical, universal habitat for the searching consciousness, a counter site to imperially politicized social space.

“He drew from under the table a sheet of strangely scented yellow Chinese, the brushes, and slab of Indian ink. In cleanest, severest outline he had traced the Great Wheel with its six spokes, whose center is the conjoined Hog, Snake, and Dove (Ignorance, Anger, and Lust), and whose compartments are all the chances of human life. Men say that the Bodhisat Himself first drew it with grains of rice upon dust, to teach his disciples the cause of things. Many ages have crystallized it into a most wonderful convention crowded with hundreds of little figures whose every line carries a meaning. Few can translate the picture parable; there are not twenty in all the world who can both draw it surely without a copy: of those who can both draw and expound are but three.

‘I have a little learned to draw’, said Kim. ‘But this is a marvel beyond marvels.’

‘I have written it for many years,’ said the lama. ‘Time was when I could write it all between one lamp lighting and the next. I will teach thee the meaning of the Wheel.’” (162).

The variety of the ‘road’ becomes the subject of the lama’s transformative art, and is reconstituted as unsubstantial vanities, ‘busy and profitless,’ shadows that challenge the vitality of material presences. The artful and religious organization of closed space in the lama's pictures remain 'belatedly' anachronistic in a current topography of expanding horizons. For example, the layered depictions of the 'Wheel of Life' suggest a pre modern aesthetic method, using "vertical, hierarchic ensembles of contrasted sacred places and profane places, celestial places and terrestrial places, (such as) found in the mapping of divine order described by medieval European maps," to be replaced later by "the early modern horizontal organization of space."¹⁷

“When the shadows shortened --- there was always the Wheel of Life to draw forth, to hold flat under wiped stones, and with a long straw to expound cycle by cycle. Here sat the God’s on high – and they were dreams of dreams. Here was our Heaven and the world of the demi Gods – horsemen fighting among the hills. Here were the agonies done upon the beasts, souls ascending or descending the ladder and therefore not to be interfered with. Here were The Hells – hot and cold – and the abode of tormented ghosts. --- Obediently then, with bowed head and brow finger alert to follow the pointer, did the chela study; but when they came to the Human World, busy and profitless, that is just above the Hells, his mind was

¹⁷ Tuathail, Gearoid O. "Modernity and the Writing of Space: The Geographic Invention of Ireland". In *Critical Geopolitics: The Politics of Writing Global Space*. University of Minnesota Press. 1996.

distracted; for by the roadside trundled the very Wheel itself, eating, drinking, trading, marrying, and quarelling – all warmly alive.

Often the lama made the living pictures the matter of his text, bidding Kim – too ready – to note how the flesh takes a thousand shapes --- and – is bound to follow the body through all the heavens and all the hells ---. Sometimes a woman or a poor man, watching the ritual, --- when the great yellow chart was unfolded, would throw a few flowers or a handful of cowries upon its edge” (178).

As a career chainman and surveyor, Kim's own cartographic contributions to an imperial archive assigns a particular political significance to the constructed map. Baucom, for instance, analyses how "the promise of the India Survey (was) to fix India, not only as an exact governed territory in space, but also as a permanent possession in time". "The charting and disciplining of territory" historically furthered imperial fictions of "fixity, of ordered, bound, visible space, demarcated and fixed terrain, statis, boundaries." However, Kim's participation in the pilgrimage, a necessary cover for his operations as intelligence officer, requires that he also assume guardianship over the removed geography of the lama's maps, the mystic diagrams that chart spiritual journeys of Buddhist mythology over the political landscapes of Anglo India, and thus 'escapes' its political imperatives.¹⁸

¹⁸ For example, the exact naming, cataloguing, measurements and mapping of the imperial archive is countered by the anonymity of the mystical river found at the close of the narrative that satisfactorily concludes the pilgrimage.

“The boat of my soul lacked direction; I could see into the Cause of Things. --- So I removed myself to a hollow under a tree. I took no food, I took no water. I sat in meditation two days and two nights. Abstracting my mind.---- my Soul went free --- (and) drew near to the great Soul which is beyond all things. At that point, exalted in contemplation, I saw all Hind, all this from Ceylon in the sea to the Hills, and my own Painted Rocks at Such – Zen, I saw every camp and village, where we have ever rested. I

The finding of the River of Truth, an anonymous stream in mid India transfigured by the lama's vision of its significance, is crucial to the narrative realization of the textual geography of the quest. However, the narrative realization of Kim's own destiny demands Kim's intervention in securing the political geography of Anglo India, in the face of rival imperial claims on colonized territory. It is while safeguarding the lama's map, (aesthetic object of a collector's desire), from the Continental spies that Kim regains possession of the red kilt containing surveys and charts documenting the insecure border lands of British India. After the strangers try to buy, and then take by force the lama's 'chart of the wheel,' the 'red kilt' is carried away by the frightened coolies, and is claimed by Kim who can 'draw the magic out' of its contents before 'it does great harm'. Kim symbolically destroys the red kilt, an archival repository containing topographical illustrations of unknown and vulnerable territories, as well as instruments of representations, exact tools of measuring space and guides that perfect scales of representation. The destruction of the material, sacrificed to the deep and hidden spaces of Anglo Indian border lands, effectively brings about narrative closure in an imperial fiction. It does so by re-establishing epistemological control over contested territories and

have seen them at one time and in one place; for they were within the Soul. --- And I meditated a thousand thousand years, passionless, well aware of the Causes of all Things. Then a voice cried: "What shall come to the boy if thou art dead?" --- and I said "I will return to my Chela, lest he miss the way." Then my soul, which is the soul of Teshoo Lama, withdrew itself from the Great Soul with strivings and yearnings and retchings and agonies not to be told. --- Then a voice cried: "The River! Take heed to the River!" and I looked down upon all the world, which was as I had seen it before -- one in time, one in place -- and I saw plainly the River of the Arrow at my feet. --- I pushed aside world upon world for thy sake. I saw the River below me -- the River of the Arrow -- and, descending, the waters of it closed over me ---." 239.

"So thus the Search is ended. For the merit that I have acquired, the River of the Arrow is here. It broke forth at our feet, as I have said. I have found it. Son of my Soul, I have wrenched my Soul back from the Threshold of Freedom to free thee from all sin -- as I am free and sinless! Just is the Wheel! Certain is our deliverance." 240.

unstable borders, and eliminating the threat of rival trespasses, infiltrations and incursions into the possession and representation of land.

“Kim tilted the kilta on the floor – a cascade of Survey instruments, books, diaries, letters, maps, and queerly scented native correspondence. At the very bottom was an embroidered bag covering a sealed gilded and illuminated document such as one King sends to another. Kim caught his breath in delight, and reviewed the situation from a Sahib’s point of view. ‘The books I do not want. Besides, they are logarithms, Survey, I suppose.’ He laid them aside. ‘The letters I do not understand, but Colonel Crieghton will. They must all be kept. The maps – they draw better maps than me – of course. All the native letters. --- The rest must go out of the window. He fingered a superb prismatic compass and the shiny top of a theodolite. But after all, a Sahib can’t very well steal, and things might be inconvenient evidence later. He sorted out every scrap of manuscript, every map, and the native letters. They made one softish slab. The three locked ferril – backed books, with fie worn pocket – books, he put aside. --- He repacked the kilta with all that he meant to lose, and hove it up on the window sill. A thousand feet below lay a long lazy round-shouldered bank of mist, as yet untouched by the morning sun. A thousand feet below that was a hundred year old pine forest. He could see the green tops looking like a bed of moss when a wind eddy thinned the cloud. --- The wheeling basket vomited its contents as it dropped. The theodolite hit a jutting cliff side and exploded like a shell; the books, inkstand, paint boxes, compasses and rulers showed for a few seconds like

a swarm of bees. Then they vanished; and though Kim, hanging half out of the window, strained his young ears, never a sound came up from the gulf' (212).

Thus we leave Kim, satisfactorily placed in an exemplary border fiction of 'British' development; an Anglo Indian bildungsroman of modern Sahibhood predicated on the geographical consolidation of colonized spaces and the metropolitan scripting of a removed geography that supports imperial projects of spatial and political self definition.

III - Border Revisions: Metropolitan Subjects / Metropolitan Communities

Woolf, Forster, Orwell: Colonial Liberalism and Anglo Indian Fictions of Community

In 1961, Leonard Woolf published a retrospective account of the years 1904 to 1911 as part of an autobiographical sequence. The section describes a relatively short imperial episode preceding Woolf's long and distinguished career as public intellectual and political analyst during the post war reconstruction years. However, the developmental significance of this bureaucratic moment is emphasized by the title of the narrative: 'Growing'. The political ironies perhaps fundamental to the radical construction of a modern liberal public life is significantly documented while on colonial location, and while performing colonial work.

Woolf describes the taking on of his first official identity following the setting adrift of a displaced consciousness upon a (colonial) voyage and a sudden loss of domestic society. "In October 1904, I sailed from Tilbury Docks in the P & O Syria for Ceylon. I was a cadet in the Ceylon Civil Service. To make a complete break with one's former life is a strange frightening and exhilarating experience. It has upon one the effect of a second birth. When one emerges from one's mother's womb, one leaves a life of dim security for a world of violent difficulties and dangers". The institutions of "family, St Paul, Cambridge and Trinity," the intellectual fellowship of the Apostles and of Bloomsbury – these had constituted the 'life of dim security, refined, intellectual, ironic', now slipping away in the 'dirty, dripping murk and fog'. The sum of lost primary affiliations marked

an intimate social locus which had both defined and excluded the young Woolf as Jewish, intellectual, common.

As his voyage transports him toward a new world 'to rule the British Empire', Woolf finds he has to practice a readjustment to community. He experiences intense alienation within colonial microcosms of English society that reproduce sharper images of metropolitan hierarchies and bourgeois institutional formations. From the moment of embarkation, the experience of his imperial isolation is defined against the identification of community and the difficulty of articulating ones relation of closeness or distance to it as observer, commentator and participant.

During his years in Ceylon, Woolf maintains a problematic relation to metropolitan, colonial and 'native' society. He alternatively employs strategies of identification or distancing with each in an attempt to secure self definition in the face of profound self doubt. The negotiations illuminate a curious paradox: Woolf must perform the liberal tasks of lawmaking and the efficient administration of land, trade and people, but as an imperial agent in an imperial community which does not permit the democratic implementation of liberal principles. In expressing a biographical dilemma, the narrative reflects existing tensions between competing demands of securing empire and maintaining liberty evident in metropolitan public life.

Aboard the P & O Syria, the formation of community is fixed within an epistemic frame and is produced as an object of examination. "Within the boat there was the uncomfortable atmosphere of suspicion and reserve which is at first invariably the result when a number of English men and women, strangers to one another, find that they have to live together for a time in a ship, a hotel." The author describes how a fluid community

takes shape, "By the time we reached Ceylon, we had developed from a fortuitous concourse of isolated human atoms to a complex community with an elaborate system of castes and classes." He then specifies its metonymic significance. "The importance of that kind of voyage for a young man with the age or experience or inexperience which were then mine is that the world and society of the boat are a macrocosm in which he will be condemned to spend the remainder of his life. The method of adjusting to one will become the permanent method of adjusting to the other." The voyage, therefore, anticipates Woolf's experience of larger social complexes defined by conservative imperial ideology. "It was my first experience of the class war and hatred between Europeans which in 1904 were a curious feature of British imperialism in the East ---." The encounter with provincial society is accompanied by a forgetting of safer metropolitan associations, "the strange sense of a complete break with the past, --- the final forgetting of the Thames, Tilbury, London, Cambridge, St. Pauls', and Brighton", and the internalization of colonial isolation tied to the experience of non metropolitan spaces. "Ceylon got into my heart and my bones, its austere beauty, its immobility and unchangeableness, --- the silence, the emptiness, the melancholia, and so the purging of passions by complete solitude." 27. The identification of community and ones relation to it becomes the vortex of the narrative, the source of textual anxiety, tension, and unease that infects the narrative construction of 'growing' into a mature public personality.

In short, the account of Woolf's years in Ceylon exemplifies an ambiguous liberal experience of empire dominated by apprehensions of the ironies underlying civilizational and social contracts.¹ Such testimonies are also found in the writings of the 'Anglo

¹ For example, Woolf's later political writing often examined the nature of modern imperial expansion in terms of the establishment of a global, collective formation, a

Indian' modernists, E. M. Forster and George Orwell. After seven years in Ceylon, Woolf returned to London in 1911, rejecting the colonial office to marry Virginia Woolf and to resume a metropolitan political and intellectual life. His subsequent political career in the inter war years focussed three on significant areas: "the prevention of war and post war international reconstruction using rational policies of social progress, the exploration of imperial and post war communal psychology, and the dissolution of imperialism in Asia and Africa." For example, his interest in the law and adjudication, dating back to his time in Ceylon as colonial magistrate, influenced his decision to participate in The National Whitley Council for the civil services, deciding arbitration cases on economic disputes and labor cases. "As secretary of the Labor Party's two advisory committees on imperialism and colonialism, (Woolf worked on) reports and recommendations on issues such as the movement for self government in India and the nature of governmental economic exploitation in Africa." (Meyerowitz 5 - 13).

The engagement with empire, community and liberal politics, themes that dominated Woolf's metropolitan public life, also feature in the late and early fiction of E. M. Forster

liberal community designated as a 'civilization', whose nature is radically contradictory and ironic. *Imperialism and Civilization*, for instance, describes the globalization of the culture of modernity that accompanies contemporary expansions of the (European) state. The text then catalogues the ambiguous character of this imperial, international civilization. "The imperialism of the nineteenth century (implies) a changed relationship of Europe to the rest of the world. Africa and India, Ceylon, Burma, Malay, - (become) territories annexed and incorporated into the European state in the form of imperial appendages. -- (These) countries are administered by Europeans, the inhabitants subjected to the European law" (14), "that has emerged from the French Revolution and the Napoleonic wars." (12). The modern state, a "terrific engine of force and government" globally disperses a new imperial / liberal civilization, a complex ideological formation, as a function of capitalist expansion. "(In the nineteenth century), European civilization with its ideas of economic competition, energy, practical efficiency, exploitation, power, and nationalism descended upon Asia and Africa. But with it also carried, involuntarily perhaps, another set of ideas which it had inherited from

and George Orwell respectively. Personal and official encounters with British India, events common to the lives of the novelists, crucially influence the political self-fashioning evident in their writing. The Anglo Indian biographical displacements of Leonard Woolf – (colonial bureaucrat/post imperial liberal rationalist), George Orwell – (colonial policeman/post - imperial socialist), and E. M. Forster – (colonial secretary/post - imperial liberal humanist) – are important to their emergence as ‘political’ modernists with varied and differentiated affiliations with a ‘liberal’ sensibility. As agents and critics of a conflicted civilization at the imperial borderlands, they author fictions that conduct assessments of "community" in a newly modern, capitalist world order by emphasizing the ironies and ambiguities of liberal culture transported from metropolis to peripheries. Their Anglo Indian narratives re-examine the ironic bases of extra – national community, predicated on notions of ‘freedom’, the exercise of rational politics, and the deployment of a structure of ‘liberties’ equally available to all, yet tied to specific metropolitan and bourgeois interests in colonial spaces. Woolf’s *A Village in the Jungle*, Orwell’s *Burmese Days* and Forster’s *A Passage To India* may be read as the tentative statements of literary liberals – engaged in self-conscious examinations of their individual relation to an imperial culture, as well as with modernism’s imperial ironies.

As the texts enact the liberal dilemmas that are attendant upon the uneasy relation between the functional individual and dominant sociopolitical conditions, they often rely on an ironic mode. The method is appropriate to the specific location of each text within the structures of collectivity under investigation, even as it attempts a detached and critical scrutiny. Irony, as a representational category, has often been described as

the French Revolution and the eighteenth century forerunners of the French revolution. These were the ideas of democracy, liberty, equality, fraternity, humanitarianism.” (44).

possessing a particular aesthetic significance within the larger discourse of modernism. In his study of Forster's liberal imagination², Brian May notices that "critics as different as Northrop Fry and Alan Wilde agree: both the dominant or "characteristic form of modernism" as well as its "mode of consciousness --- are ironic; what the term "ironic " means for modernism of course remains famously revisable, redescrivable, complex and indeterminate." Mays then attempts a useful summary of theoretical classifications of modernist irony, ranging from the philosophical ("the dominant of modernism is epistemological: "knowledge is unattainable,") to the phenomenological (modernism offers a "vision of multiplicity, randomness, contingency and even absurdity"). Most striking seems to be the " simple and general claim that modern consciousness and modern art spectacularly ignore most of the standard Victorian and Edwardian expectations; the aesthetic customs of "realism and naïve mimesis", for instance, are flouted in the "general atmosphere of skepticism" (5 - 6).

Apart from such aesthetic revisions, modernist irony has also been located in 'conditions of being' analyses. For example, Mays quotes Pecora's observation that modernism "confirms nothing more than infirmity itself, social and personal instability and unpredictability, the ineluctability of alienation", De Man's characterization of "absence", "the fundamental distance at the heart of all human experience", and John Patrick Diggins' claim that modernism "may be considered as a series of felt absences --- knowledge without truth, power without authority, existence without purpose, --- history without meaning" (8).

² May, Brian. *The Modernist as Pragmatist: E. M. Forster and the Fate of Liberalism*. Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1997.

Most importantly, Mays describes critical debates which claim that “many of the modern’s epistemological and aesthetic difficulties seem to have originated in the ironies of modern social and cultural life,” arising from a “withdrawal from social consensus and a loss of confidence in shared social practices.” The sensibility that shapes and is expressed by modernist aesthetic form is “basically adrift”; it drifts, though, because the very “world” in which it should find anchorage “appears inherently disconnected and fragmented,” troubled by the destabilizing forces of “imperialism, masculinism, militarism, industrialism, urbanism, elitism.” (Wilde 10. Pecora 2).

In Woolf’s biography, the figure of the disoriented colonial bureaucrat, watching past affiliations slip away into “the dirty dripping murk and fog” as he is transported across the oceans, becomes an important example of a decentered and distracted imperial perspective, shaped by ‘modern’ ironies, and located in a socially adrift sensibility. The colonial fictions examined in this chapter, in emphasizing the political ironies of the modern liberal encounter with empire, are important statements of modernist uncertainty and skepticism, as well as reassessments of the codes of a liberal community in which they seek anchorage.

The early years of the twentieth century marked a historical shift towards the acknowledgement of collective life in British liberal political thought, and the incorporation of the ‘community’ within the liberal agenda. Such disciplinary transformations were influenced by historical notions of beneficial economic collectivism, the concept of the nation as a sociopolitical community³, and the theoretical

³ ‘Nationalism as a type of organic social mechanism develops into something distinct in the twentieth century (with an) emphasis on common cultural identity and historical continuity - language, law, destiny and interests. The nation therefore takes shape as a

articulation of the ‘affective ties’ that structure collective life.⁴ In his second review of Tocqueville, Mill significantly identifies, in an early statement, the necessity of interactive democratic, national and fraternal impulses in contemporary collective life. “The love of country is not, in large communities, a passion of spontaneous growth’, and hence, ‘it is more and more necessary (under democracy) to nourish patriotism by artificial means; and none of these are so efficacious as --- a large and frequent intervention of the citizens in the management of public business. Nor does the love of cultural and political collectivity with a continuous history that underwrites, in legal and juridical codes, the autonomy of the individual. (Pecora 39).

⁴ Gerald F. Gaus in his 1983 study of the Modern Liberal Theory of Man, describes a “new and or modern liberal tradition”, comprising J. S. Mill, Green, Bosanquet, Hobhouse, Dewey and Rawls,” which develops a theory of man that “reconciles the pursuit of individuality with sociality and membership in a community,” 4, (though with different degrees of affiliation with collectivist economics), in contrast to “the liberalism articulated by Locke and James Mill,” that “share a vision of men as essentially independent, private and competitive beings who see civil association mainly as a framework for the pursuit of their own interests.” 7.

Gaus claims that is an identification of “two sorts of unity” within this discourse, organic and mechanical,” which distinguishes between “the extension of the principle of harmonious development to all men” and the presence of affective ties that does not necessitate that “ mankind develop a common language, customs, outlooks etc. which presently mark off national communities,” but rather structures a co operative mutually complementary / supportive nature of social life --- premised on interlocking differences, individual differentiation.” 87. The enumeration of three “Affective Ties” include: Patriotism – indicating the prominence of the nation in modern liberal accounts of community as a distinct corporate identity, is expressed in Green’s imagery of the feeling of the “pulse of the whole nation beating in one’s veins.”

Fraternity – articulated for instance in Mill’s Utilitarianism – “the strengthening of social ties – which gives to each individual a stronger personal interest in practically consulting the welfare of others ----that tends to make him feel it one of his natural wants that there should be harmony between his feelings and aims and those of his fellow creatures.” A “fraternal conception of unity” --- (furthered by the many comparisons of societies to families in the new liberal discourse). 91.

Neighborliness – “expresses the communal ties more obviously consistent with the scale and complexity of modern societies.” It “appeals to modern liberals (in that) it denies that communal feelings have to be national (or universal), and consequently, to give prominence to what Bosanquet called ‘neighborly public spirit’, (which finds expression

country alone require this encouragement, but every feeling which connects men either by interest or sympathy with their neighbors and fellow citizens.” (Gaus 95).

