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The Containment and Re-Deployment of English India

About the Contributors

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The Containment and Re-Deployment of English India

Introduction

Daniel J. O'Quinn, University of Guelph

1. If we are to understand Romanticism as an institutional nexus with cultural, political and social effects then the challenge of articulating the relationship between literary culture and emergent forms of governmentality travels by way of the Indian sub-continent. This volume of *Romantic Praxis* started as a somewhat polemical intervention in the 1997 NASSR conference at McMaster University which operated under the thematic rubric of "Romanticism and its Others." I proposed a session on English India aimed not only at questioning the belatedness of colonial discourse analysis in Romantic studies, but also at re-orienting this emergent interest to questions of institutional effects. The recent discussions regarding the redefinition of Romanticism as the period between 1750 and 1850 for the purposes of staving off the institutional encroachments of the long eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, while largely a matter of public relations, pose urgent political questions regarding the spatial and temporal reach of Romantic studies. Within that temporal frame where precisely does one locate British literature?

2. At the risk of making the efforts of my contributors bear more weight than they were designed to bear, I want to approach this question historically in order to sketch one possibility for the "patient labor required for our impatient demand for liberty" (133). Invoking the final sentence of Foucault's "What is Enlightenment?" has a multiple purpose here. The salient feature of Kant's famous essay is his emphasis on how asking historico-philosophical questions of the present necessarily poses questions regarding the state and, more particularly, the art of government. The historical period presided over—at least in part—by the academic construct Romanticism marks a crucial moment when, according to Foucault ("Governmentality"), Ann Laura Stoler, and Ian Hunter, key aspects of governmentality were increasingly detached from the state form. The complex deployment of sexuality which features so prominently in the emergence of bio-political forms of governance and the consolidation of state racism animates much of the cultural, social and material production in both colony and metropole. However, these re-alignments in economic and social policy, whose impact on representations both political and aesthetic is profound, remain unelaborated despite important historical and literary scholarship over the last ten years.

3. Part of the impulse for this volume was rememorative, for even a cursory glance at the popular print media from 1765 to 1813 indicates the extent to which the metropolitan population was concerned with governmental matters in India. As H. V. Bowen has persuasively argued the metropolitan population was extraordinarily ignorant not only of the culture of the peoples colonized by the East India Company, but also of the economics of colonial activity. However, despite this sanctioned ignorance the interest in the regulation and management both of people and capital was both detailed and wide-ranging. The public scandals surrounding Clive and Hastings and the celebration of Cornwallis and later administrators of imperial power speak to differing colonial problematics, but in all instances one sees a repeated subordination of the fact of colonial violence to the form and constitution of colonial regulation. The transference of English colonial activity from the East India Company to the British state was arguably as significant as the American revolution—albeit in different ways—for the necessary re-imagination of the British imperial project. Like the impact of the American revolution on British self-stylization,

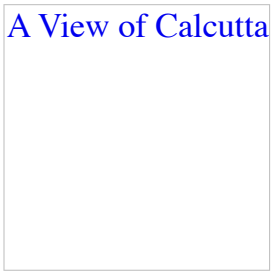
the cultural negotiation with the Indian sub-continent requires a significant re-engagement with the problem of nationhood and of the state. I raise the historical spectre of the American colonies because the careful modulation of revolutionary constituent power into its constituted form so admirably detailed by Antonio Negri is matched by a reverse phenomenon in the British metropole wherein the statization of the colonial economy is undertaken to avoid future tears in the map of empire. We could see the cultural work of Romanticism as a correlative prophylactic venture whose legacy is still operative.

4. The endurance of that prophylaxis forces me somewhat reluctantly to enter the realm of intemperate polemic which is of course always haunted by discomfort. To state the issue bluntly: is the belatedness of our discipline's response to the challenge of post-coloniality constitutive of romantic praxis both historically and in our present moment? The discomfort here goes beyond the fact that the question immediately prompts a list of valuable essays and books written by scholars to whose efforts we are all indebted. If it were simply a matter of generating a discipline-exonerating bibliography—i.e. if it were simply a question of knowledge—then there would be no need for this demonstration of embarrassment. However, the discomfort goes beyond that of knowledge into the realm of ethics and as such demands that we address the question's disturbing assertion. I believe we must consider the belatedness as a strategy of avoidance that both conceals and reveals the use of history in imperial discourse that emerges with Romanticism itself.

5. After all, the British functionaries of the East India Company and the writers who represented India for the metropolitan audience tended to need a similar historical displacement. The best indicator here is perhaps the first volume of *Asiatick Researches* for it reveals a fascination with the archeological, the lost and barely recoverable. And yet, especially in the case of William Jones, this sense of coming too late emerges out of a desire to develop strategies for managing colonial populations, for circumventing the role of the Pandits in the administration of the law by predating them. The sense of coming too late to an already tightly woven social fabric is the perennial problem of conquest and colonization for the very economics of trade rely on mediations which despite all assertions otherwise, involve social interaction. What is interesting about Jones—and what perhaps explains why he receives so little attention in our current historical moment—is the degree to which he emphasizes the necessary and difficult task of thinking through the colonial problematic in a world historical frame. That task, as Jones demonstrates, requires an extraordinary level of historical knowledge and linguistic facility. Len Findlay's "'[T]hat Liberty of Writing': Incontinent Ordinance in 'Oriental' Jones," which opens this collection, gives an ample sense of the depth of Jones's learning and emphasizes an underappreciated aspect of Jones's career—i.e. that his activities both prior to and during his involvement with the East India Company are fundamentally connected to the history of liberalism. The desire for "freedom" and its collateral violence are mutually constitutive in ways that read all too readily into our present geopolitical circumstances. Intriguingly, the current neo-liberal rhetoric of globalization amounts to a re-vivification of a position rendered temporarily obsolete by the early nineteenth century. By the time of Macauley's "Minute on Indian Education," the metropole's patience for such a difficult engagement had elapsed and Jones's legal translations lost their value as colonial tools and were re-designated as examples of arcane knowledge. It is this shift from tool to scholarship that deserves our attention for Jones's work is superceded by far more instrumental forms of knowledge production. In the realm of linguistics, British attention shifts from Sanskrit to vernacular languages. As Rita Raley argues in "A teleology of Letters; or, from a 'Common Source' to a Common Language," that shift is indicative of a change in governmental relations. If Jones's activities could be seen as a strategy suited to the governing practices of the East India Company which operated through the mobilization of alliances and resentments of pre-existing power structures, then Gilchrist's investment in the use value of translation and language acquisition is an apt expression of the erasure of the pre-colonial India presupposed by the administration of the colony by the British state. To quote Gilchrist's shockingly precise epigraph to *Dialogues, English and Hindoostanee*: "What *spell* have ARMS, with useless

Tongues when led/ Or Lion's hearts—without a HUMAN head."

6. Lest we have any desire to flee from Gilchrist's instrumental reason to Jones's seemingly less ethnocentric studies, it is important to recognize that what has changed is the use-value of the knowledge produced. The de-valuation of Jones's historico-archeological approach to Indian culture needs to be understood as a shift in the use of history for the imperial state. Put reductively, the decision to govern in addition to trade carried with it an imperative to eliminate the history of the sub-continent rather than to manipulate it. The long, complex and ultimately impossible task of elimination was the object of various educational strategies which sought either to suppress local knowledges or replace them with new imperially-sanctioned ones. [1] However, for students of British Romanticism, the devaluation of the use value of Indian history for direct political manipulation is crucial, for it opens an entire exotic field of representation for redeployment in the metropole as commodities ripe for exchange in the market of entertainment. This sense of the commercial viability of Eastern materials for Romantic verse has been well documented with regard to Byron and Thomas Moore.[2] But Byron's famous remarks are amply preceded by a series of aesthetic materials which have their roots in quasi-anthropological and historical writings generated under the aegis of the East India Company, but which reduce and re-constitute the materials of Indian history in order to regulate largely metropolitan concerns. Texts like Sydney Owenson's *The Missionary*, or Elizabeth Hamilton's *Translations of the Letters of the Hindu Rajah*, or the various Eastern plays of Elizabeth Inchbald do more than generate stereotypical representations of Indian society that anchor British imperial practice.


A View of Calcutta

7. Close attention to any of these texts reveals that they are far more concerned a) with constructing heteronormative representations of bourgeois life and b) with allegorizing geographically more proximate colonial crises. In other words, the "liberation" of representations of Indian history from their role in the direct governance of British-Indian relations allows them to be re-deployed in the regularization of the heterosexual family *and* in the struggle over Irish political autonomy. In this light, the liberal project inherent in Jones's work outlined by Findlay re-emerges in Owenson and Moore's allegorization of Irish affairs and in Hamilton and Inchbald's feminist practice. Susan Taylor's "Irish Odalisques and Other Seductive Figures: Thomas Moore's *Lalla Rookh*" and my own essay on James Cobb's *Ramah Droog* demonstrate how deeply intertwined the questions of sexual and colonial governance are in these allegories of Irish affairs. In both Moore's poem and in Cobb's comic opera, discursive details of Eastern life are mobilized for political ends thoroughly disconnected from their sub-continental locale. And yet the sexual fantasies which traverse both works build on racially constructed notions of middle class life that, as Ann Laura Stoler has persuasively argued, are not only operative in the colonies, but also the object of intense state intervention.

8. The relationship between these state interventions and the production of metropolitan romance is addressed in Siraj Ahmed's essay on Owenson's *The Missionary* and the history of missionary practice following parliament's lifting of the ban on missionary work during the reign of the East India Company. Ahmed's essay "An Unlimited Intercourse": Historical Contradictions and Imperial Romance in the Early Nineteenth Century" carefully charts the redeployment of a historical narrative of violent conflict to British hegemony in Vellore and argues that the romance plays a key role in the metaphorical containment of colonial insurrection. What Ahmed's essay so beautifully demonstrates, however, is that Owenson's romance simultaneously empties the colonial encounter of its historical content and embodies in its form the contradiction at the heart of the concept of civil society—i.e. that it always has its origins in violent acts. *The Missionary*, therefore, both occludes and reveals the violence of the "civilizing mission" that

characterized Britain's governmental activities.

9. Ahmed's attention to the language of civil society, Findlay's discussion of the role of "liberty" in Jones's text, Raley's discussion of the instrumentality of Gilchrist's linguistics, Taylor's demonstration of the commutability of colonial discourses and my own emphasis on the spectral presence of Cornwallis in *Ramah Droog* indicate the degree to which theories of statecraft animate this literature. Kate Teltscher's essay "Colonial Correspondence: The Letters of George Bogle from Bengal, Bhutan and Tibet, 1770-1781" demonstrates the integral relation between these supposedly public activities and the practice of everyday life. Teltscher's incisive readings of the literariness of the letters between the first British envoy to Bhutan and Tibet and his sisters reminds us that the force-field of colonial relations is subtended by the flow of intimate correspondence and material goods. The terms of this intimacy are revealing for time and again the details of Bogle's commercial and diplomatic activities are displaced either by re-figuring historical events as rehearsals of favourite literary scenes or by focussing on the things—clothing and rooms—that surround his mission. The fact that the commercial mission is so highly mediated by literary antecedents should give us pause for like *The Missionary* in Ahmed's argument, Bogle's letters both conceal the political aspects of his journey and reveal precisely how the realm of political and foreign affairs penetrates the realm of the domestic sphere. The affect generated by Bogle's letters becomes finally indistinguishable from the political project of colonization.

10. This affective interface is crucial to an understanding of the history of the British involvement in India for it shifts from being a mechanism of displacement in letters like Bogle's to being part of a regulatory technology. The institutional translation of "civil society" to Indian peoples throughout the Raj depends on this inculcation of emotion as an aesthetic and a political effect. The essays collected here attempt to give some sense of the power of emotion for the emergent imperial capitalism that defines Romanticism.

Notes

[1] See Viswanathan.

[2] See Leask.

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Volume Technical Editor: Mike Duvall

The Containment and Re-Deployment of English India

A Teleology of Letters; or, From a "Common Source" to a Common Language[1]

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> My favourite notion of proceeding [is] from the utile to the dulce, in which last may be comprehended persian, arabic, sunskrit, with every other branch of local attainments, as each may become in its turn a useful, lucrative, or pleasant pursuit to any sojourner in the east. - John Borthwick Gilchrist, *The Hindee-Roman Orthoepigraphical Ultimatum* (1820)
>
> Every complex form of language bears in itself the elements of its own destruction. - Mr. Mosse, *Enclytica. Being the Outlines of a Course of Instruction on the Principles of Universal Grammar, as Deduced in an Analysis of the Vernacular Tongue* (1814)

1. The period around 1800 is remarkable for the cultivation of two antithetical paradigms of language: one model of complexity and incomprehensibility, embodied for example by the philological work of Sir William Jones, and one model of basic, common simplicity, embodied by the work of the Methodist preacher John Wesley, and in different terms by William Wordsworth in the "Preface" to the *Lyrical Ballads*. Coterminous with an increasing anxiety about language that both does not signify and is insufficient for communicating ideas (e.g. hieroglyphics, as well as Asiatic languages) was an increase of labor devoted to orthoepigraphical projects, the devising of a universal alphabet into which the Asiatic languages might be translated. Jones's name is most familiarly linked to this kind of interpretive language work, which arose in the moment of his discovery of the "common source"—the philological structure of kinship undergirding Latin, Sanskrit, and what has become known as the entire Indo-European family of languages. The moment of the "common source," however, is also a deliberative moment about the "common" itself, about its meaning, its value, and its linguistic associations; and the name to be linked to the language work suggested by this kind of deliberation is that of one-time professor at the College of Fort William, seminary instructor, private tutor, and Orientalist John Borthwick Gilchrist.[2]

2. While one of John Gilchrist's late works, the wonderfully paranoid, epistolary manifesto of complaint, *The Oriental Green Bag!!*, is dominated by innumerable invectives about copyright infringement and the state of the academic market around 1820, it also pays admiring tribute within its very subtitle to "the great Sir William Jones's civil, religious, and political creed."(*The Oriental Green Bag!! Or a Complete Sketch of Edwards Alter in the Royal Exchequer, Containing a full Account of the Battle with the Books between a Belle and a Dragon: by a radical admirer of the great Sir William Jones's civil, religious, and political creed, against whom informations have recently been lodged for the Treasonable Offence and heinous crime of deep-rooted Hostility to Corruption and Despotism, in every Shape and Form; on the sacred oath of Peeping Tom at Coventry*. London: J.B. Gilchrist, 1820. Hereafter abbreviated *OGB*). Notably absent, both here and within the text, is a tribute to Jones's philological creed, for Gilchrist himself claims to have laid the foundation stone of "practical" and "beneficial Orientalism" with his work on Hindustani and with his orthoepigraphical system (*see plate 1*), which he pronounces to be "the simplest and most comprehensive ever yet submitted to public

Plate 1

inspection" (96). Universal applicability, or at least the promised transcription of all the sounds and letters of the Asiatic languages within the structures of a singular notation system, constituted one of Gilchrist's more pronounced divergences from the philological work associated with Jones, and it formed the basis for his final public appeals for patronage. Prophesying a moment in which "chirography and typography completely assimilate," Gilchrist assured his "opulent" audience that "one universal character can easily be established for a thousand different languages" and that his system was thus situated among the premier systems of education and indubitably merited funding (*The Orienti-Occidental Tuitionary Pioneer to Literary Pursuits*, title page, appendix. Hereafter abbreviated *TP*).

3. Insistent self-legitimation narratives such as this are discursive hallmarks of Gilchrist's dictionaries, grammars, and treatises, particularly the later works, and they neatly outline the analytic and evaluative distinctions between his work and that of Jones. It thus makes perfect conceptual sense that these distinctions should be figured as a literal and metaphoric divergence, as they are in the following instance of self-description and tribute: "my *radical labours*, or a plain, practical, rational highway to oriental literature, on which simplicity, consistency, facility, and utility take every step together, led by thought and reflection" (*OGB* 68). The figuration of the orthoepigraphical, or Universal mode, as a highway, passage, road, and path to knowledge extends throughout this particular treatise, and the bifurcation implied is not simply external (away from Jones and other philological laborers) but also internal (the separation of "utility" and "thought"). The mode of knowledge and education with which Gilchrist initially locates value is that of the practical, the "*utile*," but this figuration does not come at the expense of leisured contemplation, the "*dulce*." While Gilchrist's plan of "Practical Orientalism" signifies a functional use of language, in other words, it by no means proposes to excise cultural and aesthetic value (*TP* 97). Rather, it sutures the values of literacy (the vernacular, simplicity, ease) to those of the literary (thought, reflection), the ultimate end for which is a unification of "art and profitable industry" (*OGB* 69). Such a double coding of a vernacular linguistic object first provides for the legitimation of the idea of the vernacular. Next, and this is the more provocative point, it also allows for the substitution of one common vernacular for another, which is the condition of possibility for the shift from Hindustani to English as the language of command and control in British India.[3]

4. The Jones and Gilchrist orthoepigraphical systems were compatible insofar as they both participated in the general project of establishing a uniform Roman orthography for Asiatic words, but the two translator figures differed notably in their choice of objects—a preference for the learned languages of Sanskrit and Persian on the part of Jones, and a preference for the practical, functional language of Hindustani on the part of Gilchrist. The different choice of object resulted in profoundly different professional and scholarly models: while Jones reads the "foreign" character as an abstruse object of scholastic knowledge whose end is its own increase, Gilchrist reads it as a more easily decodable object of technical, communicable knowledge whose end is not simply functionality, but also economic possibilities both for student and for instructor. Sanskrit for Jones was "the Latin of India," while Hindustani for Gilchrist was the "universal colloquial medium" of India, and as such, a "popular language" and "intelligible tongue" (*The Letters of Sir William Jones*, Volume II, 747; *OGB* 97).[4] The distinction is not quite that of an amateur-professional divide, but Jones emblematizes a model of scholarship that values surplus knowledge and that evaluates difference *as* difference. Gilchrist, on the other hand, emblematizes a model of scholarship that evaluates knowledge as a commodity and that adheres to notions of functionality and practicality. The logic of this latter model is such that scholarship on the vernacular speech of India has a greater use value and greater technical, productive

possibilities than "classical erudition" and "the most profound scholarship" on the learned languages of India, erudition that is irrevocably aligned with amusement, pleasure, leisure, and even the sublime (*The Hindee-Roman Orthoepigraphical Ultimatum; or a systematic, descriminative view of Oriental and Occidental visible Sounds, on fixed and practical principles for acquiring the ... pronunciation of many Oriental languages; exemplified in one hundred popular anecdotes, ... and proverbs of the Hindoostanee story teller* viii, xvii-xviii. Hereafter abbreviated *OU*).

Plate 2

5. That the practical value of vernaculars and the inefficacy of the uncommon, often learned, languages forms a constitutive thematic thread in Gilchrist's work is evident in the recurring verse that appears as an epigraph to his *Dialogues* and *The Bold Epistolary Rhapsody*: "What spell have Arms, with useless Tongues when led? / Or Lions' hearts—without a human head?" The implied connection between common languages and military, governmental control in these lines partly accounts for Gilchrist's extensive valorization of functional rationality, as does the suggestion that language ultimately cannot awe, mystify, enthrall, or contribute to the militaristic "spell" if it is *not* common. Communicating, or spelling, the vernacular with the Roman alphabet is thus the necessary first step to achieving rational, administrative control. Gilchrist, however, was careful not to repudiate the value of the learned languages without qualification. His critical contest instead concerned the severing of the links between this value and particular languages (allowing for its transportability to the common); the *use* value of the learned languages; and their privileged place in the preparatory training of Company officers. "Truly *beneficial* Orientalism," in Gilchrist's terms, then, disregards neither the vernacular nor the classic, but labors to standardize both the demotic (Hindustani) and a formal written system (Persian) (*OGB* 96). So it was that he insisted on the use of his orthoepigraphical system for the translation of Persian and Hindoostanne alike; insisted that "classic erudition" had no place in India without "the command of vernacular speech"; and carefully constructed a teleological model of philological work that was to progress toward a suturing of the *utile* and the *dulce* within a particular "common" language: English (*OGB* 70, 96-7; *OU* viii, xv). Moreover, Gilchrist can be said to embody the mode of picturing the Orient not as immediately accessible but as something into which one could submerge: the shift is from voyeur-observer to participant-observer. The end results of the bifurcation of philological work are two analytically distinct paradigms of scholarship, a humanist model on the one hand, and a utilitarian, eventually technocratic model on the other. The problem of how to account for an overlap or even a repetition of work, then, is partially solved by thinking of the different kind of intellectual work each is performing, the distinct institutional status each maintains.

Plate 3

6. Although a similar oppositional structure would apply, this is a different staging than Saree Makdisi's in *Romantic Imperialism: Universal Empire and the Culture of Modernity*, with Jones and Thomas Babington Macaulay embodying two discourses of Orientalism, "two antithetical paradigms of British imperialism and colonial rule," respectively figured by the sea and the river (101). Insofar as Jones's work adheres to an idea of ineluctable difference (the unbridgeable gulf of the sea) and Macaulay's adheres to a progressivist evolutionary model of re-programmable difference (the stream of modernity), for Makdisi, these two paradigms trouble the monolithic category of modern Orientalism and they further suggest an epistemological shift from an older discourse of Orientalism, to modern discourses of racism, evolution, and industrialization. Such a shift from isolation to incorporation within the grand narratives of progress, and from the "appreciation" to the "improvement" of difference, then, signals "the emergence of the Universal Empire of modernization" (117). This article traces the contours of a different kind of paradigmatic split, one that results in protracted confluence and contest rather than an immediate absorption of one model by another. When the notion of a common source begets the notion of a common language, with "common" to resonate as the shared, the easily legible, the colloquial, and

the vernacular, then two models of language emerge: the classic and the complex, on the one hand, and the demotic and the basic, on the other. A profound and powerful set of confluences exist between this dialectic model and those of universal and national literacy, liberal and useful knowledge, and humanist and functional scholarly activity; and one of the purposes of this article is partially to trace out what has historically been situated at their nexus and offered as their logical resolution: the common language of English.

7. The first volume of the journal inaugurated to publish the transactions of the newly founded Asiatic Society of Bengal, *Asiatic Researches: or, Transactions of the Society Instituted in Bengal, for inquiring into the history and antiquities, the arts, sciences, and literature, of Asia* (1788 -), contains Sir William Jones's opening discourse on the intended objects of the society's scholarly and institutional inquiry: man and nature, the knowledge of which he classifies as history, science or art (xii-xiii).[5] It was in the interests of what the patrons call in their inaugural letter a literal and a figurative "extension of knowledge" (one that has two senses of "universal" as its end) that Jones and the other members of the society embarked upon an academic compendium that was at once what we might now recognize as historical, anthropological and, most famously, philological (*The Works of Sir William Jones*, Volume 1, vi). In its nascent moments, and indeed throughout much of the nineteenth century, what became the institutional discipline of comparative philology depended not only upon the fallacy of presuming a linear and teleological model for the "evolution" and progress of letters, as has been critically remarked, but also upon the mystification and debasement of the foreign grapheme and grammatical structures of writing. More specifically, comparative philology derived its strength from the belief that the languages of South Asia in particular were a mystificatory veil, one that obfuscated the texts, transactions, and even people behind it, and one that blocked the entry of western languages and knowledge. The name inevitably linked to this discipline was Jones, "discoverer" of the "common source" and academic Orientalist as well, insofar as he strove to identify similarities between England and India.[6]

8. As Jones attested, it was precisely because so-termed "useful knowledge" could presumably be contained and transmitted in the western languages alone, and specifically in the Roman alphabet, that the institutional need to study, and thereby to master and decode, the eastern languages gained even more momentum. Legitimation for this study came from the figuring of Eastern languages as impediments to rationality, transparency, civilization, knowledge, and an efficiency of communication.[7] For example, Jones explains that the primary object of study for the Asiatic Society is to be "their languages, the diversity and difficulty of which are a sad obstacle to the progress of useful knowledge; but I have ever considered languages as the mere instruments of real learning, and think them improperly confounded with learning itself: the attainment of them is, however, indispensably necessary" (xiv). Where multiplicity and "diversity" confound, the singular steps in as the necessary means toward knowledge, and indeed as its proper vehicle, from which most notably it can be held as separate. Language as "mere instrument" signals a severing of language from ideas, and, by extension, culture, and this severing parallels the investiture of English as a vernacular stripped of racial, geographical, or cultural value. In turn, too, the figuring of language as transmitter of knowledge means that the process of language acquisition becomes necessary, so it is not just that language bears a cultural value on its own because it functions as a transmission system, but the larger context here is one in which utility itself bears a distinct cultural value.

