CHAPTER - 3

RAJ FICTIONS: THE LITERARY SITES OF IMPERIALISM

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

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

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

The Mughal nobility's welcome to the early English, eventual granting of trade concessions, revenue collection rights were part of such a collaborative mechanism. It
was obviously the relationship at court levels which helped the establishment of the Raj.¹

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Ashis Nandy has argued that the English ladies were more racial minded and they constantly saw Indian males as threats. The fear of rape by a native was always present. They
also saw the native males as rivals for the Englishman's affections (Nandy: 9-10).

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

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

The second notable feature of the relationships of the early Raj was the camaraderie between the English and the Indian Muslims. The English excluded Muslims in their
categorisation of the natives as villains. The Thomas Roe - Jahangir friendship was the earliest example of the bonhomie that prevailed. Thomas Roe and Capt. Hawkins were Jahangir's drinking and hunting companions. The English viewed Islam more tolerantly. Bishop Reginald Heber wrote in 1824-25:

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

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

Such a shared view of Hinduism helped a better relationship between the Muslims and the English. Their Judaeo-Christian roots and the mutual feeling of being outsiders in India probably helped. The British hence took care to befriend the Muslims. An example of the British attempt to improve terms with the Muslims in India is
provided by Percival Spear in The Nabobs. Spear notes that the Company's chapels were kept free of all images so as not to offend Muslim sentiments (128).

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

If the dominant themes of the early Raj and the age of the Nabobs were India's wealth, weakness, barbarity, the British emphasis was on commercial gains. The literature of the early Raj reflects these themes. John Dryden (1631-1700), England's Poet Laureate between 1670-1689, described the enormous "gains" to be had from the East. When Bombay was gifted as dowry to Charles II, Dryden wrote in "Annus Mirabilis" (1667) of the "Fleet from India, fraught/With all
the riches of the rising sun" (Dryden 1: 63, l. 193-94). He also ridiculed Indian barbarity and emotionalism. During Dryden's times - the Age of Enlightenment - scientific temper was regarded as the true way of life. They rejected sentimentality and emotionalism. In "The Hind and the Panther" (1687) he wrote of the Indian who runs "muck Camoki at all he meets" (3: 196, l. 1188). However, he regarded the Indian wife's act of Sati as a brave one, and used it to symbolise courage: "In death undaunted as an Indian wife" (3: 136, l. 442).

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

The classic text of this age, and one of the most popular novels in English literature, was Daniel Defoe's Robinson Crusoe (1719). Hugh Ridley in Images of Imperial Rule arguing on the basis of Mannoni's theories finds in the Crusoe - Friday relationship the archetype of colonial relationships. This novel along with Jonathan Swift's Gulliver's Travels (1726-27) combines the antecedents of the Anglo - Indian novel: the exotic-adventure tale of the
mysterious East. Writers in the genre from Philip Meadows Taylor to John Masters have their roots in the tradition of the adventure novel of the eighteenth century.

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

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

The Nabobs, like the early English arrivals kept intercourse with natives to a minimum. However soldiers continued to visit native prostitutes. Ballhatchet informs us that such interracial liaisons were encouraged. The
resultant Eurasian offspring were regarded as future supports of the Imperial edifice. In 1687 it was even suggested that a maintenance amount be paid to the mothers of Eurasians since they were "a matter of consequence" (Ballhatchet: 96). This attitude was to change in the 1800s for reasons we shall see later.

The "nautch girls" (dancing girls) were a regular pastime for the Nabob. W. Trego Webb's description of one such nautch girl is interesting:

As she winds in snaky writhings to the
droning of the hymns;
Till the truth is lost in seeming
And our spirits fall a dreaming,
'Neath the spell of rhythmic paces and
and the mist of woven limbs
Like the sea foam's glittering daughter. (Kaul: 36-7)

The description fits the British view of the Orient as a place of enchantment where the English lose their self control, and fall "a-dreaming". The reference to "snaky writhings" may not be a coincidence, if we recall the snake's role in the Fall of Adam and Eve.