The conception of the modern autonomous individual as a communal being “participating in a legal system of secular justice, public needs, collective goals” reflects the end of such an ideological tendency. That is, the manner in which the historical development of British liberal ideology marked a gradual shift towards collective forms of political and cultural organization and a recognition of the community as being the unit of normative liberal values.⁵ Early twentieth century liberal substitutions of cooperative action for individual freedom as a basis for social development draws upon this past history.⁶ Haldane, defining the agenda of contemporary ‘new liberalism’, notices the

in) participation in government, particularly local affairs, to promote individual development.” 94.

⁵ These include the political movement from the endorsement of Lockean natural to democratic rights, the transformation of Whig parliamentarianism (with its emphasis on the individual in opposition to conventional forms of monarchical power) by a gradual extension of the franchise, the development of a Free Trade philosophy of political centralization in which economists and activists, such as Adam Smith and later, the Manchester radicals Cobden and Bright, endorsed cultural statism as favorable to creating conditions for universal benefits.

⁶ Key texts that argued for the community as the unit of normative liberal values include Hobson's *Crisis of Liberalism* (1909) that describes that an enlarged state signified the evolution of an organic society which would permit positive liberty. (See Porter). The text proposes a political program in the form of a "people's charter" which includes some public ownership of land, public ownership of transport, public powers to eliminate monopolies and an improved system of public education.- in short, a comprehensive structure of social welfare to compensate for the imperfections of market capitalism. The attempt was to give "ideological anchorage" to some of the measures enacted by the liberal government between 1906 and 1911 which included provisions of old age pensions and an insurance scheme for sickness and unemployment. Reacting to the Social Darwinism of Herbert Spencer which sought to preserve individual liberties in a minimal state, liberals were now more inclined to argue that "self fulfillment was to be attained through participation in a shared way of life rather than by the means of a utilitarian calculation of individual interest". This marked a radical change in the vocabulary of English Liberalism. In an early article called "The Ethical Basis of Collectivism", (1898),

shift: " Today, it is not for individual freedom that we have to struggle against classes and privilege. That battle was fought by our ancestors and won. But we have to win a yet harder fight, a fight for emancipation from conditions which deny fair play to the collective energy for the good of society as a whole --- the struggle must take place --- for freedom from restrictions --- not of individual but of social liberty," (Eccleshall 35). However, the new forms of collective organization that occupied the metropolitan liberal imagination were marked by ironic reversals and polarities even as the movement toward ideological coherence remained underway. The dualisms within the evolving politics of community were exemplified by contemporary debates: on contrasting ideas of individualism and collectivism, democratic representation and the protection of specific class privilege, the process of cultural embourgeoisement and the rhetoric of universal participation and benefit.⁷

Hobson tried to outline an alternate theory of social evolution through the mutual assistance of its members. History, according to Hobson, records a gradual shift from egoism and competitive individualism to altruism and social solidarity. An unfolding organic society requires citizens who remain conscious of their responsibility to help one another attain the good life. Hobson's *Liberalism* (1911) challenged the assumption of the individual rights of property to propose a social dimension to property. – ie, the unearned surplus that was to be redistributed. National wealth was characterized as social common stock to be administered by the government, and the “unearned surplus” was to be commonly redistributed.

⁷ The dialectics that underlie the modern political community is illustrated most clearly in the debates concerning the franchise or representation. The several ideological oscillations between individualism / collectivism in the history of liberal thought, is, in most cases further complicated by the need to endorse specific or universal class representation. In short, the historical shift from the endorsement of “natural” to “democratic” rights was ironically shadowed by a process of embourgeoisement. In the seventeenth century, the Whig parliamentarians opposed the dispersements of political power and rights proposed by, for example, the party of the Levellers, or by Locke. In 1768, Joseph Priestly's *Essay on the First Principles of Government* first drew the distinction between natural rights, which should be safeguarded in an impartial system of civil liberties, to counter the notion of political rights currently limited by class affiliations. Subsequently, Pain's contractual arguments proposed the reformation of the

The divided structure of the new liberal politics of community is most sharply illuminated by the problematic relation it bears to the contemporary politics of imperialism.⁸ The rhetorical use of Empire in a late Victorian liberal discourse is present in a number of arguments that fashion the conflicted ideological field upon which ideas of modern community are projected. One way to organize an investigation of the presence of ambiguity in the liberal conception of community is to consider a particular discursive formation: the coexistence of the liberal justification of empire alongside the liberal critique of empire in a balanced state of (ironic) tension in British political thought.⁹ Historical conversations advocating the political condition of universal

political system on democratic principles. The economic liberalism of Adam Smith, even as it advocated free trade against mercantile protectionism, simultaneously endorsed cultural statism to enable universal benefit. The legacy of such liberal dualisms concerning the acknowledgement of political collective life might be extended to include Bentham's endorsement of Governmental responsibility to maintain conditions favorable to permit optimization of self interest, or J S Mills acceptance of limited enfranchisement as he struggled to preserve individual liberty from the threat of mass conformity implied in an extensive notion of democracy or state intervention. After a century of Whig ascendancy under the constitutionalism of Walpole and Burke, the Reform Act of 1832 extended the franchise to incorporate the middle class.

⁸ It is interesting to notice how the 'new liberalism' tried to ground a critique of imperialism within the paradigm of collective life rather than individual rights. For example, Hobson argued that colonial expansion resulted from a maldistribution of wealth within unreformed capitalism. Domestic underconsumption (by the impoverished majority) prompted owners of capital to seek new markets for their products in the third world. The problem of underconsumption could be solved, Hobson suggested in *Imperialism* (1902), if the state channeled the unearned surplus wealth enjoyed by the rich into a living wage and decent conditions for common people.

⁹ The divided structure of liberal politics in the first decade of the twentieth century reflected its conflicted response to empire. For example, the Boer war provided an occasion which presented both arguments, support for imperialism and anti imperial protest, in sharp relief. The sharp divisions between the 'Liberal -imperialists' of Rosebury's camp and the mainstream party position on imperial issues represented by the leadership of Campbell - Bannerman illustrates the deep ambiguities at the base of the structure of liberal politics at this moment.

freedom, yet remain tied to metropolitan interests and bourgeois culture, and constitute a discourse in which liberalism necessarily played both sides of the question. The Anglo Indian fictions analysed in this chapter may be read as specific examples of this discourse, and draw upon its themes and vocabulary to conduct ironic revisions of modern community in a colonial context.

After a few early weeks in office, Leonard Woolf spends a routine social evening at the Jaffna clubhouse, and remarks on the company: “Like all Anglo – Indians and imperialists who were colonial government servants, we were, of course, ‘displaced persons.’ After two world wars and Hitler, we all understand today the phenomenon and psychology of the displaced person. But that was not the case in 1905. Yet we ourselves on the Jaffna tennis court, though we did know the name, were in fact the phenomenon and had the psychology of people whose lives had suddenly been torn up by the roots, and, in a foreign country, had therefore become unreal, artificial, temporary, and alien. We all pretended to be tougher, more British, more homesick than we really were, yet there was a pinch of truth and reality in all our posturing” (47). In this initial but important statement of political identification, Woolf significantly names the acute alienation experienced by the insecure, politically displaced modern subject as a colonial and collective condition. The implications of this specification are relevant to counterpart accounts of political displacements within the Anglo Indian community by Orwell and Forster.

At the start of his description of life as colonial bureaucrat, Woolf characterizes himself as “an unconscious, innocent imperialist.” The irony of his political naivete, a

See also Mehta’s study of the divided rhetoric of the liberal response to nineteenth century British imperialism.

class characteristic as he identifies it, is not lost on him in retrospect. "In 1905, --- under the guidance or goad of statesmen like Lord Palmerston, the Earl of Beaconsfield, Lord Salisbury, Mr. Chamberlain, and Mr. Cecil Rhodes, the British Empire was at the zenith of its glory and its girth. I had entered Ceylon as an imperialist, one of the white rulers of our Asiatic Empire. The curious thing is that I was not really aware of this. The horrible urgency of politics after the 1914 war, which forced every intelligent person to be passionately interested in them, was unknown to my generation at Cambridge. ----. That is why I could take a position on the Ceylon Civil Service without any thought about its political aspect" (25). The text then records a six year long process of intimate encounters and epistemological familiarities with the landscape of colonial Ceylon, as the author "saw from the inside British imperialism at its apogee, (and) became fully aware of its nature and problems" (25). The expert "awareness" of the colonial functionary is organized around three textual constructions which maintain a complex and tense interrelation: the representation of territorial and functional displacements in relation to the landscapes and methodology of a progressive and rational modernity, a condition of colonial isolation and exile set off against a rejection of the fraternal and legal codes of organized colonial society, and the expression of a political critique of empire. The colonial writing of the other Anglo Indian 'liberals', similarly disturbed by a personal and political encounter with imperialism, repeat these thematic determinants in differentiated narratives. The production of an alien landscape in relation to modernity and the examination of the cultural and legal basis of society become organizing events in these stories.

The Anglo Indian Hetrotopia

In the first case, the diagnosis of modernist alienation as a response to the transformations of colonial landscapes in the novels bears an unconventional relation to a discourse of a liberal justification of empire tied to the erasure or silencing of territory.¹⁰ In placing instances of locational disorientation within progressive and ordered landscapes of modernity produced by an anti – liberal imperial enterprise, the texts interrogate and ironically reverse, often in terms of a ‘suburban reproduction’, the architected landsape of modernity and therefore, the frames of a territorially ‘placed’ identity.

For example, Woolf’s biography situates the colonizer’s psychology of alienation and dissociation upon the schematic dislocation of European landscapes of modernity, unfixing its hierarchical distinctions of center/margin, urban/suburban that reflect

¹⁰ Apart from the scripting of history, liberal justifications of empire refuse to acknowledge the political presence of colonized territory. The space of empire cannot be named as the material condition for and symbolic expressions of a citizen identity in political discourse which must reconcile the politics of imperialism with its commitment to representative government and the rights of citizenship. (Mehta 119). If territoriality is the marker of a distinct political and a collective sense of identity, then political communities are predicated on associations linked to this category. The geographical coherence and complexity of imperially acquired and administered territory therefore must not be granted political accountability and legitimacy. (Mehta 149). For example, J. R. Seeley’s seminal text, *The Expansion of England* (1881), claims “the fundamental fact then is that India had no sense whatever of national unity, because there was no India, and therefore, properly speaking, no foreigners.” John Strachey, colonial administrator and liberal intellectual, responding to the question “What is India? What does India really signify?”, replies, “There is no such country, and this is the first and the most essential fact about India that can be learned – India is a name which we give a great region - - there is not, and never was, an India, or even a country of India possessing, according to European ideas, any sort of unity, physical, political, social, or religious; no Indian nation, no “people of India” of which we hear so much.” This view was shared, despite differences of nuances, by Bentham, J Mill, J S Mill and Macaulay, and remained an important normative grounds for the liberal justification of Empire.

dominant economic categories and exclusions. The reversal of such organized spatial design in adjacent colonial regions communicates the erasure of familiar metropolitan coordinates and the disruption of the progressive order of (spatial) development. “After the nineteenth century, in Europe and usually in Asia, towns consist of a center and a suburban area, and beyond the suburban area is “the country” and villages. The suburb is (horribly and hideously) urban, and markedly different from the countryside and the rural village. When you pass from the towns and the suburbs into the country, you pass from one life or age into another. It is quite different in Jaffna; there, as soon as you leave the main street, the esplanade, the sea – shore, you are in a typical Tamil village of narrow roads between cadjun fences ---- (and) it was extremely difficult to know when one had left the town and was in the country or village. These topographical details are not unimportant psychologically. --- in the few places in the town upon which Europe had left its mark, the impression was dramatic and intense, and it was within these places for the most part that we Europeans worked and lived our lives.” Such disruptions of the ordered locales of modernity produce a specific form of political isolation: “They increased, in a curious way, one’s sense of imperialist isolation from the life of the surrounding country ---” (49).

In the context of psychic dislocation and colonial isolation, metropolitan models of social power are artificially and nostalgically reproduced as the tropical Anglo Indian suburbia characterized by modern organization and functioning, replicating a mood of modern isolation as colonial loneliness. “Europe made a deep and wide impression upon the face of all the big towns of Ceylon ---. After the nineteenth century --- in Asia, towns consist of a center and a suburban area, and beyond the suburban area is the country and

villages. When you pass from the town and its suburbs into the country, you pass from one life or age into another.” The colonial suburbia, itself a town center of sorts, conforms to an (inauthentic) image of a European model, even as it displaces and defamiliarizes it. “In Jaffna, it was extremely difficult to know when and where one had left the town and was in the country –the village.”¹¹ The production of the colonial suburban locale allows, in a manner, the reestablishment of suburban society as well as the reproduction of bourgeois codes. Woolf notices “White Society in India and Ceylon, as you can see in Kipling’s stories, was always suburban. In Calcutta and Simla --- the social structure and relations between Europeans rested on the same kind of subsidiary pretensions as they did in Putney and Peckham.”

The representation of Anglo Indian locales that evoke feelings of alienation and stage events threatening social conformity are repeated in both Orwell’s *Burmese Days* and Forster’s *A Passage to India*. These novels, in describing the features of European

¹¹ The ironic replication of the suburban environment in colonial spaces exemplifies a key modernist concern with the persistence and dispersals of bourgeois society over center, periphery and beyond, and the critique of empire. For example, Forster’s “suburban novels, of provincial English communities at home and abroad, precede his Anglo Indian novel; Orwell’s Anglo Indian writings are followed by his radical exposes of bourgeois class formations.” “(Forster’s) dissatisfaction (with suburban life) came not only from the contrast with Cambridge or his unfavorable opinion of the behaviour of suburban tourists on the Continent. He criticised because he invested so much hope in the possibilities of the middle class. He was already formulating the analysis he would publish in 1920 in his essay, ‘Notes on the English Character.’” England’s essentially middle class character was expressed in ‘solidity, caution, integrity, efficiency’, but also in ‘lack of imagination, hypocrisy. --- in the case of England he lay much of the blame – on the public school as an institution, the ‘heart of the middle classes’ and a machine for standardizing those who will appropriate a highly disproportionate number of responsible positions in the civil, military, and ecclesiastical establishments of realm and Empire. Prosperity now meant, at relative social levels, the ability to turn ones back on the city, and move to the new commuter suburbs. – provincialism, isolation, snobbery. The shift was part of a greater change in Edwardian England.” Mary Lago. *E M Forster: A Literary Life*. St Martin’s Press, 1995. 17.

enclaves superimposed upon Indian territory, present 'heterotopic' images of colonized territory.¹² By "juxtaposing in a single real place several spaces, several sites that are in themselves incompatible, 'heterotopic representations' have a function in relation to all space that remains. This function unfolds between two extreme poles. Either its role is to create a space of illusion that exposes every real space, all the sites inside of which human life is partitioned as still more illusory ---- or else, on the contrary, its role is to create another real space, as perfect, as meticulous, as well arranged as ours is messy, ill constructed, and jumbled. The latter type would be the heterotopia, not of illusion, but of compensation, --- (to illustrate), *certain colonies have functioned somewhat in this manner.*" (Soja 118).

The colonial heterotopia of Anglo India, a specific locale of political compensation for the imperial state, unsettles spatial designs produced by the transformative social practises of modernity. Here, the unease with the official codes of community is often projected onto a 'meticulously' structured textual field where the juxtaposition of contrasted, self

¹² The Foucauldian "heterotopia" is the subject of the 1967 essay 'Des Espaces Autres'. The concept is well summarized by Soja in *PostModern Geographies*. "In these lecture notes, Foucault outlined his notion of heterotopias as the characteristic spaces of the modern world, superseding the hierarchic 'ensemble of places' of the Middle Ages and the enveloping 'space of emplacement' opened up by Galileo into an early - modern, infinitely unfolding, 'space of extension' and measurement. --- Foucault focussed our attention on another spatiality of social life, an external space, the actually lived and socially produced space of sites and the relations between them:

"The space in which we live, which draws us out of ourselves, in which the erosion of our lives, our time, and our history occurs ----. In other words, we do not live in a kind of a void, inside of which we could place individuals and things. --- we live inside a set of relations that delineates sites which are irreducible to one another and absolutely not superimposable on one another." (Of Other Spaces).

Foucault's heterogeneous and relational space of heterotopias is neither a substanceless void to be filled by cognitive intuition nor a repository of physical forms to be phenomenologically described in all its resplendent variability. It is another space, what Lefebvre would describe as l'espace vecu, actually lived and socially created spatiality, concrete and abstract at the same time, the habitus of social practises." (Soja 118).

contained spaces emphasize the problems of disconnection and incompatibility in civil society.

In *Burmese Days*, the heterotopic constitution of Kyauktada, the 'little Upper Burmese town' and its English settlement, suggests how the functional, ordered colonial 'l'espace vecu' attempts to uphold ideological boundaries, but is unsettled by its proximity to a tropical, malevolent landscape it cannot quite discipline or exclude.

"Kyauktada was a fairly typical upper Burma town ---. In 1910 the Government made it the headquarters of a district and a seat of Progress – interpretable as a block of law courts, with their army of fat but ravenous pleaders, a hospital, a school, and one of those huge durable jails which the English have built everywhere ---." John Flory, timber merchant and social misfit, lives within the settlement exposed to the threat of alien presences both elemental and cultural. "Flory's house was at the top of the maidan, close to the edge of the jungle. From the gate the maidan sloped sharply down, scorched and khaki colored with half a dozen dazzling white bungalows scattered round it. All quaked, shivered in the hot air. There was an English cemetery within a white wall halfway down the hill, and nearby a tiny tin roofed church. Beyond that was the European Club, and when one looked at the Club – a dumpy one – storey wooden building – one looked at the real center of the town. In any town in India, the European Club is the spiritual citadel, the real seat of the British power, the Nirvana for which native officials and millionaires pine in vain. ---- and it was the proud boast of Kyauktada Club that, almost alone of clubs in Burma, it had never admitted an

Oriental to membership. Beyond the Club, the Irrawaddy flowed huge and ochreous, glittering like diamonds in the patches that caught the sun ----.”

The native town, and the courts and the jail, were over to the right, mostly hidden in the green groves of peepul trees. The spire of the pagoda rose from the trees like a slender spear tipped in gold. ----” (18).

In an interesting architectural aside, the maidan is designed to border the European cemetery in the Burmese town, the graveyard inscriptions narrating insignificant imperial careers. “There were sixteen graves in the little cemetery; assistants of timber firms, officials, soldiers killed in forgotten skirmishes, as exemplified by the legend:

“Sacred to the memory of John Henry Spagnall, late of the Indian Imperial Police, who was cut down by cholera in the unremitting exercise of” etc. etc. etc” (239).¹³

The landscape of the middle Indian town of Chandrapore in *A Passage to India*, scene of E. M. Forster’s liberal critique of imperially determined social encounters, reflects and reinforces the division between native town and British cantonment in terms of modern form and primitive disorder. The undifferentiated aspect of the native town bears little traces of the civilized ordering of the landscape that characterizes the formal and functional ideal that the English enclave desires to approximate:

“Edged rather than washed by the river Ganges, it trails for a couple of miles along the bank, scarcely distinguishable from the rubbish it deposits so freely. ---

The streets are mean, the temples ineffective, and though a few fine houses exist,

¹³“ These heterogeneous spaces of sites and relations – Foucault’s heterotopias, - are constituted in every society but take quite varied forms and change over time as ‘history unfolds in its adherent spatiality. Foucault identifies many such sites: the cemetery and the church, the theatre and the garden, the museum and the library, --- the barracks and the prison --- the brothel and the colony. Foucault contrasts these ‘real spaces’ with the

they are hidden away in gardens or down alleys whose filth deters all but the invited guest. ----. Houses do fall, people are drowned and left rotting, but the general outline of the town persists, swelling here, shrinking there, like some low and indestructible form of life.

Inland, the prospect alters. There is an oval Maidan, and a long sallow hospital. Houses belonging to Eurasians stand on the high ground by the railway station. --- On the second rise is laid out the little civil station --- (which) provokes no emotion. It charms not, neither does it repel. It is sensibly planned, with a red brick club at its brow, and further back, a grocer's and a cemetery, and the bungalows are disposed along roads that intersect at right angles. It has nothing hideous in it, and only the view is beautiful" (5). ¹⁴

The Anglo Indian landscape, developed according to imposed principles of rational and useful design, is aesthetically unsatisfactory, a failed approximation of authentic European architecture and organic landscapes. After his failed attempt at establishing social contact with colonized India, Fielding stops at Italy and Venice on his way home to England. He then notices that "He had forgotten the beauty of form among idol temples and lumpy hills; indeed, without form, how could there be beauty? Form stammered here and there in a mosque --- but oh these Italian churches! ---- something more precious than mosaics and marbles were offered to him now: the harmony between the works of man and the earth that upholds them, the civilization that has escaped muddle, the spirit in a reasonable form, with flesh and blood subsisting. Writing picture postcards to his Indian

'fundamentally unreal spaces' of utopias, which present society in either 'a perfected form' or else 'turned upside down.'" Soja.