9. As is clear from Jones's early "Dissertation on the Orthography of Asiatick Words in Roman Letters," in order to elucidate a "common source" for the Indo- and European language branches and to divine its primordial grammar, the pictorial character had first to be brought, or made, into English.[8] On the two methods of Asiatic orthography then in use, Jones notes that "the first professes to regard chiefly the pronunciation of the words intended to be expressed" and the other relies upon "scrupulously

rendering letter for letter, without any particular care to preserve the pronunciation."[9] Jones's system was to combine elements of the two, so that both pronunciation and orthography were attended to: "by the help of the diacritical marks used by the *French*, with a few of those adopted in our own treatises on *fluxions*, we may apply our present alphabet so happily to the notation of all Asiatick languages, as to equal the Dévanágarì itself in precision and clearness, and so regularly that any one, who knew the original letters, might rapidly and unerringly transpose into them all the proper names, appellatives, or cited passages, occurring in tracts of Asiatick literature" (13). In order to set up one symbol for every sound used in pronunciation, the system was *a posteriori* constructed from both the French and the English alphabets, and it became, as Sir James Mackintosh notes, *the* standard for the transliteration of the Asiatic languages. For the colonial government and its scholastic appendages—the Asiatic Societies—the problem of the pictorial character was made over as a problem of alphabetic arrangement, and, in both Jones and Gilchrist's terms, the "remedy" for the problem, for the Asiatic word was to be the Roman alphabet.[10] In this respect, then, the question of a "common source," the philological concept with which Jones is most closely linked, begins to unfold instead as a larger question of a "common language." And in this syntactic construction, too, the "common" resonates as both the vernacular and as the shared, that is, as a language of unofficial exchange and as a language held in common.

10. It is worth noting that Mackintosh's claim for the Jones system as the standard does not satisfactorily explain why John Gilchrist would still have had such a keen interest in orthoepigraphy as an unsolved intellectual and practical problem. An answer to the question of Gilchrist's persistent labors on the subject must reach even beyond biography (that is, beyond a discussion of his ideological and practical difficulties with the Company and various figures in the Oriental knowledge trade) to account for the radically different path down which his orthoepigraphical work led him: toward a campaign to insure wide-spread colloquial proficiency in Hindustani, generally considered the popular language of the East, so that those bound for India could have the proper foundation with which to converse with the natives, to acquire "local information and history," and to come to know Oriental literature (*BIM*, volume 2, xlvii).[11] Both his historical importance and his preeminence within the fields of Orientalist language study are marked by Bernard Cohn in *Colonialism and Its Forms of Knowledge*, a study in which he accedes that Gilchrist is "generally regarded as the creator of what was to become the British language of command in India—Hindustani" (*Colonialism and Its Forms of Knowledge* 34). Indeed, Gilchrist was able to stake his claim to intellectual and economic territory precisely because a knowledge of Hindustani or a military language was mandated for all who hold staff or administrative positions in British India (*OU* x). Sanskrit was itself constructed as a practical and necessary foundation for service in the Company, an inevitable re-linking of the idea of education (even a practical one) to classical languages, but Gilchrist had a great deal to do with the legitimation of vernacular language study as "real science and practical wisdom" in opposition to unnecessary, even debilitating, "sheer pedantry and classical lore" (*The General East India Guide and Vade Mecum: for the public functionary, government officer, private agent, trader or foreign sojourner, in British India, and the adjacent parts of Asia immediately connected with the honourable East India Company* 536-7).[12] His stark opposition of practical knowledge and classical knowledge, "local" knowledge and European knowledge, respectively, substantiated the value of utilitarian, service-oriented language instruction, particularly of vernaculars.

11. The homology of the philological with the interlinguistic and the syllabic containment of India in the English language might best be elucidated by Gilchrist's The *Orienti-Occidental Tuitionary Pioneer* (1816), a self-published folio and personal evidentiary notebook directed to his once and future students and divided up into twenty-two parts whose contents vary widely by genre, print style, and mode of address. Included in the text are a new theory of Latin verbs, notes on "the art of thinking made easy" and "cheering accounts from my pupils in India," and a general alumni list of 1600

students. The folio is also filled with extracts from letters and reports that mention, support, and legitimate Gilchrist's work. Its most revealing and provocative enclosure, however, is a plan for a universal language that reproduces a teleology of letters and includes a prospectus for a "new universal grammaclature" to be spoken "by all nations in every age and clime": a different kind of *a posteriori* linguistic system founded upon a reformation of the English language, directed ultimately toward the universal "introduction of sterling english, in the capacity of a cosmopolitan tongue," and apocalyptically prophesying a moment in which "albion's [sic] vernacular dialect may soon pervade the whole world" (*TP* 25-6).[13] Such an enclosure spectacularly introduces the evaluation of English as a vernacular dialect, reveals the particularity behind the universal character, and prophetically calculates the imperial spread of a basic, or vernacular, English dialect. Thus does it follow that Gilchrist appends an important modification to his broad statement that retrospectively carves out his intellectual territory with regard to Jones: it is not simply that he claims his system as "the simplest and most comprehensive ever yet submitted to public inspection," but it is also the system "best calculated to preserve the meed of universal application to the sterling letters and speech of old England" (*OGB* 96). When Gilchrist refers to "Sir William Jones's premature bias to the Italian and continental alphabets" (*OGB* 96), in other words, he thereby declares his primary interest in the alphabet of "sterling english [sic]," the "language of albion [sic]," and not the Roman broadly conceived.

12. What is truly remarkable about Gilchrist's scheme is not its phonological insistence on representing all of the sounds of all "known" languages via the Roman character, nor the spectacular suturing of language and nation that occurs within the proleptic vision of the futures of the language of albion, but its emphasis upon the futures of a *particular* language of albion: the vernacular dialect. An emphasis on the vernacular as an international language puts a strange tension on the opposition between the local and the regional on the one hand, and the transnational or global on the other, particularly as the "vernacular dialect" that is soon to spread over the world quickly mutates into a "cosmopolitan tongue" (*TP* 25). Of particular relevance to a discussion of Gilchrist's interest in legitimating a "cosmopolitan" English and instituting Roman characters as the standard for his orthoepigraphical system is his dedicatory statement within the wildly barbed and eccentric *The Orienti-Occidental Tuitionary Pioneer*, in which he makes claims for the supreme distinctiveness of his universal mode. Of the other systems, he notes, "there is not one of them so constructed as to constitute the English a cosmopolitan language, clothed in a congenial catholic character, which the arrogant but ignorant Chinese may yet, in process of time, be induced to assume, from its comparative utility, perspicuity, and facility, when deliberately contrasted with their own" (1-2). The desired end, then, is not simply the universal use of English, but also the universal recognition of use of English, of its transparency and legibility and right to ascend as a cosmopolitan vernacular. Such an evaluative promotion is prepared for through Gilchrist's efforts to supplant the court language of Persian with the "popular speech" of Hindustani in orientalist scholarship. In such a substitution, the relations between the vernacular, or local, and the international are even more so those of slippage and confusion as one common vernacular is exchanged for the other. One final example from many is his *The Anti-Jargonist*, in which he trumpets Hindustani as "the popular speech of India" and "the grand popular language of the east" (*The Anti-Jargonist; or a short introduction to the Hindoostanee language ... with an extensive vocabulary English and Hindoostanee, and Hindoostanee and English ... being partly an abridgment of the Oriental Linguist* i-ii).

13. While critical attention has focused, and continues to focus, on the legacy of Sir William Jones within the realms of comparative philology, John Gilchrist has thus himself contributed quite influentially to the inherited mythologies of Indo-European linguistic relations through his efforts to make the foreign character legible and reiterable by bringing it within the strictures of the Roman alphabet—that is, through his efforts "to teach a foreign tongue, in our own, not its character" (*A Grammar, of the Hindoostanee Language* 4).[14] While Gilchrist was also heavily invested in the project of finding a

"remedy" for what he calls "Hindee-Roman orthoepigraphy" (namely, transcribing the sounds of what he calls the "oriental languages" into the Roman alphabet), it is precisely because of his privileging of languages of the everyday, though not at the expense of "high" or scholarly languages, that his work has an importance for my argument (*BIM* xxx).[15] It has a particular importance because he was able to effect at least a partial shift in philological emphasis away from "higher" forms of speech, in his case the court language of Persian, and to the demotic, in his case the popular and vernacular Hindustani.

14. Writing of the illegitimacy of the Asiatic character, particularly in the context of its uneasy correspondence with Western print culture, Gilchrist advocates enfolding it within the structures of the Roman alphabet in order to make it both legible and reiterable.

> When we advert to the rude state of oriental types even at this day, and to the great incorrectness from points dropping out, and letters often losing their heads or tails in the press, after the whole has been carefully adjusted from two or three revisals, we should almost prefer our own letters to all others, for the dissemination and easy acquirement of the Hindoostanee. (*BIM* xv)

In its construction of "our own letters" as a pivotal point of reference for all "oriental" letters, this enfolding constitutes a necessary preliminary stage in the argument for English as the basis not just for a universal notation system but also for a universal language. According to Gilchrist, such an imposition of univocality is necessitated by the "varieties," inconsistencies, and instabilities of the Asiatic languages, which implicitly stood in opposition to the desirable standards of the English language:

> For those readers who may still observe, that my present mode of spelling even is not always uniform, it may be necessary to remark, that a careful perusal of pages 33, 34, 35, &c. ought to convince them how impossible it must be to confer stability and consistency upon subjects, where they do not really exist... .[the purpose of his own orthographical deviancies is] to accustom learners to such varieties as they will certainly meet with in their travels over India. This observation may be extended almost *ad infinitum*, whenever letters are so interchangeable as they certainly are in the Hindoostanee and other oriental languages. (*BIM* xxiii-xxiv)

Echoing Jones on the obstructive "diversity" of the Asiatic languages, Gilchrist proposed an initial remedy in the form of an orthoepigraphical mode that involved an "Italian modification" of the Roman letters and ultimately made use of sixty-four characters. In its appearance on the page, it basically resembles all of the other phonetic projects and plans for a universal alphabet; that is to say that his translated textual object (the Lord's Prayer) is more-or-less legible, but only at the level of general meaning.[16] Related to Jones's systems of notation insofar as the ideal was to establish commonalities among a number of the Asiatic languages, and participating in the larger culture project of classification and systematization, the structure of Gilchrist's system appears to be quite intricate and carefully developed, but its desire to achieve the "basic" means that a series of lacunae and an almost-cabalistic tone must necessarily result. His eccentricities of presentation and argument notwithstanding, this preliminary conversion of Hindustani to the Roman alphabet led him to what is curiously among the most serious and extensive attempts to devise a universal alphabet adapted "the articulate, oral sounds of every nation in the world"—outlined in various fantastic forms in *The Orienti-Occidental Tuitionary Pioneer* (1816); *The Hindee-Roman Orthoepigraphical Ultimatum* (1820); and *The Oriental Green Bag!!* (1820) (*OGB* 96). With typical grandiosity, he declared his alphabetic system to be supreme among all others, "capacious enough to swallow and eclipse for ever, thus concentrating in one uniform series an endless variety of projects, all crude, imperfect, and undigested, in more or less extremes" (*TP* 1). Despite their claims to universality, related projects such as John Freeman, *The*

Elements of Oral Language (1821), Carl Lepsius's *Universal Alphabet* (1854), George Edmonds's *Universal Alphabet* (1856), and R. Rees's *Universal Alphabet* (1865) generally stopped at a compendium of the sounds of European speech, so Gilchrist's "Orthoepigraphical Alphabet" seems in spirit to be fairly described retrospectively as an amalgam, an anachronistic "swallowing," of Alexander John Ellis and Sir William Jones's various alphabets, importantly with a few "practical" purposes.[17]

15. Not the least of these practical purposes was the promotion of "sterling English" and the combination of the values of "utility, simplicity, facility, perspicuity, brevity, and practicability," but this promotion did not come at the expense entirely of beauty, despite his claims to prefer substance to appearance, or the "nutritious kernel" to "the rejected glossy shell of a nut" (*TP* 1, 26). Again, the value of the "orthoepigraphical" or "Universal mode," what he envisions as "the plain, practical, rational highway to oriental literature," is that it combines both "art" and "profitable industry" (*OGB* 68, 69). My suggestion here is that, because one part of Gilchrist's project was to construct Hindustani as the most useful language for study, a case can be made for the vernacular as the most useful by drawing certain parallels between the Latin-English divide and something like the Sanskrit-Hindustani divide.[18] Coming at a historical juncture in which the claims for the practical, utilitarian, and scientific uses of language were on the rise, Gilchrist's alignment of scholastic philological work with the vernacular strengthens, by extension, the claims to legitimacy on the part of all vernaculars; and it most particularly paves the way for the legitimation of English.

16. *Enclytica*, a highly-intricate philosophical and philological text from the period, published anonymously but with a MS attribution to "Mr. Mosse," links to Gilchrist in its contribution to an emergent theory of the vernacular, particularly in its suggestions that vernaculars are tied to industrial and scientific development, that they function as the languages of contemporary record and of history, that they contribute to nation formation, and that the systemic code underlying all languages, the universal grammar, is marked by a profound simplicity. Functioning much like our contemporary understanding of the Derridean "supplement," the title comes from the grammatical term for casting emphasis back on the preceding syllable, such that the second not only loses its independent accent through its absorption into the first, but also varies the accent of the first as a result. The "enclitic" neatly encapsulates Mosse's thesis about the relations between originary languages and vernaculars, between primary languages and stranger idioms, between literary languages and invading languages, with "mixed jargons" and a changed "mother idiom" as a result. Such a syllabic contest can only result in self-implosion, in the spontaneous combustion, rupture, and "destruction" of language. Thus is it the case that *Enclytica* figures vernaculars both as useful for the everyday, easy to learn and even inherently uncomplicated, *and* as the inevitable endgame of language, with only the intrusion of the academies able to halt the devolutionary movement of languages from the ornate to the simple.

17. Within the terms of the text, only academies, criticism, and an "academic standard" have the power to maintain a level of complexity with language and to resist degeneration and a relapse back to a primordial state of simplification (iv). Written standards, then, are presented as the stabilizing force that prevents excess mutation. Such a mutation and "progress towards artificial brevity" does not discriminate among languages; rather, it is "common to every tongue," for all words are "mere signals, susceptible like those of the telegraph, of improvement and abbreviation" (100). English, too, has receded from extreme complexity, "lapsed" as it were, from a state of sophisticated cultivation: "Our language has proceeded no further; or rather has dropped all subsequent refinement, and lapsed back, in this respect, into primeval simplicity" (37). But the gradual simplification of the formal aspects of language is read as progress and "improvement," such that an abbreviated English is an improved English, one that has increased its efficiency and likened its communicative speed to that of the telegraph. So while it is the case that "the progress of all alphabetic character is from more complex

systems to others less so," "simplification and rapidity are at the same time the only end and only means of its improvement" (121). *Enclytica*'s concern with the construction of a theory of language decay in relation to an elemental, universal grammar grounds its other concern: constructing an evaluative theory of vernaculars in general and of English in particular. The two tracks converge in an articulation of English as the supreme and yet the most basic "dialect of the lettered world":

> the lead which our native tongue, the least inflected dialect of the lettered world, has taken in science and in literature, the splendid proofs it holds forth of *its entire competency for the expression of every idea that feeling or science may wish to impart*, at a period when all the efforts of intellect and imagination challenge its adequateness, and try its powers, is alone a sufficient proof that language needs little of inflection, to convey with rapidity every thought the human mind is able to cherish or conceive. (133, emphasis mine)[19]

In these terms, the power of the "least inflected dialect" is sheer speed, flexibility, and total translatability. Offering "on-the-fly" transmissions of all that "feeling," "science," "thought," and "imagination" can generate, the basic vernacular dialect promises absolute, instant, and universal communicative action. Akin to the "Preface" to the *Lyrical Ballads* in its valorization of a simple dialect as a literary language, this passage is representative of *Enclytica*'s articulation of the aesthetic, expressive, and representational power of linguistic simplicity. This legitimation of the vernacular, specifically English, as the bearer of aesthetic and historical value on the one hand, and practical and communicative value on the other, forms an important point of corroboration with Gilchrist's own legitimation of vernaculars.

18. At the opening of the second volume of *The British Indian Monitor* (1808), Gilchrist figures the vulgar and "common" as the useful, in a voice that carefully constructs an image of the heroic, singular, Admiral Nelson-like figure whose work ultimately benefits the masses:

> I have stood almost alone, for thirty years past, in favour of the vulgar tongue in British India, as the one thing most needful...I have lived to see it cultivated and esteemed as a useful acquisition, instead of being stigmatised as a jargon, though as much above the comprehension of the unthinking multitude, as it was far below the notice of men of letters, when I first visited India. (lxi)

Given both the historical ties of vernaculars to trade and commerce and the gap between vernaculars and the learned classes, Gilchrist's argument for the validity of vernaculars in fact links this linguistic ascendancy to the ascendancy of a new, technical class. Also, because he proposes that the value of utility be reconstituted, his is much more than a reactionary turn against the stultifying forms of Latin, Greek, Sanskrit and Persian. Instead, the vernaculars are figured as the means by which one can access these classical forms, though they are much more than "gateway" languages and thereby have a legitimacy in their own right. Witness, for example, what is perhaps Gilchrist's most powerful and sweeping claim for the value of English:

> I cannot lose the great consolation which naturally flows from a consciousness of having been of some service in my day and *generation*, nor can I conceal the supreme satisfaction of now endeavouring to raise the English language to that pre-eminent rank and estimation, which it merits in every seminary of learning within the extended bounds of the British empire, as the first and surest step to all other classical pursuits. That it will one day become so, there can be no doubt in the breast of any rational being, who has seriously attended to the progressive improvement of every other art and science; but whether this shall happen in my time or not, the praise of being an advocate for so necessary a reform can hardly be denied me by those who must reap the greatest advantage from such a

> change, if they peradventure cast their eyes on these sheets, when the writer of them is numbered with the dead. (*BIM*, volume 2, lxii-lxiii; emphasis mine)[20]

Self-elegiacal in tone, and unconditionally proleptic, this passage suggests that the imperial spread of English is an as-yet-unfinished and ineluctable project, a reform tied to the labors of individuals and of institutions. In this perfect conjoining of the world-wide spread of English with the academic institution, here named as a seminary, English is figured as the foundational "first and surest step" in a teleological progression of knowledge, from the new or modern classic (English) to the classic-classics (in his terms, Persian, Arabic, Sanskrit, Latin, and Greek). The path of knowledge Gilchrist charts is one "from the *utile* to the *dulce*, in which last may be comprehended persian, arabic, sunskrit [*sic*]"; and the *dulce* is in turn coded as an attainment that is at once "useful, lucrative or pleasant" in character (*OU* xv). But, so too is the *utile*, for English itself comes to be figured as the useful *and* the delightful, a double coding that will emerge from this period as paradigmatic.[21] Broadly put, this is an age in which the shifts in language use from the genteel to the common are quite profoundly accelerated by mass education movements and the spread of print culture, but this shift from genteel to common is complicated by the emergence of a "new" common, one that is both the learned *and* the everyday. For Gilchrist, for J. S. Mill, for the founders of the first universities in India, and for innumerable scholars then and since, English ultimately can be said to function in these terms, as itself the "practical, rational highway" on which "thought" and "reflection" can coexist with "utility" (*OGB* 68).

19. At core, the Orientalist-Anglicist controversy at the time may be understood as a great debate about the proper uses of educational funding, specifically with regard to outlays on literary and language study. Because this debate parallels, if not prefigures, our own debates about the state of the humanities within what Bill Readings has described as the university "in ruins," one of the most pressing questions produced by the genealogical link between John Gilchrist and "multiversity"-champion and -president Clark Kerr is as follows: how is English to be evaluated and organized, when the insistence is to make knowledge "useful," serviceable, and translatable into skills-based jobs?[22] The historical answer to this problem has been to code English as a skill-based, but also a knowledge-based, discipline, which has in turn satisfied alike the demands of both Orientalist and Anglicist, humanist and technocrat, apologist for the learned languages and defender of the vernaculars, adherent to the value of "culture" and promoter of the value of "excellence" within the university.

Notes

[1] I am indebted to Lois Cucullu, Alan Liu, Russell Samolsky, David Simpson, Timothy Wager, and Vince Willoughby for their careful critical engagement with the ideas presented in this article.

[2] Among Gilchrist's most well-known works are the *A Dictionary: English and Hindoostanee* (Calcutta: Stuart and Cooper, 1787-90); *Dialogues, English and Hindoostanee; for illustrating the grammatical principles of the Stranger's East Indian Guide and to promote the colloquial intercourse of Europeans, on the most indispensable and familiar subjects with the natives of India*, 3rd Edition (London: Black, Kingsbury, Parbury, and Allen, 1820); the uncompleted *A Grammar, of the Hindoostanee Language, or Part Third of Volume First, of a System of Hindoostanee Philology* (Calcutta: Chronicle Press, 1796); and both the two-volume *British Indian Monitor; or, the Antijargonist, Stranger's Guide, Oriental Linguist, and Various Other Words, compressed into a series of portable volumes, on the Hindoostanee Language, improperly called Moors; with considerable information respecting Eastern tongues, manners, customs, &c.* (Edinburgh: Walker & Grieg, 1806-8) and *The Orienti-Occidental Tuitionary Pioneer to Literary Pursuits, by the King's and Company's Officers of all Ranks, Capacities, and Departments, either as probationers at scholastic establishments, during the early periods of life, their outward voyage to the East, or while actually serving in British*

India...A Complete Regular Series of Fourteen Reports...earnestly recommending also the general Introduction, and efficient Culture immediately, of Practical Orientalism, simultaneously with Useful Occident Learning at all the Colleges, respectable Institutions, Schools, or Academies, in the United Kingdom,...a brief prospectus of the art of thinking made easy and attractive to Children, by the early and familiar union of theory with colloquial practice, on commensurate premises, in some appropriate examples, lists, &c. besides a Comprehensive Panglossal Diorama for a universal Language and Character...a perfectly new theory of Latin verbs (London: 1816 [folio]), which is made up of fourteen reports on language and education and includes the diorama of a universal language.

Notable among the other scholars contributing to the "practical" study of Hindustani was George Hadley, whose preface to his own Hindustani grammar can also serve to articulate the distinctions I draw in this essay between two paradigms of scholarship. On the occasion of a new edition in 1809, Hadley recalls the late Sir William Jones's personal response to the first edition: "This book is small change of immedate use: mine is bank notes, with which in his pocket one may starve, and not be able to get what one wants. Where one buys mine, you will sell a hundred." While the classical grammar does not circulate in the market for which it sets the evaluative terms, the popular grammar maintains a common currency, a high street-, use-, and exchange-value. Hadley proceeds to his audience and his work from those of Jones by claiming that his grammar is "without the least pretension to erudition" and instead devoted to those who have need for "immediate practice" and "have not either inclination, abilities, or time, to enter into a more intense, accurate, and laborious disquisition on the Eastern languages." See Hadley vii-ix.