The Nabobs figure in many works of the time. Samuel Foote's play The Nabob (1772), N.F. Thompson's The Intrigues
of A Nabob (1785) and the anonymously authored The Disinterested Nabob (1785) are a few examples. A poem "The Nabob" (1785) aptly subtitled "Asiatick Plunderers", satirised the age:

Clime, colour, feature, in my bosom find
The friend to all
Why rob the Indians and not call it theft?

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

The Nabob's attitude of arrogance and contempt made him treat the native badly. This meant that the role of the "master" adopted by the Nabob never implied benevolence. The reinforcement of the master-servant ethos both in India and England bolstered British opinions regarding the natives. The natives were seen as untrustworthy and primitive. Though the English found them useful, there was a growth of hatred and contempt against them. Part of this came from the habitual subservience with which the servants treated the Nabobs. Part of it may also be attributed to Britain's own social problems of the time. England was rapidly becoming a place of refuge for those fleeing the continent's religious persecution. They increased England's members but did not
add to the economic output (Royle: 68–9). It is possible that this led to racial tension, especially if the English saw them as a threat to their economy and social fabric. They were seen as competitors with Englishmen for England's resources. One recalls that this scarcity of opportunity had driven the Englishman abroad. The seeking of alternative pastures and resources had begun Imperialism.

The rising anti-native feeling was also turned onto the Eurasian community. They were increasingly treated with contempt. Liaisons with Indians were discouraged at all levels now. One of the reasons for this was that more English women began coining out to India in the 1780s. In 1791 a rule was framed which prevented the Company from employing Eurasians. People like William Chaplin felt that respect for the Englishman in the minds of the Indians would be diminished by the presence of "Europeans of the middling or lower classes". Eurasians were seen as "sharing the vices of both races" (Bailatchet: 96-100). The mothers of Eurasians, far from being a "matter of consequence" (as they were around the 1680s, quoted above) were abhorred as wicked and impure. This change in attitude towards miscegenation began at a time when the notion of the "sentimental family" developed in England. Domesticity and privacy became keywords in English morality and society. Therefore the idea of
keeping the family English, closed and pure also developed alongside (Royle: 55-6). Sexual liaisons with native women were seen as against English morality and family life.

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

Conservatives like Burke advocated reform, but reform with caution. Burke did not want to interfere in the religious affairs of natives. He argued that the governing of India should be based "upon their [India's] own principles and maxims and not upon ours..." (Burke: 114). Therefore between 1750 and 1813, missionaries were discouraged from coming out to India. The administrators were suspicious of the missionaries. The priestly class, though belonging to the ruling race, was in close contact with the native. The Nabobs, whose attitudes prevailed in the years between 1750 - 1800, preferred minimal contact with Indiana. Therefore the missionary role was seen as incompatible with the interests of the ruling race
In 1808 the Court of Directors actually instructed Lord Minto on the behaviour of the missionaries. The injunction read:

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

The aim was therefore to "preserve".

The reformist zeal especially after 1800 (we have noted the huge influx of missionaries after 1813) stemmed from the British view of Indians as weak, effeminate and child-like. Burke saw them as "the softest in their manners of any of our race, approaching almost to feminine tenderness..." (Burke: 113). William Jones recorded that even the poetry of the natives reflected their weak nature. He wrote: "the general character of the nation is that of softness, love of pleasure, indolence and effeminacy" (10: 348). James Mill, whose *The History of British India* (1817) became a guide book for future Orientalists, saw a primitive civilisation in India, with the "rudest and weakest states of the human
mind..." (1: 461). Indian civilisation had stagnated. Mill wrote:

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

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

The heathen native was the child - dependent upon his/her parent, the Englishman. This "dependency complex", as Mannoni calls it, fostered and was foisted by British self-confidence and sense of superiority. Thus, this complex informed all levels of contact and relationships between the Indian and the Englishman. It helped to assign a superior status to the Westerner at all times. The native was thus student, child, female, subordinate, heathen, oppressed and vulnerable. Correspondingly, the Westerner was teacher, parent, masculine, superior, blessed, saviour and protector. All these roles are played out in the relationships of the Raj. The literature of imperialism portrays such relationships.
The Herbert Compton - Kasim Ali relationship in Taylor's Tippoo Sultan makes Compton the military (official) and moral superior. In Taylor's Seeta Cyril Brandon is the protector-magistrate for all villagers and is protector and lord to Seeta. In Kipling's Kim the older, wiser Oriental Lama is protected, guided and even taught by the much younger but English Kim. Lilamani in Diver's novel of the same name sees her husband Nevil Sinclair as her "lord and King". Paul Scott's Raj Quartet shows Westerners such as Edwina Crane, Ronald Merrick, Col. Layton, Sarah Layton in varying degrees of superiority over the natives at personal or professional levels. Such examples could be multiplied.

The foisting of the "ma-baap" role onto themselves was a justification and a procedural necessity for the British. It helped both explain and expand their presence. The explanation was obvious: in the relationship between the two, the Englishman was the better, hence was the protector father-figure. This was necessary to protect the oppressed, primitive and weak native. It facilitated expansion by winning the Indians over. The introduction of reforms like Western education, the missionary drive, and the use of administrative machinery required a collaborator. To borrow Gramsci's argument, the expansion could take place mainly through consent, rather than coercion. The subjects were
convinced of their subjection, seeing it as a natural order of things. Hence the natives were willing to accept the superior role of the Westerner. This acceptance was conscious and voluntary. The British did not need to use excess force to this end. The native, thus convinced, came to see the Westerner as a God, sent to protect them. An illustrative example of this enormous psychological hold of the Westerner over the native may be found in Taylor's _The Story of My Life_. A fierce Beydur who has caused major troubles to the soldiers is confronted by an unarmed Taylor. Taylor orders the Beydur to surrender. The Beydur who is in a position of greater advantage meekly surrenders to the unarmed lone Englishman (150-151).

Another step in Britain's Imperialist movement in India was its "Orientalising" of India. The East was studied and analysed. Future civil servants were bred on "authoritative" texts like James Mill and William Jones. Jones's essays were prolific and ranged across many subjects. He wrote on the poetry, religions, laws and customs of the natives. Jones referred to those Orientalists who engaged in "forensick and professional studies" as "scholars" (qtd. in Mukherjee: 44). Like Burke and the Conservatives, Jones too found the native soft, effeminate and indolent. As "proof" he cites a historian Mr. Orme, "who believes that original inhabitants
have lost very little of their original character" (Jones 3: 31).

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

A good deal of attention was paid by the British to government, land revenue and succession rights in India. Scrafton’s Reflection on the Government of Hindustan with a Short Sketch of the History of Bengal (1770), Charles Wilkins’s A Translation of a Royal Grant of Land by One of the Ancient Rajas of Hindustan (1781), Colebrooke’s A Digest of Hindu Law on Contracts and Succession (1798) and Jones’s
works on Mahommedan law of succession (1782, 1792) are examples. Raymond Schwab in *The Oriental Renaissance* (1984) has provided a chronological list of such "Orientalist" research writings, translations and academic activities (30-33, 51-2).

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

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

This interest in "studying" the Orient did not however improve relationships. The Indian was a subject of study, not
to be shown affection. It is a telling comment on the reality of the Raj, when we note that the first Indian member of the Asiatick Society joined only in 1829, nearly 50 years after its founding. This was Europe's second Renaissance, one which Edgar Quinet in 1841 termed the "Oriental Renaissance". It refers to the revival of a fifteenth century Renaissance atmosphere in Europe. This was due to the arrival of Sanskrit texts in the continent (Schwab: 11-13).

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

Social intercourse between the Indian and the British at higher levels continued. European ladies, arriving in increasing numbers, however did not socialise with higher class Indian ladies. The "purdah" system of the zenana continued to keep the high class Indian ladies away. On the
other hand European ladies now began to intermingle freely with Indian males. Percival Spear writes that they (English ladies) "had no scruples about mixing with men whose wives remained in purdah" (Spear, Nabobs: 133).

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

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

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

kindles on his own bare head
The sacred, fire, self torturing his trade.

His voluntary pains, severe and long,
Would give a barbrous air to British song.