¹⁴ E. M. Forster. *A Passage to India*.

friends, he felt that all of them would miss the joys he experienced now, the joys of form, and that this constituted a serious barrier.” Fielding’s apprehension of the exclusion of India from “Mediterranean harmony, --- the human norm” ultimately decides his Anglo Indian alienation from the disproportion and chaos of the subcontinent.

The unfixing of metropolitan / suburban designs of the landscapes of modernity in the Anglo Indian novel is an important condition, and clears space for a textual centering of a conflicted imperial consciousness. The problematic narrative locales presented in the novels exemplify how liberal accounts of empire must negotiate the ironies inherent in metropolitan models of modern progressive communities. The texts chronicle the production of an efficient (colonial) society described “from the viewpoint of rationalization” as “the differentiation of the intermeshing systems around the organizational cores of capitalist enterprise and the bureaucratic state apparatus. (It involves) the institutionalization of purposive rational economic and administrative action --- the generalization of values which set communicative action free from narrowly restricted contexts” (Habermas 1-2). However, the dilemma of the Anglo Indian functionary exemplifies how participation within the imperial institutions of such a culture inhibits the expected establishment of liberal communication and authentic community.

For example, in *Burmese Days*, the ironic exchange between Flory, skeptical merchant and ‘Empire builder’, and Dr Veraswamy, man of science seduced by promises of progress, critique familiar liberal endorsements of global ‘free’ economics and its ties with the ideologies of modern progress and development. Flory’s characterization of the

British Empire as “a device for giving trade monopolies to the English” provokes a defense of its modernizing function by Veeraswamy, that uses the rhetoric of civilizational progress and a liberal cultural order. “You say you are here to trade? Of course you are. Could the Burmese trade for themselves? Could they make machinery, ships, railways, roads? They are helpless without you. ----. And while your businessmen develop the resources of our country, your officers are civilizing us, elevating us to their level, from pure public spirit. ---- You have brought to us law and order. The unswerving British Justice and the Pax Britannica.” Surveying the colonial landscape, Veeraswamy directs “Look merely out of that veranda. Look at the hospital, and over to the right at the school and the police station. Look at the whole uprush of modern progress” (40 – 41). The tasks of colonial modernization determine a certain community profile. Veeraswamy characterizes the colonial community in terms of “glorious loyalty to one another; the public school spirit,” while Flory exposes the imperial and inauthentic nature of the affiliation. “There is a kind of spurious good fellowship between the English in this country. It’s a tradition to booze together, and swap meals and pretend to be friends, though we all hate each other like poison. Hanging together, we call it. It’s a political necessity” (38).

In *Growing*, the constitution of a performative social identity based on imperial work is presented as both a necessary condition as well as a felt alienation from the collective forms of modern life. The colonizer’s society in Ceylon is homogeneously characterized by the “complete exclusion of Sinhalese and Tamils”, and its members are classified according to colonial and economic function. “The British were divided into four well defined classes. Civil servants, army officers, planters and businessmen.” Imperial work,

which is the formative basis of the ex patriot community, provides the constitutive basis of the author's liberal/imperial personality, but is also the source of potential alienation from a self construction based upon such labor. The artificial and politically constructed nature of the 'public personality' is emphasized even as functional modern identities are transferred to the colonial margins of the modern state. In Jaffna, Woolf commenced his "first plunge into the social life of a Ceylon civil servant," a life which always retained for him "a twinge of theatrical unreality" (24). The company included "the Government Agent of the Province --- the office assistant to the Government agent, the Archeological Commissioner --- the District Judge and the Police Magistrate. We were all civil servants, --- grand because we were a ruling caste in a strange Asiatic country." "I felt in the atmosphere something that to me was slightly strange and disconcerting. It was this in the social atmosphere or climate that gave a touch of unreality and theatricality to our lives. In Cambridge or London we were undergraduates or dons or barristers or bankers; and we were what we were, we were not acting, not playing the part."

Woolf notices that an engagement with the "extraordinary variety of work which a junior civil servant had to do," (as head of customs, prisons, municipal and local government, irrigation works), replace old habits of social association, and become a substitute for past fraternal affiliations. Letters to Lytton Strachey, the only correspondence he continues with his Bloomsbury past, stress the disjunction marking Woolf's contrasted past and present. "I feel keenly the complete loss of life which I had lived at Cambridge, its friends and friendships. In every conceivable way, my life in Jaffna was the exact opposite" (62). "I neither read, nor think, nor in the old way, feel" (58). The daily routine of Kacheri work exposes Woolf to intimate narratives of colonization, and so fashions his

imperialist / liberal politics. Drawn into a fascinated engagement with the "excitement from these curious rare incidents and sights," and "the curious people and their intimate lying tales," which anaesthetize "the boredom of work and the nausea of social conversation," (59), Woolf romantically positions himself as the agent of enlightened modernization in relation to the new landscape he inhabits. "I fell in love with the country. I rarely thought of anything except the District and the people, how to increase their prosperity, diminish poverty and disease, start irrigation works, open schools." The ambition, in Hambatonta, to be "successful in the Ceylon civil service, to be well thought of in the Colombo secretariat, to win promotion," encourages his efforts to institute methods of efficiency, organization, promptness. The establishment of "the economical method of correspondence – one of the foundations of office efficiency and one of the great discoveries for saving time and money" caused a 'domestic revolution', and gained Woolf the "reputation of being a strict and ruthless civil servant – (even as) nearly all of them agreed that my revolution had not only enormously increased efficiency, but made their own work easier" (107). He admits to a "passion for efficiency, the consuming desire to find 'the best way to do it,' the most economical, quickest, most efficient, most methodical." The consolidation of his official identity encourages such passions. "My promotion to assistant government agent enormously encouraged this desire for efficiency. Suddenly --- (I was) responsible for a vast variety of administrative operations --- (and) administration was almost always and everywhere slow, unintelligent, badly organized. I set out to make Hambatonta district the best administered in the island, and I do not think I deceive or flatter myself when I say that I succeeded" (181). Detailed accounts of projects such as collecting Census data within the district, or the centralized

collection and distribution of salt illustrate exemplify the productive methods of colonial organization, precision, timing.

However, the promotion of order and method sits uneasily upon a simultaneous critique of bureaucratic functioning and an indictment of the 'modern' forms of a colonial, corporate, public life. "Our life is dominated by machinery," Woolf concludes, "material as in the railways, and social as in the intricate tangle of law and government. We live in a little walled box with a row of walled boxes on each side of us and another facing us. Our lives run between metal lines like the trains and the old fashioned trams. -- - normally the schoolmaster, the sanitary inspector, the clergyman, the daily paper, the pavements and lace curtains and police magistrates and high court judges, the ego and the superego are far too strong for the id, and we may live our whole lives behind our lace curtains in the image, not of God or man, but of the rubber stamp and the machine" (54).

Growing prepares us to study how the colonial novel, in revising spatial/ideological patterns of modernity that proliferate beyond metropolitan sources, sets up an imperial landscape inhabited by a conflicted liberal imagination. Repeated narrative motifs of spatial displacement and social alienation in the texts help suggest that the possibilities of fraternal and legal association are always deferred within colonial political arrangements. As such, the narratives share textual space with existing political analyses that often identify the variety as well as the limitations of the varieties of social, economic and ritual associations in liberal conceptions of the democratic, benevolent, and progressive community.¹⁵ Such histories remain cognizant of and even utilize a liberal politics of

exclusion implicit in the fraternal basis of community, and evident in a historical and discursive record of ideas.¹⁶ Reflecting this contradiction, Anglo Indian representations

¹⁵ For a detailed account of the liberal construction of community, see Gerald Gaus's history of liberal theories of sociability in the early twentieth century. Gaus records a "movement from an earlier laissez faire individualism to to a 'socialist' collectivism, --- fundamental to the liberalisms of J. S. Mill, T. H. Green , L. T. Hobhouse, John Dewey." 2. The history emphasizes how liberal democratic institutions of political democracy and legal equality are re validated by "a theory of man that reconciles the pursuit of individuality with sociality and membership in a community." 4.

¹⁶ "In its theoretical vision, liberalism, from the seventeenth century to the present has prided itself on its universality and politically inclusionary character. And yet , when viewed as a historical phenomena, the period of liberal history is marked by systematic and sustained political exclusions -- --." (Mehta 46). Liberalism's historical engagement with the imperial project, even when in tension with basic liberal notions such as tolerance, the right to representation, equality and consent, sovereignty of the people, individual rights and freedom, provide evidence of such strategies of exclusion. Significant imperial arguments within this discourse use well defined logical and rhetorical tropes: the qualified conditions of liberal universalism, the notion of a cosmopolitan history tied to the imperatives of progress and civilization, methods of epistemology in which the practice of knowing and scripting remained tied to metropolitan sources of information, and the naming of territory as metropolitan presence and its extensions over pre colonial spaces characterized as unnamed and absent. These constitute civilizational typologies – and are often seen as the conditions of historical progress.

The construction of colonial history in key manifestos of liberal thought link strategies of exclusion and historical progress. For example, Locke's Second Treatise of Government provides for the distinctions between anthropological capacities to access natural rights and the necessary social conditions permitting their actualization; it prescribes how the condition of perfect freedom is achieved by the means of natural human reason. (Mehta 53). James Mills' History of British India - driven by a particular view of India's position in a timeline of civilizational and individual development, provides genealogical specifications for representative government. (Mehta 73- 82.) "For both the Mills, civilizational achievement , which is paradigmatically the work of collectivities, is the necessary condition for the progressive purposes immanent in history, and hence of its continued progress."

The manner in which nineteenth century liberal histories helped the cause of empire by educating society using progressive teleologies may be illustrated by the case of James Mill's *The History of British India*. The History became the standard and mandatory manual for officials of the company, and eventually a required textbook for the candidates for the elite corps of senior administrators in the Indian Civil Service. . The text established the stage to which India's extant condition corresponded. It described the rational grounds for a scale of civilizational hierarchies. Imperial appendages had not reached the stage of historical maturation necessary for the conditions of representative

of colonial fraternity and social cohesion ironically mimic positive metropolitan liberal models of community. The interrogation of the institutional forms and bases of community become an important catalyst in the narratives, determining the destinies of the liberal protagonists as well as the tragic direction of the plot.

In the Anglo Indian fictions of Woolf, Orwell and Foster, the limitations of the social and political basis of liberal association are made evident by representations of its (imperial) cultural institutionalization. The narrative use of the Anglo Indian clubhouse, embodying cultural codes of cohesion, and the Anglo Indian courthouse, dispensing legal – political codes of community, is significant to representations of crises in these texts.

The Clubhouse Community and Anglo Indian Socialization:

The colonial ‘club’ is thematically and symbolically crucial in that it symbolizes the codes of exclusion that define crises ridden communities functioning as agents of modernity. The localized presence of the European clubs in the Anglo Indian landscape instituted, ostensibly, as places of leisure complementing imperial work, are represented as spaces of associations based on exile, dedicated to the conservative preservation of imperial work and domination, and the prohibition of individual freedoms.

While at Jaffna, Woolf describes evening rituals at the clubhouse. “When the office and the courts closed, and the Sahibs and their womenfolk feared no more the heat o’ the

government and egalitarian institutional arrangements under which individuality find expression. The liberal justification of the Raj here rested on a plan of progress and a history that makes evident the need for such progress. (Mehta 88).

sun, from our various bungalows we converged upon the node of the day and of society, the tennis court in the Fort. In the Ceylon of those days, among the white people the evening tennis was a serious business, a ritual, almost a sacrament. We played hard and seriously for an hour or more. ----. When the light began to fade, we put on our sweaters, and, sitting in a circle, drank whiskey and soda and talked. This was socially the peak of the Jaffna day, the ritual of British conversation which inevitably followed British exercise. --- its humdrum melancholy and monotony --- (revealed) --- the strange quality of our imperialist isolation.”

The psychology of exile that marks such social intercourse is present in a range of Anglo Indian representations as a pervasive social condition in narratives of dislocation. Woolf bears witness to its intertextual proliferations. “The white people were also in many ways astonishingly like characters in a Kipling story. I could never make up my mind whether Kipling had accurately moulded his characters in the image of Anglo Indian society, or we were moulding our character accurately in the image of a Kipling story. In the stories and in the conversations on the Jaffna tennis court (and off it) there was the same incongruous mixture of public school toughness, sentimentality, and melancholy. ----. Our talk after the game, as we sipped our whiskey and sodas, consisted almost entirely of platitudes, chaff, or gossip, and yet it was permeated by an incongruous melancholy, which, --- we might even have called *Weltschmerz*” (46).

The alienation of the 'English evenings' is intensified by a mood of violence and cruelty in the air, expressed in harsh images of foreign landscapes and the threat of indigenous encroachment, insurgency and danger beyond the clubhouse gardens. The air of enclosure, ennui, loneliness within the club is contrasted with menacing natural and

political spaces beyond. The European club in Orwell's "fairly typical Upper Burmese town of Kyauktada," is a "dumpy one – storey wooden building," as well as an imperial symbol, "the real center of the town." Orwell describes how "in any town in India, the European Club is the spiritual citadel, the real seat of the British power, the Nirvana for which native officials and millionaires pine in vain." However, "beyond the Club, the Irrawaddy flowed huge and ochreous, glittering like diamonds in the patches that caught the sun ----." Outside the club, and past the gate, "the big tennis screen was overgrown by a creeper with starlike mauve flowers. In the borders beside the path swathes of English flowers, phlox and larkspur, hollyhock and petunia, not yet slain by the sun, rioted in vast size and richness. ----. There was no lawn, but instead a shrubbery of native trees and bushes – gold mohur trees like vast umbrellas of blood red blooms, frangipanis like creamy stalkless flowers, purple bougainvillea, scarlet hibiscus ----. The clash of colors hurt ones eyes in the glare" (19). The interiors of the clubhouse house objects of leisure in close proximity to symbols of decay and isolation. "Inside the Club was a teak walled place smelling of earth oil, and consisting of only four rooms, one of which contained a forlorn 'library' of five hundred mildewed novels, and another an old and mangy billiard table –, this however, was seldom used, for during the most of year hordes of flying beetles came buzzing round the lamps and littered themselves over the floor. There were also a card room and a 'lounge' (which) --- was an unhomelike room, with coconut matting on the floor, and wickerchairs ---. For ornamentation there were a number of Bonzo pictures, and dusty skulls of sambhur. A punkah, lazily flapping, shook dust in the tepid air" (20).

In *A Passage to India*, the club in Chandrapore demarcates an area of isolated imperial alliance which maintains a strategic relation with of oriental textual spaces of the 'mosque, temple, cave', where the possibilities of (post) colonial communities are explored. The conservative coherence of the outpost society is edged and threatened by alien encroachments: the genteel groups of purdah freed English speaking ladies allowed into the club gardens to meet the English guests, the drums of Mohhurrum which terrify the company gathered at the club after the incident at the caves in Chandrapore, apprehensions of policies of racial desegregation. The English company gathered at the club remain perpetually threatened by moments of narrative crisis. On one significant occasion, the English gather in the evening after Adela reports an attempted rape on her person by the Indian Dr Aziz in the dark Marabar caves.

"People drove into the club with studious calm - the jog trot of country gentlefolk between green hedgegrows, for the natives must not suspect that they were agitated.

They exchanged the usual drinks, but everything tasted different, and they looked out at the palisade of cactuses stabbing the purple throat of the sky; they realized they were thousands of miles away from any scenery that they understood."

The evening draws on, and community emotions and collective fears intensify and find expression.

"The club was fuller than usual, and several parents had brought their children into the rooms reserved for adults which gave the air of the Residency at Lucknow. One young mother sat on a low ottoman in the smoking room with her baby in her arms; --- she dared not return to her bungalow 'in case the niggers attacked.' ---this evening, with her

abundant figure and masses of corn gold hair, she symbolized all that is worth fighting and dying for ---” (200).

It is this precarious placement of the club that encourages an almost defensive political constitution as an anti liberal, parochial and patriarchal institution. The reactionary imperialist politics of ‘clubhouse’ socialization seems ironically tied to a familiar historical vocabulary of liberal exclusions.¹⁷ “In those days, of course, no natives were members of the Jaffna tennis club. Our society was exclusively white,” remarks Woolf, while Orwell records how “it was the proud boast of Kyauktada Club that, almost alone of clubs in Burma, it had never admitted an Oriental to membership” (19).

The group experience of exile, isolation, and dislocation characterizing the Anglo Indian social condition is intensified in the person of the alienated liberal protagonist, and is often concretized in his acts of disaffiliation from the local clubhouse. In an interesting exchange, E M Forster chooses the sentiment of disloyalty to clubhouse culture to define his political location in relation to imperialism. In a letter to Edmund Candler in June 1928, he describes their political differences. “We both amuse ourselves trying to be fair, but there our resemblance ends, for you are in the Club trying to be fair to the poor Indians, and I am with the Indians trying to be fair to the poor Club. --- I have always felt miserable in a Club, and almost always felt happy among Indians, and I want to go back among them. --- God preserve us from cricket in heaven.”¹⁸

In *Growing*, Woolf describes the “profound happiness of complete solitude” as an effect of social dissociation. In the “empty silent Residencies of Mannar and

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ From *A Passage to India: Nation and Narration*. Judith Scherer Herz. NY: Twayne Publishers 1993. 46.

Hambatonta”, away from the clubhouse routine of Jaffna evenings, he notices that “for the first time I learnt the profound happiness of complete isolation. For a month I never spoke to anyone except clerks, headmen, Tamil villagers, and my own Tamil servants. --- this kind of complete solitude, with the necessity of relying absolutely upon oneself and one’s own mind --- I acquired a taste for it which I have never lost ---” (120).

The excommunicated English protagonists of *Burmese Days* and *A Passage to India* seem to share a critical temperament that distances them from the society of colonial officials and civilians. The tragic action of the narratives is most explicitly figured in the disaffiliated careers of Flory, the ‘marked’ Anglo Burmese liberal, “here to make money, like everyone else”, and the academic Fielding, “caught by India late”, and “nominated Principal of the little college in Chandrapore, who increasingly notices how “the gulf between himself and his countrymen --- widened distressingly” at the local club.

The European club at Kyauktada in many ways stages the ironic reversals of fortune that tragically affect Flory. A liberal ordinance requiring the democratic ‘election of niggers’, drafted in “England, where every one is free and equal”, introduces the threat of contamination to the cohesion of “the last club in Burma to hold out against (native membership)”, as well as to a larger imperial project.¹⁹ Mrs Lackersteen laments the “lack of authority over the natives nowadays with these dreadful reforms, (as) the democratic spirit creeps in even here.” Flory’s attempt to speak for Dr Veeraswamy’s nomination to the club disturbs the security of the institution, which depends on the

¹⁹ It is also important to note how the native desire for membership and protection from the club advances the rivalry between U Po Kyin and Veraswamy and becomes the basis of the tragic action within the narrative, even as the clubhouse community is shown to be ironically vulnerable to Oriental intrigue practised by U Po Kyin that prevents private friendships and furthers political social alienation in Flory’s career.

preservation of the 'pucca sahib's' code. Essential to the "suburban intensity of living as a dull, decent people (at the) outposts of empire," the code underwrites "a stifling, stultifying world, --- in which every word and every thought is censored, --- even friendship can hardly exist when every man is a cog in the wheels of despotism. Free speech is unthinkable, --- you are not free to think for yourself. ----. Your opinion on any subject of any conceivable importance is dictated by the "pucca sahib's code." His disloyalty to the conservative imperatives of the 'clubhouse' society ensures that Flory suffers a double alienation, "silent, alone, in secret, sterile worlds, pining for England and against the stream of life."

Early in *A Passage to India*, Fielding puzzles over his relationship with Anglo Indian society. "He could not at first see what was wrong. He was not unpatriotic, he always got on with Englishmen in England, all his best friends were English, so why was it not the same out here?" He notices how the company at the club rearranged "life on the home front" according to a conservative bourgeois scheme:

"They spoke of Cousin Kate. They tried to reproduce their own attitude to life upon the stage, and to dress up as the middle class English people they actually were. Next year they would do *Quality Street* or *The Yeoman of the Guard*. Save for this annual incursion, they left literature alone. --- their ignorance of the Arts was notable, and they lost no opportunity of proclaiming it to one another; it was the Public School attitude, flourishing more vigorously than it can yet hope to do in England. If India was shop, the Arts were bad form ---" (40).

Fielding's discomfort is matched by the unease and distrust the community display toward an alternate philosophy Fielding practises, of liberal connections that endorse

personal communication and a 'fellowship of the cultured sensibility.' Such 'Forsterian' efforts precipitate the crisis of community that follow Fielding's friendships outside the clubhouse.

“ ---- something in his manner puzzled people and failed to allay the distrust which Fielding's profession naturally inspired. --- the feeling grew that Mr. Fielding was a disruptive force, and rightly, for ideas are fatal to caste, and he used ideas by the most potent method – interchange. Neither a missionary or a student, he was happiest in the give and take of a private conversation. The world, he believed, is a globe of men who are trying to reach one another and can best do so by the help of good will plus culture and intelligence – a creed ill suited to Chandrapore – but he had come out too late to lose it. He had no racial feelings, not because he was superior to his brother civilians, but because he had matured in a different atmosphere where the herd instinct does not flourish. The remark that did him most harm at the club was a silly aside to the effect that the so called white races are really pinko grey. He only said this to be cheery, he did not realize that “white” had no more to do with color than “God save the King” with a god, and that it is the height of impropriety to consider what it does connote” (65).