[3] Edward Said has argued that the study of Oriental languages is intimately aligned with governmental command, "policy objectives," and propaganda, in other words, that language training is inherently about command and control: "[the] acquired foreign language is therefore made part of a subtle assault upon populations, just as the study of a foreign region like the Orient is turned into a program for control by divination" (*Orientalism* 292-3). Orientalists and Orientalism, as Said notes, functioned in both academic and administrative terms, and for a reading of Said on these taxonomic distinctions between the "literary" and the "official," see Jenny Sharpe. Gilchrist's 1833 letter to the proprietors of the East India Stock Company serves as a primary example of a fraught Orientalist position in that it exposes the paradox of arguing both for the implementation of English in India and for the education and training of civil service offers in Asiatic languages. An East India Company stockholder himself, Gilchrist maintains "the propriety of diffusing a knowledge and cultivation of our own mother-tongue, by ample encouragement and patronage to every Hindoostanee" (16), yet he also insists that no one "should be allowed to depart for the Indian peninsula, before proving, by a public examination, that he can read, write, cast up accounts...with a reasonable colloquial knowledge of the most useful language of Hindoostan" (*A Bold Epistolary Rhapsody* 10). For Gilchrist and the other philologists and civil officers producing the increasingly ubiquitous grammars for the vernacular languages of India, such language guides were not only aimed at providing an "insider's" view into native cultures (with detailed descriptions of such cultural practices as greetings and the removal of shoes), but were also intended at some level both to eliminate the need for interpreters and to expedite practical communication with the natives.

A closer scrutiny of some of these language texts, however, reveals what one might expect in such circumstances: that the hierarchies of civilized/primitive and West/East were never disbanded by this gesture toward translingualism and diplomacy; rather, they were reconstituted and reinforced. For example, Gilchrist's *Dialogues*, while it attempts to instruct its readers in certain fundamental grammatical principles, contains as its core phrase after phrase on such topics as "dining," "sleeping," "walking" etc.—phrases one would use to correct and order one's servants, complete with reprimands and insults. Bernard Cohn also comments on this discursive thread of the *Dialogues* (*Colonialism and Its Forms of Knowledge* 39-43). The emphasis on command and control might be attributed partly to

Gilchrist's readers—middle managers whose sphere of authority was in the main limited to the domestic."

[4] Also see Gilchrist, *Dialogues*, *Anti-Jargonist*, *The Hindee-Roman Orthoepigraphical Ultimatum* and *The Oriental Green Bag!!*

[5] The Asiatic Society of Bengal's founding in 1784 was followed by Sir James Mackintosh's founding of the Literary Society of Bombay in 1804, an organization that became the Bombay branch of the Royal Asiatic Society in 1838 and was itself followed by a Ceylon branch in 1845. Other Asiatic Societies were begun by Sir John Newbolt and Mr. B.G. Babington, Société Asiatique at Paris (1822); Henry Thomas Colebrooke, Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland (1823); Sir John Davis, Asiatic Society of China at Hong Kong (begun in 1847 and dissolved in 1859); Asiatic Society of Japan (1875; Straits branch begun in 1878); Korean branch of the Asiatic Society (1900-1).

The story of the choice for the name of the Society is worth telling. Jones makes a case in his opening discourse for the use of the descriptive term "Asiatic" as opposed to the non-descriptive "Oriental"—a word that he claims "conveys no very distinct idea" (xii). "Asiatic" resonates, to Jones, with all that is "both classical and proper" and it suggests as well a natural boundary of Egypt and the African coast of the Mediterranean. As such, the intent was a kind of geographical and conceptual specificity, one that has almost proto-anthropological insistence on the "real" as opposed to the fictive or non-scholarly. Like the language structures that gives it shape, then, the category of the "Asiatic" was imagined to have a "real" and material equivalent.

[6] The reasoning here, which is Said's, is that hierarchies are established by sameness and not by differences in these instances of cultural comparison. For a reading of this conceptual strain in Jones, see Jenny Sharpe.

[7] For an analysis of the ways in which British Orientalists' study and cultivation of the native Indian languages was central to colonial rule, see Bernard Cohn.

[8] Jones's paper was addressed to the committee in 1784, two years before his most famous presentation to the Royal Asiatic Society. It was published in the first volume of the *Asiatic Researches*. For related work on the relations between universal grammar and the common source, see James Beattie, especially 95-105.

[9] Supporters of the first included Major Davy and of the second included Mr. Halhed and Mr. Wilkins. Sir William Jones, "A Dissertation on the Orthography of Asiatick Words in Roman Letters," *Asiatic Researches: or Transactions*, Volume 1, 5-6. The attempt to translate simply on the basis of pronunciation has parallels with Alexander John Ellis's plans for a "universal digraphic" character, which I discuss elsewhere in my book manuscript, *Global English and the Academy*, from which this article is excerpted.

[10] See Gilchrist, *The British Indian Monitor*, volume 1: "The Roman alphabet, that I have used, is fully adequate to express all the various oriental sounds, however defective it must naturally appear, when two or more letters are employed to denote only one sound, against which, however, I have at least proposed a *remedy*, in page 45, that will, in general, answer all the purposes of Hindee-Roman orthoepigraphy" (xxx). Hereafter abbreviated *BIM*.

[11] Gilchrist experienced an inordinate number of difficulties with the Company and with other Asiatic instructors and scholars. The roots of many of his complaints lie with the Haileybury College

Suspension Act (which he calls a suspension of the *habeas mentem* act at the presidencies of Fort William, Fort St. George, and Bombay as well). The official suspension meant that the Court of Directors of the East India Company could appoint anyone to the post of writer who passed an exam and provided some sort of documentation of his character and conduct. Gilchrist argued intensely against the licensing of one or two establishments as examining, qualifying institutions on the grounds that it constitute a monopoly and that the establishments did not know what they were doing. Such a limited system of certification resulted in a scramble for students and for funds from patrons as a "new class" of temporary knowledge workers (tutors, lecturers, instructors, authors of textbooks and guides) grew up to support the need to legitimate colonial clerks.

[12] On the institutional status of Sanskrit, see Monier Williams's preface to his *A Dictionary, English and Sanscrit* (London: Wm. H. Allen and Co., 1851), which was published under the patronage of the East India Company.

[13] I have not standardized the spelling or punctuation of this or any of Gilchrist's texts; indeed, some of his orthographic variations, e.g. "sunskrit," reinforce his insistence on the mutable and re-programmable quality of language. The appendix on "the art of thinking made easy" forecasts the future publication of an extended work on the same theme of English as a universal character founded on the disparate components of all languages of the "human race," to be issued under the title "The Polyglossal British Atlas, or His "New Comprehensive View of Literal Economy," which Gilchrist promises will outline the principles of

> Sterling English as a Catholic Tongue, which has been chiefly founded on the Rational Etymology of significant Roots, Prefixes, Interfixes, and Affixes, visible in most Dialects, and regulated universally by the euphonous Commutability of Letters, the Contraction or Expansion of Words, and the Transposition of their component Parts, including various other Effects that spring from one grand Cause namely, an inherent Euphony of Speech common to the whole Human Race, and actually in harmonious Concord with the very Nature of Man, through every Age and Clime. (appendix)

For the homological entanglements of language and money exemplified by the phrase "sterling English," see Jean-Joseph Goux.

[14] He makes similar claims in Volume 1 of The *British Indian Monitor*: "we should almost prefer our own letters to all others, for the dissemination and easy acquirement of the Hindoostanee" (xv). For some of the recent criticism on Sir William Jones, written in the wake of Said, see Jenny Sharpe; Alun David, "Sir William Jones, Biblical Orientalism and Indian Scholarship" *Modern Asian Studies* 30:1 (1996), 173-84; Garland Cannon, "Sir William Jones and Literary Orientalism," *Oriental Prospects: Western Literature and the Lure of the East*, Ed. C.C. Barfoot and Theo D'haen (Atlanta: Rodopi, 1998), 27-41; David Kopf, "The Historiography of British Orientalism, 1772-1992: Warren Hastings, William Jones, and the Birth of British Orientalism in Bengal," *Objects of Enquiry: The Life, Contributions, and Influences of Sir William Jones*, Ed. Garland Cannon (New York: NYU Press, 1995), 141-60; Michael J. Franklin, *Sir William Jones* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1995); Fred Hoerner, "'A Tiger in a Brake': The Stealth of Reason in the Scholarship of Sir William Jones in India," *Texas Studies in Literature and Language* 37:2 (Summer 1995), 215-32.

[15] Gilchrist also used this particular syntactic construction as a title of the work devoted to clarifying his system of transcription: *The Hindee-Roman Orthoepigraphical Ultimatum*.

[16] Reading his transcribed texts is ironically much like his exercise in the "art of thinking" in *The*

Tuitionary Pioneer—one has to fill in the gaps in order to grasp what is being said.

[17] These various projects can all be linked to Gilchrist's in their interest in locating an orthoëpical fulcrum point (usually English, but also Saxon and Greek), a "common stem" or literally universal standard by which all languages could be measured, registered, and gauged. See John Freeman, *The Elements of Oral Language* (London: H. Teape, 1821); George Edmonds, *A Universal Alphabet, Grammar, and Language: Comprising a Scientific Classification of the Radical Elements of Discourse: and Illustrative Translations from the Holy Scriptures and the Principal British Classics: to which is added, a Dictionary of the Language* (London: Richard Griffin and Co., 1856); Carl Lepsius, *Universal Alphabet*, In Christian Bunsen, *Christianity and Mankind*, Volume 4 (London: Longman, Brown, Green and Longmans, 1854); R. Rees, *The Reesic Elements of Languages, or Universal Alphabet* (London: R. Rees, 1865). See Alexander John Ellis, *A Plea for Phonetic Spelling; or the Necessity of Orthographical Reform* (London: Fred Pitman, 1848); *Universal Digraphic Alphabet, composed entirely of ordinary types for accurately exhibiting the pronunciation of all languages* (London: F. Pitman, 1856); *Universal Writing and Printing with Ordinary Letters, for the use of Missionaries, Comparative Philologists, Linguists, and Phonologists* (Edinburgh: R. Seton, 1856).

A universal alphabet was imagined as the key to all linguistic mythologies, a system whereby the codes of other languages might be cracked, that is, made legible or audible by being translated or pronounced. A universal alphabet, then, was seen as a system that would aid the acquisition of other languages and international and interethnic communication ("interethnic" is a term relevant in connection with the nineteenth-century interest in ethno-philology, of which Lepsius's work is an example). A universal alphabet was seen as being particularly instrumental for the missionary project because the bible could be translated into a language which "everyone" could "read."

[18] The move to claim the value of the useful for Hindustani occurs repeatedly in his work, at least one example of which can be found in BIM, Volume 1, xxvii.

[19] The use of the first-person plural "our" in this passage about a native tongue troubles somewhat the attribution of the MS to Mosse, insofar as the only other publication under that name was *Chronique de Paris, ou le spectateur moderne* (Paris 1812). Halkett and Laing attribute the book to Mosse as well. Contemporary review journals, such as *Gentleman's Magazine*, *The Scots Magazine and Edinburgh Literary Miscellany*, *The British Critic*, *The British Review*, *and London Critical Journal*, do not show a record of the book, but its publication was announced in *The Edinburgh Review*; *Quarterly Review* 10 (October 1813-January 1814) and *Critical Review* 4 (November 1813). Philological treatises certainly did come to public notice in the review sheets so it is not impossible that Enclytica should have appeared, especially given its emphasis on the philosophy of language (the title of Part Three, for example, is "Of the Philosophy of Language, and of Alphabetic Character").

The evaluation of English as that tongue most suited to the expression of feeling refers back to a slightly earlier commentary in the text on the same theme: "The loftiest darings of poetic genius have in later ages most signalized those tongues, which are generally thought the farthest removed from poetic pliability...the people whose language is, after the Italian, the most flexible of modern tongues, has thought proper to bind down under the severest trammels of rule and prescription the energies of her muse" (132-3).

[20] One way of shifting the critical emphasis away from the date held to be singularly important as a historical marker of a moment in which the tide turns in favor of English in India—1835—is to work with the concept of generation, one that virtually announces itself through the accident of typesetting that suspends this word at the bottom of the page in the second volume of Gilchrist's *BIM* (lxii).

Viswanathan handles the problem of the 1835 narrative by shifting the marker to another date—1813—but it is also worthwhile to talk of a kind of generational consciousness of an era after the first stage of colonization and before a prophetically expansive era of empire (hence the tendency in colonial writings to look ahead to an imperialistic, what I read as an apocalyptic, future). This question of a generational consciousness came to me after a discussion with Alan Liu about the theme of generation in relation to new literary-historiographic work such as James Chandler's. Within this historical interregnum, a moment in which the teleology of letters is also a teleology of civilization and of culture, lie the beginnings of the idea that language can be severed from its uses, and even from power, class, nation, ethnicity. This is an epistemological turn not wholly completed in the nineteenth century, but its roots lie nevertheless in this historical moment.

[21] For an earlier example, see Henry Kett's celebration of the beauties of English in his *A Dissertation*.

[22] See the lectures by former University of California President Clark Kerr, published as *The Uses of the Multiversity*.

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The Containment and Re-Deploymentof English India

Irish Odalisques and Other Seductive Figures:Thomas Moore's *Lalla Rookh*

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1. This is a piece about the power relations embedded in colonial metaphors. The metaphors I examine connect two distinct but related images of British colonization in the early nineteenth century: one of Ireland as woman and one of the East as woman. These metaphors coincide in Irish writer Thomas Moore's 1817 narrative poem, *Lalla Rookh, An Oriental Romance*. The Indian setting and orientalist rhetoric that Moore employs in *Lalla Rookh* form a sort of literary mantle that allows him to articulate concerns about Irish liberation in the guise of an Eastern tale. Yet as the author of this Eastern tale, Moore is in an almost paradoxical position as a citizen of Ireland, a British colony which is geographically Western but culturally viewed as "other", insofar as prejudicial fantasies and fears about the Irish cast them as shifty, emotional people prone to excesses of all sorts. Ironically enough, Moore in turn presents similar fantasies and anxieties about Arab and Indian cultures as he uses Lalla Rookh's allegorical Eastern tales to depict Ireland's subjection to British rule.

2. Some of the metaphors in Moore's work that I will trace here are familiar ones, based on the depiction of Ireland as a feminine Mother Ireland, Hibernia, or Erin. Similarly, others of Moore's metaphors that I examine come from regions also in the midst of British colonization in the early nineteenth century, including predictable images from various Indian and (then) Persian cultures such as the harem, the veil, and the religious freedom fighter. In *Lalla Rookh*, these gendered cross-cultural metaphors form complex layers of meaning that at once veil and reveal the dimensions of imperialism in this era. In Moore's narrative poem, cultures are signified by female characters who are seductive, seducible, and ultimately at the mercy of the masculine forces competing for domination over them. Countries and nations are often gendered female; this trend, of course, does not begin with the Irish. Yet Moore's metaphors illustrate the complex interrelations of these figures in the early nineteenth century. That is, Moore's metaphors and images attempt a certain seduction of the reader—they claim to invite the reader to lift the veil covering the stereotyped mysterious East, and simultaneously use the veil to cover Moore's "homefelt" inspiration in writing the tales, his desire for Catholic emancipation. As this essay will reveal, however, as much as Moore uses the veil as metaphor in *Lalla Rookh*, metaphor also acts as veil in his text.

3. *Lalla Rookh* tells the story of Indian princess Lalla Rookh journeying to Kashmir to marry the Prince of Lesser Bukharia. While traveling with her harem Lalla Rookh is joined by an unknown poet, Feramorz, who enchants her with his stories. Lalla Rookh is overjoyed when upon arrival in Kashmir, this poet turns out to be none other than the Prince himself. The narrative of Lalla Rookh's journey is interleaved with Feramorz's four stories, two of which I will focus on here: "The Fire-Worshippers" and "The Veiled Prophet of Khorassan."

4. The vocabulary of metaphors with which Moore addresses British dominion over Ireland through his "oriental tale" reflects some of the political and social issues following the Act of Union of 1800, including Ireland's liminal position within the British Empire, the continuing struggle for Catholic emancipation, and the dominance of London and England as the publishing mainstream for Irish writers. In this manner, *Lalla Rookh*'s figurations underscore William McCormack's argument that "if metaphor is treated as a form of politics, it goes without saying that the self-contained entity known as Ireland necessarily is reinserted in the complex relations of the romantic age" (74). At the most general level, metaphor can be seen as political because the substitution of one thing for another requires

choosing which substitute term can meaningfully replace the original term; for metaphor to work, there must be a connection between the two terms, even when they appear disparate. For Irish writing in the Romantic era, such metaphoric substitutions often explore Ireland's struggle for cultural or national sovereignty. Moore's decision to represent the Irish-Catholic struggle for emancipation from Britain as an armed conflict between the dwindling adherents of the ancient Fire-Worshipping religion and the imperial Moslem army stresses the correspondence he finds between Ireland and the East.

I.

5. I would like to use, as a catalyst for this analysis of Moore's narrative poem, an admittedly anachronistic image from contemporary Irish artist Micheal Farrell's 1977 painting, *Madonna Irlanda, or "The Very First Real Irish Political Picture"* (*see plate 1*). Cheryl Herr's essay, "The Erotics of Irishness," uses Farrell's work to examine imagery of the body in Irish art from the present back to ancient Irish burial mounds; the central themes of Farrell's painting, as brought out by Herr, are apt for my analysis of Moore. I am particularly interested in Farrell's incorporation of François Boucher's 1752 painting, *Blonde Odalisque* (*see plate 2*), into his own *Madonna Irlanda*. Boucher's *Blonde Odalisque* features a nude young woman sprawled gracefully on a low sofa and looking playfully away from the viewer; some tasseled pillows and a low table with a vaguely Persian *brûle-parfum* contribute to the Eastern odalisque reference in Boucher's title. Herr notes that the story behind Boucher's female model is part of Farrell's decision to cite and transform Boucher's figure:

Plate 1

> An Irish artist would likely be drawn to the *[Blonde] Odalisque* because of the story that Boucher used for his model a fourteen-year-old Irish courtesan, "Mademoiselle O'Murphy," of whom Casanova speaks approvingly in his memoirs and who was briefly the paramour of Louis XV. Farrell provides his own discursive analysis of the Miss O'Murphy phenomenon; he uses the pictures to "'make every possible statement on the Irish situation, religious, cultural, political, the cruelty, the horror, every aspect of it.'" Why Mother Ireland? he was asked. "'Because she is a whore.'" (11)

Madonna Irlanda thus ironically places Boucher's nude reclining figure at its center, and surrounds her with icons stolen and altered from other artworks, such as Leonardo's Vitruvian Man. In part, Farrell's transformation of *Blonde Odalisque* makes visible the gazes that the nude Mademoiselle O'Murphy draws to her. As Herr notes, the artist's own gaze is represented by several elements in Farrell's painting, such as Farrell's own face looking down on Miss O'Murphy from the upper right corner, and a frog (the French Boucher) ogling her from the lower right corner. *Madonna Irlanda* suggests that the artists' voyeurism mirrors that of the viewer as well, since the viewer is positioned in similar ways to the staring artist figures. Farrell's work also suggests that the politics of this voyeurism are linked to the national and cross-cultural politics of the painting's subject; that is, according to *Madonna Irlanda*, it is appropriate that a young Irish woman pose as Boucher's odalisque because the Irish have allowed themselves to become Europe's political and cultural concubine.

Plate 2

6. Farrell's use of the odalisque as a symbol for the Irish condition completes the trajectory introduced by Boucher's orientalist paintings and Moore's appropriations of Eastern religious conflicts and settings to represent Ireland. Like Moore, Farrell symbolizes his besieged nation with a woman, although Farrell is much more critical of the woman-nation than Moore. What is particularly significant about Moore's

and Farrell's figurations is that a female nation is cloaked in another culture to highlight her exploitation, and at least in Farrell's case, to embody the nation's (and the artists complicity in her exploitation: Mother Ireland is a "whore". Moore's narrative poem uses female characters as metaphors for their cultures' feminine positions in international politics; like brides, if not concubines within traditional patriarchy, they represent exchanges of power arranged by men.

7. A further ironic implication of Farrell's, Boucher's, and Moore's use of the imagery of the odalisque is that the signification of "odalisque" as concubine is itself a projection of the European mind, since its original Turkish meaning is simply that of "'woman of the room [*oda*],' implying a general servant status" (Croutier 30-32). Some odalisques were trained to be concubines, but the predominant European meaning of "whore," which came to prevail especially in visual representations, only allows for a part of the Turkish definition. The odalisque's transformation by European culture emphasizes the doubled colonization of the feminine, culturally and sexually; or, as Ali Behdad suggests of French literature, it presents the "Orient not only as an exotic but an 'erotic' other" (109). Mademoiselle O'Murphy's supine body in turn represents a tripled colonization consisting of European appropriation (and creation) of Eastern images, her own nation's colonization, and her position in these patriarchal structures as a woman.

II.

8. Moore's and Boucher's images of women demonstrate the artifice underlying orientalism, for they supply their Western readers and viewers with cues from the stock of supposedly Eastern images available to eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century writers or painters. Moore's detailed descriptions of Lalla Rookh's surroundings outdo Boucher's simple suggestions of the East, however; Moore relies upon an "excess" of Eastern details and proudly explains in his preface to *Lalla Rookh* that readers who had been in the East found his verisimilitude astonishing. Moore's critics, on the other hand, found his excessive details simply excessive. Francis Jeffrey, among others, notes the sheer volume of foreign imagery Moore uses:

> There is not a simile or description, a name, a trait of history, or allusion of romance which belongs to European experience; or does not indicate an entire familiarity with the life, nature, and learning of the East. Nor are these barbaric ornaments thinly scattered to make up a show. They are showered lavishly over all the work; and form, perhaps too much, the staple of the poetry—and the riches of that which is chiefly distinguished for its richness. (1-2)

Similarly, *The Monthly Review* remarks in 1817 that Moore's "similes" and "illustrations" are carefully specific to his Eastern setting, and quotes from Moore's footnotes to *Lalla Rookh* in order to demonstrate the extent of Moore's "oriental research" (178, 188). However, the reviewer vividly criticizes the overabundance and excess of Moore's images:

> ...we are so clogged and lost in sweets that we fancy ourselves imprisoned in a kind of Confectioner's shop; or a bazaar [...] so that we struggle from bottles of Eau de Cologne, and boxes of musk, into beds of the rose and the ranunculus, only to be finally relieved by pots of raspberry jam, unmitigated by a morsel of biscuit! (198)

Although humorously worded, this comment on Moore's excesses indicates that representing the East to nineteenth-century Western readers and viewers requires a balance between exoticism and subtlety. Moore's Eastern imagery itself is not questioned, but rather that he includes so much of it that it

overwhelms the reader. The theme of excess emphasized by this critic surfaces frequently in stereotypical critiques of the Irish and of the East and Easterners; the fear of excess suggests that the colonizing cultures dread an abundance that threatens to escape confinement at the same time that they use such accusations of excess to justify colonization.

9. Thus Moore's and Boucher's use of predictable Eastern imagery and metaphors illustrates another important element connecting the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century vogue for Eastern things to the situation of the colonized Irish: the colonizer's anxiety about control over the colonized. Indeed, Malek Alloula describes a similar reliance on stock imagery and the role of visual representations in colonial anxiety about controlling the colonized in his analysis of later French colonizers' stereotyping photo-postcards of native Algerians. Alloula argues from a Foucauldian vantage point that

   > Colonialism is, among other things, the perfect expression of the violence of the gaze, and not only in the metaphoric sense of the term. Colonialism imposes upon the colonized society the everpresence and omnipotence of a gaze to which everything must be transparent. *The exercise of power, especially when the latter is arbitrary, cannot permit the maintenance of shadowy zones; it considers them equivalent to resistance.... Only the colonizer looks, and looks at himself looking*. (emphasis Alloula) (131)

   The colonizer's drive to gain visual access to (and thus power over) all elements of colonial society is illustrated in the preoccupation with veils and harems. For the colonizer, veils and harems serve as metaphors (and manifestations) of cultural autonomy and secrecy, in addition to being symbols of supposed licentiousness and sensuality. Where the veil is missing, as in Boucher's rendition of the *Blonde Odalisque*, the gaze is still omnipresent; Farrell's self-portrait in the corner of *Madonna Irlanda* seems to acknowledge the colonizer's gaze as his canvas mockingly reproduces it and shows not only the power but also the inherent voyeurism to which the colonized (represented by Mlle. O'Murphy) are subject.