(1:282, 1. 99-100)

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

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

One needs, therefore, to look at these influential texts which governed British attitudes of the age. James Mill's A History of British India, accepted as an authentic source of information, is replete with fallacies. Mill, like most authorities of his time, relied on second - hand accounts such as travelogues of Robert Orme, Francis Buchanan
and Major Renell. He also relies upon the work of artists like William Hodges (in India from 1780-1784) and Thomas and William Daniell (in India between 1784-1794 and 1769-1837 respectively). Mill himself did not visit India.

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

Mill argues (influenced, here, by Cranford's Sketches) that surgery and medicine are unknown in India (1: 481). Mill is obviously ignorant of works like Charaka Samhita or Ayurveda which dealt exhaustively with the science of medicine even in ancient times. Mill argues that Indian rulers were despots (1: 481). Tales of Tipu's cruelty were carried to England and were the first descriptions heard of India on outboard bound ships (Spear, Nabobs: 43). It is ironic that a historian ignores his own nation's history with its regicide and bloody civil wars when accusing Asians of despotism. His attack on India's lack of coin currency is also unwarranted. For centuries before the arrival of the
British India had had currency. At various points in history the Mauryas, the Kushans, the Guptas and the Mughals introduced the currency system, as has been recorded by travellers like Megasthenese (circa 300 B.C.), Fa-Hien (410 A.D.), and Hieun-Tsang (635-643 A.D.). Mannoni’s argument regarding the colonising psyche is useful to understand Mill’s attack on the Indian caste system. Mannoni argues that the coloniser has a "psychologically inferior personality" and the native a "psychologically dependent one" (86). In the Indian context the caste system provided support for people within a particular caste (vertical discriminations however remained). For the native security and social status was located inside his own caste and was usually unchangeable, since caste came with birth. In English society class evolved out of the economic system where property decided social positions. Classes were, in contrast to caste, mobile, as people tried to move higher up the ladder. Conflicts were thus quite common. Industrialisation had wrought this condition on England. Reference has already been made to the issue of the "condition of England" debate in England.

The national turmoil was deflected by talking about the "barbarous" East. As Mannoni argues, there was a guilt complex regarding industrialisation. By showing Eastern
society as being worse, authorities like Mill suggested, by implication, that England was yet better off.

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

_This seminary [Sanskrit College] can only be expected to load the minds of youth with grammatical niceties and metaphysical distinctions of little or no use to the possessors or to society ... no improvement can be expected from inducing young men to consume a dozen years of the most valuable periods of their lives in acquiring the niceties of the Byakurun or Sanskrit Grammar._ (139-140)
This generation of British administrators was aware that Britain would eventually need to leave India. Elphinstone wrote: "It was better to have an early separation from a civilised people than a violent rupture with a barbarous civilisation" (qtd. in Bearce: 141).

People like Munro and Elphinstone emphasised the importance of the native in administering India. Britain built up cadres of Indian officialdom, especially after the competitive Indian Civil Service exam was thrown open to Indians. The army, as Philip Mason, has described in A. Matter of Honour (1976) consisted mainly of Indians. Official relationships between Indians and the English improved, though Indians were still kept out from top posts. This reflected the reality of the Raj. When Satyendranath Tagore passed the exam to become the first Indian to gain entry into the Indian Civil Service in 1870 it caused much heartburn. Geoffrey Moorhouse in India Britannica (1986) points out that as late as 1915 only 63 Indians had entered the Indian Civil Service, a direct result of the lowering of the age limit. The "Indianisation of the I[Indian] C[ivil] S[ervice] was delayed by British selfishness, fondness and fear though they recognised that one day India would have to be restored to the Indians", notes Moorhouse (112). Obviously the civilising mission did not include equality in
official relationships and recruitment on its agenda. The Indian "naiks" could not hope for higher ranks, though their courage (especially that of the Sikhs') was much admired by the British. It could thus be argued that there was only a minor improvement in Indo-British relationships in this phase.