Fielding's refusal to participate in the performances of gendered and domestic socialized behavior preserving the rituals of “life on the home pattern” ultimately assures his excommunication –

“ --- it was the wives who decided that he was not a sahib really. They disliked him. He took no notice of them, and this, which would have passed without comment in feminist England, did him harm in a community where the male is expected to be lively and

helpful. Mr. Fielding never advised one about dogs and horses, or dined, or paid his midday calls, or decorated trees for one's children at Christmas, and though he came to the club, it was only to get his tennis and his billiards and to go" (66).

The disaffiliations of Fielding and Flory are represented most dramatically by instances of alternative fraternal loyalty, as in the events of their disruptive and dangerous 'Indian' friendships – with Aziz, accused of interracial rape, and with Veeraswamy, a radical threat to the segregated basis of Burmese society. However, a sequence of ironic narrative reversals ensure that the absolute outsider status of the dissenting colonial is eventually preserved. Flory's possible engagement to Elizabeth and an Anglo Indian assimilation that would follow seems secured when he defends the besieged club from the threat of overwhelming and violent native insurgency using courage, rational conduct, and judgement. Fielding's post trail championing of the outcast Adela, previously the symbol of imperial identification strengthening communal unity within the Chandrapore club, leads to his estrangement from Aziz, and clears the way for a degree of assimilation into metropolitan culture: his return to England and life as a married Anglo Indian educator.

The Courtroom Community and Anglo Indian Law:

The critique of local models of social association is simultaneously and consistently supported in the Anglo Indian novels by repeated interrogations of the legal basis of colonial community.

In his study of procedural law and injustice in *A Passage to India*, Lee Horseley describes the legal basis of the liberal political state. “The secular libertarian model, (outlined, for example, by David Apter in *The Politics of Modernization*), is identified with western concepts of democracy, with a market economy, and a system that ideally maximises opportunities for exercising rational and individualistic behaviour to minimize coercion. In short, the classic liberal picture of a political community, the values of which are, (like those defended by Leonard Woolf), centered on individual liberty protected by *instituted and common law and custom*” (3.)²⁰ The liberal ideal of political community, underwritten by legal codes that orders and protects society, is represented in Anglo Indian novels as undergoing significant transformations in imperial enforcements. These include establishing conservative procedural functions of practicing and dispensing the law, and also colonial attempts to construct liberal metropolitan subjectivity in a relation of legal domination over the marginal other.

The codification and the implementation of the law and of procedural justice in colonized outposts were important and complex challenges to the metropolitan intellectual project of collective self representation in an age of empire. Mehta's history of imperial liberalism describes how English legislation refined global ideologies of national and legal process in their colonial applications. In such a history, the successful institution of a liberal legal order seemed to require an imperial epistemological proficiency. For example, Benthamite colonial legislatures had to “be possessed fully of the facts, to be informed of the local situation, the climate, the bodily constitution, the

²⁰ Lee Horseley. *Fictions of Power in English Literature. 1900 – 1950*. N. Y. Longman, 1995.

manners, the legal customs, the religions of those with whom they have to deal.” The influence of the politics of location on legislation is described with specific reference to Bengal. “To a law giver who, having been brought up with English notions shall have learned how to accommodate his laws to the circumstances of Bengal no other part of the globe can present a difficulty.” In a later codification, Mill recommends “the induction of particulars, embracing the religion, the laws, the manners, the art, the sciences, the literature of the Hindus affords the materials from which a correct lawful judgement may be formed of their progress toward the high attainment of civilized life” (92). These statements illustrate a relationship of complicity and dependence between a metropolitan history of ideas and its imperial institutions and applications.

The law, seemingly the guarantee and protection of the basis of an equal metropolitan society, is appropriately perceived as threatening and inconvenient in the anti liberal climate of Anglo India. In Forster’s *Passage*, Chandrapore’s collector anticipates the trail initiated by Adela’s shocking charge of rape against the Indian doctor Aziz following a reported attack in the caves. “There seemed nothing for it but the old weary business of compromise and moderation. He longed for the good old days when an Englishman could satisfy his own honor and no questions asked afterwards. --- the Government of India itself watches, and behind it is that caucus of cranks and cravens, the British Parliament. He had to constantly remind himself that, in the eyes of the law, Aziz was not yet guilty, and the effort fatigued him” (203). “(McBryde) grew very bitter over the arrangements, and called them the “fruits of democracy.” In the old days an Englishwoman would not have had to appear, nor would any Indian have dared to discuss her private affairs. She

would have made her deposition, and judgement would have followed. He apologized to her for the state of the country ---” (217).

In Kyauktada, following the murder of Maxwell, local Forest Officer, Ellis ‘local manager of a timber company,’ broods over the incident. “The rage was stewing in his body like a bitter juice. They had killed a white man --- Oh the swine --- how they ought to be made to suffer for it! Why did we make these cursed kid gloves laws? Why did we take everything lying down? Just suppose this had happened in a German colony, before the War? The good old Germans! They knew how to treat the niggers. Reprisals! Raid their villages, kill their cattle, burn their crops, decimate them, blow them from the guns. --- If only those gutless curs would ever show fight in any conceivable way! Instead of sneaking past you, keeping within the law so that you never had a chance to get back on them. Ah, for a real rebellion, martial law proclaimed and no quarter given!” (241).

Most significantly, however, the discordance embedded in the exercise of law upon an area historically ‘behind’ as well as in a marginal relation to the modern imperial state helps reveal how the legal basis of the liberal community paradoxically institutes political codes of domination. For example, the legal challenge to imperial domination is effectively neutralized in Anglo Indian episodes of its application. The narratives, therefore, remain aware of the intimacies between liberal juridical methods and the imperial project. The problematic reconciliation of efficacy with democratic inclusion in a colonial space troubles the efficient lawmaker in *Growing*. “ (I) acted occasionally as Superintendent of Police, and soon found --- that it was extremely difficult to prevent effectively the primitive and illegal methods of the native police and headman in dealing with crime. I am all and always upon the side of law and order, and my time in Ceylon,

where I was on the Government side of the fence, strengthened me in this attitude, simply because without law and order, life for everyone must become poor, brutish, nasty and short. ----. But in my case actual experience from the inside of the administration of law and of what is called justice produced in me an ineradicable and melancholy disillusion with those whose duty it is to do justice and protect law and order. Too often one watches the line between the criminal and the policeman or the judge growing thinner and thinner” (79).

Woolf’s disquiet with the violent and authoritarian nature of the legal basis of colonial society, in fact, seems curiously close to a post liberal sensibility, as exemplified, for instance, by a Foucauldian analysis. The liberal Anglo Indian critique anticipates elements of this famous metropolitan examination of the contradictions of the western concept of justice in a bourgeois world order. Foucault’s critique of “the establishment of the rule of ‘common law’ as the basis of protection, organization and regulation of the liberal political community” consistently focuses on “the characterization of law as imprisoning, reactionary, and parochial.”²¹ For example, *Discipline and Punish* provides an effective theoretical map that describes the establishment and persistence of the modern juridical code as a continuing function of hidden power relations that it constitutes and conceals. Interestingly, the critique of liberal law often reworks colonial metaphors, describing, for instance, “the (legal) walls of confinement enclosing the bourgeois dream of a moral city”, or the forceful imposition of the “republic of the good - - on those on those suspected of belonging to evil” to analyse how the commitment to “truth, law and individual consciousness” is used as justification for containment.” (*The Foucault Reader*. 199).

The text interprets the liberal effects justifying the persistence of the juridical model of power. “The contract model defines legitimate power as limited vis a vis the rights and freedoms that are reserved to the people,” and illustrates instead how “power is tolerable only on the condition that it masks a substantial part of itself. Its success is proportional to its ability to hide its own mechanisms” (265). Foucault’s synopsis traces how “historically, the process by which the bourgeoisie became, in the course of the eighteenth century, the politically dominant class was masked by the establishment of an explicit, coded, and formally egalitarian juridical framework, made possible by the organization of a parliamentary, representative regime. But the development and generalization of disciplinary mechanisms constituted the other dark side of these processes. The general juridical form that guaranteed a system of rights that were egalitarian in principle were supported by these tiny, everyday, physical mechanisms, by all these systems of micropower that are essentially non egalitarian and asymmetric that we call the disciplines. And although --- the representative regime makes it possible --- for the will of all to form fundamental authority of sovereignty, the disciplines provide, at the base, a guarantee of the submission of forces and bodies.” Though the authority of the state is sanctioned by public consensus, the subject, “confronted by schematic, lawful, power,” is “subjected – as he who obeys.”²²

Under the conditions of modernization, the discourse of democratic rights and the juridical conception of power conspired to support changing forms of domination. “The system of right, the domain of the law remained permanent agents for relations of

²¹ *The Foucault Reader*. 138 –139. 62 – 63.

²² “The Genealogical Critique: Michel Foucault.” *Civil Society and Political Theory*. Cohen and Arato. 222.

domination." As real corporeal disciplines increasingly "constituted the foundation of formal juridical liberties," it appeared that "the new types of disciplinary power, (polymorphous techniques developed in the 17th and 18th centuries, and globalized in the 19th and 20th centuries), are irreducible to the representation of law" (259). However, Foucault insists, despite the extensive proliferation of power in civil society, "the juridical model continued to hold sway --- in part as the legal codes Europe acquired in the 19th century, --- (represented) as *the universal legalisms of liberal politics*, formal equality, rights, parliamentary democracy." The old alliance between power and the law preserved "the contractarian illusion that power can be made visible, localized, and restricted to the political state whose boundaries are clearly delimited by the rights of juridical subject." Thus, the discourse of law and rights maintained its ideological function in the age of empire, to render power legitimate and controllable by "concealing the mechanisms of disciplinary power that operate outside, underneath and through the law" (261 – 262). The liberal reestablishment of legitimate, juridically bound power therefore maintained a covert relationship with new "disciplining and normalizing techniques of domination."²³ "Thus law does not necessarily fade into the background in the 19th and 20th centuries, but operates more and more in the service of normalization as the juridical institution is incorporated into a continuum of apparatus (medical, administrative etc.) whose functions are for the most part regulatory" (96).

²³ For example, "the use of medical, psychological, sociological expertise, of statistical data, in short, of empirical information and nonlegal language within legal discourse is proof that the disciplines have penetrated the juridical structures and have rendered them positive, empirical, functional and quasi disciplinary themselves." 264.

The ironic distance between the legal ideal and its procedural application is demonstrated most notably on occasions when the law functions as an imperial agent within, for example, colonial institutions of the lawful metropolitan community. In doing so, it subverts its liberal political character. It is significant that such juridically supported and pervasive forms of power typical of modern societies are dramatized in several episodes of colonial courtroom trials and punishment in the fictions of Woolf, Orwell and Forster. The colonial dramatizations effectively stage “the negative terms in which the rule of law is conceived, (it condemns, prohibits and punishes), and also the repressive nature of the relationship between the individual and the legal association of the state” (200).

In 1913, Leonard Woolf published ‘an imaginative record of his experiences at Hambatonta’ in his first novel. Two trial scenes occupy the narrative center of *The Village in the Jungle*, and these present the indigeneous subject’s experience of and subjection to colonial justice. Silindu, an impoverished cultivator marginalized at the edge of a village bordering a jungle in colonized Ceylon, is subjected to the processes of imperial substantive justice as the powerful headman and moneylender conspire to acquire his land and his daughter.²⁴ The inability of the English legal process to protect Silindu, even as it relies on evidence, statements, witnesses, corroboration, and confessions, exemplifies how the transparency of the ‘universal’ legal basis of ordered community is compromised in its colonial applications. By exposing lapses of legal

²⁴ The village headman’s manipulation of the law to aid his designs, as exemplified by his legal action against Silindu’s alleged theft as well as his previous manipulation of cultivation permits, is a curious example of the rendering of the authoritative legal code and its colonial institution as vulnerable to oriental intrigue, crucial to the tragic action of the narrative. The infallible virtues and protections of the law is again compromised by

action and its consequences as well as the legal confusions between the categories of victim / criminal during Silindu's trial following the murder of the money lender, the narrative further communicates a liberal apprehension of the ambivalence and contradictions that mark the administration of the law.

Silindu's exclusion from the embodiments of a transposed law, its institutions, language, functionaries, that are beyond the horizons of his experience, comprehension and communication is most effectively presented in a descriptive passage in which Silindu's first court appearance is aesthetically distanced and framed by a constructed tropical landscape. The scene stages a definitive moment of narrative instability. The reproduction of the 'situated' courthouse as a spectacle, itself producing a strange reverie that escapes geographical contingency and communicative familiarity, is a crucial image that conveys, in the workings of a repressive, mystifying, system of judgement and recourse, a disregard for individual destiny, the radical dissociation of language and consciousness, and a fractured social order unable to impart security and signification.

“The court house stood on a bare hill which rose above the town, a small headland which ran into the sea to form one side of the little bay. The judge, as he sat upon the bench, looked through the great open doors opposite to him, down upon the blue waters of the bay, --- the grey jungle stretching out to the horizon and the faint line of the hills. And throughout the case this vast view framed like a picture in the heavy wooden doorway, was continually before the eyes of the accused.. --- the air of the court was hot, heavy, oppressive; the voices of those who spoke seemed both to themselves and to the others unreal in the stillness. The

the cunning subversions of law by the corrupt magistrate U Po Kyin in *Burmese Days*, who legally victimizes all opposition to his ambitions to further his colonial office.

murmur of the little waves in the bay, the confused shouts of the fishermen on the shore, the sound of the wind in the trees floated up to them as if from another world.

It was like a dream. They did not understand what exactly was happening. This was a 'case', and they were the 'accused', that was all they knew. The judge looked at them and frowned; this increased their fear and confusion. The judge said something to the interpreter, who asked them their names in an angry threatening voice. ----. From time to time the judge said a few sharp words in English to the interpreter: Silindu and Babun were never quite certain whether he was or not speaking to them, or whether, when the interpreter spoke to them in Sinhalese, the words were really his own, or whether he was interpreting what the judge had said" (111).

As another narrative example of such social disturbance, Orwell's essay, "The Hanging," (1931), provides an account of colonial procedural punishment as ironically undermining the constituent units of human community. The author observes a routine hanging in a Burmese jailhouse. The procession escorting the prisoner to the gallows starts from the ordered and sparse cells that are designed to hold 'citizens' condemned by the law. The instrumental, precisely ordered 'iron cages' servicing the ends of procedural justice are peopled with prisoners who are also imperially controlled subjects. "We were waiting outside the condemned cells, a row of sheds fronted with double bars, like small animal cages. Each cell measured about ten feet by ten and was quite bare except for a plank bed and a pot for drinking water. In some of them brown silent men were squatting

at the inner bars, with their blankets draped around them. These were the condemned men, due to be hanged within the next week or two.”

The author is then witness to a routine execution within the barracks, scrupulously conducted according to correct procedure. The spectacle compels Orwell, appointed colonial policeman, to consider “what it means to destroy a healthy conscious man.” He describes the event as a metaphoric interruption, shattering the unified composition of an organic body: that of the rational individual, as well as of the phenomenological community into which he is integrated. “This man was not dying, he was alive just as we are alive. All the organs of his body were working – bowels digesting food, skin renewing itself, nails growing, tissues forming – all toiling away in solemn foolery. ----. His eyes saw the yellow gravel, and his brain still remembered, foresaw, reasoned, - reasoned even about puddles. He and we were a party of men walking together, seeing, hearing, feeling, understanding the same world: and in two minutes, with a sudden snap, one of us would be gone – one mind less, one world less” (11).

In his essay “The Critique of Liberal Justice: A Passage to India,” Horseley explores how Forster confronts the limitations of the liberal ideal of justice and community as it manifests in pre independence India. The study points to the necessary distinction, in this case, between ‘procedural justice’ – a method contained in the careful unbiased weighing of arguments of a case – and ‘substantial justice’ – value of a law residing in some inherent quality we recognize as just” (205). The Western system of trial and dispensation is seen in the context of “the varieties of inward experience” contained within ‘the real India.’

The legal proceedings initiated against Aziz by the British magistrate follows an accusation of rape directed at him by Adela, a recent unincorporated visitor who is escorted to the Marabar caves by the doctor. The episode dramatizes the exercise of justice in its procedural and substantive forms. The central event of the trial questions the public application of legal procedure by staging the inability of officially constructed narratives of proof and circumstantial evidence to account for the 'mysterious affair' of the caves. The trial deepens communal schisms and creates a mood of chaotic disorder that challenges the effectiveness of the law in achieving the general ordering of colonial society. The 'muddle' at the heart of the proceedings essentially indicates the difficulty of materializing liberal values in institutional forms, or in the negative character of transported judicial or ethical systems.

Forster's reservations about the limitations of the liberal commitment to fair and reasonable forms of justice, as constituted and practised imperially, is counterposed with the attempt to establish a civilized social order predicated on positive personal connections that escape containment within existing political forms. The troubling negativity of systematic solidarities required by procedural law are set beside the attempt to preserve substantive justice in individual choices and positive personal values.

Horseley concludes that the requirements of such solidarity seem even more necessary as the legally articulated and protected codes of colonial society are undermined in the novel by "the threat of non signification posed by the spaces" that lie beyond the control of the courtroom and the legal system" (212). The narrative emphasizes an ironic indifference to questions of guilt/innocence, punishment/retribution as defined by a legal system that converts the cultural prejudices of the community into a more organized

form. The 'ideal of justice', manifest here as a normative imperial ethic, relies on an imperial community to provide the space, the cultural forms and the language of its formulation. As the Anglo Indian community participates in the courtroom events that administer a democratic system of justice, it is ironically increasingly isolated by the proceedings. The sense of clubhouse unity the English experience in the special galleries of the Chanderpore courthouse comes not from a genuinely unifying vision of justice but from a suppression of individual difference. Fielding's dissent and disaffiliation from the requirements of cohesion within the dominant community, a false association that cannot approximate the liberal notion of ideal solidarity, is accompanied by the attempt at a more authentic fraternity, as he 'takes sides' at the trial. Even as the proceedings collapse and Fielding and Aziz grow apart in the post trial period, the novel, in proposing that their preparatory friendship requires the creation of post imperial / modern spaces to continue, points to the future basis of post liberal connections in a new political order.

In presenting the modalities of (colonial) power that infiltrate the liberal – democratic juridical contract, the Anglo Indian courtroom drama emphasizes that modern power is exercised by the implementation of the law which allows “a Foucauldian array of prohibitions, negations, and a multiplicity of technologies of control.” The narrative episodes suggest that the legal practices of a colonial administration employ imperial institutions and require a “new and pervasive subject of domination (emerging from) the destruction of traditional group solidarities and the fragmentation or levelling of peoples, orders, and coherent social groups.” “The consolidation of disciplinary techniques of surveillance and control of bodies, therefore, are visited upon a new form of individuality

whose illusion of sovereignty is the counterpart to the absence of any autonomous group life or group identity, meaningful traditions, forms of association or power resources.” (Cohen 266 – 273). Both themes, of power and of the loss of familiar society, structure Anglo Indian fictions of the legal basis of community. The texts, therefore, perform an almost Foucauldian analysis, in that they deconstruct liberal ideology as they “look beyond the juridical relations of liberal democratic regimes and an apparently egalitarian market society to the systematic forms of domination within society,” and thus expose, in a colonial context, the ambiguities underlying stable liberal / juridical communities.

Conclusion

This chapter uses Woolf’s *Growing*, a colonial narrative, to initiate an examination of ironic fictions of modern communities that attempt to reconcile formative and established liberal values within an imperial order. We find that Anglo Indian stories of such conflicts represent metropolitan assertions as well as critiques of a liberal tradition that balances values of individual rights and the public good. Imperial examples of the liberal ideal of community, therefore, hold the assimilated or the dissenting individual in an ironic bind. The imperial threat of the state to the new liberal, who is potentially in conflict with its collective power, provides for an occasion of intense alienation. In this scheme, a reconciliation with national and social contexts, essential for progress and just conditions ensuring the preservation of the liberal agenda, seems to rely on two contractual instruments. First, the liberal ideal of law, by which the nation state and civil society is made legitimate, implies a public, consensual and impartial contractual frame characterized by its rational and secular qualities. Next, a democratic polity, that implies

a public culture composed of fraternal associations, allows the institutionalization of individual freedom.²⁵ However, the particular nationalist and imperial manifestations of both these institutions becomes the subject of liberal preoccupation and disquiet as exemplified in the lives and the political / aesthetic philosophies of the three 'non metropolitan' modernists.²⁶

The (Post) Liberal Imagination

By way of a footnote, it is important to recognize that this inability of the modern intellectual to commit to the institutional liberal basis of collective identity often

²⁵ Liberal statements of such authentic culture is most famously exemplified in the early Arnoldian utopia of a 'hellenism', a spontaneity of consciousness, 'the best of that which is known and thought in the world', the state as 'the union of our best selves', a true aristocracy of a 'government of the best' which replaces a pre liberal, class inflicted, uncultured society of barbarians, philistine, workers. (*The Function of Criticism*. 1865).