10. In *Lalla Rookh*, the gaze is important insofar as it is intercepted by the veil; for Moore, the veil which blocks the gaze implies both seduction and danger. In other words, the veil visibly manifests the gaze insofar as it shows the limits of the gaze's access. The violence of the gaze that Alloula notes is part of the control the colonizer believes would be possible if the assumed mystery hidden from the gaze was revealed, and its shadowy zones illuminated. What the colonizer's gaze ultimately reveals, of course, is the colonizers themselves, not some truth or definitive insight about the colonized culture.

11. The circularity of the colonizer's gaze—"only the colonizer looks and looks at himself looking"—is exemplified by the perceived excess of Moore's presentations of the East. Moore looks at himself looking and is thrilled by the sight and the accuracy he believes he sees. Moore's exaggerated renditons illustrate the same principle that Boucher's understatement does: for the Western reader/viewer, Mademoiselle O'Murphy is an odalisque in Boucher's painting because she rests in what is believed to be an odalisque's pose and because the painting names her as such. Similarly, Moore's settings appear Eastern because he supplies them with Eastern props. Orientalism and colonialism are thus tautological in this respect: for eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Europeans, something becomes oriental because they label it oriental.

12. The tautology of the colonizers' representations of colonized cultures is also evident in the inherently superficial nature of such renditions. Underlying these eighteenth- and nineteenth-century visual images of the East's exoticism is the impulse to preserve the reassuring sameness found in any representation of difference. If that which is believed exotic by the colonizer was truly exotic and utterly different, it would unsettle the colonizer's fantasy of control and make the colonizer aware of the possibility of colonial resistance. In his analysis of the Algerian postcards, Alloula points out that if

"real" Algerian women (instead of models hired to pose as real Algerians) were to arrive at the photographer's studio, the fantasy would be destroyed because the colonial photographer's illusion of control over his subjects would be altered by those who were not models. Similarly, Boucher's model for an odalisque is not an actual Circassian, Georgian, or Abkhasian woman (as an odalisque in Turkey likely would have been) (Croutier 30); instead she is from Ireland, a not quite as foreign European colony, and the fantasy is safely controlled.

13. Moore also recognizes the crucial superficiality of the foreign imagery in *Lalla Rookh*; he articulates his concern over Byron's "invasion of this region" of the oriental poem in a letter to Mary Godfrey four years before he published *Lalla Rookh*,

> Never was anything more unlucky for me than Byron's invasion of this region, which when I entered it was as yet untrodden, and whose chief charm consisted of the gloss and novelty of its features; but it will now be overrun with clumsy adventurers and when I make my appearance, instead of being a leader as I looked to be, I must dwindle into an humble follower—a Byronian. (*Letters* 1: 275)

Moore's concern with his appearance (the sight of himself looking) is articulated in this letter as he mixes images of geographic conquest with the sexual conquest of feminized regions in metaphors that *Lalla Rookh* will take up as well. In this figurative schema, Moore considers himself among the first to have "entered" the then "as yet untrodden" space of the oriental narrative, which despite the apparent three-dimensional depth implied by entering a region, is largely attractive or "charming" in the surface "gloss and novelty of its features." For Moore, the oriental tale's attractiveness comes from its superficial luster and its newness: once the outer layer is dulled (by the reading public's growing jaded about Eastern tales) Moore fears it will lose its attractiveness and marketability. Perhaps he fears that the constructedness of these Eastern representations will show through once the glossy surface has worn off. To compensate, Moore covers the surfaces of his poem with details, to create the illusion of a depth that is impossible by definition in orientalism. Orientalist representations rely on this substitution of gloss and appearance for frustrated depth, in the face of the cultural and physical veils that hide the "real" other from them. In fact, Moore by definition lacks originality in the way he fears, despite or because of his "over the top" attention to detail.

III.

14. The gaze, its superficiality, and its frustrations are illustrated by the veiled figures of Moore's tale and the metaphoric depth they attempt to supply. *Lalla Rookh* features several veiled figures: most are beautiful maidens—a common character type in European oriental tales—but one is a deranged charismatic male prophet, a more unusual character who uses a long silver veil to hide his disfigured countenance. Together these figures represent the duplicity of veiling as seen by orientalism: that is, veils suggest the exotic, seductive, so-called "other" woman, while at the same time, serve as a locus for the orientalist's fear of the other, the fear that beneath the veil may lurk unpredictable and dangerous elements. In this manner, the veiled figures in Moore's tales illuminate another dimension of the voyeurism found in Boucher's and Farrell's work.

15. In Moore's work, the dichotomy of the orientalist veil echoes traditional figurations of the Irish nation as a woman (on the part of the Irish as well as the English) and the tradition of the Irish mantle or cloak (as feared and outlawed by the English colonizers). The veil functions in both of these cases as an embodiment of the orientalist's desire for control; the colonizer longs to reach behind the veil and either possess the woman or expose the potential danger. In this respect, the orientalist's drive for knowledge

coincides with the colonizer's quest to eliminate hidden sources of subversive power. Because the veil conceals and thus frustrates the gaze, it has a special fascination for colonizing cultures and orientalists. In reading the veils in Moore's *Lalla Rookh*, what we ultimately see is Europe's gaze itself, represented by the particular lens of the Irish Moore.

16. A central element of *Lalla Rookh* is the allegory Moore draws between the Fire-Worshippers in Iran and the Catholics in Ireland. Moore supported Catholic emancipation throughout his life, but took a cautious and often indirect approach to Catholic emancipation—another form of Irish veiling. As Tom Dunne notes:

    > A tradition of masking resentment by a deferential rhetoric had marked Irish Catholic politics since the 1750s, and had contributed to the process of dismantling the Penal Laws from which Moore benefited. The Catholic mask would have been assumed automatically by him on his entry into Trinity College, 'among the first of the helots of the land' to go there. (86)

    Dunne focuses his discussion of Moore primarily on the *Irish Melodies*, and suggests that in them he "developed a new literary mask, that of the Romantic lyric mode" which disguised his political desires (87). While *Lalla Rookh*'s orientalism veils this political allegory in much of the narrative poem, in the Preface to *Lalla Rookh* Moore states overtly that the tales in his narrative come from "that most homefelt of all my inspirations"—incidents in the British oppression of the Irish. His use of orientalism as a literary veil to cover his underlying metaphoric meanings reflects a long tradition of Irish masking that served many purposes—to disguise or hide Catholic religious practices when those were banned, to push for political and religious freedom or avenge wrongs through secret societies, and to obscure one's true motives and feelings from the colonizers.

17. Hinda, the veiled woman in *Lalla Rookh*'s subtale "The Fire Worshippers", presents one version of Moore's political allegories in her role as a stereotypical Eastern woman. *Lalla Rookh*'s female characters play roles one might expect of a veiled woman in the European oriental tale, as they represent undiscovered lands and embody the power struggle over these regions. Hinda is caught between her imperial Moslem father and her Fire-Worshipping (native outlaw) lover. Until Hinda meets her lover, she has literally been kept hidden from view in her father's tower; her lover's first glimpse of her is described in metaphors that compare lifting her veil to an explorer coming upon a "fairy shore" and discovering a new land. This recalls Moore's metaphor of the oriental tale's discovery and the fate of "adventurers" who arrive too long after the genre's great unveiling by Byron. In the character of Hinda, colonization and seduction become intertwined as she metamorphoses in similes comparing her to land. As the narrator observes,

    > So Hinda, have thy face and mind,
    > Like holy mysteries, lain enshrined.
    > And, O, what transport for a lover
    > To lift the veil that shades them o'er!-
    > Like those who, all at once, discover
    > In the lone deep some fairy shore,
    > Where mortal never trod before,
    > And sleep and wake in scented airs
    > No lip had ever breathed but theirs. (130)

    This passage enacts the colonizer's fantasy of actually being able to see what lies beneath the veil. The central simile compares Hinda's veiled face to a "fairy shore" untrodden by mortals; to lift her veil is to take the first step upon the shore. Both actions figure the woman and the land as a passive though

potential odalisque and give the lover the active role of an explorer. The subjectivity of the woman is ignored—it does not matter that Hinda has seen her own face many times before, or knows the mysteries of her own mind, or sleeps and wakes in her own scented airs. In Moore's orientalism, the gaze is necessary to constitute Hinda, in the same way the colonizing explorer is needed to grant a region existence and a place on a map. Similarly, women of different countries are described in the "Haram" as the fractured "half-shut glances of Kathay" or the "gold ringlets of the Western Isles" (Moore 28-29). In these descriptions, the harem women are important insofar as certain details in their appearances convey the power exerted over specific geographic regions in the ruler's empire.

18. While this passage tries to present a seductive image of undiscovered female territory, it also leaves some lingering questions. The passage presumes that the first sight of Hinda unveiled will lead to her lover's transport. Yet it ignores the possibility that Hinda's veiled holy mysteries might actually be grotesque like those of the Veiled Prophet, to whom I will turn later. And why does the veil cover her *mind* as well as her face? Does she need the agent of sight to activate her personality as well as her appearance? What does the unreality of the fairy shore indicate about colonial conquest? In part, these deliberately exotic and fantastic metaphors obscure the material effects of exploration and conquest and make manifest the superficial soft-focus of the text's gaze. But if we trace the analogy Moore develops linking the Fire-Worshippers to the Irish Catholics, and the Moslems to the British conquerors, then some of the curious implications of Moore's representation of Ireland as an Eastern nation and an Eastern woman emerge. In other words, Moore presents the Catholic struggle for emancipation as what he terms the source of his Eastern tales' inspiration. However, his poem contains a number of contradictions if we follow this allegory to its limits. One contradiction is illustrated in the passage quoted above: Moore presents Hinda's figurative colonization by her lover in the midst of a story that is meant to demonstrate Ireland's need for emancipation from *her* colonizers. This presentation illustrates the contradictions inherent in imperialism, as follows.

19. According to Moore's analogy, Hinda (embodying Iran) is like Ireland, caught between two factions of a civil war in which she is linked to both the imperial conquerors and the native people. Hinda/Iran, like Erin/Ireland, is in a complicated position; there are no unencumbered decisions for her to make. Indeed, she must choose between disloyalty to her Moslem father if she goes with her Fire-Worshipper lover, or betrayal of her lover if she stays with her father. The overt allegorical meaning the reader is meant to draw is that the Catholics (Fire-Worshippers) and Ireland (Hinda) are doomed as long as the British (Moslem conquerors) are in power. But there are other implications that illustrate the ways the allegory Moore initially presents fails to stay in control. One such contradiction is that Hinda's final choice to side with her doomed Fire-Worshipper lover could also suggest that if Ireland sides with the Catholics then all are doomed, for Hinda dies upon learning of her lover's death. This bleak representation of the fate of Irish Catholics and Ireland is difficult to reconcile with the straightforward allegory Moore initially presents with such enthusiasm.

20. *Lalla Rookh*'s images identifying women such as Hinda metaphorically with specific geographic or national regions resonate with figurations of Ireland as a woman, such as Farrell's description of Mother Ireland as a whore. Hinda in *Lalla Rookh* represents another feminized version—the young woman on the verge of choosing a masculine mate (Catholic freedom fighter) but thwarted by her father (British colonizer). Other feminine identities for Ireland featured different connotations: "Ireland in turns was presented as an old woman, Granu or the Shan van Vocht, summoning her sons to protect and defend her homestead, or as Hibernia, the graceful, dignified Roman matron whose honour and reputation needed to be asserted by her gallant admirers" (Curtin 136).

21. This parallel between the feminine Ireland and the problematic East is interesting because it places Moore in the same position he places his characters, and because it conflates anti-feminism with the move against the colonized. However, while images of Ireland as Hibernia or Erin may stir compassion

and loyalty, they also risk reinforcing prejudiced views of the Irish people as weak, effeminate, shifty, and unreliable. The image of Ireland as woman risks becoming the stereotype that all Irish people share women's purported faults as outlined by patriarchy.

IV.

22. Moore's strategy of verbal masking in *Lalla Rookh* mirrors elements of physically veiled Irish resistance figured by the traditional Irish mantle and glib, the large hooded Irish cloak and the long forelock of hair. The early English colonizers view the glib and mantle as disguises synonymous with Irish shiftiness and deception, qualities that the colonizers fear could transform into resistance and revolution. The English also link political resistance to Ireland's different moral code especially since women as well as men wore the mantle (Foster 27). In one of the best-known early examples of English anxiety about the mantle, Edmund Spenser writes in *A View of the Present State of Ireland* that the mantle is handy for Irishwomen, for following her "lewd exercise, when she hath filled her vessel, under it she can hide both her burden and her blame" (qtd. in Jones and Stallybrass, 166). The Irish mantle visually manifests, as Ann Rosalind Jones and Peter Stallybrass term it, "Irishness as the refusal to adopt English order, English social categories, English style" (166).

23. However, for the Irish, mantles and veils may carry additional meanings, as Margaret MacCurtain explains,

> The Irish literary imagination has, over centuries, stored certain images of women which [. . .] resonate at many levels of Irish nationalism [. . .]. W. B. Yeats evoked her as the *cailleach*, one of the stock figures of early Irish literature, whose age conceals her immortality. [. . .] *Caille*, denoting a veil, made its way into primitive Irish no later than the fifth century. It is not clear how it became assimilated into the word *cailleach* which from then onwards signified a 'nun' in the growing Christian society, while retaining in secular mythology its original meaning of 'old hag', and carrying with it overtones of the sacred. (MacCurtain, "The Historical Image," 37)

The powers of the *cailleach* are specifically associated with veiling, through the sacred elements of her power as nun or hag, and through her disguised immortality—age acts like a veil to obscure her true nature. In this manner, for the Irish the hidden powers and connotations of veiled women reinforce the idea that the English cannot completely control the Irish through colonization, that there will always be hidden elements of Irish culture that elude English control.

24. Significantly, the representation of Ireland as femininely deceptive and unreliable also shares the vocabulary that criticizes the East, Easterners, and even the writers of oriental tales as similarly superficially seductive and charming (as evidenced in reviews of Moore's poem). Indeed, concern about the East's seductiveness shapes a belief that Moore may stray from his path of "improvement" (after his early career writing risqué verse as Thomas Little). The reviewer for the *North American Review writes* that

> it is a little unfortunate that, just as [Moore] had set about improvement, he should have made the East his poetical home, where his old relish for unwedded love, and never ending conceits and brilliancy, may be regaled more than ever, and where the poet himself, in the guise of an Eastern minstrel, is tempted, and with less hazard, to repeat his earlier transgressions. (8)

These criticisms betray a fear that the irresistible surface charms of the East (and the Irish Moore) may in fact hide dangerous, transgressive moralities beneath a brilliant guise.

25. Descriptions like these of the Irish reveal an anxiety that comes from the long tradition of Irish deception and the terrorism that had been employed by both colonizer and colonized for years in Ireland. As Jerome Christensen points out, political resistance is feminized in the nineteenth-century by those who wanted to quash it:

> in the nineteenth century, political courage, no matter how necessary and successful, will be identified as a kind of hysteria. The inverse inference, that hysteria is a form of political resistance—a dominant theme of contemporary feminist criticism—is not yet conceivable. (595)

The potentially revolutionary hysteria (of which the British believed the Irish to be capable) is feared as the obverse of the supposedly deceptively charming and unmanly Irish.

26. Irish political resistance against the British becomes associated by the Romantic era with terrorism and revolution, forms of resistance that had been quite successful in revolutionary France and which were in danger of spreading contagiously to Ireland. The opposition to British rule that Moore cautiously expresses through the metaphors of *Lalla Rookh* is part of the continuum of Irish resistance to colonization in this era, as well as an example of British orientalism in this era. That is, while Moore's orientalism can be read as a sign of Irish resistance that mantles his message of support for Catholic emancipation, his work also participates in many characteristics of the English oriental tale. Moore's orientalism almost paradoxically reinforces the colonizer's structure, and leads to the question of what is compromised by using orientalism to call attention to colonialism. Another tale within *Lalla Rookh*, "The Veiled Prophet of Khorassan," illustrates these issues well.

V.

27. Moore does not specifically label the tale of "The Veiled Prophet of Khorassan" as an allegory (as he does the tale of the "Fire Worshippers") yet the analogy to the British colonization of Ireland can still be drawn. However, this tale complicates any understanding of *Lalla Rookh* as a "simple" metaphoric depiction of the conflict in Ireland in Eastern terms. Most problematically, the leader of the rebellion against the imperial Moslem army in the Veiled Prophet's tale turns out to be an evil religious fanatic whose veil disguises deformity and madness.

28. As Moore's narrative develops, his metaphors fall apart. From the start, the Veiled Prophet is associated with what was seen by Moore's reviewers as the typically licentious harem of the East. The tale initially focuses on the plight of Zelica, a maiden who joins the Veiled Prophet's harem after learning that her lover has been killed in battle. The Veiled Prophet promises his female followers that they will be rewarded for serving him by becoming the brides of heroic soldiers in heaven, and Zelica, insane with grief, thereby hopes to be reunited with her lover. Additionally, from the start of the tale, the Veiled Prophet is also associated with armed rebellion: he is waging a religious war on the Moslem Caliph who imperialistically hopes to conquer the city. The Veiled Prophet draws his soldiers from those who are "fir'd by zeal, or by oppression wrong'd"; in the story's Moslem framework, these include Uzbeks, Hindus, and Fire Worshippers among others (76). His own power stems from his claim to be a religious prophet marked by heaven with a mystical "angel brow" from which he "Shall cast the Veil that hides its splendors now, / And gladden'd Earth shall, through her wide expanse / Bask in the glories of this countenance" (32). The mysterious countenance hidden by the Prophet's veil seduces his

followers into zealous obedience after he promises them a glimpse of his brow if they are victorious in battle; they are "Ready to risk their eyes, could they but gaze / A moment on that brow's miraculous blaze!" (33). Initially, the Prophet's motivations for fighting the Moslems appear to be founded on this well-intentioned, if unusual, religious belief.

29. If we apply the allegory Moore suggests elsewhere to this tale, then the Veiled Prophet and his followers represent the Irish Catholics, and the Moslem Caliph and his army stand for the British. The Prophet's veil and the religious devotion it inspires then seem to function like the Irish mantle, especially as interpreted by the English. Reading the veiled Prophet and his followers as figures for the religious rebellion of Catholics in Ireland first is problematized, however, by the Prophet's harem. The Prophet's immorality presents a complication for reading him as a representative of Catholic opposition: he is a seducer as well as a political and religious leader. The Prophet populates his harem through his "mission, which around / The Eastern world, in every region blest / With woman's smile, sought out its loveliest / To grace that galaxy of lips and eyes" (35). The plethora of seductions committed by the Prophet's "missionary" activity, as represented by the women's fragmented lips and eyes, corroborate a Western fantasy of the profligate harem.

30. The Prophet's fanaticism is a second potentially problematic area. He requires a blind devotion to the image of his hidden brow, and this blind devotion plays into possible Protestant fears about the fanaticism of "popery" and of what might lurk beneath the Irish mantle. Also problematic, if Catholics are represented by the forces opposing imperialism, then they are equated with a fanatic who secretly hopes to be the "rallying sign of fraud and anarchy" after his death (91). This parallel might serve as a warning of the measures to which the oppressed Catholics may be driven, though it also risks additional conflicting effects, as Brown notes of the "Veiled Prophet's" depictions of imperialism: that "Europe's imperial dreams are justified in these elaborate fantasies—but so is Great Britain's sound government of an Ireland that is prey to fanaticisms and irrationalities of the kind Mokanna represents" (24).

31. Another British anxiety (or another example of the difficulty of controlling metaphor) that "The Veiled Prophet" may signal is the fear of France joining Ireland against Britain. One reviewer in 1817 compared the Prophet to Richard III and called him a "thorough French Jacobin, in every thing but his white flag" (*North American Review* 9). The implications of this reviewer's comment are extraordinary, for as a Jacobin, the Prophet would call to mind the attempts by France in the 1790s to invade Ireland at the request of revolutionary United Irishmen in order to overthrow British rule. "The Veiled Prophet"'s (and *Lalla Rookh*'s) orientalism might thus serve British imperialism by confirming ideas about Eastern fanaticism and immorality, and might in turn reinforce similar stereotypes about Ireland through Moore's allegory.

32. Most problematic, however, is that the veil predominantly comes to signify unreliability in this tale. The Prophet's deceptive claim that his brow is illuminatingly holy indicates that hidden countenances are not entirely trustworthy; beneath his veil lurk "features horribler than Hell e'er trac'd / On its own brood" (90). The veil is at once the Prophet's identifying characteristic and the concealment of his true identity. This recalls the possibility that the veils of other cultures hide evil and not entrancing beauty. It also implies a risk that the veiled figures of harems are unreliable, and that the veil itself is a symbol of potential danger as well as potential pleasure. Similarly to British interpretations of the Irish mantle, the veil in *Lalla Rookh* symbolizes the possibility of murder, anarchy, or illicit pleasure.

33. The veil's deceptiveness is most clearly demonstrated in the final scene of the tale when Zelica dons the Prophet's veil, after he has poisoned his followers and killed himself in a vat of acid (which he hopes will dissolve his deformed face and preserve his legend). Zelica takes on the Prophet's identity, disguising herself in order to be killed by the Moslem forces. She logically counts on any one of the

Caliph's soldiers assuming that the Prophet himself is beneath the veil. But even the most basic assumption loses reliability in this oriental tale when a veil is involved. Thus, the repentant and largely blameless Zelica appears to be the monstrous Prophet because she takes on his identifying characteristic. Yet in another way the Prophet's veil appropriately represents Zelica's self-condemnation at having succumbed to the Prophet's wiles; in her moral universe, she believes she is monstrous for what she has done. Significantly, this veiling inverts that of Hinda--who is presumed to have a face and mind comparable to a fairy shore; instead, Zelica's putting on of the Prophet's veil embodies her contamination by him, only redeemable through death in the tale's scheme. Her martyrdom is viewed in the poem as her vehicle for gaining heaven (aided by the prayers of her lover).

VI.

34. As "The Veiled Prophet" illustrates, as much as Moore uses the veil as a metaphor to further his allegorical meanings in *Lalla Rookh*, metaphor also acts as a veil to obscure these meanings. Moore's tale in fact enacts the impossibility of limiting meaning, for as he tries to pinpoint the terms of his allegories they exceed his control. The colonizer might fear this inherent deconstruction as being ultimately the destruction of the colonial enterprise, because colonialism relies on controlling the meanings produced in the colonies (or at least believing that it can). Moore has the impulse of a colonizer (pinpointing meaning) while at the same time shares the experience of the colonized (relying on the very impossibility of pinpointing meaning as part of his resistance).

35. If Moore's orientalism is a vehicle or disguise with which to express "homefelt" sentiments on religious tolerance, then what is gained and what is lost in such a cloaking? Clearly, what Moore gains is the chance to voice opposition to British rule of Ireland. Another gain Moore may seek (though of ambiguous merit) is the chance to participate in a discourse of colonial power—orientalism—even as Moore is subject to similar discourses himself as a Catholic in Ireland. But what is lost is the specificity and complexity of the Irish situation. As the Veiled Prophet's tale suggests, the narrative's ability to signal the need for Catholic emancipation gets occluded or obscured by the very mask which is to be its vehicle. One result is that the political parallels to Ireland become easy to dismiss or ignore. Another result is the possibility that other characters and conflicts in the poem will be read allegorically, as representations of Ireland's situation, with mixed results for the Irish cause, as in the Veiled Prophet's tale. Moore's political metaphors fail in a certain sense, because the correspondence of tenor and vehicle in the metaphor bursts beyond the bounds of a one-to-one correspondence. His allegories contradict themselves.