The spread of Western education became rapid from the mid-nineteenth century, especially under the leadership of the Clapham Sect. Missionaries also poured in. Societies like the Society for Propagation of the Gospel (SPG), Church Missionary Society (CMS), Society for Propagation of Christian Knowledge (SPCK) were set up. The main role of the missionaries was in the field of education. The missionaries believed that the improvement of natives had two dimensions: conversion to Christianity and English education. Robert Renford writes: "Education was seen as one of the main ways to bring the benighted Indians into the light and so to the Christian faith" (178). The Calcutta Conference of 1882-83 saw active participation by missionaries in arguing for education for the Indians. This was also the year that the Indian Education Commission was set up. Numerous schools and universities came up, as already mentioned above. In a move which Gramsci would recognise as hegemonic, the education of the Indians furthered Imperialism by teaching them Western
texts, Western concepts and Western ways of looking at the world and themselves. As Gauri Vishwanathan and Rajeswari Sunder Rajan have pointed out in their works English literature as an academic discipline was first introduced in India, not in England!

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

The man on the spot was trained to be stoic, gentlemanly and learned in Indian culture, languages and laws. This was the true "Sahib": a heroic, uncomplaining Englishman working in adverse conditions and making enormous sacrifices of family and health for the sake of improving
India. **This** selfless, **philanthropic** attitude **is** well illustrated in the words of Lord **Elphinstone**: "the most desirable death for us to **die** of should be ... in the improvement of the natives..." (qtd. in Joshi: 16). People like Henry Lawrence, whose heroics became famous in the 1846 Lahore riots, and General Charles Gordon, who went unarmed to battle, became heroes for the English in India. Such deification is illustrated in the lines written on the death of General Gordon in Sudan:

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Too late ' Too late to save him,
In vain, in vain they tried.
His life was England's glory
His death was England's pride.
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(qtd. in James Morris, **Command**: 512)

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

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

The Sahib is a common character in the literature of the time. He is upright, courageous and fair minded, endowed with a "Burkean sense of responsibility" (Bearce: 101). Dr.
novels. But her Western governess is unwilling to accept her preferences. The emphasis is on scientism - in this case Audrey's insistence that Lilamani train to be a doctor - rather than on emotionalism.

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

The Western educated Indian hobnobs with the British in a very fluid relationship. He is a tragic character rejected by the Indians for being too English and by the British for being Indian after all. The relationship with the British,
as Hari Kumar discovers in *The Raj Quartet*, is transient. Being totally "Englishised" does not mean acceptance by England.

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

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

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

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

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

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India especially after the disastrous expansion policy of Auckland and Ellenborough in the Afghan wars (1838-42). The development of industries produced a certain social structure. It made the working class a distinct section of society. In India the role of such a class as the non-officials (merchants, bankers, professionals, planters) was important for Britain's interactions with the Indians. In the "indigo disturbances" of 1859, the missionaries supported Indian ryots. They worked out of a genuine concern for the menial worker on the plantations. Renford writes of the missionary approach:

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

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

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

Much of the conflict of this age was due to British attitudes. Bearce argues that the encounter between the East and West came to be seen as that between "old and new" (Bearce: 7). India was the old, stagnant "curio" to be exhibited, drawn and framed. The *Daily Mail* actually described the colonial procession as "an anthropological museum" (qtd. in Morris, *Brittanica*: 132). After Giri Deshingkar we could term it a "civilisational encounter" where two cultures meet (282-293). The British rhetoric on this encounter, which reflected actual administrative policies and relationships, stated the usefulness of British presence for India. Ronald C. Benge in his essay "The Colonial Experience" (1972) has commented on this aspect of the nexus between science and administration. Benge comments:
What is more relevant is the nature of the ideas which lay behind immediate administrative and economic policies, and for such purposes the doctrines were supplied ad hoc by the anthropologists ... The anthropologists wanted traditional societies to remain traditional, not merely because if they did not they themselves would have to go home, but because they knew that the kind of development which later did happen might prove to be a mess of pottage. (100-101)