²⁶ For example, Rukun Advani's *E. M. Forster As Critic* studies "Forster's concern with the ideological basis and possibilities of community (expressed) in discrete essays, broadcasts, reviews, lectures for over fifty years." (2). The analysis concludes that *A Passage to India*, (1924), Forster's last novel, presents a (global) socio political crisis brought about by a post war decline of liberalism, and is an example of "a poetical symbol of the collapse of the liberal world which started in or about 1914." As the novel predicts the difficult post colonial future of community, Advani proposes that the collapse of the liberal order became "the reason Forster ceased writing novels after *A Passage to India*."

Again, Orwell's life long discomfort with the compromised international sources of metropolitan class solidarity, his conviction that imperial states could not accommodate socialism as they exploited colored labor, is reflected in his criticism of the post war Labor politics. To recover the basis of a global community, Orwell attempted a theoretical recasting of 'authentic' socialism as an anti imperial strategy, distinguishing it from 'imperialistic socialism'. "In an important article written soon after the labor Party's July 1945 general election victory, Orwell argued that the 'hardest problem for a Labor Government is --- India.' "Immersed in their struggle with the Tories, the Labor leaders have never made clear to their followers the extent to which British prosperity depends on the exploitation of the colored people. It has always been tacitly pretended that we could 'set India free' and raise our own wages simultaneously. --- Britain is not self contained but is part of a world wide network --- (and) cannot become a genuinely socialist country while continuing to plunder Asia and Africa." ('The British General Election'. *Commentary*. 6. 1 November 1945. 69 – 70).

motivates intellectual efforts to arrive at reformed ideological bases of metropolitan community. Local alienations are accompanied by tentative provisions for political connections and the possibilities of general will and destiny, often metropolitan in its situation and cosmopolitan in its scope, as best exemplified by Woolf's political work toward the formation of the League of Nations. *A Passage to India* expresses the difficulties of attempting social connections in its perception of "humanity drifting beyond the educated vision, until no earthly invitation can embrace it." The novel suggests, in a conundrum, that "Perhaps it is futile for men to initiate their own unity, they do but widen the gulfs between them by the attempt." The paradox that the effort to connect strengthens partitions is afforded the consolation of a mystical alternative, symbolized by the Hindu festivals of undifferentiated harmonizing, or expressed in the conversations of the missionaries Mr. Graysford and Mr Sorley, whose teachings extend the limits of divine inclusion. "The devoted missionaries", taught that "in our Father's house there are many mansions, --- and there alone will the incompatible multitudes of mankind be welcomed and soothed. No one shall be turned away by the servants on that verandah, be he black or white, ---- And why should the divine hospitality cease there?"

The conundrum and the proposed solution may serve as a metaphor for how situated colonial critiques of the basis of metropolitan community are often shadowed by emergent political statements that attempt to articulate a democratic culture. These include aesthetic, social, and political manifestoes, as well as narratives of political community and interpersonal connections. Woolf's 'marriage' to the Bloomsbury aesthetic and intellectual orders of association, Orwell's commitment to socialism and public culture, and Forster's personal intimacies and campaigns for the political

necessities of liberal – humanism are important examples of such proposals. The early personal experience of the public school, the university fraternity and the city salon / literary club provided instances of cultural communities within which these liberal modernists tested the theoretical concepts of social association and the range of their political affiliations. The ideological codes of interaction institutionalized in, for example, the secondary and university education of modern metropolitan imperialists and intellectuals illustrate the progressive/reactionary dynamics of ritualized social formations. Orwell's and Woolf's public schooldays at St Cyprian and St Paul, and their subsequent entry as scholarship students to Eton and Trinity College, Woolf's association with the fraternity of the Apostles at Cambridge, and Woolf and Forster's membership within the Bloomsbury group illustrate the conflicted ideological and ritual basis of formative communitarian contexts, central to the liberal accounts of Anglo Indian communities. The early years at English public schools that promoted masculinist and patriotic work and play were a time of intense boyhood suffering and alienation for Orwell and Woolf, even as these institutions prepared them for future careers within an empire building community. The ironies of indoctrination are marked: Woolf embarked for Ceylon an 'innocent imperialist', Orwell's first published poem in 'The Henley and South Oxfordshire Standard' was entitled 'Awake! Young Men of England!' Orwell's vitriolic critique of St Cyprian in 'Such, Such Were the Joys' was echoed in Cyril Connolly's "Enemies of Promise": "Muscle bound with character, the alumni of St Wulfric's {St Cyprian's} would pass on to the best public schools, reporting their friends for homosexuality and seeing them expelled, winning athletic distinctions, --- and prizes and scholarships and shooting competitions as well --- and then find their vocation in

India, Burma, Nigeria and the Sudan, administering with Roman justice those natives for whom the final profligate overflow of Wulfrician character was all that time predestined.”²⁷

The problems of institutionalized association were compensated by the intellectual rewards and the professional and intellectual contributions of (post) university associations in the literary careers of Forster, Woolf and Orwell. For example, the almost 'mythic' alliances of the Apostles and of Bloomsbury, situated in Cambridge and in London, influenced later neo liberal engagements with community in the case of both Woolf and Forster. The Apostles, a "long established society founded in 1820" that included in its membership "such famous names as those of Tennyson, Arthur Hallam, the philosopher Henry Sidgwick," maintained strict forms of ritualized association and exacting standards of intellectual fellowship. Fashioning itself as "an aristocracy of the refined", it "maintained a critical scepticism of all institutions with their rituals, but it was itself an institution with its rituals: undergraduate members were Active Brethren, senior members were Angels, defectors were subjected to a formal curse." Its original name, the *Conversazione Society*, "implied a tradition of serious dialogue. Membership was by select election, women were excluded", and the "practice of intellectual intimacy in daily life" was encouraged. By the turn of the century, the influence of the philosopher G E Moore's *Principia Ethica* shaped the society's constitution - "the attainment of the truth is not an esoteric pursuit, but is signified by good states of mind, admiration of things of beauty and good relations with other people."²⁸

²⁷ *George Orwell: A Political Life*. Stephen Ingle. Manchester Univ Press, 1993. 2.

²⁸ *A Preface to Forster*. Christopher Gillie. Longman, 1983. 21 – 24

Their undergraduate participation in the society radically influenced the later communitarian politics of both Woolf and Forster. After Leonard Woolf entered Trinity College, Cambridge he joined the Apostles in 1902 where he developed friendships with Saxon Sydney – Turner, Lytton Strachey, Thoby Stephen, and Clive Bell. Forster became a member in his fourth year, and was the contemporary of Maynard Keynes, Roger Fry, Leonard Woolf, Desmond McCarthy, Thoby Stephen, Lytton Strachey, Bernard Russell. During their time there, both men practised the social communication of ideas and the philosophy of personal relationships and aesthetic pleasure as 'good.' After this initial acculturation, both men remained privileged, by friendship and marriage, to participate in the Bloomsbury²⁹ climate of cultural opinion that extended and continued these Cambridge values of intellectual communication and intimacy.

In evolving a consistent personal politics, Woolf refashioned elements of this philosophy to link politics and social responsibility. "For Woolf, man is a social being and therefore also a political being. Thus, social and political action had to be included in a philosophy of life. (This understanding signals) the beginning of a commitment to practical politics – a synthesis of intellectual and aesthetic theory with political

²⁹ Christopher Gillie describes Bloomsbury both as "A climate of cultural opinion which had prestige in the first quarter of this century" and "a district in London close to the British museum and London University, inhabited by intellectuals. Its members included Virginia and Leonard Woolf, Maynard Keynes, Lytton Strachey, Vanessa and Clive Bell, Duncan Grant, Roger Fry. T S Eliot and Forster were at the fringes. Vanessa Bell dates its beginnings from 1904 till its disruption by the war. Leonard Woolf dates its beginnings from about 1914 with the implication it lasted much longer. After the Woolfs married in 1912, their home on Gordon Square became the meeting ground." 26. Apart from naming a place, Bloomsbury evokes "a milieu of refinement, an association and shared practises of thinking, representation and analysis between creative individuals," that, in Beatrice Webbs words, "aims at exquisite relationships within the close circle of the elect, and those who aim at hygenic and scientific improvement of the whole of the race." 27

practice."³⁰ On the other hand, E. M. Forster's continuing engagement with liberal notions of the 'social' is evident in his novels, which explore the problems of association in a new democratic order. David Gervais, reading *The Longest Journey* as Forster's early struggles with his liberal faith in notices that "Forster's early version of an Arnoldian clash of culture / class / civilization and its relationship with liberal faith" requires "Elliott's detachment from community (in Swaston, Cambridge), and Wenham's location in a 'nowhere place' (67). The dilemma of *Howards End* is summed up in a question: "How can (the novel) chronicle the strange death of liberal England and still uphold the liberal values it reveals to be vulnerable?" Forster's 'liberal humanism' is tested in the narrative engagement with the question of "who is excluded from 'communal possession' of land, nation, identity" (200). Gervais's identification of *Howard's End* as 'a celebration of liberal values that turns into a critique of its ineffectuality,' in the "working through of well - meant compromises and self - contradictions rather than confirming certainties," (79), echoes, for instance, Leavis's characterization in *The Common Pursuit* of Margaret as the figure where "the author expresses his sense of the inadequacy of the (liberal) culture she stands for – its practical impotence and its lack of relation to the forces shaping the world (even as it remains) dependent on an economic security it cannot have ---."

The political solution to the narrative problem seemed to lie in the notion of a 'new' liberalism situated, as Gervais describes, within a nineteenth century tradition of philosophical liberalism comprising the English Romantic Poets, J S Mill, Matthew Arnold, Leslie Stephen, G E Moore, Lowes Dickinson, and the Bloomsbury Group. The

³⁰ *Leonard Woolf*. Selma Meyerowitz. Twayne Publishers, 1982. 3.

emphasis here is on “meticulous discrimination in relationships” as opposed to tolerant democracy, as the foundation of the Forsterian conception of the “aristocracy of the sensitive”. Christopher Gillie describes the notion, most completely expressed in Forster's essay *Two Cheers for Democracy*, as “A tolerant association of diverse creative individuals which allows the development of the “inner life of the individual, (and emphasizes) freedom, individuality and a social order that constitutes well being.” The liberal individual's relationship is with “society as an atomic aggregate of separate and unique personalities. Tolerance and freedom from all but the minimal restraints necessary for general self development are the social ideals of this liberalism, while enlightenment, human relations and art are personal ideals – which bring about social, political, aesthetic order, and well being" (3).

The comfortable details of an authentic domestic community allowing individual freedom and equality is perhaps most nostalgically evoked by Orwell in *The Lion and the Unicorn*, (1941). “In England all the boasting and the flag waving, the Rule Britannia stuff, is done by a small minorities. Real Englishness is less self - conscious. It is communal, but unofficial and half private centering around the pub, the football match, the fireside, the nice cup of tea --- the rituals of social life that indicate the ‘emotional unity’ underlying genuine popular culture and reflects a ‘general will’ and a ‘common destiny’.” The dislocated Anglo Indian narratives of public office variously and effectively renegotiate the such situated certainties of metropolitan community - in its homes, pubs, the schools, the playing fields, the Universities, the social and literary clubs, the courtrooms - by reinscribing them within the (ultra) national spaces of the empire.

III - Border Revisions: Metropolitan Communities / Metropolitan Subjects

Gender and Dislocation: *The Voyage Out* and Anglo Indian Fictions of Voyaging and Domesticity

The Voyage Out may be read as Virginia Woolf's first significant revision of received notions of identity. The publication of the novel in 1915 initiated a feminist exploration of modern subjectivity, a project that Woolf famously developed in her later fictions. Resembling a 'novel of formation', the narrative in fact focuses on the impossibility of the protagonist's centered and sustained development, and also on the tragic separations between constructions of the intimate, interior modernist self and public, citizen identities. The tension in the text reflects Woolf's interest in the philosophical and political complexities of modern (self) representation. While early twentieth century feminist politics submitted a new claim upon public identities and social spaces, the modernist text 'made new' the structure of narrative to accommodate a 'new structure of desire' (Brooks) that escaped the imperatives of positivist grounding and objectified representation.

The Voyage Out preserves this spatial tension, an impossible balance between Rachel's possible induction into and connections with public social orders and her retreats into privacy and the recesses of her non conforming, dissociated consciousness. The first paradigm considers the issues attendant on the new political dimensions of gendered identity: democratic participation, citizenship, nationalism, the reevaluation and the new significance of the institutions of marriage and domesticity. The second focus,

upon a new aesthetics, rejects the epistemological certainties which constitute the subject of realism, and explores the modernist alternative to “the stable self’s presence” (Jackson 9).¹

It is important to notice how the novel also emphasizes that the new feminist/aesthetic enterprise, (exemplified in the textual (de) construction of Rachel’s identity), maintains strategic relationships with a wider imperial discourse. To investigate the multiple locations of such connections, this chapter will attempt a contextual reading. Specifically, the story of Rachel’s voyaging will be studied in relation to a shared social and textual space occupied by two coincidental late nineteenth century projects of feminist self representations: colonial fictions of the feminized Anglo Indian passage, and an emergent metropolitan discourse of the ‘new woman’ in England.

The novel conducts an examination of Rachel’s education towards maturity upon two distinct terrains. The text maps two journeys undertaken by water, by ship from London to South America and a river journey up the Amazon, as well as an intermediate landing on Santa Marina, a resurrected colonial setting previously effaced from imperial history.

Now a place of ‘new colonization’, Santa Marina had been erased from English cultural

¹ The establishment of ‘the subject of realism’ as the product of a positivist modern culture upholding the authority of the Cartesian self, is described as a significant event in critical histories of identity and representation. “The particularization of experience carried with it the particularization of character, which in turn invited psychological complexity. – (the novel) proposed the character as a stable center of the self’s experiences, (which) could be discovered through a temporal series of observations. The empiricist assumption that nature is stable, time and space are transparent media for knowing it -- (allows for the concept of a representable character). The realist narrative, affected by its empiricist basis, worked to uncover the stable self’s presence” (Whitley 3). However, with “the slow loss of the transcendent ground for the human being, the loss of the organic world enables and generates the novel form generates the novel as the simulacrum of a self that no longer has immanent meaning.” (Jackson 19). The modernist novel, confronted with the loss of any transcendent grounds for subjectivity, must therefore “confirm the distance at the heart of all human experience.” (DeMan).

memory when it was abandoned by the last British colonizers and left to a hybrid population in the seventeenth century. "English history then denied all knowledge of the place." The current influx of English tourists who temporarily settle upon the land, are motivated by "a kind of dissatisfaction among the English with the older countries and the enormous accumulations of carved stone, stained glass and rich brown painting which they offered the people. The movement was in search of something new --- The natives were strangely beautiful, very big in stature, dark, passionate, and quick to seize the knife. The place seemed new and full of new forms of beauty, in proof of which (the travellers) showed handkerchiefs which the women had worn round their heads, and primitive carvings colored bright greens and blues. Somehow or the other, as fashions do, the fashion spread; ---a famous line of steamships altered its route for the convenience of passengers" (90).

Here, Rachel's tragic socialization into the adult world of commerce, art, sex, and marriage is projected onto a textual site in which colonial and modernist discourses intersect. "The movement in search of something new", initiated by "a kind of dissatisfaction among the English with the older countries," bring them to a "place (which) seemed new and full of new forms of beauty." The aesthetic paradigm set up is inhabited by the strangely beautiful Indians and their primitive carvings of bright blues and greens, and arrived at by a famous line of steamships and an altered sea route which collapses the distance between metropolis and outpost.

Rachel journeys by ship to South America escorted by a surrogate parental community. In Santa Marina, she prepares for an adult life of domesticity and motherhood, begins her liberal education in politics and culture, and seems destined for marriage with Terence

before she travels up the Amazon into jungle fever and death. While her formative identity preserves a traditional reference to the concepts of home and marriage as institutions within which gendered subjectivity tries to find definition, it is represented using a prevalent literary and cultural trope: voyages undertaken upon water to destinations arrived at on foreign, colonized shores.

The literary trope of river and ocean journeys that recurs in modern British fiction inscribes a new cultural space. It makes possible the textual mapping of an international landscape that connects aspects of metropolitan identity to cultural margins, and resituates modern self - narration by representing its material and textual extensions into the regions of Africa, India, Burma, Dublin and South America - peripheries of empire. The literary sea voyage in, for example, *Heart of Darkness*, *Ulysses*, or *To the Lighthouse*, maintains its relation, much as modernism does, to a reusable tradition, a colonial history littered with river connections in space and memory, and attempts to 'make new' a range of cultural transformations. The river passage thus reconstitutes old colonial histories into the fictions of new subjectivities. Remembered affiliations are used to reconstruct new images and narrate a revised history as part of a critical enterprise within bourgeois culture. For instance, Conrad locates a textual newness, the meaning of Marlow's narrative that lies "not inside like a kernel, but outside, enveloping the tale that brought it out only as a glow brings out a haze, ---" upon the symbolic/historical site of a particular river passage with a reconstituted history. The recognition of place informed by the memory of colonial river connections is used carry the notion of the periphery into the heart of the metropolis. "And this also, said Marlow suddenly, "has been one of the dark places of the earth. --- I was thinking of when the Romans first came (to the river

Thames). They came out of the river --- we now live in the flicker ---. But darkness was here yesterday. Imagine the commander of a fine trireme in the Mediterranean. Imagine him here at the very end of the world, a sea the color of lead, a sky the color of smoke ---. Sandbanks, marshes, forests, savages - precious little to eat for a civilized man, but Thames water to drink --- cold fogs, tempests, disease, exile, death."

Virginia Woolf's stories of the migrations of the mobile modern identity through redefined social histories and renegotiated boundaries of the public and the private also revisit the spatial image of the sea. For example, her essays provide evidence of how the imperial sea voyage is used to support a variety of constructions: history, subjectivity, and the category of the aesthetic. Woolf's historical imagination, concerned with "the conception of history (as) starting out from the material production of life itself, (tries) to comprehend the form of intercourse connected with this ---" (Marx ME 164). It also maintains an unconventional arrangement with the 'English' story of development and continuity. Several early essays, (Richard Hakluyt, Trafficks and Discoveries, The Elizabethan Lumbar Room), use emblematic colonial journeys to interrogate the literary construction of the colonizing English nation, even when each seems to support the uninterrupted construction of the other. The references are typically to an original historical episode - narratives of Elizabethan "voyages, traffics and discoveries to unknown lands" to the "outskirts of the world." The descriptions of a commercial movement, in which the exchange of men and material answers a "summons to explore, to bring back dyes and roots and oil, and to find a market for wool and iron and cloth," (110), represent the material production of natural space into the bourgeois nation – state. Crucially, the process describes the basis of such constitutions as permeated by alien

materials and accommodating radical infusions of alien spaces. The construction of a national landscape, the increase and the supplement of its produce, the reinforcement of the landscape are summarized thus, "Gradually owing to the boldness of private travelers the native stock had been improved and embellished. Beasts and plants had been imported, and along with them the seeds of all our roses. Gradually little groups of merchant men settled here and there on the borders of the unexplored and through their fingers the precious stream of colored and rare and curious things began slowly and precariously to flow towards London; our fields are sown with new flowers ---." (CDB 160).

As the traveller "appropriates the external world," (ME 72), the process of self constitution, both national and individual, seems to engage the question, "What then constitutes alienation?" as it acknowledges the unfamiliar regions which inhabit domestic identity. "Every self estrangement of man from himself appears in the relation in which he places himself to men other than and differentiated from himself" (ME 78). The essays revisit examples of how the British history of adventurous, scientific and commercial travel abroad informed various structures of domestic identity; for example, in the signifying systems of language, in narratives of modern autobiography, and in new aesthetic practices. Such foreign infusions formed the basis of subjectivity.

The British tradition of voyaging within the expansive landscapes of modernization affected "the production of ideas, of conceptions, of consciousness, (as they become) directly interwoven with the material activity and the material intercourse of men, the language of real life. Conceiving, thinking, the mental intercourse of men appear --- as the direct efflux of their material behavior" (Marx ME 154). "Strange must have been

their thoughts," Woolf imagines, "strange the sense of the unknown, and of themselves, the isolated English, burning on the very rim of the dark, and the dark full of unseen splendors" (CDB 161).

Such transformations of consciousness is reflected in a new poetics, "Thus we find the whole of Elizabethan literature strewn with gold and silver, with talk of Guiana's rarities and references to that America which was not merely a land on the map, but symbolized the unknown territories of the soul" (CR 65). From narratives of adventure which are marked by the absence of the psychological subject,² Woolf notices the development of autobiography, the scripting of a "growing consciousness of self, the brooding over the mysteries of the soul which found expression," for instance, "in the sublime genius of Sir Thomas Brown. His immense egotism has paved the way for all psychological novelists, autobiographers, confession mongers, and dealers in the curious shades of our private. It was he who turned from the contacts of man with man to their lonely life within. "The world that I regard is myself," wrote Brown, "it is the microcosm of my own frame that I cast mine eye on; I use it but like my globe and turn it sometimes around for my recreation. We carry with us the wonders we seek without us, there is all Africa and her prodigies within us" (CR 68 - 69).