36. This self-deconstruction of Moore's allegories takes an astonishing turn. In what might be a reconstructive gesture, the British feminization of the Irish is countered in part by the concurrent Irish masculinization of Lalla Rookh. As Moore writes in a letter to Andrew Doyle in 1846, "We Irishmen are bound in honour to stick by Lalla Rookh, if not for her poet's sake at least for the affinity to her claimed by our countryman who insists that the true way of writing her name is Larry Rourke" (*Letters*, 2: 885-886). With this comment, *Lalla Rookh* is simultaneously claimed as a symbol of Ireland and transformed from an "oriental" woman to an Irish man. The gender shift is accompanied by a cultural shift, in which the "true" meaning becomes Western and masculine instead of Eastern and feminine.

37. The rhetoric and orientalism of *Lalla Rookh* form a sort of literary mantle for Moore, allowing him to articulate concerns about Irish liberation in the disguise of an Eastern tale. Yet the veils in *Lalla Rookh* reflect Moore's own orientalist gaze as well as that of the English colonizers. Moore's Janus-like doubled view seems to reinforce not only the orientalists' views of the East but also the British views of Ireland. There is a certain symmetry in the way Boucher's Mademoiselle O'Murphy becomes an

odalisque and Lalla Rookh becomes Larry Rourke. Both of these transformations speak to the politics of metaphor—the implications that there is some term in common between the Irish experience and the cultures of the East. Where does this insistence, that the "true way" of writing Lalla Rookh's name is the masculine Larry Rourke, leave the feminine however? Much like her namesake in the narrative poem, the poem itself is seen to exist only in relation to one or another masculine force. Forced to capitulate to one or another of the masculine sides, the feminine in these narratives perishes, is married, or in the case of *Lalla Rookh* itself, is transformed into her masculine twin. Whether Lalla Rookh, Larry Rourke, the Madonna Irlanda, or Mademoiselle O'Murphy, the Irish odalisque is no paradox or oxymoron. As Farrell's self-portrait in the corner of his painting demonstrates, orientalism's use of difference is always interested, always implicated. Defined as whore, recovered as bride, rewritten as a man, she leaves no doubt as to who's naming whom, or at least attempting to.

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The Containment and Re-Deploymentof English India

"[T]hat Liberty of Writing": Incontinent Ordinance in "Oriental" Jones

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1. Sir William Jones remains a key figure in the continuing history of romantic and other orientalisms. At the very mention of the idea of "Containing English India," he leaps to mind not only as part of the contents contained within any envelope or archive so designated, but also as part of the discontent and unruly dissemination of such contents. Jones is both *of* the Indian sub-continent and in various senses incontinent *within* it and when writing *about* it (just as he is both inside and outside the dominant versions of Englishness in the later eighteenth century). In this essay I will revisit this dialectic of positioning or location, containing and incontinence, and the related contradictions that constituted Jones's early libertarianisim in England and his later legal and philological activities in India. It would be wrong to ignore his English phase or to imply a radical breach between his English and his Indian careers, especially since colonialism always has a domestic as well as a foreign axis of articulation ("The Future of the Subject" 132ff.), and because his appointment to a judgeship in Calcutta was delayed by explicit fears that he would export to the colonies the politically advanced ideas of an elected member of the Society for Constitutional Information and a friend of Benjamin Franklin (*Letters* 533-34, 569-70). Questions of continuity notwithstanding, my principal emphasis at every stage here will be on the Anglo-Indian Jones. Moreover, the echo in my title of that Gulf War euphemism, incontinent ordinance, is a deliberate gesture towards two points I will stress in my conclusion: namely, that imperialism did not end with the British in India, and that imperialism's instabilities and illusions are always evident, if we care to look, in the language it uses to describe itself.

2. Jones's life was an emphatically literary one, though not only or unequivocally that. (The deradicalized Life produced by John Shore [Lord Teignmouth] needs to be measured against the reradicalizing efforts of Michael Franklin's recent critical study and the more sober biography by Garland Cannon). And one can gain access to Jones's career as an orientalist via his comments on literary culture in general, and writing in particular. In referring to "that liberty of writing" which is "the most valuable privilege of an Englishman and a poet," Jones defines writing by a set of political and imaginative connections both inclusive and exclusive, and this combination offers a good point of entry into a narrative about a man who so often, and in such a variety of senses and registers, tried but failed to contain himself and his *native* culture. The affirmation of "that liberty of writing" occurs in a letter to Lady Spencer of 11 October 1770 from University College Oxford (*Letters* 69-70), in which Jones defends his candour to her in terminating his role as tutor to her son, Viscount Althorp, and links that candour to the equally principled but amplified audacity he had shown in publicly condemning the tyrannical practices of Nadir Shah to "an abitrary monarch" (Christian VII of Denmark). Analogues, equivalents, and echoes of this defiant phrasing of freedom of expression can be encountered throughout Jones"s large and diverse *oeuvre*. I will examine first Jones's investment in liberty and the critical capacities he shows in his treatment of this and related topics, then the persistence of totalizing fictions within a personal regime of intellectual accomplishment and endless self-criticism, before concluding with the contradictions that help constitute his self-understanding, his contemporary and historical reputation, and the implications for empire's academics and fellow professionals, then and now.

Colonizing Liberty

3. Liberty is an overdetermined and much fetishized concept authorizing an array of inescapably contradictory practices which vary according to historical and cultural setting. However, to say this is not to retreat into a weakly deconstructionist relativism, but rather to highlight the importance of a politically robust deconstruction. By the time Jones sailed for India in 1783 to take up his position as a Judge on the High Court of Bengal, he had thoroughly internalized the doubleness of the liberal arts practised first by the *eleutheroi* of ancient Greece and *liberti* of ancient Rome and more recently by the "freeborn Englishman" of a certain classicizing class and inclination. The persistent tension within the liberal arts between liberty and liberality, between freedom of inquiry and expression on the one hand and the cultivated disbursement of funds and leisure on the other[1] could be managed effectively most of the time by a man of Jones's remarkable intellect and reformist politics. His early acquisition of a European reputation as a linguist (*see plates 1 and 2*) brought connections and opportunities of which he took advantage while, he thought, protecting his commitment to social justice via a universalist anti-absolutism and a specific allegiance to freedoms protected by the British Constitution.[2] However, the varieties of liberty and the varieties of writing available to or created by him destabilized this discursive domain even as they expanded it, hence staging but not confining the imperialist imperative *in nuce*.

Plate 1

Plate 2

4. For Jones, most forms of liberty could be understood negatively: for instance, in opposition to press gangs, or slavery, or despotism (*Letters* 467-8, 230-32, 166); or needless incarceration and "*domestick bondage*"(second "Charge to the Grand Jury, at Calcutta" [1785]; *Works* 7.10-15); or narrow political partisanship (*Letters* 588); or uncritical nationalism, even though he was willing to support the principle that "men of letters, as such, ought, in all places and at all times, to carry *flags of truce*," but to do so only after he had defended (belligerently, Francophobically, self-interestedly) England's intellectual honour and unrivalled commitment to "l'homme libre" against the orientalizing hauteur of Anquetil du Perron (Advertisement to *The Moallakat* [1782] and Lettre a A*** du P***... [1771]; *Works* 10.4, 423); or illiberal education and a dull or prescriptive pedantry (*A Grammar of the Persian Language* [1771; *Works* 5.166-67.) The forms of liberty could also be apprehended positively: via "the liberal curiosity of the scholar" (Prefatory Discourse to *The Speeches of Isaeus* [1779]; *Works* 9.11); the fearless integrity of "perfect historians" (fifth "Charge"; *Works* 7.64]) or constitutional experts like Smith and Fortescue; and "that manly *isunomia* [equality of political rights], which ought to be the basis of every good government" and economic rationality and progress everywhere (*Letters* 11, 269; *Asiatick Researches* 3.492). Positive strains of liberty could also be encountered in poetry such as *Ad Libertatem: Carmen* (a "liberal translation" of Collins' "Ode to Liberty" into Latin Alcaics (*Works* 10.394ff.) and in similarly inspired prophecy of the sort that Robert Lowth had been instrumental in revaluing (*Letters* 267) and which Jones would connect to Asian poetry so as to win himself a place in romantic cultural theory alongside Lowth and Herder (Schmidt intro.).

5. The grounding of liberty in law and literature brought together very different kinds of writing, epitomised for Jones by Blackstone and Lowth, and related concerns with the necessary limits to freedom required by the well ordered polity or poem.[3] The interplay of freedom and restraint is well captured in a letter of January 31 suffused with self-awareness after Jones's failure to gain a seat in the Oxford parliamentary election the previous year:

> I never dreamt of liberty unrestrained by well-enacted and well-executed laws; and, without such liberty, I am very sure, that men cannot enjoy the happiness of men; that of

> cattle they may enjoy in any government. I have lately made a discovery, which gives me so much pleasure, that I cannot refrain from imparting it to you [probably Robert Raikes]: I find there is at Florence a MS of Isaeus, which not only has never been collated, but contains an entire new speech, a copy of which I hope very soon to procure, and will translate as well as I am able. How much remains to be performed in the field of literature! How vast a mine is yet unexplored! (Letters 456)

In his correspondence Jones can move more or less seamlessly from political theory to literary desire, from the liberal democratic state in question to the cultural archive in waiting, and such transitions are especially worthy of remark when the compensatory impulse is strongest. Terra incognita loses none of its allure for being textual, especially when its acquisition depends on his linguistic rather his political reputation and when it points to riches extensive enough to make any intellectual colonist's mouth water.

6. In England he fluctuated between the law as all-absorbing and writing as a professional and civic duty, and the composing, study, and translation of poetry as a consuming passion regularly thwarted by the demands of duty and financial exigency.[4] When he arrived in India, Jones characterized his personal situation in more general terms in his presidential introduction to the first volume of *Asiatick Researches*:

> If this first publication of the ASIATICK SOCIETY should not answer those expectations, which may have been hastily formed by the learned in Europe, they will be candid enough to consider the disadvantages which may naturally have attended its institution and retarded its progress: a mere man of letters, retired from the world and allotting his whole time to philosophical or literary pursuits, is a character unknown among Europeans resident in India, where every individual is a man of business in the civil or military state, and constantly occupied either in the affairs of government, in the administration of justice, in some department of revenue or commerce, or in one of the liberal professions; very few hours, therefore, in the day or night can be reserved for any study, that has no immediate connection with business, even by those who are most habituated to mental application; and it is impossible to preserve health in Bengal without regular exercise and seasonable relaxation of mind; not to insist that, in the opinion of an illustrious Roman [Cicero De Officiis 3.1.], "No one can be said to enjoy liberty, who has not sometimes the privilege of doing nothing." All employments, however, in all countries afford some intervals of leisure; and there is an active spirit in European minds, which no climate or situation in life can wholly repress, which justifies the ancient notion, that a change of toil is a species of repose.

The mixture of apology and assertiveness in this passage captures the positive and negative features of orientalizing in the orient. European class formations and economic individualism can be replicated in Anglo-India and their reactions anticipated through appeal to that implausibly essentializing entity, "an active spirit in European minds," and its dubiously portable classical past. Yet this is possible only within limits imposed by an imperial project that both requires and is expected to enable the exacting pursuit of exorbitant profit. Two forms of incompleteness, one dutiful and one leisured, mark the individual colonist and the generic professions to which "he" belongs. Psychic, colonial, and corporeal economies interplay in ways that read value as abundance (of colonial plunder), value as rarity (of opportunity for literary and philosophical pursuits), and value as regularity (of physical functions in the embodied agent of colonialisim).

7. This version of dominant and residual, marginal, or supplementary knowledge production is then elaborated upon as follows:

> [. . .] a Society instituted at Calcutta, on the plan of those established in the principal cities of Europe, might possibly be the means of concentrating all the valuable knowledge which might occasionally be attained in Asia, or of preserving at least many little tracts and essays, the writers of which might not think them of sufficient importance for separate publication [. . .] it will flourish, if naturalists, chymists, antiquaries, philologers, and men of science, in different parts of Asia, will commit their observations to writing, and send them to the President or the Secretary at Calcutta; it will languish if such communications shall be long intermitted; and it will die away, if they shall entirely cease; for it is morally impossible, that a few men, whatever be their zeal, who have great publick duties to discharge, and difficult private studies connected with those duties, can support such an establishment without the most assiduous and eager auxiliaries. (1.iv)

The production and distribution of knowledge is conceived as concentrating and preserving a commodity whose value is first determined by the male professional English colonist. Interestingly, the principle of the division of labour and specializiation is carried over from the earlier inventory of colonial occupations to varieties of productive colonial leisure. The dominant features of commercial society and its civil ancillaries are replicated in English India while the role of print culture in imaginatively unifying a widely dispersed community is encouraged in terms that seem consonant with claims made most influentially recently by Benedict Anderson (*Imagining* 37ff.). Jones articulates a (thinking) white man's burden according to which "that liberty of writing" is pressed into the service of a particular knowledge economy, even though the "writers of such dissertations" or "tracts" remain "individually responsible for their own opinions." Dependency and independence traverse interlocking versions of established and powerful, yet nascent and vulnerable, "Society." Differences are managed, discoveries collated and disseminated (*see plate 3*), within a basically diffusionist scheme made plain in an essay begun in 1784, "On the Musical Modes of the Hindus," which Jones later enlarged and published in the Society's journal in 1792: "The unexampled felicity of our nation, who *diffuse* the blessings of a mild government over the finest part of *India*, would enable me to attain a perfect knowledge of the oriental musick, which is known and practised in these *British* dominions not by mercenary performers only, but even by *Muselmans* and *Hindus* of eminent rank and learning" (*Asiatick Researches* 3.62; emphasis added). Political penetration brings cultural opportunity and obligation with it, patronizing while it colonizes, grading the subcontinent while applying assumptions about the social status of the performing arts to cultures whose understanding of such matters is different from its own. The "nation" as benefactor and student of difference cannot and should not be contained within its own boundaries precisely because (political) diffusion transforms itself into (cultural) appropriation.

Plate 3

Administering Perfection

8. The linking of political to musical harmony is part of a much larger project of harmonist interpretation directed by and towards writing (*see plates 4 and 5*). Jones creates for himself a civilizing and broadly beneficial space serving good government rather than Moghul imperialism, but he then lumps hindus and muslims together as non-European whenever it suits him. And such selective sensitivity to difference relies on a specifically aesthetic ideology to conceal its dissonances and disfigurements. He can idealize the nation in musical terms in writing to Lady Spencer in October 1782: "How happy would it be, if statesmen had more musick in their souls, and could bring themselves to consider, that, what harmony is in a concert, such is union in a state! But, in the great orchestra of the nation, I have found, since my return to England, so

Plate 4

many instruments out of tune and players out of time, that I stop my ears, like Hogarth's musician tormented, and wish myself at the distance of five thousand leagues from such dissonance" (*Letters* 582). But such musical analogies are as ethnocentric and politically conservative as the similar analogies in Ulysses' famous speech on degree in *Troilus and Cressida* (I.3.101-111). Like Ulysses, too, Jones has personal reasons for looking to remote locations to offer escape (of a sort) from domestic tensions. Writing to Edmund Burke in 1783, the day after Shelburne's resignation as Prime Minister seemed to have doomed his chances of a judgeship in Bengal, Jones resorts to a more clearly Shakespearean allusion whose colonialist implications would never become sufficiently apparent to him: "if *Caliban* remain in power, there will be no *Prospero* in this fascinated island" (*Letters* 604). The Caliban in question is Thurlow, who Jones felt had obstructed him constantly in his quest for Indian preferment. Jones is using his command of Shakespeare to make a point he also made via Aristophanes and a Greek-English alliterative play on *therion*/Thurlow in order to emphasize his enemy's beastliness (*Letters* 536). But such apparently effortless allusive command is limited in its intelligibility and uncertain in its effects, even among those who "get" it. Jones draws on a cultural patrimony which will never be enough and never quite the right stuff to *settle* disputes at home or tensions in India that make Sanskrit and its "rediscovery" "another world," but a world both inviting and threatening (*Letters* 747; *see plate 6*).

Plate 5

Plate 6

9. Jones could describe his goal to the Dutch orientalist, Henry Albert Schultens, as *teleian eleutherian* ("perfect liberty"), or less eruditely to other correspondents as "*the sweets of liberty*" or "a perfectly easy fortune" (*Letters* 227, 570, 269). But the philosopheme and "Indian scheme" of strenuous ease (*Letters* 268), could not stand alone without support from quasi-universals like "humanity" captured, though never entirely satisfactorily, by recourse to tags like Terence's "*homo sum; nil humani a me alienum puto*" (Terence 77) which Jones translates in his essay "On the Gods of Greece, Italy and India" as "*We* are men, and take an *interest* in *all* that relates to mankind" (*Works* 3. 324; emphasis added). Chremes' famous claim is narrowed to those who have a particular kind of receptivity even as it seems to be widened by the shift from "I" to "We" (and while Jones ignores the fact this apparently lofty sentiment is expressed by a busybody forced to defend his snooping). Quasi-universal tags from European literature, when cited as authorities for colonial practices, have either to be amended in translation or supplemented by commentary that enhances their fit with Indian otherness. But neither in the already written nor in the carefully rewritten can Jones bend language(s) fully to his will. He may cast positively what Terence had put negatively (as avoiding alienation or radical otherness), but in so doing Jones creates fresh ambiguity and dissonance via the expression "taking an interest." After all, interest brings with it strong links to those notoriously grasping nabobs who "the *Pagan* Temple daily trod,/ Where Self is *worshipp'd* and there *Gold* is *God*" (Clarke 41). Such implications and historical baggage he had already tried to contain and control in his *Grammar of the Persian Language* where he argued that the impulse of European nations to orientalize had "been animated by the most powerful incentive that can influence the mind of man: *interest* was the magick wand which brought them all within one circle; *interest* was the charm which gave the languages of the east a real and solid importance (*Works* 5.152-3; emphasis added). We witness the Prospero effect once again, this time binding together venal, competitive Calibans so that they can better appreciate their Eastern inferiors, though this "explanation" of resurgent orientalism turns on the conveniently double meaning of interest as material advantage and cultural "charm."

10. If liberal-minded colonialists needed to see themselves as the purveyors and protectors of beauty, the fulfilment of that need both nourished and was nourished by similar claims on behalf of justice. Aestheticizing tendencies had to be disciplined within the domestic and colonial contexts of active citizenship (*Letters* 326) where the law had to be understood not only as a kind of moral ensemble

("the will of the aggregate community" [*Letters* 345]) but also as a work of art in its own right ("a beautiful system of liberal jurisprudence" [Epistle Dedicatory to Jones's translation of *Speeches of Isaeus*; *Works* 9.8]). When Jones eventually filled a position on the High Court of Bengal that had remained vacant for six years because of turmoil and intrigue in England, he made clear his sense of duty and vocation in six "Charges to the Grand Jury at Calcutta" made between 1783 and 1792. These Charges, quickly published and circulated at home as well as in India, are strongly abolitionist, trenchant on such matters as the overzealous pursuit and punishment of counterfeiters, and attentive to the economic and cultural dynamics of the "great and increasing" city in which he worked (*Works* 3.12, 32, 25). From the outset he made clear that he saw his office as above politics and endeavouring to accommodate enlightenment principles of humanity and justice to the rights and traditions of the human "aggregate" present in Bengal.

11. However, the administration of justice needed to be captured in language both reassuring and inspiring to jurors drawn from an imported elite:

> None of you, I hope, will suspect me of political zeal for any set of ministers in *England*, with which vice my mind has never been infected--nor of political attachments here, which in my station it will ever behoove me to disclaim--if, in the character of a magistrate appointed to preserve the public tranquillity, I congratulate you, who are assembled to enquire into all violations of it, on the happy prospect of a general peace in every part of the world with which our country is connected. The certain fruits of this *pacification* will be the revival and extension of commerce in all the dependencies of Britain, the improvement of agriculture and manufactures, the encouragement of industry and civil virtues; by which her revenues will be restored, and her navy strengthened, her subjects enriched, and herself exalted. But it is to India that she looks for the most splendid, as well as the most substantial of those advantages; nor can she be disappointed. As long as the the supreme executive and judicial powers shall concur in promoting the public good, without danger of collision, or diminution of each other's dignity; without impediment, on the one side, to the opinions of government; or, on the other, to the administration of justice. (*Works* 7.2-3)

Such a carefullly composed, complex charge, orally delivered, was in sore need of transcription, publication, and multiple readings. The contorted self-vindication of the first sentence gradually shifts attention from the personal and domestic to the collective and the global. The "unexampled felicity" of the English nation has been translated into a "happy prospect" of *Pax Britannica*, disturbed only (yet prodigiously for readers at the end of the twentieth century) by the slip from peace to an unassigned and unspecified *pacification*. Detail is saved instead for the judicial mimicry of old-country improvers in a discourse of development according to which nobody loses, though there will as usual be an uneven distribution of effort and reward. On India is bestowed the dubious distinction of special status among a large and growing corpus of dependencies. Bathed in the light of a colonial sublime deriving from the convergence of splendour and substance, India will be prevented from slipping from sublimity to menacing chaos only if government and its judiciary maintain separate spheres and mutually respectful public demeanours. The anxious gaze of the jurors is turned by their new mentor from his person and prospective actions towards a prospect whose physical proportions are intercontinental, its moral dimensions incontinent. Jones may claim to be free from partisan "infect[ion]," but he and his auditors have brought another kind of sickness with them to India for which there will be no lasting remedy, either personal or collective. That "necessary evil, money" (*Letters* 749) will reveal a more negotiable and more culpable identity within anticolonial and postcolonial systems of exchange. The bonds between private property, commercial society, and social progress will for a time hold firm, while the private enterprise vested in the East India Company both enables and resists the transition to a formally political regime and the "imperishable Empire of our arts and morals, our literature and our

laws" (Macaulay in the House of Commons in 1833; qtd. in Symonds 294). But the project of empire will require regular drafts from a witch's brew of beautification and pacification, while the Prospero effect reproduces the authority and dignity of Hindu law as both epigone and mirror image of British justice: "it is a system of *despotism* and *witchcraft*, both indeed limited by law, but *artfully* conspiring to give mutual support [. . .]. the *style* of it has a certain austere majesty that *sounds like* the language of legislation and extorts a repectful awe" (Jones's Preface to the translation from the Sanskrit of *Institutes of Hindu Law*; *Works* 7. 88-89). Jones the jurist and Jones the linguist work together to derive an acoustic pleasure from a legal system that he considers badly flawed. However, his appeal yet again to the power of music and the sensitivity of his own ear may leave us wondering whether the triumph of style over substance is really as marked as he suggests and whether Hindus are as easily awed as he implies. But if he is right about this, is this not more likely to be a general effect of hegemony than a particular property of these Sanskrit Institutes? No matter how skillfully he phrases things, he cannot account for the durability of the Hindu system without either infantilizing its adherents or pointing to abuses possible (if not prevalent) in every legal system. The sound of other people's ideology is of course more readily detectable than one's own, and can even offer those in power the pleasures of tasteful condescension.

Giving Credit

12. As translator, activist, legislator, and philologist Jones offers us versions of anti-absolutism which both dislodge and reinscribe authoritarian ideas and practices, and do so most clearly when he attempts to play down, ignore, or sanitize the economic determinations of his personal and persistently vulnerable situation. Jones fights an admirable struggle on a number of fronts at home and abroad, but with resources of limited precision and arguable propriety often referred to inclusively as "western civilization." As he takes regular measure of himself in India, updating the self-generated "Andrometer" of his early years (*Letters* 178) and the Ciceronian advice to his pupil and friend, Viscount Althorp, Jones remains legitimately proud of his liberal accomplishments yet haunted by the need to do much more as judge and philologist (*see plate 7*). We need, perhaps as much as ever, to give him sufficient credit for enhancing intercultural understanding and dispensing justice, but we need to do so while questioning the constitution and role of credit itself.