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

The British rhetoric was accepted by the Indian mercantile class, manufacturers and reformers since it helped their respective interests: trade, manufacture, or raising social consciousness. It however collapsed age old social structures. Landowners were dispossessed, property rights were altered and hence changed familial patterns of succession. The problem of succession affected the native kings very badly, especially after the introduction of the
"Doctrine of Lapse". This doctrine stated that a childless ruler could not adopt an heir without the permission of the British. This meant that, effectively, the British could take over the land of any childless native king. The examples provided above all point to the conclusion that technological progress in India was at the cost of destruction of the Indian way of life. As Karl Marx and Frederich Engels wrote in *The First War of Indian Independence*:

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

Part of Britain's policies in its colonies arose from its problems at home. Labour unrest was growing with people like Robert Owen beginning to organise labour unions. Underemployment was rampant. Low pay, poor living conditions, diet and medical facilities remained. The percentage of families below the poverty line remained high. The English, under the influence of liberal thinking became convinced about free trade and its benefits for Britain. The laissez faire approach left the British free to engage in agricultural, banking and industrial operations in India (Bearce: 215-217). The Company did not strictly regulate the policies. Commercialism grew stronger and Sahib idealism began to disappear.
Writers like W.D. Arnold detested this inhuman commercialism. In Oakfield (1853) Arnold accused the British of behaving like "mere animals". He called them "unscrupulous and greedy". Arnold wrote:

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

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

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

British approach to reform through legislation was a consequence of this feeling of invincibility. Believing that they could do no wrong, and hoping to help the natives, reformers like Bentinck proceeded to ban Sati, introduce English education, women's education and encourage widow remarriage. As W.D. Arnold had described, the English were so full of their own aims, ideals and motives that they ignored Indian sentiment as unworthy of consideration. While sub-imperialism helped better administrative control, it did not carry with it public support. If the "ma-baap" role
helped Imperialism, it was also carried forward effectively by their self confidence. The English middle class had always been on the sidelines. But by the mid-nineteenth century they had accumulated wealth through trade and industry. Back home in Britain the middle class prospered too. Their political power and influence grew after enfranchisement and prosperity. More middle class Englishmen came out to India. This class did not share the ideals of the Sahibs. They were in India for personal interests alone. And since they were not here to "improve" India, their primary purpose was wealth. Hence their relationships in India meant nothing more than business. Ashis Nandy has noted in The Intimate Enemy that "it was the middle class who would eventually prove ... the most passionate imperialists of all" (4-5).

Such an established British confidence was mauled in 1857. The English saw it as a betrayal, of a child turning against the parent. Some believed that the Hindus were behind it, since the religion itself was barbaric. Sati, child marriage and female infanticide had always repelled the British as the most horrific customs in the world. Thus, in Taylor's Seeta the mutineer is a Hindu, and a Brahmin (Azrael Pande). Pande's cruelty therefore seems "appropriate" for a Hindu.
Muslims and Sikhs were regarded more favourably. In J.G. Farrell's *The Siege of Krishnapur* (1782) the Sikhs and Muslims stand by a beleagured British garrison. However, those like Harriet Tytler believed that the Hindus were not to blame. She wrote: "The Hindus...are...for the most part, a very ignorant and gullible race ... I don't believe a Hindu would have been guilty of such cold blooded atrocities" (110-114).

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

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

Lord Tennyson in "Defence of Lucknow" (1879) describes
British heroism during the Mutiny and the reiteration of British ability (right?) to rule:

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

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

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

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

With rising self confidence in the age of Victorian "new imperialism" the new Indian Civil Service recruits grew more aggressive—Dennis Kincaid in *British Social Life in India, 1608-1937* (1973) writes of this new breed of Englishmen: "They knew nothing of pre-Mutiny life and they were already imbued with a busy imperialism" (219). Kincaid argues that their training and competitive spirit strengthened the sense of caste/class. He quotes William Hunter: "I aspire to arise far above the circle of fashion. I mean the circle of power" (220). It is in this phase that leaders like Curzon emerged.
Increased racialism marks the post-1857 Raj. Racialism was inculcated into the Indian Civil Service personnel before they set out for India. It therefore resulted in more segregation between rulers and ruled.