As Woolf's essays enlarge the investigation to examine the aesthetics of contemporary cultural texts, they often foreground elements of imaging, pastiche, collage, and intertextual correspondences which expose the imperial assumptions inherent in such representations, as well as their constructed nature. Colonial illustrations advertize

² "If one tires of the long dangerous and memorable voyages of M Ralph Fitch, M Roger Bodenham, M John Lok, the Earl of Cumberland, and others to Pegu, Siam, Muscovy ---

empire: "Just as the railway companies have a motive in hanging their stations with seductive pictures of Ilfracomb and Blackpool Bay, so Mr. Kipling's pictures of places are painted to display the splendors of Empire and to induce them to lay down their lives on her behalf" (MKS 240). The British Empire Exhibition held in London between April - October 1924 presents scenic tableaux of "snowy Palestine, ruddy Burma, sand colored Canada, the minarets and pagodas of the possessions in the East," and when an apocalyptic storm breaks overhead, "dust swirls around the Avenues --- Pagodas are dissolving in dust. Ferro concrete is fallible. Colonies are perishing and dispersing in spray of inconceivable beauty and terror which some malignant power illuminates. Ash and violet are the colors of its decay" (TAW 412 - 413). On visiting the picture gallery at the Royal Academy in 1919, Woolf describes how "illusions pour down from the walls" on the onlooker. The paintings of imperial subjects (Oil painting 123: "His Grace the Duke of Richmond and Gordon ,KG, DSO", Oil painting 321, "The Scrap of Paper: Britain Declares War") are symbolically reinforced by the sexual politics of Empire as the spectator's imagination recalls exchanges enacted in "a scene from a story from Rudyard Kipling" where "English maidens and gallant officers may have occasion to insist upon their chastity on the one hand and protect it on the other."

In this context, *The Voyage Out* is Woolf's first attempt at a narrative recasting of the sea voyage to arrive at a new 'feminist' aesthetics of modern self representation, one that maintains a problematic relationship with an imperial tradition. The gendered voyage of the vessel Euphrosyne, sailing to the 'forgotten' colony of Santa Marina, symbolically parallels the marriage plot within which Rachel's identity seeks definition in the novel.

it is for the perhaps unsatisfactory reason that they make no mention of themselves, seems together oblivious of such an organism ----" CDB 163.

"The Euphrosyne traveled all day across an empty universe, with the veils drawn up before her and behind. The sea might give her death or some unexampled joy, and none would know of it. She was a bride going forth to her husband, a virgin unknown of men, in her vigour and purity she might be likened to all beautiful things, worshipped and felt as a symbol." The gendered symbol then explicitly connects with a past history, recalled into the space of the narrative using familiar gender markers. "Three hundred years ago, five Elizabethan barques had anchored where the Euphrosyne now floated. Half drawn up on the beach lay an equal number of Spanish galleons, unmanned, for the country was still a virgin land behind a veil. Slipping across the waters, the English sailors bore away bars of silver, bales of linen, wood, gold crucifixes knobbed with silver ----."

The Euphrosyne, imagined as a "bride going forth to her husband", across the seas to a "virgin land behind a veil", also usefully brings to our attention a new range of extra textual social references coded within new fictions of female subjectivity. It reminds us that literary constructions of colonial voyaging in modern fiction often share representational space with other social texts of modernity which describe the bringing together of the spaces of West and East, metropolis and border. The thematic and political correspondences between the gendered voyage in Woolf's *The Voyage Out* and the contemporary cultural narrative of the feminized Anglo Indian passage chronicled in popular romances of the time, for example, suggests a useful intertextual field within which the ambiguities of cultural constructions of identity may be examined.

The social and literary construction of the Anglo - Indian passage, a specific nineteenth century cultural narrative of voyaging, was, in a sense, overdetermined.³ It

drew on a narrative tradition of (colonial) adventuring tempered by the exercise of rational organization. It extended the notion of an imperial and functional English masculinity, constituted as it was by the accounts of transported statesmen, soldiers, and bureaucrats participating in a colonial adventure of expansion. The rhetoric of modernization is evident in the social texts describing the technology of such voyages: histories, travellers guides, geographical account.⁴ William Delafield Arnold's Anglo Indian narrative *Oakfield, or Fellowship in the East* (1853), unlike the metropolitan and situated examination of national culture found in the writing of Matthew Arnold,

³ Ocean journeys to the sources of the modern self were already present as foundational narratives to the early twentieth century British social imagination. The uninterrupted production of the Western imperial subject of modernity and his global authority had been legitimized by two coincidental traditions of voyaging and their representations: the tradition of imperial adventure which, as Mary Louise Pratt identifies, used circumnavigation and cartography to chart its course, and the tradition of scientific voyaging, which appropriated unknown spaces within the systems and methods of rational organization of knowledge. In the nineteenth century, popular stories of adventurous voyaging were published alongside accounts of expeditions and conference proceedings promoted by the British Association for the Advancement of Science. Geology and the natural sciences, travelling sciences of the times, produced classic texts like Darwin's *The Voyage of the Beagle*, Wallace and Bates *Travels on the Rio Negro and the Amazon*, Tyndall's *The Birds of Paradise: a Narrative Travel with Studies of Man and Nature* and *The Glaciers of the Alps*. By mid century, the advent of steam made women's mobility within this culture of travel possible, and apart from occasional tourism, colonial and quasi scientific explorations were recorded in a growing body of women authored texts within the dominant tradition: Mary Kingsley, Isabella Bird, Harriet Martineau, are some names that come to mind in this context.

⁴ For example, *Homeward and Outward*, an early traveler's companion to the new and more efficient route to India, describes reconstitutions of time, space and identity, and the efficient deployment of the "public careers" of the modern administrator and technocrat as a function of the new technology of travel. "India would be forgotten in the buzz of home politics and the strife of personal and party interests if it were not for the doings of that great magician - STEAM. By that wondrous power, --- time and space are annihilated and gigantic India and her proud ruler, small sized but mighty hearted England, are brought into close contact and made to afford a noble amplification of the power of science in the nineteenth century." (vi). "Our soldiers and civilians there will be twice as efficient as in the olden time, when there were so many obstacles to their

represents the transportation of collective national identity to the borders of Empire by the imperial sea voyage. Oakfield, a gentleman "cadet of infantry in the Bengal establishment", watches the Hoogly river near Calcutta as "the steamer from England came into sight. Here was another installment of English power: a fresh supply of that material from which the soldiers and statesmen were to be formed. What generals, what council may that ship contain, besides young ladies coming out to their parents, brothers, husbands ---."

The transported women in Arnold's text represent an important transformation of the nineteenth century colonial passage. Three years before she died of heat exhaustion in 1906, Mary Curzon, political wife and colonial traveler, described the sacrifice of her health in the service of Viceroy Curzon's imperial life thus: "India, I know, slowly murders women. Yet, I suppose, many inconsequent lives must go into the foundations of all great works and all great achievements." Her statement represents the gendered service to nation and empire performed by émigré British women in Anglo India at the close of the nineteenth century. The gradual feminization of Anglo India after the early years of mercantile colonialism has been broadly understood as the transportation of Victorian domestic ideology by new technologies of travel and print to help consolidate the masculinist enterprise of safeguarding Empire. Between 1899 – 1911, over 200 000 women traveled to the colonies from England, seemingly obedient to the imperatives of colonialism and patriarchy, twin ideologies which constructed them as imperial gendered subjects. A large number of them traveled to India as colonial wives, missionaries or educators - to domesticate and reproduce colonial culture and participate in the civilizing

breathing a breath of their native air, and witnessing the miracles of art and science in the first of all modern nations." (viii).

mission. However, this study will choose to examine how the social and literary construction of the Anglo Indian passage and colonial domesticity in fact provide evidence of feminist self fashioning, a bourgeois project usually identified as an assertive exercise performed by metropolitan fin de siècle 'new women' in Britain. The problematic politics of representation in each discourse helps contextualize the identity politics central to the representation of a textual passage connecting the dyads of public/private, England / (forgotten) colony in *The Voyage Out*.

Margaret Macmillan's history of the rapid feminization of Anglo Indian passage describes the process as a result of the establishment of a new overland route to the subcontinent and the opening of the Suez canal by mid nineteenth century. With the increased arrival of colonial wives, daughters, sisters, and servicewomen by the overland route to British India, new stories of female migration and colonial domesticity complemented an existing tradition of masculine narratives of imperial travel. The structure of identity signified by the imperial voyage now accommodated the events of marriage, housekeeping, and motherhood, imported metropolitan ideological foundations of female subjectivity.⁵

⁵ From the later half of the seventeenth century, The East India Company had shipped batches of young women from Britain to India. The cargo, divided into gentlewomen and others, were give one set of clothes and were supported for a year, quite enough time to find a husband, after which they were told to mind their morals. The voyage, made in tiny wooden vessels which had to round the Cape of Good Hope, lasted about six months through the stormy waters of the Atlantic and Indian oceans. In 1830, the first steamer was put into service from Suez, at the head of the Red Sea, and in 1840 The Peninsular and Oriental Steamship company signed an agreement with the government of India to provide a regular bimonthly service between the Suez and certain Indian Ports. (The P&O was in time to become almost synonymous with the journey to India, but there were other lines: the Anchor and the Clan lines which ran between Liverpool and Bombay,

By the early nineteenth century, a century old tradition of writing the imperial 'English' experience of India by service women and imported wives had developed into a functioning and complex industry in the colonial cities of British India. International routes of information exchange across imperial borders supported the marketing of such literature. As ships from England carried newspapers and the mail to the colonies, Anglo-Indian romances and social novels of colonial domesticity made their way to a growing readership in England. Popular 'Memsahib' fiction, exemplified by the novels of Maud Diver, Flora Annie Steele, Ethel Savi, and Sarah Duncan, is a colonially situated fiction, seemingly reproducing the consolations and discontents of a dominant bourgeois culture. These narratives of travel and marriage, housekeeping and domesticity in exile, appear transparent, a displacement of the metropolitan notions of identity and gendered practices, both conservative and modern.

However, the radical dislocations which produced such narratives point to a more problematic relationship with situated ideologies and representations. For example, the alienations which inhabit such texts find expression in the emotions of imperial pride and

The Calcutta Star line between Liverpool and Colombo.) A shorter Overland Route was established in 1845 when passengers crossed a narrow strip of Egyptian desert to reach the Red Sea, and then sailed across the Indian Ocean. The opening of the Suez Canal in 1869 further shortened the voyage to four weeks, and the easier and pleasanter journey considerably increased the traffic of women travelers, unkindly termed the fishing fleet, to the cities and outposts of the Indian Empire. The author of *Indian Outfits, A Guide for Women* (1882) was enthusiastic: "for those who like the sea, the voyage is very pleasant. There are generally many nice people on board, a band, and on fine nights, dancing on deck, glee parties and theatricals." Guidebooks recommended that ladies' baggage include a chintz bag for laundry, and a provision bag with a spirit lamp, tea, and biscuits. The *Complete Indian Housekeeper and Cook*, compiled in the late nineteenth century, advised jocularly that the general rule was a tweed costume for Homi-side and light dresses for Suez-side. (Margaret Macmillan). Aided by technology and the efficient political ordering of global sea routes, the feminization of the colonial voyage had been accomplished.

feminist discontent experienced by the voyaging heroine of Sara Duncan's 1893 novel *The Simple Adventures of a Memsahib*. Helen Francis Brown, from the town of Canbury in Wilts, a new bride aboard the steamer at the Royal Albert docks, feels the complexities of her situation as "the prospect of England slipping away from her in the rain desolate. There were moments in the Bay of Biscany when she dwelled on the comparative advantages of dessicated spinisterhood in Canbury and matrimony attainable only by sea. She felt often she was a parcel being shipped to young Browne in Calcutta, but sometimes she also felt she was the first bride Canbury had contributed to India, its first feminine connection with the Empire."

The early twentieth century journey from metropolis to periphery was shadowed by another conceptual passage, that from the private to the public sphere. Feminist historians describe a late nineteenth century British cultural discourse regarding the increased access to and participation of bourgeois women in the public sphere. The new politics of this discourse challenged the association of women with the "shadowy interiors of the household", separated from the areas of the social and its economic processes, as well as the political public realm of freedom, speech and action. In so doing, it cleared space for a possible reconstitution of female subjectivity. Charles Taylor describes the counterspacing of the of the domestic and the public as fundamental to the genesis of the modern identity. With the growth of an industrial large scale bureaucratic world system, the affectionate family underwent an intensification and won privacy and freedom from the control of wider society, domestic industry withdrew from the market, and the spaces of domesticity were seen sentimentally as "a haven in a heartless world." It was

prescribed that middle class female subjectivity now find proper expression in the institutions of home, marriage and domestic work.

However, the simple binaries of such locations were challenged and renegotiated by a feminist public debate conducted in the late nineteenth century in the print media and in published exchanges concerning women's political and legal rights. The attempt was to produce a modern historical subject, an emergent new woman who would claim a public identity and function. She would attempt to initiate a cultural transformation by revisiting the discourses of marriage, motherhood, domestic management and education to reconstruct herself as a rational, imperial subject of Western modernity.

This project of self representation necessarily constituted itself in self narration as well as critical dialogue and disputation.⁶ As the public sphere was being reformed by the legislative history of rights within marriage, protection against sexual discrimination and the modernization of domestic education and management, it was flooded by texts produced by women organized broadly around reactionary attempts to preserve institutionalized gender relations⁷, and revolutionary agendas forwarded by the feminist novels of 'new women' and modernist writers: Sara Grant, Olive Schriener, Nesta Syrett, Woolf, Richardson, Mansfield, as well as political essayists in publications like *Votes for Women* and the *Common Cause*. Though the politics of the exchange were distinct, both

⁶ Arendt's political actors in the public sphere "create their own remembrances" through story telling, and the polis is a form of "organized remembrance." And according to Habermas' model of the public sphere, a feminist passage as free citizens, to the cosmopolitan, liberal realm of politics and self representation required open communication where the participants, as speakers and readers, engaged in a rational critical discussion to establish a just and stable public order based on consensus.

⁷ For instance, as exemplified by the conservative politics of the popular romances and essays of Marie Corelli, Mrs Oliphant, Eliza Lynn Linton and social reviews in newly

feminist / conservative discourses used the naturalized language of domesticity, now reinforced by new virtues of rationality, order and progress, to communicate their agenda in the bourgeois public sphere. The new women strategically affirmed her domestic/maternal function to assert her political mandate and legitimize her public persona. "It was Women's place and pride and pleasure," Grand wrote, to set the human household in order and to educate man who is in his "moral infancy". The rejection of conventional notions of marriage in this discourse was framed within a social logic of development and civic regeneration.⁸ Most tellingly, metaphors of the new world inhabit the consciousness of the new woman: "There is a whole world yet to explore in the direction of social developments and it is possible that the future hold a discovery in the domain of spirit as great as that of Columbus in the domain of matter." (Caird 1897).

The reimagining of domesticity as part of a new metropolitan project of feminist self fashioning which furthered social development and endorsed rational order undergoes strange transformations when such an imagination is transported to the peripheral landscapes of modernity, and is reproduced within colonial spaces. Usually read as popular and conventional romances which support colonial ideology, Anglo Indian romances of travel and housekeeping in fact problematize and help identify the complexities of gendered modern self - definition. They also suggest that modernist conceptions of gendered identity are marked by anxiety, dislocation, strangeness, and

established conservative journals and magazines such as *The Englishwoman's Review*, *The Girl's Own Paper*, *Woman's World*.

⁸ Discussing the morality of marriage in 1897, Mona Caird explains "Woman purchase holds back the race from its best development. Inequality in the status of marriage partnerships and parenting are methods which reduce human progress which alone can bring social regeneration. The emancipation of women would be a sign and safeguard of

separation in a bourgeois culture. The texts become complex sites where the politics of gendered metropolitan identity are rethought as well as affirmed.

Readings of three Anglo Indian texts that follow will explore the preceding thesis; Maud Diver's *The Englishwoman in India* deconstructs the notion of unified and socialized gendered identity even as it works to describe a coherent subject, Constance Sitwell's *Flowers and Elephants* tries to propose a new aesthetic response as it rejects the imperatives of the colonial voyaging / marriage plot, and Sara Duncan's *Simple Adventures of a Memsahib* disrupts the conventions of domesticity by the subverting the order of language and rational management in the Anglo Indian home. The connections between the feminist politics of such colonial representations and the deconstruction of metropolitan identity in *The Voyage Out* will be initially proposed by this exercise.

1. Maud Diver's *The Englishwoman in India*, 1909, may at one level, be read as a conventional anatomy of the female colonial subject, a structural analysis which uses the chapter headings maid, wife, mother, housekeeper to construct the subject under analysis, and define her in binary opposition to underdeveloped Eastern Womanhood. It then proposes a proper function, an Eastern career for her, as the dispenser of female medical aid and education in art industries and needlecraft. However, the construction, despite the confident categorizations, seems to emphasize the fragility of social constructions, the strangeness, separations, dislocations which inhabit the constructed self. As the 'sister - woman' of English femininity, the Anglo Indian woman occupies a space of absence and

our national liberties." "In equally educating boys and girls, we are creating a wholesome community of interests and contemplating a stupendous step in racial progress."

unfamiliarity in relation to official representation and history. "These unrecognised women are a nation without a history. Their history rarely supplies effective material for fiction and in consequence, their existence has come to be doubted this side of the ocean." She escapes metropolitan structures of knowledge and recognition. "curiously few of us on this side of the ocean have any real knowledge of her life, her thoughts, her ways; of the charm the mystery the sharp black shadows that make up the sum of our sister women's life in India." Disobedient to the requirements of the culture of domesticity, she is described as "a creature primarily social, secondarily domestic" as a reflex of her condition of exile, belonging to "one family under an alien sky. She is told to practice organization, economy and supervision in her housekeeping, but subverts the ethic of work by her access to infinite leisure." Our modern Englishwoman is in danger of altogether losing sight of the beauty and value of leisure - in danger of exalting the verb to do in favor of the verb to be. It is not enough for us in these bustling times to be just women. (We must) keep alive the grace the soul the beauty of a material age. In her cool dim drawing room with its soft carpets and easy chairs, the Englishwoman in India seems the incarnation of limitless leisure."

The fundamental instability in her construction lies in the impossibility of resolution of two radical functions: that of wife and mother. The contradictions of "the tragic note of this separation, which is the keynote of Anglo India," bring her to a "moment of Crisis" and mark her life "with the rival claims of India and England: of Husband and child. Sooner or later the lurking shadow of separation take definite shape; asserts itself as a harsh reality Whispering the inevitable question "Which shall it be?"

(See also Anna Davin's "Imperialism and Motherhood" for an account of the construction of metropolitan imperial motherhood that relies on the unified production of female subjectivity).

2. The reconfiguration of the motifs of marriage and colonial voyaging becomes especially evocative when used to attempt an aesthetic negotiation of the migrations and ambiguities characterizing gendered modern consciousness. In 1927, Constance Sitwell published *Flowers and Elephants*, "the travel impressions of a young lady who went to stay with her brother in India, where she had one or two offers of marriage, ---she attends Brigade sports and peeps at maharajas and bazaars, she idles in clubs." "How well one knows it all!" remarks E. M. Forster in the preface, cataloguing familiar episodes which structure Anglo Indian women's lives. However, Forster then describes how Sitwell's account defamiliarizes the Anglo - Indian gendered narrative. The text attempts a deliberate negotiation between narrating the textual regularities of the Anglo Indian marriage plot, and foregrounding a new aesthetic response to this cultural imperative. The voyage out, for instance, is described in a paragraph that sets up a complex frame of intertextual and cultural references in which orientalist and modernist discourse intersect. "I can hear the swish of the sea now as I write, and the quiet noise of the ship as we go very smoothly through the gulf of Suez. I am alone on deck. There are some Lascars rolling up some awnings in front of me. The lithe figures in fluttering indigo and their bare brown legs are dark against the sparkling sea. I do want, when I travel, to write of those unforgettable little spaces of time that come when imagination is merged into living in a special way, and the thing becomes like a work of art, intense, significant, separate."

The protagonist evades courtships and proposals throughout the text, fearing they "would draw her out of her world of the imagination and pattern seeking." Intensely alienated, she asks herself, "what am I here for?" and returns to England. There she feels the absence of India. "There are moments when England seems pale and mild and grey. There are no scorching suns, stupendous snows, ash colored staring figures. The sharpness of feeling is blunted, the transience of things stabs my mind. But then the disquiet falls away from me. I feel reality, I know permanence. I shall find the flowers, the jungles, the innocent beasts where the pattern of these things exist." The novel is tentatively attentive to the radical possibilities of aesthetic practice, and as such shares a platform with metropolitan modernist texts.

3. Sara Jeanette Duncan, American journalist and colonial wife, published the *Simple Adventures of a Memsahib* in 1893. The text records the development of Helen Browne, a brand new memsahib, as she consolidates her identity as Anglo Indian wife, mother, and housekeeper. However, the even progression is interrupted periodically as Helen's experiences in her Indian kitchen and with her Indian domestic disrupts the efficient implementation of rational supervision, method, and accounting. Both metropolitan and Anglo Indian attempts to systemize and modernize domestic work prescribed that such management was necessary for the efficient functioning of the middle class kitchen, the nation - state, and its colonized territories. English instruction manuals advised that public school curricula should formalize rational home management into a discipline to ensure public order and civic progress. For example, a 1911 essay reads "We have come to see that method and system are better than rule of thumb and guesswork. Housekeeping is as a science as an art --- and the Board of Education has done much to

help further this aim." In 1908, a manual instructs "The cleverest men in the world may make wise laws to make nations happy and prosperous. But unless women's work is well done, they cannot succeed. For unhappy homes cannot make a happy nation." The Anglo Indian homemaker's bible, *The Complete Indian Housekeeper and Cook*, observed that "the Indian household can no more be governed peacefully without dignity, order, and prestige than can the Indian Empire"; the *English Bride*, a guide for the new memsahib, instructed "Be patient with your servants and treat them like children. Remember they like praise, and too much cannot be expected of them. They are slow to change their ways and innovation must be cautiously employed."