Plate 7

13. In the area of comparative jurisprudence, the author of that legal classic, *An Essay on the Law of Bailments* (1781), could claim four years later, as the result of heroic application of extraordinary skills, that "the fruit of my Indian studies will be a *Complete Digest of Law*, which a number of Pandits employed, at my instance, by the Government, are now compiling, and my translation of which will, I trust, be the standard of justice to eight millions of innocent and useful men, as long as Britain shall possess this wonderful kingdom, which *Fortune* threw into her lap while she was asleep" (*Letters* 813). [5] The recourse to *fortuna* here cannot obscure the ongoing role of *virtu* and fortune hunting in the acquisition of India, but, that said, Jones tries to use the opportunity in as broadly beneficial a way as possible. He did not achieve his objective on as grand a scale as he would have liked, but it is with great pride that he informs Henry Dundas in March 1794 of the printing of the *Institutes of Hindu Law; or, the Ordinances of Menu, According to the Gloss of Culluca, Comprising the Indian System of Duties, Religious and Civil*.

14. The occurrence of the term *Ordinances* in the title of this first English translation of the Brahmanic code, as well as the commentary that follows, may serve to remind the reader that native as well as colonizing powers are capable of incontinent ordinance: legal and philological as well as military. And

part of that incontinence derives from the undertanding of the historical and current role of any "liberty of writing." The analogy between Jones and others' proto-imperial codifying effort and Justinian's was both irresistible and insufficently scrutinized. Justinian was "the great physician, and the laws were to be his prescription for rehabilitating the empire" (Evans 202). The rest is history: complex legal history and admonitory political and military history. Justinian's was a codifying project that could not even be named without creating resistance to its claims to comprehensiveness, and so the *Pandects* align themselves literally with a *pandektes* or "all-receiver" whose limitations will help shape an incomplete totality. If the title of this neo-foundational legal corpus is translated (as it so often is) as *Digest*, semantic incontinence is not so much cured as recycled in a more explicitly corporeal idiom which prompts questions about who, really, will be nourished by such work and how it will fit within that other human frame of "bad digestion, the morbus literatorum, for which there is hardly any remedy" (*Letters* 632)[6] and which would soon be the death of Jones. While Jones tried to refuse the title of "the Justinian of India," or at least to connect it to "the pleasure of doing general good" (*Letters* 699), other members of the Asiatick Society had often a more obviously cleft view of comparative jurisprudence within which the great pandit Raghunandan, for instance, becomes "the Tribonian of India" and his legal digest "so curious in itself, and so *interesting* to the British government" (Goverdhan Caul, "On the Literature of the Hindus [. . .]," *Asiatick Researches* 1.352). In the letter quoted above in which he idealizes his jurispudential work, Jones indicates a few lines later that he and his wife are reading with great enjoyment Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations*. There is for Jones no inconsistency between capitalism and the "general good," just as he can attach to a prized item in his collection an uneasily double annotation: "If this manuscript [*Vivadarnavaseta, or the Bridge over a Sea of Controversies, a short Digest of Hindu Law, compiled by order of Warren Hastings* ...] be valued for its rarity, it is unique and its loss would be irreparable, if for what it cost me it cannot be worth less than thirty guineas, and I probably paid twice as much for it" (Jones, *Catalogue* no.441). This particular juxtaposition of value forms and systems is a small but suggestive part of that unending conflict within his correspondence and scholarly self-positioning which rose to a crescendo of creativity and calculation as he neared that "honourable competence" of thirty thousand pounds net profit from India which would permit him to live the life of a devoted orientalist with his wife back home (*Letters* 793; cf. 864, 922).

15. If Jones's work of legal codification remained uncompleted, it might be claimed that his work in comparative philology came to a successful culmination with the articulation in his Third Anniversary Discourse (2 February, 1786) of the Indo-European theory on which so much of his fame still rests:

> The *Sanscrit* language, whatever be its antiquity, is of a wonderful structure; more perfect than the *Greek*, more copious than the *Latin*, and more exquisitely refined than either, yet bearing to both of them a stronger affinity, both in the roots of verbs and in the forms of grammar, than could possibly have been produced by accident; so strong indeed, that no philologer could examine them all three, wihout believing them to have sprung from some common source, which, perhaps, no longer exists: there is a similar reason, though not quite so forcible, for supposing that both the *Gothick* and the *Celtick*, though blended with a very different idiom, had the same origin with the *Sanscrit*; and the old *Persian* might be added to the same family, if this were the place for discussing any question concerning the antiquities of Persia. (Franklin, *Selections* 361)

The emphasis on structure here, rather than on the notorious vagaries of etymology, is of a piece with Jones's earlier privileging of grammar as the key to understanding and comparing languages. He offers as a basis for evaluating linguistic structures three criteria (perfectness, copiousness, and refinement) the first and last of which seem more aesthetic than scientific. Jones goes on to redeem himself, at least in the eyes of some modern linguists, by employing a "methodology of genetic classification" (J. H. Greenberg; qtd. in Franklin, *Selections* 361). What interests me most in the mix of certainty and

circumspection here, however, is the racial, cultural, and political implications of the movement from "affinity" and "some common source" to "the same family." This is the version of commonality on which Jones proceeds to base a whole array of connections leading to a summary "result: that [the Indians] had an immemorial affinity with old *Persians*, *Ethiopians*, and *Egyptians*, the *Phenicians*, *Greeks*, and *Tuscans*, the *Scythians* or *Goths*, and *Celts*, the *Chinese*, *Japanese*, and *Peruvians*; whence, as no reason appears for believing, that they were a *colony* from any one of those nations, or any of those nations from them, we may fairly conclude that they all proceeded from some *central* country" (367; emphasis added). In answering the question of the quality of the Sanscrit language positively, Jones was forced to raise two further and related questions: if it is accepted as one of the great languages, and its users hence as one of the great civilizations, then does that not radically foreshorten the social and other distances between "them" and "us"? And if we all indeed come from "the same family" then what business do members of the Asiatick Society have in treating Indians as they do? The answers lie of course in class and gender practices at home, racist practices and medicalized care of the European self in India, and an increasingly transnational division of labour. Equality and kinship have to be asserted at a safe historical distance and made so inclusive that the current challenges specific to Indo-European and Anglo-Indian relations are dispersed in the unthreatening sameness of a primordial human stock. Comparative philology provides an increasingly secure platform but cannot fully regulate what structures and interpretations are erected thereon. Jones tries to consign the difficulties attending respectful racism and civilized greed to the mists of time and the agenda of things still to be done. But still there lingers in this account of a revolutionary intellectual breakthrough the savour of domination and appropriation.

16. After all, knowledge derives much of its signficance from the interests it is made to serve. If fans of academic celebrity can read the word "Eureka!" between the lines of the "Third Anniversary Discourse," their enthusiasm should be tempered by consideration of the following:

> The greatest, if not the only obstacle to the progress of knowledge in these provinces, except in those branches of it, which belong immediately to our several professions, is our want of leisure for general research; and, as ARCHIMEDES, who was happily master of his time, had no *space* enough to move the greatest weight with the smallest force, thus we, who have ample space for our inquiries, really want *time* for the pursuit of them. "Give me a place to stand on," said the great Athenian, "and I will move the earth." *Give us time*, we may say, *for our investigations, and we will transfer to* Europe *all the sciences, arts and literature of* Asia. ("The design of a Treatise on the Plants of India." *Asiatick Researches* 2.345)

As with the rewriting of Terence, so in the case of an adjusted Archimedes mastery of "the" cultural or scientific canon marks its own limits and creates its own resistance. But a politically robust deconstruction does not simply point out that there is no Archimedean point available to us, but goes on to show how the desire for such a point is tied to imperialism of one sort or another, imperialism which is only too available and always looking for greater leverage.[7] "Genius"-- whether personal or national, whether Smith and Jones or economic modernity and European scholarship--is like liberty an overdetermined site of ideological struggle. Such struggle can subside into hegemony in ways that make one-way "transfer" in the interests of the dominant seem natural and contributing to the "general good." But the justification of such cultural and economic transfer depends on promoting one's own *translations* of textual authorities as definitive and those of the subaltern (erstwhile dominant Moghul in this instance) as "a mixture of gloss and text with a flimsy paraphrase of them both" (*Asiatick Researches* 3.59. *See plate 8*).

Plate 8

17. As well as disparaging indigenous alternatives one can appeal to the authority of the "one golden rule

for good translation; which is, to read the original so frequently, and study it so carefully, as to *imprint* on the mind a *complete* idea of the author's peculiar air and distinguishing features; and then to *assume, as it were, his* person, voice, *countenance*, gesture; and then to *represent* the man himself speaking in our language instead of his own" (*Works* 9.38). Jones is thinking of the pale-skinned, non-barbaric, Athenian Isaeus here, but his translator's presumption is as questionable in Isaeus's case as in the case of authors of oriental countenance and culture. It is good to do one's homework as a translator but bad to ignore the inevitable limits of such activity. Jones feels confident in impersonating Isaeus in a work that, aptly enough enacts while it addresses *The Law of Succession to Property*! But such learned and prosopoetic translation is deployed as a weapon to enhance the legitimacy of private property, a weapon still heavily responsible today for significant levels of incontinent ordinance and collateral damage. Whether the difference to be "assumed" by the translator is as palpable as skin colour or as apparently trivial as that separating "English" from "British" India, or "Oriental" from "Asiatick" Jones, it always matters. And it matters as a question of mastery for colonizers; it matters as a locus of necessary but not sufficient resistance for those colonized within the human family.

Notes

[1] See Guillory, chapter 5, but also Findlay, "Valuing Culture, Interdisciplining the Economic," 13ff.

[2] See, e.g., *Letters* 10-12, 232.

[3] Cf. *Letters* 260, 328-9, 334.

[4] Cf., e.g. *Letters* 102, 158, 166-70.

[5] Cf. *Letters* 795-800, 902, 907-8.

[6] Cf. Justinian xlv ff.

[7] For a range of political appropriations of Archimedes' famous claim, see Findlay, "Inviting Archimedes Over: Literary Theory, the Levers of Power, and the Politics of Narrative."

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The Containment and Re-Deployment of English India

"An Unlimited Intercourse": Historical Contradictions and Imperial Romance in the Early Nineteenth Century

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1. 'We might assume that late-eighteenth-century British writers described their new empire in India in terms of Enlightenment concepts of progress. In fact, until the 1790s, they tended to associate it, on the contrary, with moral and political degeneration, acutely aware that the despotic politics of imperialism-and in particular of the East India Company-were in conflict with the civil principles of the British state. In the early nineteenth century, with parliament's decision simultaneously to end the EIC's monopoly by opening the colonies to British free merchants and to permit British evangelicals to establish missions there, the nature of the empire began to change: the British public now had an opportunity to play an economic and spiritual role in the empire. The effect of this reform, though, was not simply to align British imperialism with the civilizing mission. Rather, it was to internalize the conflict between the principles of the nation-state and the politics of empire so that it resided *within* the empire: now the economic and moral aspects of the empire, superintended by the British nation, separated from the political aspect, which remained in the hands of the EIC. The former staked the claims of "modernity"; the latter rationalized its politics by insisting that it was concerned to preserve native "traditions."

2. Sydney Owenson's early-nineteenth-century historical novel *The Missionary: an Indian Tale* is of particular interest in regard to this transitional period, since it was the first novel to represent the problem of colonial India in terms of a conflict between modernity and tradition, rather than between principles of the nation-state and the politics of empire. In order to produce this new vision of the colonial encounter, which depends on late Enlightenment and Romantic Period concepts of history, *The Missionary* needed to offer a correspondingly new narrative form that effaced a fact that eighteenth-century writers rarely could: in the colonies, Indian "traditions" were a mask constructed by the colonial society. The notion that the colonial encounter is a contest between modernization and traditional culture continues to vex our understanding of imperialism and globalization, as well as of early modern attitudes toward empire, leading us to believe that we speak for the colonized when we speak in the name of their traditions, as if these traditions somehow remain unmarked by the history of imperialism.

Section One: The Politics of Conquest and the Civilizing Mission

3. In 1805, Claudius Buchanan, the chaplain for the East India Company settlement at Calcutta, wrote *Memoir of the Expediency of an Ecclesiastical Establishment for British India*, which called for "civilizing the natives" (29)[1]. Although the East India Company had established the colonial government in Calcutta four decades earlier in 1765, it prohibited missionary activity, and the *Memoir* was the *first* statement by a Company official calling for the evangelism of the native population[2]. While we have come to assume that imperialism was the means by which the European nation-state spread its civilization to the non-European world, or at least by which it extracted surplus revenue under the pretense of spreading its civilization, the early history of British India requires a different narrative.

4. In the preface to the *Memoir*, Buchanan writes:

> every character of our situation seems to mark the present æra, as that intended by Providence, for our taking in to consideration the moral and religious state of our subjects in the East; and for Britain's bringing up her . . . arrear of duty, and settling her account honourably with her Indian Empire. (2)

If the present moment is one which Buchanan is convinced contains particular theological significance, he makes clear that the redemption it offers pertains not only to the Hindus, but to the British as well[3]. While Hindus in general have not yet had the opportunity to receive the gospel, Britain's participation in the mercantile imperialism of the eighteenth century constitutes a wandering from the Faith, an "arrear of duty." By placing sovereign power over its Indian territories in the hands of a mercantile company, the British state had produced an empire that appeared to be a caricature of the state, a commercial society bereft of a moral foundation. In Buchanan's vision, evangelism does not inspire British imperialism, nor does it mystify Britain's exploitation of India. Rather, evangelism compensates India for the East India Company's ruthless extraction of its wealth; Buchanan asks rhetorically: "From [India] we export annually an immense wealth to enrich our own country. What do we give in return? (40). By "settling her account" with India, Britain also settles its account before God, finally redeeming itself from the sins of its eighteenth-century empire. Buchanan's *Memoir* discusses the project of "civilizing the natives" in its second part, only after it has discussed the more urgent project of "preserving the profession of the Christian religion among our countrymen in India" (1) in its first and so suggests in its very organization that we should see in the rise of British evangelism in India not the moral confidence that we might assume underwrote Britain's imperial claims, but rather a moral condemnation of the East India Company's eighteenth-century empire. British imperialism has been degenerate; now it must be reformed.

5. Evangelism steps onto British India's stage later than one would expect, because, as Hannah Arendt has argued, the civilizing mission and the politics of empire are to an extent mutually exclusive[4]. Although we tend to assume that European colonialism always fundamentally involved a civilizing mission, the East India Company's government in India explicitly avoided such a project throughout the eighteenth century. The Company believed that any attempt to anglicize the natives would offend their religious sensibilities, leading to unrest, political instability, and hence decreased revenue. The reforms of Lord Cornwallis (Governor-General of India, 1786-1793) were the only prominent exceptions to this general policy. Cornwallis was a parliamentary appointee, not a former Company servant, and London had chosen him to clean up the Company's corruption in the wake of Edmund Burke's allegations about Warren Hastings's administration (1772-85). Cornwallis reformed administration by removing all natives, whose influence was identified as a source of corruption, from important bureaucratic positions, and by centralizing power in the hands of British "collectors" who exercised their authority at a distance from the villages they governed[5]. At the end of Cornwallis's administration, the Act of Permanent Settlement reformed land-management by imposing what has been referred to as a Whig theory of property upon Bengal, securing the property rights and fixing the rents of a native aristocracy, in the hope that it would become a class of improving landlords[6]. But even these reforms were contested by forces within the Company, both in India and in England, as soon as they were established.

6. Lacking, among other things, the hindsight that the twentieth century provided Arendt, Buchanan nonetheless has an awareness of this opposition, realizing that the Company did not concern itself with "the moral and religious state" (xvi) of its Indian subjects, because such a project did not serve its economic interests: "Did we consider their moral improvement equal in importance to tribute or revenue, we should long ago have attempted it" (31). Buchanan imagines an official of the East India

Company articulating its political philosophy:

> "It is easy to govern the Hindoos in their ignorance, but shall we make them as wise as ourselves! The superstitions of the people are no doubt abhorrent from reason; they are idolatrous in their worship, and bloody in their sacrifices; but their manual skill is exquisite in the labours of the loom; they are a gentle and obsequious people in civil transaction." (41)

According to Buchanan, the colonial government preserves Hindu traditions that it recognizes are morally degenerate, because these traditions compel obedience to authority, while an education in the principles of civil society would inspire the native population to resist its servility. In fact, during the late eighteenth century, the Company not only refused to civilize the natives, but in order to support its tenuous authority, itself adopted Hindu as well as Islamic social and political forms. The very title the "British Raj" inscribes the colonial government's persistent ambivalence toward the civilizing mission and its belief that its own political stability depended on its continuity with Indian traditions. But for Buchanan and the early critics of the British empire in India, the East India Company's investment in Hindu traditions placed the Company beyond the pale of the British nation, into the shadowy realm of oriental despotism. In other words, for its eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century critics, the British empire in India embodied not European progress, but rather something closer to the degeneracy of eastern tradition; Buchanan exclaims: "can it be gratifying to the English nation to reflect, that they receive the riches of the East on the terms of chartering immoral superstition!" (41).

7. The civilizing mission that first began to emerge in British India in the early nineteenth century had two components: one was evangelism, while the other was liberalism, which, calling for an end to the East India Company's monopoly, claimed that British commerce freed from mercantile constraints would push India forward on the scale of nations. In a pamphlet entitled *A View of the Consequences of Laying open the Trade to India to Private Ships*, an advocate for the Company, Charles Maclean, argued against free trade on the grounds that it would inevitably lead to the end of the empire. Maclean believed that if Britain's middle classes were to gain the privilege of free trade with British India, they would establish "an unlimited intercourse" with it and that this unregulated exchange relationship would lead them in turn to colonize it. Such colonization, Maclean insisted, "would weaken, or obliterate" the very "characteristic features of the native inhabitants" that made the British empire possible in the first place (200)[7]. In one passage, Maclean parodies an orientalist scholar's respect for traditional Indian culture:

> The division of the natives of Asia into numerous casts, and the principle of perpetuity which pervades this distinction, if one may so speak, constitute a source of security to the permanence of our East Indian Government, hitherto unparalleled in the history of the world; and, as there is no great probability that mankind will ever again be edified by a similar phœnomenon, it is rather a pity that we should be in any particular hurry to adopt measures, which might prematurely destroy it. (201)

This passage is a succinct expression of the fundamental contradiction of modern imperialism—the conflict between the civilizing mission and the politics of empire—as it played itself out in early British India. The paradox emerges here in the fact that Maclean's argument implies that imperialism and colonization are inimical to each other, that the project of empire must of necessity have nothing to do with the assimilation of the subject people[8]. And Maclean's irony serves to emphasize the paradox. Maclean feigns respect for the caste system, claiming that it is without historical parallel and that it edifies mankind, but he undoubtedly recognizes that the British tended to see it as a manifestation of Hindu "prejudice," India's want of reason and hence of social progress. The irony implicit in treating the caste system with a deference normally reserved for ancient British liberties underscores the fact

that this tradition becomes worthy of respect only when one appreciates that it is the foundation of Britain's political and economic presence in India, "a source of security to the permanence of our East Indian Government." It is also from this perspective—which is simply too unprincipled for Maclean to adopt without irony—that progressive reform movements like evangelism and liberalism become, regardless of the benefits they might confer on the native population, a "pity," since they would "prematurely destroy" the caste system, subverting it before the British have had sufficient opportunity to take material advantage of it. Because it can defend the mercantile empire only by acknowledging, however ironically, that it is founded upon prejudice, this passage inscribes the fundamental opposition between the principles of the nation-state and the politics of empire, which was especially prominent during this transitional moment in imperial history.

8. Far from signalling a shift in the Company's attitude toward anglicization, Buchanan's *Memoir* sparked a public debate in 1807 among the Company's shareholders and in the London periodical press that highlighted the tense relationship between the civilizing mission and imperial politics. Maclean's pamphlet was part of another extensive metropolitan debate that expressed this tension, one that took place in the years immediately preceding parliament's 1813 renewal of the Company's charter, in which advocates for the Company's monopoly confronted its opponents, both in parliament and in print. The 1813 charter, with which parliament finally ended both the Company's monopoly on Indian trade (which the Company had first received from the British state more than two centuries earlier), and the Company's prohibition on missionary activity in India, marked a watershed in the history of British imperialism[9]. Parliament in effect transformed the public rationale behind British imperialism in India fundamentally: while the eighteenth-century merchant empire justified itself merely in terms of the revenue it provided the British state, 1813 in effect finally inaugurated the civilizing mission in British India. The civilizing mission was born only after a controversial half-century of colonial rule during which, in works like Buchanan's *Memoir*, metropolitan print culture repeatedly emphasized the discrepancy between the civil principles of the nation and the practices of its empire[10]. But the reforms of 1813 did not end this contradiction. Rather, they rearticulated it, so that it became no longer simply a conflict between metropolitan civil society and imperial colony, but rather one that also existed *within* empire, between the liberal and evangelical advocates of the civilizing mission on one hand and the colonial adminstrators who saw native traditions as the necessary prop for a government whose origins, like the veiled ones of civil society itself, had always been in conquest.

Section Two: A Footnote to the History of Empire

9. While the debate on Buchanan's pamphlet was still underway, reports reached London about a mutiny against British authority that had taken place in the South Indian town of Vellore, involving two months of unrest in the Madras native army that culminated in a revolt on July 10, 1806, in which native mutineers killed or wounded 200 of the 370 person British garrison. A historian of early-nineteenth century British India, C.H. Philips, claims that the Indian soldiers interpreted the Company's attempt to regulate their facial hair and dress as one more sign that the British intended ultimately to eliminate Hinduism from India, when in fact the regulations were intended only to insure a uniformity of appearance among the soldiers. Regardless, the Company's Directors used the mutiny as an opportunity to promote their case against missionaries, representing it as the consequence of the inevitable offense that any evangelical activity would cause native sensibilities[11]. The Chairmen of the Court of Directors claimed that the mutiny originated in "opposition to the innovations in the customs and religious institutions of the sepoys, fanned to heat by general rumours of their forced conversion to Christianity" (Philips 160).

10. Philips notes that "The question of converting the natives of India to Christianity was at that time supposed to depend for its solution upon the origin of the massacre at Vellore" (169)[12]. The struggle to interpret the uprising at Vellore included more than twenty-five authors in a pamphlet war and eventually led to the involvement both of the *Quarterly* and *Edinburgh Reviews*. Like those about Buchanan's pamphlet and the East India Company's monopoly, the debate on the Vellore Mutiny was one more example of the discursive conflict between the principles of the civilizing mission and the politics of empire.

11. Unremarked by subsequent historiography or criticism, the Vellore uprising becomes a footnote to *The Missionary: An Indian Tale*[13], published by the internationally famous author of *The Wild Irish Girl* (1806)[14], Lady Sydney (Owenson) Morgan, in 1811. *The Missionary*'s footnote to the Vellore uprising draws a parallel between the novel's setting, Portuguese Goa in the seventeenth century, and contemporary British India. Although Morgan's critics have not remarked upon the footnote, it turns out to be the case less that Morgan uses the Vellore mutiny to gloss her novel about seventeenth-century Portuguese India than that she uses her novel to gloss the Vellore mutiny, upon the interpretation of which the future of the civilizing mission in India seemed to depend.

12. But as its title suggests, the novel responds not only to the debates about the Vellore mutiny, but also to those about Buchanan's pamphlet: as if responding to Buchanan's widely discussed call for the evangelism of British India by offering a lesson from history, the novel describes the voyage of the Portuguese monk Hilarion first to the Portuguese colonial territory of Goa as the *Apostolic Nuncio* of India, and then to the remote independent province of Kashmir. While in its representation of missionary activity and native resistance, the novel responds directly to the debates about Buchanan's pamphlet and about the Vellore mutiny respectively, its date of publication places it in the midst of the metropolitan arguments that led up to the 1813 renewal of the Company's charter. Hence, with *The Missionary*, another voice entered the conflict between the civilizing mission and imperial politics. But in *The Missionary*, imperial rule becomes the coercive attempt to *uproot* Indian traditions in the name of the civilizing mission. So *The Missionary* and the period in which it was written, in contrast to the literature of the late eighteenth century, mark the emergence of a specifically modern vision of the colonial encounter that effaces the traditional eighteenth-century association of imperialism with degeneration and with an awareness of the fundamental contradiction between imperialism and civil society. In other words, *The Missionary* serves the historical function of rearticulating the fundamental contradiction inherent in imperialism in terms of a basic romance plot. Eighteenth-century writers tended to argue, in various forms, that imperialism's renegade capitalism threatened the civil principles that were supposedly the foundation of the nation-state. The historical function that *The Missionary* serves is absolutely crucial, inaugurating the modern trope that would replace this eighteenth-century discourse, representing the imperial encounter as an often violent romance between civil society and native traditions.