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

The Bengal Tenancy Bill of 1883 also caused an uproar. The European planters in North India saw it as a threat to their control of native labour. The domiciled Anglo-Indians and Eurasians were anxious at the reservation of appointments in public departments which had previously been open to them. Exclusion of non-Indians from nomination to the statutory civil service and general preference for natives in government appointments were viewed unfavourably by most British. They saw it as a loss of grip on India. One notes here how the post-1857 emphasis worked. The aim was
discipline and control. The Sahib norm of idealism, care and the "civilisational mission" was no longer the value by which the British worked.

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

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

The importance of theosophy was that it was a movement led by westerners which put things Indian on a level
with things western. It thus helped bring the modern Indian into equal relation with the west.... (294-5)

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

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

The rejection of things Indian due to a return to the old aggressive "Englishised" stance is reflected in the writers of the age. Kipling's Kim, born and bred in India and almost an Indian, finally returns to "Sahibhood". In Maud Diver's Lilaman: Nevil Sinclair and Lilamani get married. In its sequel Far to Seek (1921) Lilamani is anxious about her son's imminent departure for India. She, an Indian, is afraid that he too might marry a native.
Diver's novel suggests that both Indians and British regard miscegenation as a temporary affair, not to be repeated.

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

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

We are out here to do justice and keep the peace ... we are not pleasant in India, and we don't intend to be pleasant. We've something more important to do. (50)
Non-officials like Cyril Fielding in Forster’s *A Passage to India* or Flory in Orwell’s *Burmese Days* (1935) are better treated. They are shown as the only English who can get near the natives. Mrs. Moore’s relationship with Dr. Aziz in *A Passage to India* is a good example of this. Humanists like Forster recognised that the present native dislike of the English stemmed from Britain’s attitudes down the ages. Forster in *Hill of Devi* (1953) wrote that they were “paying for the insolence of Englishmen and Englishwomen out here in the past” (155).

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

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

**Homeroeticism** in Anglo-Indian fiction is important for its reflection of the power play between India and England. The Fielding - Aziz relationship marginalises both the characters. Fielding is rejected by other Englishmen because he is "pro-native". Aziz is the nationalist, who is suspected by, and suspicious of, the British. One notes the antagonism in the air during his trial. By getting such marginalised characters together, albeit partially, Forster suggests that even strong personal affection between individuals cannot neutralise racial difference. In Paul Scott the Merrick Kumar relationship is a brutalised sexual expression of the
political relations between the two. Merrick as the superior official and Englishman is obviously the more powerful of the two. This relation reflects the deep divide. Merrick refers to the irretrievable and inevitable differences between the two races as a basic norm in any relationship. Thus, with a long lineage before it, the Raj Quartet for the first time articulates the brutality and hatred that lay behind the Raj.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

4. Deenbandhu Mitra’s play Neeldarpan (1860) and Christine Weston’s Indigo (1944) detail the problems of the indigo planters in nineteenth century British India.
5. James Morris in *Heaven's Command: An Imperial Progress* (1984) makes an interesting connection between Britain's protector and missionary roles. Britain in the eighteenth and early nineteenth century was attacking the institution of slavery. Morris says that though it could not abolish slavery everywhere in the world, its control over the seas helped it to interfere in the movement of slaves from source to customer. In the suppression of piracy the Empire had already assumed a police function. Now its power was harnessed to an evangelical purpose (Morris: 39). Captain William Sleeman's campaign, from the 1820s, to eradicate Thuggee in India was the result of such a combination. Morris writes: "The thug hunting pose was the triumphant confirmation of Christian superiority over the forces of evil and ignorance" (Command: 81).

6. Among the British some viewed their own zeal at reforming Indian society with concern. Russell of the Madras Civil Service, who first reported on the Khond human sacrifice practice in 1836 cautioned: "We must not allow the cruelty of the practice to blind us to the consequences of too rash a zeal in our endeavour to suppress it...." He suggested use of moral influence rather than power to end the evil (qtd. in MasonMen: 124-5). Others like Bentinck, Macaulay relied upon legislation to "cure" Indian society,
and fuelled resentment because the people's opinion wasn't consulted, nor were they educated on the issue.

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

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

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