Helen's disruptive kitchen disallows the stable formation of the authoritative housekeeper. Her domestic authority is mediated by politicized structures of **language** that she is excluded from, and which, interestingly, is reappropriated by the unmethodical subordinates even in their acts of obedience.

Describing the colonizer's acquisition of the language of government the text explains "for the furtherance of a good understanding between the sahib and the Aryans who obey and minister unto them, the Raj has ordered language exams to facilitate contract making or the management of accounts. But the Government of India has done nothing to stimulate intercourse with the native population among memsahibs. So the Memsahib picks up the language in an artless way, gathers her vocabulary from every region, makes her own rules, adds her own admixture of English. She subdues the language to her own use, and the natives she knows are governed by them."

To illustrate the point, when Helene's dinner dialogue with her cook ends with the instruction, " You can plum pudding do. And dekho, curry hazri na muncta, tiffin

muncta,” the text then qualifies the exchange thus: "The last statement is to the effect that curry does not want breakfast, it wants lunch, but the heathen mind never translates the memsahib directly. It picks the words it knows out of her discourse and links them together upon a system of probabilities which long application has made remarkably correct. Then it salaams and acts. The usually admirable result is misleading to the memsahib who naturally ascribes it to the grace and force and clarity of her directions. Whereas it is really the discernment of Kali Bagh the cook that is to be recommended." The exchange in the kitchen is an example of how the colonial narrative subverts domestic hierarchy and communicative rationality, so valued in the liberal public sphere.

The Voyage Out :

The political and thematic correspondences between the fin de siècle narratives of the Anglo Indian passage in colonial romances and the metropolitan discourse of the ‘new woman’ point to inter textual correspondences within a representational field predicated on collapsed binaries of center/periphery relations within modern British imperial culture. *The Voyage Out*, a modernist exercise in the contemporary cultural project of gendered self definition, seems radically informed by just such a reconfigured sense of space, and responsive to the radical political implications of the schematic transformations of metropolis/margin. The metropolitan text centrally uses the trope of the (colonial) voyage to explore contemporary feminist identity politics, the negotiation of the distance between the public/private. The transportation of such ideological practices to (post) colonized locations helps the narrative arrive at a radical aesthetic response to the modernist crisis

of gendered identity. The narrative traces the trajectory of Rachel's education into the demarcation of spheres, but ultimately rejects the old dialectic of public/private, recognizing the "domestic" as the colonized other of a patriarchal public order. It eventually stages the "private" instead, a space of interiority, absence, and of proto feminist experience and self consciousness – (art, fantasies apprehensions, deliriums). The sea voyage to colonized spaces, therefore, carries the marriage plot tragically forward to arrive at a modernist rejection of prescribed subjectivity.

The Passage:

In a 1992 introduction to the text of *The Voyage Out*, Lorna Sage points to how the metaphor of the voyaging ship is repeated within texts which engage with a particular "literary trope", in the words of Henry James, that of "the conception of a young woman confronting her destiny." George Eliot describes the cultural and iconic destiny of such 'young women' as 'treasure ships,' for "in these frail vessels is borne onward through the ages, the treasure of human affection." In this example, Rachel's literary antecedent, like the voyaging women of popular colonial romances, seem constructed as repositories of 'essential cultural signification and continuity', transporting such metropolitan values across history as they do across the landscape of the empire. Sage then notices that Woolf "turns the image around" in an act of modernist disruption. In *The Voyage Out*, the voyaging ship and the sea upon which it journeys rearranges cultural notions of settled gendered identity and imperial spatial relations.

Rachel sails out from to Santa Marina on a steamer, part of her father's fleet of commercial vessels. The ship *Euphrosyne* is a fluid symbol, described by Karen Lawrence as a 'proliferating figuration', an 'exfoliating metaphor', by means of which 'the topos of the journey is explicitly gendered' by 'reviving' the trope of 'the maiden voyage.' The image gathers together the many themes that structure the narrative of Rachel's tragic passage: her relation to a paternal history, the absence of / desire for home in her travels, the conditions of her possible marriage, the ontological conditions of modern subjectivity. The *Euphrosyne* is part of Mr. Vinrace's fleet of "ten commercial ships, regularly plying between London and Buenos Aires" (18), Mrs. Chailey's housekeeping on board, despite her management of counterpanes and linens, cannot prevent her observation that "a ship was not a home" (26). At night, the ship reminds passing steamers of the isolation of the human condition and the need to attempt connections, "as an emblem for the loneliness of human life, an occasion for queer confidences----" (94). Most importantly, the range of meanings the vessel invokes come together to form a gendered image which hints prophetically at Rachel's textual passage, "---an immense dignity had descended upon her; she was an inhabitant of the great world, which has so few inhabitants, travelling across an empty universe, with veils drawn before her and behind. She was more lonely than the caravan crossing the desert, she was infinitely more mysterious, moving by her own power and sustained by her own resources. The sea may give her death or some unexplained joy, and none would know of it. She was a bride going forth to her husband, a virgin unknown of men; in her vigor and purity she might be likened to all beautiful things, for as a ship she had a life of her own. "(30).

Karen Lawrence's important reading of this passage identifies the dual function coded in the symbolic description here. "As a virgin bride, the ship figures the launching of the narrative", its plot poised between the alternatives of 'death or unexampled joy'. Lawrence observes that the description summarizes the possibilities of narrative action, in which Rachel's impending marriage to Terence is tragically interrupted. It also suggests the "likelihood of the female identity being cast as symbolic". In this analysis, the destination that the conflicted narrative arrives at is described as the region of the symbolic. Here, the issues of language, myth, and desire are explored in relation to feminine subjectivity, and this makes fatally impossible Rachel's textual return to the "realm of the mundane."

Although the connections drawn between the narrative trope of the voyage and the representation of 'feminine subjectivity' in this essay is important, it is my contention that the presence and the preservation of 'realm of the mundane' is an important condition in the text that enables the arrival at a feminist 'aesthetics of representation'.

Describing the inner form of the novel, Lukacs famously likened it to "the process of the problematic individual's journeying towards himself --- toward clear self recognition. The novel is the adventure of interiority." But following the loss of epistemic certainties that provided the grounds for an arrival at the notion of subjectivity, Perry Meisel describes the dilemma of modernism as "the recurrent desire to find origins or grounds despite the impossibility of ever doing so." Engaged in the enterprise of aesthetic self grounding in the face of a "post Cartesian ontological and epistemological rupture", Woolf's narrative of interior voyaging rejects the material basis and the epistemic procedures of philosophical and representational realism. The dilemma of the text seems

to focus on the impulse to assert the development of personality in the face of the drift toward the erasure of character. Importantly, the dichotomy is manifest in dialectical thematic formations in the narrative which refer to both the social and the symbolic. The impossible journey toward self definition draws the travel narrative into the recesses of Rachel's privacy, as well as into the politics of Rachel's initiation into a public political order, foregrounding the complexities of intersubjective connections or communication, and the relationship of the self to the object and the social world. Rachel's voyage particularizes and narrates the crisis of the subject of realism as well of the subject of modernity.

Spatializing Power: Landscape / Seascape

The Voyage Out organizes its exploration of "character in itself", freed from the conventions of bourgeois realism, upon the opposite social terrains of the public/ private, the metropolis/colony. The primary ideological field upon which such geopolitical dualities are mapped is, I would argue quite obviously, structured by imperial relations. Episodes and metaphors of colonial voyaging to colonized venues are used to connect the reaches of this textual landscape.

While Woolf was working on an early first draft of the novel in South Wales during the summer of 1908, she described the sea there: "It is the sea that does it! Perpetual motion, and a border of mystery, dissolving the limits of fields and solving their mystery" (L.i.438).

In the novel, the seascape upon which the ship voyages organizes a spatial arrangement of metropolis, colony, and fluid spaces that must be traversed in between. The architecture of this scheme sets up vantage points for locating revised and reconfigured perspectives, visually dislocating spatial relations of power.

At the start of the narrative, as the *Euphrosyne* embarks upon the dark waters of the Thames, the narrative perspective moves along with the ship, away from London. The imperial city recedes, and is rendered immobile, circumscribed, scarred. The metropolitan 'situated' imagination, which cannot admit expansions, is replaced in the text by an unfettered voyaging perspective, which escapes the notice of the landlocked gaze. "They were now moving steadily down the river, passing the dark shapes of ships at anchor, and London was a swarm of lights ---. There were the lights of great theaters, the lights of the long streets, lights that indicated huge squares of domestic comforts ---. It seemed dreadful that the town should blaze forever in the same spot; dreadful at least to people going away to adventure upon the sea, and beholding it as a circumscribed mound, eternally burnt, eternally scarred. From the deck of the ship, the great city appeared a crouched and cowardly figure, a sedentary miser" (VO 13).

"But while all this went on by land very few people thought about the sea. --- for all they imagined, the ships when they vanished in the skyline dissolved, like snow in water. ----. The people in ships, however, took an equally singular view of England. Not only did it appear to them to be an island, and a very small island, but it was a shrinking island on which people were imprisoned" (VO 29).

The voyage carries the narrative to Santa Marina, and the vast and minute spaces of a non metropolitan landscape. For example, the expedition of the hotel guests to Monte

Rosa lays out extensive and intimate vistas of South American land to visiting English eyes. The ascent brings them to vistas of “immense space, gray sands running into forests, --- the infinite distances of South America. --- The effect of so much space was at first rather chilling. Then Evelyn exclaimed “Splendid!” “ North – South – East – West” said Miss Allen” (146).

The narrative seems to present the experience of a dehistoricized South American landscape,⁹ often in terms of a ‘humanistic geography’, where characters inhabit subjective meaningful worlds in which relations of power and conditions of oppression only find expression, symbolically, as fantasies and narratives of colonization. However, the political categorization of colonial references is significant. The dreams of adventure engendered by the landscape appear divided into fantasies of colonial empowerment and accounts of anti colonial insurgency. These categories ally themselves with moments in the text which focus on the possibilities of female participation within, or its exclusion from the public sphere of modernity. The displaced perception inhabiting the text surveys and appropriates new territories, and occasionally scrutinizes fixed spatial relations.

During the expedition, “---- the great size of the view seemed to enlarge (Rachel’s) eyes beyond their natural limit, she looked at the ground; it pleased her to scrutinize this inch of the soil of South America so minutely that she noticed every grain of earth and made it into a world where she was endowed with supreme power” (157). Thornbury and Eliot become “anxious to name the places beneath them --- information about armies and

⁹ E. M. Forster’s description of the scene of the novel, published as an advertisement blurb on the Harcourt Brace Jovanovich edition of the novel , reads, “ --- the scene is a South America not found on any map, and reached by a boat which would not float on any sea, an America whose spiritual boundaries touch Xanadu and Atlantis.” (Lawrence 53).

navies, political parties, navies, and mineral products – all of which combined, they said, to prove that South America was the country of the future.” Evelyn imagines “fighting, revolution”, the conquest of territory, and “longs to be a man.” “If, instead of a picnic party, this was a party of patriots, and she, red shirted like the rest had lain among grim men, flat on the turf, aiming her gun ---,” (144), “I’d raise a troop and conquer some territory, and make it splendid.” (151).

Evelyn’s desire to enter official history is contrasted with Rachel’s sense of epistemic exclusion from patriarchal learning. “Oh how I detest modern life!” Evelyn regrets. “It must have been so much easier for the Elizabethans! I thought the other day on that mountain how I’d have liked to be one of those colonists, to cut down trees and make laws and all that, instead of fooling about with all these people who think one is just a pretty young lady. Though I’m not. I might really do something.”

When Rachel’s lack of schooling in the classics is analysed by Hirst as either ‘lack of training or native incapacity’, her alienation from the ‘indifferent, sneering’ eyes of the company at the ball transports her into a gendered Oriental fantasy which confirms her distance from domestic patriarchal culture; “She would be a Persian princess far from civilization, riding her horse upon the mountains alone, and making her women sing to her in the evening, far from all this, from the strife of men and women ---” (173). Gibbon’s *Rise and Fall of the Roman Empire*, sent by Hirst as Rachel’s introduction to the classics, catches her attention with anti colonial poetics of insurgency and empowerment. “With a feeling that to open and read would be a surprise, she turned to the historian’s page and read: “His generals, in the early part of his reign, attempted the reduction of Aethiopia and Arabia Felix. They marched near a thousand miles to the

south of the tropic; but the heat of the climate soon repelled the invaders, and protected the unwarlike natives of those sequestered regions --- the northern countries of Europe scarcely deserved the expense and labor of conquest. The forests and morasses of Germany were filled with a hardy race of barbarians, who despised life when it was separated from freedom.”

“Never had any words been so vivid and so beautiful – Arabia Felix – Aethiopia. But those were not more noble than the others, hardy barbarians, forests, and morasses. They seemed to drive roads back to the very beginning of the world, on either side of which the populations of all times and countries stood in avenues, and by passing down them, all knowledge would be hers, and the book of the world turned back to the very first page. Such was her excitement at the possibilities of knowledge now opening before her that she ceased to read, ---” (196).

Spatializing Identity: Beyond the Domestic/ Public

The textual production of a complex non metropolitan territory, aestheticized as the object of colonial desire and politicized as the site of patriarchal domination, is important to the staging of Rachel’s (de) socialization. The marriage plot within which Rachel’s cultural destiny is charted is projected upon this space, and the narrative trajectory works toward maintaining a poise between the possibility of social individuation and the threat of dissolution. Ultimately, the refusal to negotiate an identity politics based on the separation of the spheres impels the narrative toward a radical crisis, and Rachel’s death.

Identifying the breakdown of the marriage plot, (which “preserves and is predicated upon the notion of separate spheres,”) as crucial to the tragic movement of the narrative, Christine Froula notices how “Rachel is slow to grasp the idea of separate spheres so crucial to the marriage plot.” Through most of the narrative, Rachel’s destiny is represented as crucially poised between dual alternatives: a happy conclusion which includes love and marriage or the impossibility of its achievement; the fulfillment of a socialized destiny or the retreat into a space of privacy separated from the the imperatives of gendered location.

The ‘situated’ nature of the debate is strikingly exemplified in an exchange between Terence and Rachel. The emblematic conversation occurs between the dislocations of land and the displacements of identity. Poised on the “edge of a cliff (in Santa Marina), and caught between feelings of alienation from a colonized land with a forgotten history and race genealogy, and desire for a sea passage to the domestic sources of their metropolitan identity, Terence and Rachel discuss matters related to public politics and domestic routine. “Looking the other way, the vast expanse of land gave them a sensation which is given by no view, however extended, in England; the villages and the hills there having names, and the farthest horizon of hills as often as not dipping and showing a line of mist which is the sea; here the view was of immense sun dried earth, pointed in pinnacles, heaped in vast barriers, --- earth chequered by night and by day, and partitioned into different lands, where famous cities were founded, and the races of the men changed from dark savages to white civilized men, and back to dark savages again. Perhaps their English blood made this prospect uncomfortably impersonal and hostile to them, for having once turned their faces that way they next turned their faces to the sea --

- . It was this sea that flowed up to the mouth of the Thames; and the Thames washed the roots of the city of London” (237). As Terence and Rachel talk, they desire England, “friends – and all the things one does there”, discuss female education, women’s writing and the new access to a political life, and Rachel describes the routine of domesticity within which her past life had been formatted in Richmond.

The articulation of separate spheres introduced in this initial conversation is central to the novel’s engagement with the notion of gendered identity. In a speech delivered in London to the National Society for Women’s Service, Virginia Woolf famously describes the contemporary ‘political’ murder of the ‘angel in the house’. She then poses the question of gendered modern self definition following such a death. “Having rid herself of falsehood, so we may put it, (the modern woman) now only had to be herself. ----. But what is herself? I mean, what is a woman?” The enquiry necessarily points to the political dimensions of the philosophical and representational project of the modernist reconstitution of subjectivity. As Hewett reflects upon persisting gender exclusions in the public models of modernity, he describes a dichotomous world. “What a miracle the masculine conception of life is – judges, civil servants, army, navy, Houses of Parliament, lord mayors – what a world we’ve made of it!” “It’ll take at least six generations before (women) are sufficiently thick skinned to go into law courts and business offices” (240).

Contemporary feminist attempts to bring women closer to an active political life within the order of things, to bridge the distance between the public and the private by means of the vote or the new education, has consistently elicited an ambiguous response in Woolf’s fictions and political writing. Ana Snaith, exploring the ‘private and public

negotiations' in Woolf's life and work, describes her ambivalence toward the possibilities of the new politics of public identities and functions for women. "The suffrage movement, the most public issue confronting women at that time, evoked varying responses from Woolf. In 1909, when the suffragettes first used violent tactics ---, Woolf questioned her commitment but still felt she could work for the Adult suffragist in 1910 addressing envelopes. --- bearing in mind Woolf's pacifism, she could not continue to support the militaristic tactics of Suffragists under Christabel Pankhurst, or given her resistance to ideological rigidity, that she could not support a campaign that single mindedly believed that political power would bring an end to all other types of oppression of women" (30). Snaith finds most direct evidence of an interrogation of Suffragist politics in *Night and Day*, and reads *The Years* as a narrative of a new and complicated relation between gender and urban public spaces.

In *The Voyage Out*, the implicit rejection of the 'public political' is communicated by a consistent identification of the unified imperial subject, (the anti thesis of the decentered subject of modernism), as the agent of the 'public political' sphere. The occasions when the text presents descriptions of the complex public social formations of modernity are also moments when the organic subject is constituted. For example, Rachel's first 'political' conversation is with Richard Dalloway, whose description of the conditions of modern society, its gender and economic relations, is predicated upon a conservative, patriarchal, and imperial conception of the public / domestic division of the spheres. An expansive imperial culture characterized by its rationality, efficiency and organic organization, depends upon gendered divisions for its material and psychic well being. Before the talk turns to love between the sexes and Richard's infamous, adulterous

kiss, (which initiates Rachel into the dangers of male seduction and betrayal), Richard states his ideal, to be “the citizen of the Empire”, to promote “Unity. Unity of aim, of dominion, of progress. The dispersion of the of the best ideas over the greatest area”, as a function of “the English, (who are) whiter than most men, their records cleaner.” The conception of the unified subject is central to a modern public order of organic action and organized functioning. “The human being is not a set of compartments, but an organism”, “the whole of modern society is based on cooperative effort.” “— conceive of the state as a complicated machine; we citizens are parts of that machine; some fulfil more important duties; others --- serve only to connect some obscure parts of the mechanism, concealed from the public eye. Yet if the meanest screw fails in its task, the proper working of the whole is imperilled” (67 – 69).

At the close of this description of cultural citizenship, the ships of empire sail past the Euphrosyne. “(Clarissa) had sighted two sinister gray vessels, low in the water, and as bald as bone, one closely following the other with the look of eyeless beasts. Consciousness returned to Richard immediately. ‘By George’ he exclaimed----. ‘Ours Dick?’ said Clarissa. ‘The Mediterranean Fleet’, he answered. The Euphrosyne was slowly dipping her flag. Richard raised his hat. Convulsively Clarissa squeezed Rachel’s hand. ‘Aren’t you glad to be English?’ she asked” (72).¹⁰

¹⁰ Such a discourse, where the politics of imperialism, the climate of modernity, and the endorsement of the coherent, organic subjectivity intersect, is again exemplified for instance, in Mr Bax’s remarkable Sunday sermon at the chapel for the English guests at the hotel. “The argument of the sermon was that the visitors to this beautiful land even though they were on a holiday, owed a duty to the natives. It rambled with a kind of amiable verbosity from one heading to another, suggesting that all human beings are very much the same under their skins, illustrating this by the resemblance of the games little Spanish boys play to the games little boys in London streets play, observing that very small things do influence people, particularly natives; in fact, a very dear friend of Mr

The rejection of the option of political assimilation within the public sphere as a strategy of feminist self definition brings the narrative to a consideration of the alternative space: that of the domestic. The movement toward the narrative possibility of a happy conclusion, to be reached by an arrival at the 'domestic' by the conventions of courtship and marriage, is, however, consistently undermined by reminders that such a category is already compromised. As Woolf later observes in *The Three Guineas*, "the private and the public worlds are inseparably connected, the tyrannies and servilities of one are the tyrannies and servilities of the other."