Section Three: The Rise of the Historical Novel and Imperial Romance

13. Why does *The Missionary* efface the discrepancy between civil society and the imperial colony on which late eighteenth-century literature placed so much emphasis? One reason is that, unlike the *Memoir*, which responds to Buchanan's experience of colonial politics, *The Missionary* instead clearly reflects the development of historical consciousness in early nineteenth-century European culture. Taking issue with Lukács's championing of Scott as the inventor of the literary genre that first articulated modern historical consciousness, Katie Trumpener has argued that, in her early novels, such as *The Wild Irish Girl* and *The Missionary*, it was Morgan, who along with Maria Edgeworth, set the

precedent for the historical novel[15]. Locating one source of modern historical consciousness in Scottish and Irish responses to Enlightenment programs for economic improvement that were seen to be imperialist, Trumpener's study of the late-eighteenth- and early-nineteenth-century British novel in particular argues that the emergence of historical consciousness is intimately related to the experience of empire as a form of modernization or economic incorporation. One form that this response to internal colonialism took was the philosophical discussion of national development patterns, the most famous of which was the Scottish Enlightenment's four-stage theory[16]. The four-stage theory simultaneously narrated history and geography, since it claimed that one could map social development not only diachronically, but also synchronically across space.

14. With its "intense interest in local color, customs, and attachments, " the early nineteenth-century novel placed these late eighteenth-century philosophical discussions into novelistic form, and the four-stage theory in particular lent itself to two narrative forms: the national tale, which according to Trumpener "maps developmental stages topographically," since "the movement of these novels is geographical rather than historical"; and the historical novel, which is "obsessed with [. . .] historical processes that [. . .] uproot traditional cultures" and hence which represents diachronic change (165, 141, 141, 167). If the focus of the historical novel is the modernization of traditional cultures, it is not surprising that it makes empire one more example of such processes, especially since its model for empire is internal anglicization. Even if one adopts Lukács's different but complementary account of the preconditions of the historical novel's rise—that is, historical consciousness developed during the Napoleonic Wars, when the propaganda of war across Europe attempted to justify war in terms of national development —the model of empire (in this case, the supposedly abstract rationality of the Napoleonic Empire) remains a modernizing force (Lukács 23-24). In other words, by the early nineteenth century, the relationship between imperialism and modernity or the civilizing mission appeared much less complicated in metropolitan culture than it was in point of fact in British India and than it had appeared throughout the eighteenth century.

15. Trumpener claims that, while Morgan's earliest novels are national tales, *The Missionary* is a transitional form between the national tale and the historical novel, since it represents both a British periphery as a distinct stage in the progress of civilization and the historical processes that transformed this "life world," and she notes further that *The Missionary* is particularly representative of the historical novel, since it "highlights the thematics of colonialism, domination, and forced modernization beginning to emerge in the genre as a whole" (167, 146). Whereas the late-eighteenth-century novel could not imagine the British empire in India as an agent of progress, because it saw only violence, not liberal commerce, as the force that generated imperial expansion, the development of historical consciousness in metropolitan literary culture during the early nineteenth century engendered another possibility for the representation of empire.

16. On one level, *The Missionary* is clearly a displacement of Morgan's preoccupation with Ireland, with the Indian heroine Luxima, the High "Priestess" of a Brahman sect, taking the place of the heroine of *The Wild Irish Girl*, Glorvina, a Celtic "princess," both of them embodiments of their respective national traditions[17]. But the novel is also a genuine attempt to project the form of the historical novel that Morgan was in the process of inventing onto the new space of colonial India, with its significantly different, non-European culture. During the period of her life when Morgan wrote *The Missionary*, she served as a governess in the household of the marquis of Abercorn, who had collected a large library of the orientalist works that had come out of colonial India during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries[18]. Morgan annotates *The Missionary* with extensive references to these works, and this kind of "scholarly" footnote, which would become a common literary apparatus as the historical novel continued to develop, served to authorize her reconstruction of Indian culture as arrested at a certain historical stage in the progress of human society.

17. Soon after he arrives in the isolated province of Kashmir in order to carry on his missionary labors, the Portuguese monk Hilarion fixes all of his proselytic efforts on Luxima on the premise, he insists to himself, that if he can convert a "high priestess," all of her disciples and then the nation as such will follow. The narrative makes clear, though, that what actually drives Hilarion's tireless energy in pursuing his designs on Luxima is not his devotion to the Catholic Church, but rather his frustrated and sublimated sexual desire. Since the entrance into civilization for Hilarion in particular and for the civil self in general depends upon the placement of an essential "restraint" upon basic human passions, it follows that Hilarion and the civil self always experience a frustration that threatens to erupt outside civil society.

18. The greater part of the novel describes Hilarion and Luxima's romance, which—although always unconsummated and for his part undeclared—leads the Inquisition to sentence him to burn at the stake, the climax of the novel. The romance is of course an allegory of the colonial encounter and it participates in a topos common to the nascent historical novel that Trumpener has discussed. In fiction not only by Morgan, but also by Edgeworth and Charles Maturin, a "national marriage plot" re-enacts the Act of Union between England and her internal colonies on the one hand and Ireland on the other that took place in 1800 (Trumpener 137). With Morgan in particular, the national marriage plot offers the possibility of "union" not only between different and apparently opposed national cultures within the British empire, but also between different historical stages in the progress of human society. The stadial theory of history leads inevitably to calls for a reconciliation between pre-civil states of nature and modern civil society, the reconciliation (or romance) within which human fulfillment supposedly lies.

Section Four: The Stages of National Progress

19. The footnote that refers to Vellore glosses a passage that claims the coercive proselytism of Goa's Catholic Church was on the verge of provoking a native insurrection, and it remarks in passing:

> An insurrection of a fatal consequence took place in *Vellore* so late as 1806, and a mutiny at Nundydrag and Benglore occurred about the same period: both were supposed to have originated in the religious bigotry of the natives, suddenly kindled by the supposed threatened violation of their faith from the Christian settlers. (248-9)

This footnote is a concise portrait of the colonial encounter, and it happens also to encapsulate the basic terms of the novel's larger dramatization of this encounter. The words that introduce the footnote, "An insurrection took place in *Vellore* so late as 1806," imply that Morgan believes that the Vellore mutiny reflects the same basic tension that her novel explores and hence that she offers her novel as an explanation of the conditions that provoked the Vellore mutiny. The footnote suggests that the conditions that provoked the mutiny are the coercive nature of European colonial rule—or, one could say, civil society's violent attempt to transform the pre-civil world—and Hindu "religious bigotry"—or the irrationality of the pre-civil world. Brief as it is, the footnote nonetheless successfully reduces the colonial encounter to a confrontation between two different historical stages of civil progress. In its portraits both of the romance between Hilarion and Luxima and of the colonial encounter between the Europeans and the Indians, the novel is founded upon the categories of premodern irrationality and modern reason, and hence it is an elaboration of the footnote, and by extension of Morgan's interpretation of the Vellore mutiny.

20. During the period in which Morgan sets *The Missionary*, the early seventeenth century, the imperial relationship was especially complicated, because while Goa was a Portuguese colonial territory,

Portugal itself had recently become a province of the Spanish Empire. Hence, her choice of Goa as a setting enables Morgan to discuss two kinds of imperialism: not only that which obtains between Europe and India, but also that which occurs within Europe's borders. The retrospective placement of the imperial relationship in seventeenth-century Goa enables Morgan, more specifically, to gesture toward the present realities not only of British imperialism in India, but also of British imperialism in Ireland *and* of the Napoleonic Empire on the European continent. Morgan in fact opens her narrative by placing it in the context of Spanish imperialism in Portugal:

> In the beginning of the seventeenth century, Portugal, bereft of her natural sovereigns, had become an object of contention to various powers in Europe. . . . Under the goading oppression of Philip the Second, and of his two immediate successors, the national independence of a brave people faded gradually away, and Portugal, without losing its rank in the scale of nations, sunk into a Spanish province. (1)

The quotation makes clear that Portugal already possessed the attributes of an independent nation-state *before* Spain subjected it to imperial rule. Under its "natural sovereigns," Portugal had progressed to the leading edge of the "scale of nations." Lukács notes that the propaganda of war during the Napoleonic years popularized the idea that the nation's character and hence by extension its independence require the preservation of its history. Early nationalist thought imagines that imperial rule suppresses this history and galvanizes the popular masses to resist imperial rule by reconstructing the nation's glorious past[19]. In the case of imperialism within Europe, whether Spain against seventeenth-century Portugal or Napoleonic France against the European continent, at least from the perspective of early-nineteenth-century historical consciousness, imperial rule can serve only to suppress those ancient traditions that are intrinsic to the nation's character. Early nationalist thought responds to Enlightenment theories of civil progress by claiming that the basic human passions that civil society by definition restrains and hence frustrates can gain a formed of refined fulfillment only if the general model of civil society is not coercively imposed on the nation, but rather respects and preserves the particular character of the nation's ancient traditions. But, as we shall see, Morgan believes that imperial rule does serve a function in India, because India's history, regardless of its virtues, does not contain the seeds of the nation-state.

21. When Morgan first describes the colonial state of Goa, she continues her portrait of the Portuguese as, ironically, the victims of colonization, rather than its agents:

> The places under the civil and ecclesiastical government of Goa were filled by Spaniards, but the Portuguese constituted the mass of the people. They groaned under the tyranny of the Spanish Jesuits, and they heard, with a rapture which their policy should have taught them to conceal, that an apostolic nuncio, of the royal line of Portugal, and of the order of St. Francis, was come to visit their settlements, to correct the abuses of the church. (17)

This passage illustrates Morgan's vision of imperial rule as coercive, especially within Europe, where it cannot serve a civilizing function. Morgan envisions the coercion of imperial rule in terms of an analogy with the repression of physical desire produced by the restraints that civil principles place on the body. Directed by an abstract civil rationality, the imperial government is analogous to the mind and specifically to conscience. In contrast to her representation of imperial governments, Morgan here emphasizes the collective affective life of the national masses and hence implies that they are analogous to the body. Their "groans" under "the tyranny of the Spanish Jesuits" express the sufferings of the body under the repressions of conscience. The rapture they feel at the possibility of being governed by their "natural sovereign," who embodies their traditions, points, on the other hand, toward the sort of transcendence possible only when mind and body are organically related. In other words, while imperial rule produces a disjunction between body and mind, alienating the population from the

state, in the organic nation-state, political rationality is continuous with popular desire, the state's civil law evolving through history from the nation's premodern traditions.

Section Five: The Romance Allegory

22. In the case of European rule in India, the disjunction is more pronounced, because the colonized nation is at a historical remove from the imperial state. From the perspective of a four-stage theory that culminates in a utopian vision of the unfettered exercise of reason, the Indian national masses, arrested at an earlier historical stage, are even more imprisoned within their bodies than the European. *The Missionary*'s romance allegory elaborates the idea that imperial instability is analagous to a mind-body dualism and emphasizes the gap between European reason and Indian affect. Within the allegory, Hilarion is of course the figure of European state rationality, and Luxima of Indian national culture. As a child, Hilarion had what one would have thought was the misfortune to be placed in a monastery, but he immediately discovered that monastic values agreed with his own precocious desire to overcome the body and by extension nature: he "sighed to retire to some boundless desert, to live superior to nature, and to nature's laws, beyond the power of temptation, and the possibility of error; to subdue alike the human weakness and the human passion" (4). Even more directly than etymology suggests, Hilarion's sublimation of his physical desire has its roots in an aesthetics of the Sublime. His premature introduction to monastic life serves as a parable of Enlightenment concepts of civil progress from the perspective of the Romantic period. Within this perspective, the principles of civil society serve not to rationalize the body's ruling passions but rather to turn them against themselves, producing a kind of masochism. Morgan portrays Luxima, on the other hand, as the very embodiment of sensuality (however chaste), and hence adds more than a hint of sexual *frisson* to Hilarion's missionary labors:

> To listen to her was dangerous; for the eloquence of genius and feeling, and the peculiar tenets of her sect, gave a force to her errors, and a charm to her look, which weakened even the zeal of conversion in the priest, in proportion as it excited the admiration of the man. (85)

So while Hilarion is a caricature of modern civil society, of the aspiration toward unfettered reason, Luxima is a caricature of pre-civil life, of subjectivity imprisoned within the body. Not only does Morgan's characterization of Europe and India in terms of diametric opposites explain the sexual tension that drives the romance but it also purports to explain the cultural tension that destabilizes imperial rule.

23. Hilarion does finally begin in fact to surrender his missionary "zeal" to his manly "admiration," and in doing so he redefines the significance of the narrative: now his romance with Luxima is an allegory no longer of imperial instability, but rather of the possibility of a union of different historical stages. In this union, Hilarion as modern man recovers the possibility of the affective life that he has long since renounced in his desire to master nature, to demystify its enchantment, the "force" of its "errors" and the "charm" of its "look." Morgan describes the effect that his undeclared love for Luxima and his life in edenic Kashmir have upon Hilarion:

> nature had now breathed upon his feelings her vivifying spirit: . . . the sentiment which had at first imperceptibly stolen on his heart, now mastered and absorbed his life. He now lived in a world of newly connected and newly modifed ideas; every sense and every feeling was increased in its power . . . and he felt himself hurried away by new and powerful emotions which he sought not to oppose, and yet trembled to indulge. (107)

Pre-civil life, with all of its enchantment, enables Hilarion finally to overcome the alienated subjectivity that Morgan suggests is characteristic of civilized society. Trumpener notes that the "novels of Owenson's and Maturin's middle periods envision cross-cultural marriage as a form of countercolonization" (137)[20]. In fact, Morgan explicity represents Hilarion's transformation as the revolution (in the literal sense), not of the colonized nation against imperial rule, but rather of Nature against the usurped authority of civil society:

> [Hilarion] had brought with him into deserts the virtues and the prejudices which belong to social life in a certain stage of its progress; and in deserts, Nature, reclaiming *her rights* unopposed by the immediate influence of the world, now taught him to feel her power through the medium of the most omnipotent of her passions. (107, my emphasis)

Where Enlightenment philosophers imagined not that civil society simply represses the body's passions, but rather that it refines them into the rational interests that generate modern economic activity, Morgan presupposes that the movement into advanced civil society entails the overcoming of the body as such, that civil society is the site of abstract reason rather than of rationalized passions. Hence, when "Nature" revolts against civil society here, it does so not in the form of passions revolting against the limits civil society has placed on them, but rather in the form of the body—articulated in terms of a conventional eighteenth-century model of nerves and sensibility—simply becoming aware of itself once again, as it had been in mythic consciousness[21].

Section Six: An Ignorant Non-Age

24. But if this victory of Nature over Reason in the context of romance enables modern man to regain his affective life, it comes at great cost in the very different context of political struggle. It is precisely the domination of Nature—in other words, mythology—that withholds the Indian nation from the course of world-historical progress and that explains the necessary failure of the Hindu uprising that ends the novel. The passage that introduces the uprising elaborates the footnote's reference to native "religious bigotry":

> The arts used by the Dominicans and the Jesuits for the conversion of the followers of Brahma . . . had excited in the breasts of the mild, patient, and long-enduring Hindus, a principle of resistance, which waited only for some strong and sudden impulse to call it into action. (248)

The Hindus are "mild, patient, and long-enduring"—or in Buchanan's terms, "a gentle and obsequious people"—because they lack a rationality capable of critiquing political domination and promoting autonomy. Whatever its source, "the principle of resistance" that lies barely dormant in the Hindu "breast" is not reason; their uprising expresses, not a rational critique of imperial rule, but rather only a reaction to "some strong and sudden impulse," a largely spontaneous outburst, rather than a premeditated and organized strategy. In the political sphere, the enchantment of nature, the domination of the body, leads to violent anarchy, rather than to national independence.

25. Morgan literally sets the stage for the Hindu uprising, by placing religious irrationality in general and Hindu irrationality in particular on its foreground. Near the novel's close, the Goan Inquisition imprisons Hilarion for his alleged indiscretions with Luxima and is about to burn him at the stake, when Luxima, herself having just escaped from imprisonment, discovers him. Delirious from her detention, Luxima imagines that Hilarion is her husband and that the Inquisition fire is his Hindu funeral pyre. She then attempts to commit sati—the ritual practice of "voluntary" widow-burning that

had assumed a sensational place in the British literary imagination since the initial years of colonial rule—in the Inquisition fire[22]. In the shared element of fire, the irrationality of the Inquisition and of Roman Catholicism blurs into the irrationality of sati and Brahmanical Hinduism.

26. Luxima's delirium contrasts with the clear-sighted reason of Hilarion, who saves her from this confused sati, presumably against her own wishes: "She sprang upon the pile: . . . the multitude shouted in horrid frenzy—the Missionary rushed forward— . . . he snatched the victim from a fate he sought not himself to avoid" (260). Hilarion's intervention in sati is a perfect emblem of the European civilizing mission. Hilarion saves Luxima from a "fate" that her religion dictates for her and in doing so, he offers her the opportunity to critique this religious dogma and this fate and thereby to regain her historical agency, to master fate. In British eighteenth-century fiction about India, such as Mariana Starke's 1791 play *The Widow of Malabar*, the British colonist rescuing the Brahman widow had become a commonplace tableau[23]. But the point we need to recognize is that while both *The Widow of Malabar* and *The Missionary* justify imperial rule in terms of a civilizing mission that manifests itself particularly at the scene of sati, they in fact misrepresent the colonial government's policy toward sati and hence its relationship to the civilizing mission. Ironically, the East India Company made it official policy to prohibit British intervention in sati precisely because it feared that proscribing a practice that claimed to have authoritative scriptural foundations and hence the status of an "ancient right" would subvert the very basis of its authority. It was only in the 1820s that colonial administrators would debate the official policy toward sati and only in 1833 that they would outlaw the practice[24]. This transformation from the late eighteenth to the early nineteenth century, in which the British intervention in sati went from occuring in literature to being actual colonial policy, is significant: it marks the gradual entrance of the civilizing mission into British India, against the protests of many officials within the East India Company.

27. When Hilarion breaks free from the grasp of the officers of the Inquisition to save Luxima, they attack him, but the dagger they aim at his heart finds Luxima's instead. It is this unintentional stabbing that provides the "impulse" for the Hindu uprising. The uprising is supposed to evidence that the "principle of resistance" concealed in the Hindu breast is a passion or an irrational consciousness that, when provoked, can only strike out violently and hence ineffectually, resistance somehow short of historical agency. The Hindu masses attack the Inquisition at a moment in which it had *not* offended them. As the irrationality of the Inquisition had blurred into that of sati, Luxima's delirium blurs into that of the Hindu crowd. What Morgan had insinuated about Vellore in the footnote, she makes the truth of her own recreation of Vellore: the uprising is a product of zealousness inadvertantly provoking a violence always latent in irrational or mythic consciousness:

> the timid spirits of the Hindus rallied to an event which touched their hearts, and roused them from their lethargy of despair; . . . to avenge the long-slighted cause of their religion, and their freedom;—they fell with fury on the Christians. . . .
>
> Their religious enthusiasm kindling their human passions, their rage became at once inflamed and sanctified by their superstitious zeal. (261)

The irrationality of the Hindus' judgment leads of course to an equally irrational uprising. Note Morgan's choice of words: beginning in "their hearts," the uprising is vengeful, furious, enthusiastic, enraged, inflamed, and superstitious. Morgan creates binary oppositions between not only Luxima's madness and Hilarion's clear-headedness, but also the "credulous" and "superstitious" Hindu rebels and the professionalized Spanish soldiers: "the Spaniards fought as mercenaries, with skill and coolness; the Indians as enthusiasts, for their religion and their liberty, with an uncurbed impetuousity; . . . the Hindus were defeated" (262). The Spaniards are more effective, because they act out of self-interest,

rather than out of a collective delusion. The binary between the Spaniards and the Hindus projects onto a collective level the binary between Luxima and Hilarion.

28. The stadial theory of civil progress opposes the mythic subjectivity of feudal societies to the civic rationality of advanced commercial societies. The former subjectivity takes humanity out of its natural state of war, in Hobbes's term, without ever cultivating its critical faculty. Rather, mythology suppresses humanity's aggressive passions by subjugating them to the apparently overwhelming power of physical nature and fate. Hence, when humanity in the mythic state does act out its rulings passions in whatever form its religion inspires, these passions remain the still savage ones of natural man, incapable of aspiring toward civil society. In the representation of the imperial encounter in *The Missionary* at least, the stadial theory produces a romantic exchange that privileges mythic consciousness as the source of subjective fulfillment and a political exchange that privileges civil rationality as the source of historical progress.

29. Like Morgan, Claudius Buchanan had also argued that though Hindus appeared "timid," their timidness was just another expression of a mythic or "superstitious" consciousness, an infatuation or enchantment that denies them historical agency and that can only manifest itself as rage:

> You will sometimes hear it said that the Hindoos are a mild and passive people. They have apathy rather than mildness; . . . They are a race of men of weak bodily frame, and they have a mind conformed to it, timid and abject in the extreme. They are passive enough to receive any vicious impression. . . . In the course of the last six months, one hundred and sixteen women were burnt alive with the bodies of their deceased husbands within thirty miles round Calcutta, the most civilized quarter of Bengal. But independently of their superstitious practices, they are described by competent judges as being of a spirit vindictive and merciless; exhibiting itself at times in *a rage and infatuation*, which is without example among other people. (37, my emphasis)

In Morgan's and Buchanan's images of the Hindu, timidity will always turn into violence, because both the mildness and the violence manifest an inability to act effectively. If it is "religious enthusiasm" that kindles their "passions," the Hindus possess only superstition, not the knowledge necessary to effect a desired outcome. The "apathy" to which Buchanan refers is the logical consequence of their lack of agency. The "lethargy" and the "despair" with which Morgan characterizes the crowd also reflects their inability to believe in their own agency. The representation of irrational violence, both in the *Memoir* and in *The Missionary*, implies the necessity of colonial intervention in Hindu culture, refuting the countervailing vision of Hinduism as a gentle religion that should not be disturbed. But to the extent that Morgan agrees with Buchanan, she in fact aligns herself not with the colonial government, but rather with its critics. While the colonial government depended on what it considered to be a native infatuation with traditional forms of political authority, as it did throughout the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, it could not afford to represent native traditions as a form of mythic consciousness. Instead, even as it attempted to take advantage of these traditions, the colonial government took pains to publish the codifications of indigenous law that insisted the basic civil principle of private property was an ancient Indian right. The colonial government could not allow itself to accept the view that Hindu traditions merely reflected infatuation, because its government was based on these traditions.