Several voices speak in the text to describe the 'tyrannies and servilities' of the domestic alternative. Contemplating marriage to Rachel, Terence presents his 'case against marriage', characterizing it as a bourgeois compromise inimical to authentic individuation: "He tried all sorts of (mental) pictures, taking them from the lives of friends of his, for he knew many different married couples; but he saw them always, walled up in a warm firelit room. When, on the other hand, he began to think of unmarried people, he saw them active in an unlimited world; above all, standing on the same ground as the rest, without shelter or advantage. All the most individual and

Bax's had told him that the success of our rule in India, that vast country, largely depended upon the strict code of politeness which the English adopted towards the natives, which led to the remark that small things were not necessarily small, and somehow to the virtue of sympathy, which was a virtue never more needed than today, when we lived in a time of experiment and upheaval, witness the aeroplane and wireless telegraph, and there were other problems that hardly presented themselves to our fathers ---. He exhorted them to keep in touch with men of the modern type; they must sympathize with their multifarious interests in order to keep before their eyes that whatever discoveries were made there was one discovery which could not be superseded ---. As a drop of water, detached, alone, separate from others, falling from the cloud --- alters, so scientists tell us --- all the myriad drops which together compose the great universe of waters --- so is --- within the reach of each one of us who, dropping a little word or a little deed into the great universe, alters it---." 269.

humane of his friends were bachelors and spinsters; indeed he was surprised to find that the women he most admired and knew best were unmarried women. Marriage seemed to be worse for them than it was for men.” The conventional courtships “he had been observing lately at the hotel”, the compromise of Helen who was “all truth to others ---- was not true to her friends if they came in conflict with her husband”, brings him to the conclusion “We bring out what’s worst in each other – we should live separate.” 282. He decides that he would say to Rachel “I worship you, but I loathe marriage. I hate its smugness, its safety, its compromise, and the thought of you interfering in my work, hindering me ----” (283).

Terence and Rachel often recall the conditions of domesticity, how women inhabit sequestered spaces, marked by silence, isolation, invisibility, and routine service performed for fathers, brothers and husbands.

Terence observes “ I’ve often walked along streets where people live all in a row, and one house is exactly like another house, and wondered what on earth the women were doing inside. ---- It’s the beginning of the twentieth century, and until a few years ago, no woman had ever come out by herself and said things at all. There it was going on in the background, for all those thousands of years, this curious, silent, unrepresented life. --- I believe we still don’t know in the least how they live or what they feel or what they do precisely” (245).

Rachel meditates on her days at Richmond, the household financed by her father’s mercantile business. “When she thought of their day it seemed to her that it was cut into four pieces by their meals. The divisions were absolutely rigid, the contents of the day having to accommodate themselves within the four rigid bars. --- Breakfast nine;

luncheon one; tea five; dinner eight, ---. I used to play the piano for hours and hours.” (241). “She called up before her eyes a vision of the drawing room at home; green plush chairs --- heavy carved book case, --- photographs of old Italian masterpieces ---” (242). Hewet urges “Let’s imagine it’s a Wednesday. You’re all at luncheon. You sit here, and Aunt Lucy here, and Aunt Clara here ---.” Rachel continues “Aunt Clara carves the neck of lamb ---. There’s a very ugly yellow china stand in front of me, called a dumb waiter, on which there are three dishes, one for biscuits, one for butter, one for cheese. There’s a pot of ferns. Then there’s Blanche the maid who snuffles because of her nose” (243). She recalls how “the real life of the house --- went on independently of Mr. Vinrace and tended to hide itself from him. ---- (it was) her aunts who built up the fine closely woven substance of their life at home. They were less splendid but more natural than her father was. All her rages had been against them; it was their world with its four meals, its punctuality, and servants on the stairs at half past ten, that she examined so closely and wanted so vehemently to smash to atoms” (246).

Evelyn M, who is most nearly the ‘new woman’¹¹ of Santa Marina society, notices the political consequences of choosing the spatial confinements of marriage. “It was that

¹¹ Snaith describes the historical production of the ‘new woman’, as a central paradigm which engaged Woolf’s political and creative attention. “The emergence of the ‘new woman’, (the term was first used by Sarah Grand), in the 1890s encapsulated a move from the private to the public. The new woman, being at the same time real woman, cultural construct and literary figure, provided a focal point for the changes in women’s roles. The single, financially independent, sexually and politically liberated woman who often questioned marriage and motherhood, and legal and educational inequalities offered a role model for women dealing with the complexities of change, (and were simultaneously the object of social disapproval, caricature.) this new woman entered public spaces literally, iconographically, and artistically. The best selling new women novels in the 1890s represented another aspect of the move from private to public. Publications of politically motivating novels by women for women, ----, women writing themselves into the public arena, ---- (illustrated how)) the novel became another kind of political platform.

slowness, that confidence, that calmness that she hated ---. (The engaged women) were not single but double, --- and for the sake of this one man, they had renounced all other men, and movement, and the real things of life. Love was all very well, and those snug domestic houses, with the kitchen below and the nursery above, which were so secluded and self contained, like little islands in the torrents of the world; but the real things were surely the things that happened, the causes, the wars, the ideals, which happened in the great world outside, and went on independently of these women ---.” Her rejection of the domestic is radically implied in the public life of action she chooses, Of course they were happy and content, but there must be better things than that. Surely one could get nearer to life, one could get more out of life ---” (374).

(Re) Constituting Rachel

Though Rachel and Evelyn both escape domestication, the novel emphasizes the location of Evelyn’s self definition within the ‘publicity ‘ of social modernity and its difference from the ‘privacy’ of Rachel’s self construction based on modernism’s

The new women writers explored a range of genres – realist novels, modernist short story, journalism, feminist essay. These forms contained an array of representations of women and ideas on marriage, sexuality, feminism, socialism, imperialism, motherhood. Sally Ledger’s 1997 book on the new woman does much to explore this variety, arguing that in reading new woman writing literature we must be careful in prioritizing modernist aesthetics over realism or popular culture. (ie there is no inherent association between politics and form). --- Perhaps the only generalization one can make about new women writing is related to its modernity --- in the large scale bringing of women, (and women writers) into the public sphere through writing and through politicizing the female reading public.” 45 – 46.

rejection of empirical principles. The contrast is dramatized when Evelyn attempts to proselytize the aesthete Rachel, offering the possibility of feminist social action and involvement; “I belong to a club in London. It meets every Saturday, so it’s called the Saturday Club. We are supposed to talk about art, but I am sick of talking about art – what’s the good of it? With all sorts of real things going on around one? It isn’t as though they have anything to say about art either. So what I’m going to tell ‘em is that we’ve talked enough about art, and we’d better talk about life for a change. Questions that really matter to people’s lives, the White Slave Traffic, Women’s Suffrage, the Insurance Bill and so on. And when we’ve made up our mind on what we want to do, we could form ourselves into a society for doing it --- I am certain if people like ourselves were to take things in hand instead of leaving them to policemen and magistrates, we could put a stop to prostitution – she lowered her voice at the ugly word ---” (289).

Evelyn’s socialization contrasts with Rachel’s recourse to radical privacy, her apprehensions of an “intolerable” intercourse with the world which impedes her. Rachel suffers divisions between the self and the world; “All day long she had been tantalized and put off. She had now reached one of those eminences, the result of some crisis, from which from which the world is finally displayed in its true proportions. She disliked the look of it immensely - churches, politicians, misfits, and huge impostures – men like Mr. Dalloway, men like Mr. Bax Evelyn and her chatter ---. Meanwhile the steady beat of her own pulse represented the hot current of feeling that ran down beneath; beating, struggling, fretting. For the time, her own body was the source of all the of all the life in the world, which tried to burst forth here - there - and was repressed now by Mr. Bax, now by Evelyn, now by the imposition of ponderous stupidity, the weight of the entire

world. Thus tormented, she would twist her hands together, for all things were wrong, all people stupid. --- What were they doing, those other people in the world?" (301).

Rachel's crisis reflects the "epistemological shift in sensibility (displayed in) modernist art" described in Tony Inglis's essay on Woolf and English culture. " Superficially individualist, it frees the individual from the social frameworks of country, church, and family (those nets from which Stephen Dedalus sought to escape) – but the individuality thus achieved, quite unlike nineteenth century affirmative liberal selfhood, is deeply collective, apprehended through the body, the unconscious, and the mediating functions of language and myth in relation to the conscious" (55).

In a particularly significant moment in the narrative, Rachel intensely experiences a "consciousness of her own existence" during an afternoon reverie. The event is represented using, I would term, an 'aesthetics of dissolution', which seems appropriate to Woolf's political suspicions of the 'threat of egotism', ("Nothing is to be so dreaded as egotism"), and her endorsement of virtues of 'self forgetting' by a process of self education;

"To forget one's sharp absurd little personality, and the rest of it one should read, see outsiders, think more, write more logically, practice anonymity."

Rachel's conventional education in the classics, initiated by her Aunt and supervised by the Cambridge undergraduate Hirst, paradoxically seems to bring her to a sense of herself very different from an "affirmative liberal selfhood". Following a morning of study and exercises with her books, Rachel makes contact with the sources of her consciousness, "apprehended through the body, the unconscious, and the mediating functions of language and myth in relation to the conscious."

“The morning was hot, and the exercise of reading had left her mind contracting and expanding like the mainspring of a clock. The sounds of the garden outside joined with the clock, and the small noises of midday, --- in a regular rhythm. It was all very real, very big, very impersonal, and after a moment or two she began to raise her first finger and to let it fall on the arm of her chair so as to bring back to herself some consciousness of her own existence. She was next overcome by the unspeakable queerness of the fact that she should be sitting in an armchair, in the morning, in the middle of the world. ----. And life, what was that? It was only a light passing over the surface and vanishing, as in time she would vanish though the furniture in the room would remain. Her dissolution became so complete that she could not raise her finger any more, and sat perfectly still, listening and looking always at the same spot. She was overcome with awe that things should exist at all ---. She forgot that she had any fingers to raise ---. The things that existed were so immense and so desolate ---. She continued to be conscious of these vast masses of substance for a long stretch of time, the clocks still ticking in the midst of the universal silence” (VO 138).

Rachel’s formation into “a woman like her mother”, a tory hostess for her father’s home, a suitable wife for Terence; these are the alternative possibilities available to the unformed biography presented at the start of the voyage. Rachel is “twenty four years of age, daughter of a ship owner, has never been properly educated, (has been sequestered) in Richmond with her aunts, her mother dead” (159). “Her face was weak rather than decided, (marked by) a lack of colour and definite outline” (15). The narrative exposes her virginity and sexual inexperience/ignorance: “There are terrors and agonies. Women

one sees on the streets ---. Things one guesses at," she observes. "You were never told?" Terence asks. "She shook her head. Here came in the great spaces of life no one had penetrated" (247). She had a body "with the angles and hollows of a young woman's body not yet developed", and "her twenty four years of life had given her a look of reserve" (238). Rachel's conversations are often failed attempts at connection, and she seeks in music the notations missing in words.

In a sense, the textual reluctance to compromise such a reserve, the attempts to (fatally) preserve Rachel's immaturity, the apprehensions of the threat of sexual connection and the danger of transformation by socialization that constantly undermines the conventional structure of the Bildungsroman, seems to thematize a larger representational project: Woolf's rejection of the epistemic, philosophical, and empiricist basis of the unified subject of realism.

On occasion, Rachel celebrates her isolation, exclusion and neglect.

"I was happy and I was miserable. You have no conception what its like, to be a young woman." (247). "A girl is more lonely than a boy. No one cares in the least what she does. Nothing's expected of her. Unless one is very pretty people don't listen to what you say---. And that is what I like --- I like walking in Richmond park and singing to myself and knowing it doesn't matter a damn to anybody. ---- I like the freedom of it. --- It's like being the wind or the sea."

Hewett, depressed, thinks "she would never care for one person more than another; she was evidently quite indifferent to him." He remains apprehensive and aware of the impossibility of connection, desire, and consummation. He wonders "What did she feel?"

Did she love him, or did she feel nothing at all for him, or for any other man, being, as she had said that afternoon, free, like the wind or the sea?" (283).

The indifference of Rachel, the ways in which she suffers separation, division, withdrawal, submergence and death, and desires freedom and exclusion from social structures, carries with it the implicit rejection of domestic location, accessed by way of the marriage plot, as an alternative to the ideologically compromised 'public political.' The last voyage Rachel undertakes up the Amazon, therefore, brings to her a proposal of marriage, but also brings her close to fevers, dreams, deliriums, a dissolution, an apprehension of "the body, the unconscious, the unsettling mediations of language and myth." The assertion of a persona, the production of identity within the patriarchal and imperial spaces is constantly and finally interrupted.

The Last Voyage:

Rachel's last expedition on the Amazon is an emblematic episode in the novel, crystallizing the symbolic movements and ideological crossings of the longer narrative journey undertaken by Woolf's voyaging imagination. The expedition is a narrative denouement, initiating the contrasted possible trajectories of Rachel's destiny, and radically disrupting the structure of her development. Vulnerable to fatal tropical airs and infections which finally disallow a conventional closure to the marriage plot,¹² the river –

¹² "Virginia Woolf's early letters provide some commentary on the sources and significance of the ocean voyage and the South American colony which feature in *The Voyage Out*. While in her twenties, Virginia Woolf made short tourist trips by ship to the Mediterranean. The accounts of her travels in letters home indicate a distaste for foreign landscapes and people, and an intense fear of dirt, infection and contamination that made her describe travel as "a disease from which the brain recovers in a day or two" and want

passage into the heart of the jungle brings the narrative to an appropriate space where a new aesthetic response to the crisis of gendered subjectivity is presented.

The orientalist framing of the 'voyage in' uses the vocabulary of exchange, commerce and commodification in relation to art.¹³ Mr. Flushing and his wife, late additions to the company in the hotel, deal in native art, and occasionally travel up river to their source, the native village in the jungle. Mrs. Flushing, an artist among her oils and paintbrushes, arranges an aesthetic composition of 'shawls, stuff, cloaks, embroideries --- a quantity of beads, brooches, earrings, bracelets, tassels' as she 'paints in silence.' "The stuffs were colored and dark and pale; they made a curious swarm of lines and colors upon the counterpane, with the reddish lumps of stone and peacocks feathers and clear pale tortoise shell combs lying among them." She remarks how "the women wore them

to "come home (as) the best part of being away. (L 1 187). After a trip to Greece in 1906, her brother Thoby, her sister Vanessa, and her friend Viola Dickenson all contracted a virulent form of typhoid, and Thoby died from the attack within a month." (Rosenfield 21). At nineteen, Woolf asserts, "The only thing in this world is music - music and books, and one or two pictures. I am going to found a colony where there will be no marrying - ---no human element at all, except what comes through Art."

¹³ The anticipated journey is also placed within an aesthetic and political discourse of imperialism which seems to preserve a structure of reference and continuity. When Mr. Flushing provides "Rachel a sketch of the history of South American art", he hints at "wonderful treasures that lay hid in the depths of the land". "Before the dawn of European art, he believed that the primitive huntsmen and priests had build temples of massive stone slabs had formed out of the dark rocks and great cedar trees majestic figures of gods and beasts, and symbols of the great forces, water air and forest, among which they lived. There might be prehistoric towns, like those in Greece and Asia, standing in open places among the trees, filled with works of this early race." 275. "Since the time of Elizabeth, very few people had seen the river, and nothing had been done to change its appearance from what it was to the eyes of the Elizabethan voyagers. The time of the Elizabethans was only distant from the present time by a moment of space compared with the ages which had passed since the water had run between those banks, and the green thicket swarmed there ---. Changing only with the change of the sun and the clouds, the waving green mass had stood there for century after century, and the water had run between its banks ceaselessly ---- while in other parts of the world one

hundreds of years ago, they wear them still;” and how “my husband rides about and finds them; they don’t know what they are worth, so we get them cheap. And we shall sell them to the smart women in London” (272). The neo colonial transaction of art and money between metropolis and the ‘native village in the jungle’ provides an occasion for a river expedition in a hired launch, as Mrs. Flushing’s desires to “go up the river to see the natives in their camps” (273).

The ‘party of six English people’ gather by the river, and the steamer ‘slips over barriers and past landmarks into unknown waters, --- in profound peace, enveloped in deeper unconsciousness ---’ (311). The expedition expects to follow a common pattern; “At this season, English people made parties which steamed a short way up the river, landed and looked at the native village, bought a certain number of things from the natives, and return without damage done to mind and body” (308). However, risks of damage to mind and body threaten from the start. Communication breaks down as they “drive into the heart of the night”, as the “great darkness” made all “words sound thin and small”, (309). Hirst observes that he “should go mad if he lived” in a “wilderness like this, peopled with apes and alligators”, Helen fears “they have ventured too far and have exposed themselves,” and they pass by “a hut on the bank, a desolate place” where the dead explorer had been found him with “his skins and a notebook” (325). Rachel and Terence walk into the forest during a brief stop on the way to the “native camp, the limit of their journey”, peopled with “soft instinctive people” whose “motionless inexpressive gaze of those removed from each other far far beyond the plunge of speech,” constitutes them differently, “following them, passing over their legs, their bodies, their heads ---.”

town had risen upon the ruins of another town, and the men in the town had become more and more articulate and unlike each other.” 308.

In the 'close, dim, steaming' depths of the forest, "the silence weighs upon them as they are unable to frame any thoughts." The proposal of marriage is made and accepted in incoherent declarations, half articulated communications, brief connections (316).

Following their return, the public announcement of the engagement bring Rachel and Terence to deeper estrangements. " --- as each day spread widely over the earth parted them from the strange day in the forest when they had been forced to tell each other what they wanted, this wish of theirs was revealed to other people, and in this process became slightly strange to themselves" (338). Their conversations on the subject seem to cohere into opposed rhetoric statements presenting the dialectics of convention/restriction and freedom/connection in relation to the (bourgeois) notion of the marriage of the self to the other. Terence conceptualizes the possibility of a marriage which would preserve freedom and intimacy. "I'd keep you free. We'd be free together. We'd share everything together. No happiness will be like ours" (284). As their "contact became natural" and the steamer "turns back to civilization", "the world gains more solidity, more coherence, more importance, greater depth" (339); "He still wanted the things he had always wanted, and in particular, he wanted the companionship of other people more than ever perhaps." Terence feels "immensely solid," the legs of his chair "rooted in the bowels of the earth." In contrast, Rachel is unsettled, unsubstantial as "the patches of light, the soft spots of sun wavering on the carpet and up the wall". Her feelings of disconnect and desire for intimacy seem linked to her experience of colonial displacement: nostalgia for England and a felt alienation from foreign locales. So, "The thought of England was delightful, for together they would see old things freshly ---" (350). "What's so detestable in this country is the blue – always blue sky and blue sea. It's like a curtain – all the things one

wants are on the other side of that. I want to know what's going on behind it. I hate these divisions ---. Just by going on a ship we cut ourselves off entirely from the rest of the world ---." (352). However, Rachel's continued hesitancy to commit her disquiet and desires to the remedy of an equal and progressive marriage¹⁴ reflects a modernist recognition of the changed conditions of being and 'a new structure of desire'; that "instead of being vast and indivisible they were really very small and separate," and that "(Rachel) wanted many more things than the love of one human being – the sea, the sky."

Briefly, a textual resolution of the narrative impasse seems to lie in Rachel's gradual conviction that the preservation of subjectivity might be possible even within the quarrels and close routine intimacies of a marriage, for "the life that went on beneath the eyes and the mouth and the chin, that life was independent of her, and independent of everything else."

But it is really the event of Rachel's illness with a tropical fever, the presence of the infection inhabiting her body and invading her mind, that stages a representation of the life 'independent of everything else'. The closing scenes of Rachel's sick room bring the reader close to the acuteness and extravagance of Rachel's senses, the dreams of submergence, the hallucinations and deliriums most intensely expressing her withdrawals into a singular privacy, the breakdown of the coherent self, the death of the body which may have been traditionally socialized and consolidated. Terence uses the metaphors of voyaging and seascapes to represent how Rachel escapes containment, the conventional structures of desire, the expected narrative formulation of the marriage plot. "She seemed to be able to cut herself adrift from him, and to pass away to unknown places where she

¹⁴The text affirms Rachel's discomfort often; Rachel declares that she "never fell in love -- if falling in love is what people say it is," and Terence recognizes "I don't satisfy you

had no need of him.” “ --- she wanted many more things than the love of one human being – the sea, the sky” (352).

The anti - realism of an aesthetics of dissolution acutely expresses the crisis of the consolidated, developing, gendered subject and the subversion of the imperial / patriarchal narrative plot. Rachel’s last delirium stages the crisis, drawing upon the vocabulary of a familiar imaginative landscape of an ‘adventure and an escape’, repeating the images of trees, savages and an engulfing sea, referring again to a voyaging narrative effort toward definition.

“The sights were all concerned in some some adventure, some escape. The nature of what they were doing changed incessantly, although there was always a reason behind it which she must endeavor to grasp. Now they were among trees and savages, now they were on the sea ----. But just as the crisis was about to happen, something invariably slipped in her brain, so that the whole effort had had to begin over again. The heat was suffocating. At least the faces went further away; she fell into a deep pool of sticky water, which eventually closed over her head. She saw nothing and heard nothing but a faint booming sound, which was the sound of the sea rolling over her head” (397).

The ‘social texts’ discussed in this chapter, (*The Voyage Out*, the gendered Anglo Indian Passage and the metropolitan discourse of the ‘new woman’), coincide discursively. This illuminates the ways in which a new metropolitan identity politics connects with a complex landscape of the public/ private, central / marginal dimensions of modernity.

in the way you satisfy me. There’s something I can’t get hold of in you.” 342.

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