30. In fact, though, the early British anthropology of Hindu culture could not resist reducing it to pre-civil forms of barbarism, to the kind of tendency toward self-destruction that precedes the establishment of the social contract. Like *The Missionary*'s conclusion, where the Hindus' fanaticism leads in the end to their own slaughter, British writers drew attention to the practice of self-inflicted torture. Take, for example, the account that Lord Teignmouth, the president of the group of largely amateur orientalists

that gathered in Calcutta as the famed Asiatic Society, gave of the Hindus' "revengeful spirit":

> In 1791, *Soodishter Mier*, a *Brahmin*, the farmer of land paying revenue, and tenant of tax-free land in the province of *Benares*, was summoned to appear before a native officer, the duty collector of the district where he resided. He positively refused to obey the summons, which was repeated without effect; and after some time several people were deputed to enforce the process, by compelling his attendance. On their approaching his house he cut off the head of his deceased son's widow, and threw it out. (*Asiatic Researches* 335)[25]

From the perspective of this passage, the Brahman clearly participates in a pre-bourgeois culture that responds violently to the prospect of shame, like the European aristocrat who responds to an insult of his honor by demanding justice in the form of a duel. But the Brahman exaggerates the absurdity of the aristocrat, because the gap here between the "insult" and the violence of the response is absolutely incommensurable. Teignmouth continues his narrative of Brahmans who literally lose their heads in their desire for revenge by describing two more instances of domestic violence, recounting the testimonies of a man who killed his daughter and another who committed matricide:

> "I became angry . . . and enraged at his forbidding me [to plough the field]; and bringing my own little daughter *Apmunya*, who was only a year and a half old, to the said field, I killed her with my sword." (*Asiatic Researches* 335-6)

> Beechuck . . . drew his scymetar, and, at one stroke, severed his mother's head from her body; with the professed view, as entertained and avowed by both parent and son, that the mother's spirit . . . might for ever haunt, torment, and pursue to death *Gowry* and the others concerned with him. (*Asiatic Researches* 337)

Teignmouth's anecdotes construct a stereotype of the Brahman that explains why the colonial government was so wary of encroaching on traditional Indian culture. Each of the acts that Teignmouth recounts is supposed to manifest a resistance to authority but in fact constitutes a violation of the most basic filial affections and hence manifests a self-destructive tendency. From the perspective of this stereotype, Brahmanical subjectivity, unable to critique and reform government rationally, can only respond to government as a form of violence in kind; as Buchanan notes, Hindus are "passive enough to receive any vicious impressions" (37)[26]. The Hindu will imagine a violence in the operations of authority even when it is absent, and it will respond to authority simply by repeating this violence. But because the Hindu's passions have not been rationalized, his response to government is even more violent and much more perverse than the attempts to govern him were in the in the first place, and hence it only precipitates civil degeneration[27].

31. Alongside Morgan's portrait of the Hindu uprising, Buchanan's account of the Brahmanical "revengeful spirit" (37) suggests that European and Indian national traditions bear very different relationships to modern civil society. About the Portuguese revolution against the Spanish Empire, Morgan writes:

> the spring of national liberty, receiving its impulse from the very pressure of the tyranny which crushed it, . . . produced one of the most singular and perfect revolutions which the history of nations has recorded. (1)

Morgan presupposes that national traditions in Europe have already been rationalized by the Enlightenment or that they have the benefit of reason and hence that the national spirit in Europe can enter history as a revolutionary force, providing a people who have the critical capacity to form a civil society the sovereignty they deserve. When we recognize that from the perspective of Morgan and those who supported the civilizing mission in India, Indian traditions simply lacked reason as such, we

will not be surprised that though Morgan was known internationally for her celebration of national traditions, she could not help but believe that Indian traditions were precisely what withheld India from independent nationhood and the inevitably teleology of world history. From her perspective, any Indian revolution against colonial rule will be premature, a still irrational outburst leading only to fruitless violence[28]. It is only colonial rule that can introduce reason into Indian national traditions and in doing so enable India to enter history[29].

Section Seven: Preserving Native Traditions

32. The romance plot rejoins the political subplot in the sense that it is only after the European has regained his affective life that he can rule India properly, respecting her traditions, in order to rationalize them upon a European model. By the novel's end, both Luxima and Hilarion express their visions of a reformed colonial rule that would reconcile a certain respect for Indian traditions with imperial rationality. Luxima presents her vision to Hilarion in her last words, before she dies from the stab wound, calling on him to undertake a different kind of proselytic project:

> "when *I* am no more, thou shalt preach, not to the Brahmins only, but to the christians, that the sword of destruction, which has been this day raised between the followers of thy faith and of mine may be for ever sheathed! Thou wilt appear among them as a spirit of peace, teaching mercy, and inspiring love; thou wilt sooth away, by acts of tenderness, and words of kindness, the stubborn prejudice which separates the mild and patient Hindu from his species; and thou wilt check the christian's zeal, and bid him follow the sacred lesson of the God he serves." (273)

The reconciliation of the different historical stages in civil progress enables colonial rule to appeal to the heart, to construct an affective relationship with the premodern subject. In its emphasis on the necessity of a sympathetic foundation for colonial rule, Luxima's vision responds precisely and no doubt intentionally to the governing principles that supposedly inspired the Vellore uprising.

33. Hilarion also insists that colonial rule must be sympathetic toward the native. To the Jesuits who will eventually turn him in to the Inquisition, he declares:

> "It is by a previous cultivation of their moral powers, we may hope to influence their religious belief; it is by teaching them to love us that we can lead them to listen to us; it is by inspiring them with respect for our virtues, that we can give them confidence in our doctrine." (226)

But while Luxima calls only for the elimination of Hindu prejudice, the violent unreason that the uprising manifested, Hilarion, like Buchanan, believes that Hinduism simply is irrational, and searches for the method by which Hinduism can be "perfectly eradicated" (181) and "universally subverted" (184). For Hilarion, the affective relationship between colonist and colonized becomes in part the method that undoes the intricate interweaving of Hinduism with native subjectivity and that prepares the premodern subject for the exercise of a critical rationality; once the native achieves this rationality, he can and must abandon his traditions. While the early historical novel and post-enlightenment historical consciousness in general imply that tradition must be respected, because the nation-state cannot be founded on abstract reason alone, *The Missionary* argues that in the case of India, colonial rule must respect native traditions for the purely pragmatic reason of providing the civilizing mission an opening gambit. Within this image of the imperial encounter, India's national traditions do not inform but rather oppose the values of the nation-state, and hence the construction of an advanced civil

society entails their ultimate destruction.

Section Eight: Constructing Native "Tradition"

34. It is a telling irony that though Morgan had an international reputation as an opponent of British colonialism, *The Missionary* promotes the civilizing mission more wholeheartedly than the British colonial government itself did. While the evangelical movement called for the establishment of missions in India as part of a broad project of anglicization that purported to insure that colonial rule served not to exploit the native population but rather to secure their prosperity, East India Company officials in general vehemently opposed evangelism in particular and anglicization in general, because they believed that such projects would provoke insurrection and destabilize their authority. Hence, even after parliament gave official support to missionary activity with its 1813 renewal of the East India Company charter, Company bureaucrats, who continued to govern India on the ground, showed little sympathy for missionaries. For example, both the Governor of Bombay, Mountstuart Elphinstone, and the Governor of Madras, Thomas Munro, opposed missionaries, with Munro actively punishing administrators who used their positions to spread Christianity[30]. While the evangelical movement in colonial politics legitimized its concern to promote Christianity by placing it under the banner of the civilizing mission, Company officials legitimized the political and social structures upon which their authority depended by placing them under the banner of the defense of Indian tradition.

35. In his seminal study of nineteenth-century imperial ideology, *The English Utilitarians and India*, Eric Stokes refers to the new generation of colonial administrators who emerged in reaction to the beginnings of the civilizing mission in the early nineteenth century as "romantic"[31]. According to the historical narrative of Stokes and Bearce, a romantic ideology motivated these administrators—who included most prominently, Elphinstone, Sir John Malcolm, and their mentor, Munro—in the sense that they opposed the abstract political principles established by Cornwallis's anglicizing reforms, including the Act of Permanent Settlement, with the supposedly Indian custom of personal government, which created a sympathetic bond between ruler and ruled, and secured the peasant in traditional village India[32]. But Stokes and Bearce are taking these EIC officials at their word: their writings reinforce this narrative of their ideology, implying that their sensitivity to Indian tradition is the only means to insure the spread of Enlightenment, to prevent a premature Indian revolution. The following quotations are taken from, respectively, Thomas Munro in 1813; Elphinstone; and Malcolm, his successor as Governor of Bombay:

> When we have gained their attachment by mild and liberal treatment, they will gradually adopt from us new customs and improvements, which under a severe and suspicious government they would have rejected.
>
> It is not enough to give new laws, or even good courts; you must take the people along with you, and give them a share in your feelings, which can be done by sharing theirs. (Bearce 134)
>
> All that Government can do is . . . by adapting its principles to the various feelings, habits, and character of its inhabitants, to give time for the slow and silent operation of the desired improvement, with a constant impression that every attempt to accelerate this end will be attended with the danger of its defeat. (Stokes 23)

In this emphasis on a sensitivity to tradition that will serve as the sympathetic foundation to colonial rule, one can hear precise echoes of both Luxima's and Hilarion's visions of a conciliatory colonialism

and in particular of Hilarion's premise that sensitivity to Indian tradition is the only means to prevent a premature Indian revolution and hence to insure the spread of Enlightenment. Furthermore, Munro and Malcolm share the belief Buchanan expresses that there is a latent and easily provoked violence in Indian irrationality, and consequently, they also deduce from this belief the principle that the colonial government must first humor Indians, expressing sympathy for their traditions, before it attempts to civilize them.

36. But in his recent study of Thomas Munro, without criticizing Stokes directly, Burton Stein argues that the motivation behind the system of property ownership and administration that Munro devised and established, which became the dominant models in British India, was neither to preserve native traditions of property as the basis of a reconstructed civil society nor to treat the Indian peasant with romantic benevolence, but rather to eliminate all intermediate indigenous property owners and political authorities who could possibly compete with Company power; Stein comments: "Munro was proposing nothing less than the completion, by administrative means, of the military conquest of the Baramahal territory. . . it was the perceived task of civil administration in the Baramahal to divest ancient local lordships of any capacity to resist or overturn Company rule" (59)[33]. Stein suggests that the kind of comments that Munro and his bureaucratic disciples made in defense of their administrative policies as sensitive to the traditions of India have fed into a propagandistic historiography that celebrates this sort of colonial administrator and this period of colonial rule as especially benevolent (46-8). This celebration depends on a confusion whose origins *The Missionary* marks: the premise that the colonial encounter is the inevitable confrontation of tradition and the civilizing mission, a confrontation that can be represented in terms of two *individuals* and that always risks being coercive and leading to the oppression of the nation, but that can always be conciliatory, leading both to the historical fufillment of the nation and the subjective fulfillment of modern consciousness. In fact, of course, neither side of the colonial encounter could be properly considered individual or unitary; the terms "tradition" and "modernity" in fact empty the colonial encounter of its history. The peculiar history of early British India suggests instead that rather than the stage where the civilizing mission and tradition play out the dramatic script of historical necessity, the imperial encounter is in fact precisely where imperial rule *creates* the intractable historical legacy of native traditions, in order to support its essential opposition to the civilizing mission. That is to say, the *modern* construction of "native traditions," one more cunning artifice of civil progress, attests to the fact that the imperial encounter always threatens to reveal the most naked images of civil society's own violent origins.

Notes

1 All references to the first American edition of Buchanan's *Memoir*.

2 For historical background to Buchanan's appointment, see Embree, especially 141-2 and 189-90, and for historical background to the publication and reception of the *Memoir*, see Philips, 159-60.

The movement that eventually succeeded in gaining missionaries access to India first surfaced in colonial politics during the 1790s, when William Wilberforce attempted to introduce a clause sanctioning the establishment of evangelical missions in British India into parliament's 1793 renewal of the East India Company's charter. Although Henry Dundas, president of parliament's Board of Control on Indian Affairs, was predisposed to this clause, the combined protest of the Company's governing elite, or "Directors," and its largest shareholders, or Proprietors, presented an insurmountable obstacle to Wilberforce's efforts. The grounds upon which the Company vehemently opposed the missionary clause—as "unwisely expending the Company's money and as dangerous to the peace and good order of the British possessions in India"—could serve as a summary statement of the Company's attitude toward the civilizing misson throughout the eighteenth century, with its purely pragmatic concern with

the Company's finances, its awareness of the extreme instability of Company rule, and hence its refusal to promote what it considered to be an idealistic and inevitably offensive evangelism.

In 1804, Charles Grant, a leading member of the politically influential Clapham Sect of evangelicals and a former servant of the Company, was elected to serve as a Deputy Chairman of the Company, thereby giving evangelicals their first powerful advocate within the Company itself. Grant appointed evangelicals to posts in India, one of whom was Claudius Buchanan.

[3] There were also pragmatic reasons that the present had such potential theological significance. The East India Company had finally defeated its primary rival, Tipu Sultan, and hence could be more confident of its political stability, even when it was accompanied by missionary activity. Furthermore, with Napoleon's blockade of Europe's markets, India suddenly gained very clear significance to British manufacturers and merchants. In 1813, a group of Cutlers from Hallanshire petitioned against the EIC's monopoly by insisting upon the importance of British India as a market to the the nation in general. They called for free trade in order "to render our country so far independent of commerce with rival nations, that, whether at war or at peace, we may have the strength and resources within ourselves to conduct the former with glory and success, and to enjoy the latter with honour and security." See the anthology of documents relating to early British India, P.J. Marshall, ed., *Problems of Empire*, 222. The need to cultivate Indian taste so that it would buy British manufactured goods was an additional justification for evangelism.

[4] See Arendt, especially Part Two, "Imperialism," and in particular Chapter Five, "The Political Emancipation of the Bourgeoisie," 123-57.

[5] Metcalf's *Ideologies of the Raj* contains a description of Cornwallis's administrative reforms, 20-4.

[6] Ranajit Guha's *A Rule of Property for Bengal* is probably the most widely read discussion of this reform.

[7] Maclean notes that "an unlimited intercourse, by Private Ships, with India, would inevitably lead to the colonization of that country; which could not but terminate in its separation from Great Britain" (200).

[8] In 1801, a special committee of the EIC's Court of Directors itself published a report in which it also argued against free trade as a form of dangerous colonization that would eventually lead to a violent uprising: "Even now, the society of merchants in India discover a wish to be emancipated from every material restraint: that spirit would live and be more powerful in the larger society. Governments, then, would find it a new and arduous task to maintain order and subordination. [. . .] That the rights and usages of our native subjects might not be encroached upon in this progress, that these people, though passive, might not be at length exasperated, and that they might not, from example, gradually lose their habits of submission to government, no man can be warranted to deny: [. . . .] a vast mass of native subjects, thus put into a new state of agitation, [. . .] might render it extremely difficult for this country to maintain, in that remote quarter, a government sufficiently strong and energetic to contain all these interests within their due bounds." See Marshall, 220.

[9] Advocates of the civilizing mission gained a hearing in colonial politics only during the first years of the nineteenth century, because the Company's expansionist wars had greatly increased its debt, and hence compromised its influence in parliament. What we take to be essential to colonialism was in fact the product of a specific historical conjuncture: the decline of the Company's finances and the rise of

evangelical and liberal reform movements in British society. But even after parliament ended the Company's monopoly, opening India to private British trade, and permitted officially-supported missionary activity with its 1813 renewal of the Company's charter, it left the Company to administer the colonial government. Hence, advocates for the civilizing mission would always confront Company servants who had final say in determining the shape of colonialism and whose interests did not necessarily lie with modernization.

[10] Cain and Hopkins note: "Utilitarians treated the empire as a vast labratory for experimenting with scientific principles of human betterment; missionaries came to see it as a crusading vehicle for collective salvation. Together, they created a new international order in the nineteenth century by devising and implementing the world's first comprehensive development programme" (35).

[11] Hence, both in its inspiration and in the colonial government's conservative response to it, the Vellore mutiny prefigured the Great Mutiny of 1857.

[12] To recognize that the civilizing mission was not the inevitable scapegoat for colonial instability, one need only recall the 1770s and 80s, when both Edmund Burke and Adam Smith, as examples among many others, held the private interests of the Company's servants and of the Company itself as a purely mercantile concern responsible for the Company's inability to create public institutions that could properly govern Britain's imperial territories in India.

[13] Joseph Lew notes that *The Missionary* "attracted critical and political opprobrium as well as an unprecedented audience" and that it "went through one American and four London editions in its first year." See Lew 39-65, 40.

[14] Sensationally popular, *The Wild Irish Girl* had made the Irish Morgan a spokesperson for Irish nationalism and a publicly recognized critic of British imperialism. Morgan's novel helped popularize the concept that Irish nationalism was rooted in traditional folk culture. Morgan also expressed her sympathy for the principles of the French Revolution—principles which sat uneasily with her idealization of national tradition—in her 1817 travelogue *France*. This work, along with her support for Irish nationalism, helped cement her reputation as a dangerous radical, the constant object of the literary press's villification, which Chamberlain claims eventually began to undermine her celebrity in the 1830s, after she had already published more than twenty works of poetry, fiction, and nonfictional prose. See Kathleen Reuter Chamberlain and Carol Hart.

[15] See "National Character, Nationalist Plots: National Tale and Historical Novel in the Age of Waverly, 1806-30" in Trumpener, *Bardic Nationalism*, 128-57, especially 128-32 and 138-46.

[16] See for example Adam Smith, 14-16 and 201-21, for a description of the different stages of society.

[17] All citations are from the American first edition of *The Missionary*.

[18] See Campbell, 102-10.

[19] See Lukács, 25: "The appeal to national independence and national character is necessarily connected with a re-awakening of national history, with memories of the past, of past greatness, of moments of national dishonour, whether this results in a progressive or a reactionary ideology."

[20] Trumpener speculates further that the Irish national tale tends to have a radical edge that its generic spin-off, the Scottish historical novel, lacks, because the Irish, whose union with England was nearly a century younger than the Scottish, had not been as fully assimilated in the British empire, and she also notes that while Edgeworth's national tales were pro-Union, Morgan's had Jacobin tendencies. See 132.

[21] In a sense, Luxima *converts* Hilarion from his missionary consciousness to a Hindu subjectivity. Along with this figurative conversion, Hilarion literally converts Luxima to Christianity, but in diametric opposition to Hilarion's conversion, Luxima's is clearly only rhetorical. Gauri Viswanathan has analyzed this conversion in terms of the "critique of religious absolutism as source of both colonial and patriarchal oppression" that it inscribes. See 27-31.

[22] For discussions of eighteenth-century British writing about sati, see Teltscher, 51-68, and Nussbaum, 167-91.

[23] *The Widow of Malabar* is an adaptation of Lemiere's *La Veuve du Malabar*.

[24] For a discussion of the history and debates around sati in early-nineteenth-century British India, see Mani.

[25] Buchanan incorporates this anecdote and the ones that follow in the *Memoir*, 37-8. Teignmouth, aka John Shore, had evangelical leanings and would become the Governor-General.

[26] Marx also imagined that India's mythic consciousness led inevitably to anarchic violence: "We must not forget that this undignified, stagnatory, and vegetative life, that this passive sort of existence evoked on the other part, in contradistinction, wild, aimless, unbounded forces of destruction, and rendered murder itself a religious rite in Hindustan." See 18.

[27] In 1807, Thomas Twining, one of the EIC's proprietors, argued against the introduction of missionaries to British India by insisting that Indians have only a religious, not a political, consciousness and hence will necessarily react violently to any perceived incursion upon their religion: "Sir, the people of India are not a political, but a religious people. In this respect, they differ, I fear, from the inhabitants of this country. They think as much of their Religion, as we of our Constitution. They venerate their Shastah and Koran, with as much enthusiasm as we our Magna Carta. [. . .] As long as we continue to govern India in the mild and tolerant spirit of Christianity, we may govern it with ease: but if ever the fatal day shall arrive, when religious innovation shall set her foot in that country, indignation shall spread from one end of Hindostan to the other; and the arms of fifty millions of people will drive us from that portion of the globe, with as much ease as the sand of the desert is scattered by the wind." See Marshall, 189-90.

[28] Note that not only the Vellore mutiny, but also the Jacobite (1745) and the United Irishmen (1798) rebellions were precedents for the Hindu uprising. The uprising, then, is "overdetermined" to say the least, an extremely rich topos for Morgan that would have been immediately intelligible to the metropolitan reading public. Marilyn Butler comments: "In 1798 Ireland erupted in a widespread and bloody rebellion, headed by the United Irishmen and supported by an invading French army [. . .] . Continuing agrarian unrest, a mounting political campaign for Catholic emancipation, and bold criticism of Britain's war effort by an Irish journalist, Peter Finnerty, brought Ireland back into the headlines in 1811 [. . .] . It is partly because the question of Ireland--its persecuted religionists, its national consciousness--now began to emerge with the modern politics and ancient histories of various

peoples of the Orient that Eastern imperialism henceforth figured as the topic of a new style of political poetry." See Butler, 421.

[29] In *Nationalist Thought and the Colonial World*, Partha Chatterjee argues that even Third World nationalist thought has been unable to imagine a postcolonial state that is not managed by Western bureaucratic and scientific thought, and that this inability is its failure.

[30] Bearce, 142-3.

[31] "From the glimpses which the records of their private thoughts permit, they possessed what might be termed the Romantic temperament; combining a strong introspective bent, a sensibility for natural beauty and for historical associations, with an imaginative urge for release in action and adventure" (10).

[32] David Ludden comments that "early colonialism produced two foundational ideas about traditional India: (1) India was "from time immemorial" a land of autonomous village communities in which (2) the force sustaining tradition was Hindu religion, with its complex social prescription, above all those pertaining to caste" (259).

[33] Stein explains further: "In effect, Munro was proposing to strike at the powers and rights of any magnate by whom major decisions about the utilization of men and land were made" (58); "[Munro's] July 1794 report provides a clear idea of Munro's political principle of destroying any and all intermediary authority between the Company and the cultivator as the best assurance of the securing of control by the Company over its new dominions" (60).

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The Containment and Re-Deployment of English India

Through Colonial Spectacles: the Irish Vizier and the Female-Knight in James Cobb's *Ramah Droog*

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1. As a supplement to her collection *The British Theatre*, Elizabeth Inchbald's ten volume anthology *The Modern Theatre* (1811) attempts to establish the broad contours of accepted theatrical practice in the final decades of the eighteenth century. The plays collected in the anthology are now mostly forgotten and very few of Inchbald's selections are the object of study in the current efflorescence of scholarship on Romantic drama. Considering Inchbald's own facility in staging the oriental gaze it is perhaps unsurprising to find James Cobb's highly popular comic opera *Ramah Droog; or Wine Does Wonders* nestled in the heart of the collection.[1] The opera ran from Novemer 12, 1798 to the spring of 1800 and offers such a panoply of orientalist devices that it is hard to imagine a more excessive experience in the theatre except perhaps Colman's controversial gothic afterpiece *Bluebeard* which was *Ramah Droog*'s competitor on opening night.[2] Unfortunately, Inchbald doesn't offer any introductory remarks, but a brief survey of the reviews indicates the opera's two primary strengths—first, Mazzinghi and Reeve's score receives general approbation as does the singing of Miss Waters in the part of the usurped Indian princess Zelma, and second, extensive commentary is devoted to the painted scenery and the costumes. I am going to focus on the visual elements of the opera, but I want to emphasize briefly the importance of the musical score (*see plate 1*). Editions of the music transposed for four hands at the piano were almost immediately available upon production and it is my contention that this sheet music provides crucial information on how the hegemonic effects of public theatrical representation were so rapidly deployed and consolidated in the private lives of middle class Londoners in the late eighteenth century.

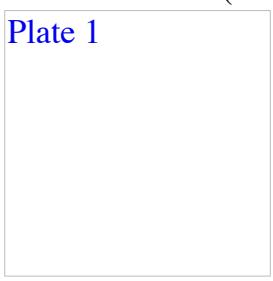
Plate 1

2. In contrast to this contention of the importance of the opera's music, it is important to recognize the almost vestigial quality of the opera's narrative. All the reviews give an obligatory account of the fable, but the *Morning Chronicle* explicitly indicates the relative insignificance of the opera's narrative when the reviewer notes that on top of the "dazzling display of Eastern splendour," *Ramah Droog* goes so far as to offer a narrative which is "not essential to the character of an Opera." The short version of the opera's narrative and the list of sets are consistently the same from review to review. These details tend to suggest either that the reviewers were primed with pre-production materials or that the audience was presented with the fable on a handbill. The following compression of the opera's narrative opens the *Morning Herald* review of November 13, 1798:

> Troops are sent from a British Settlement in India against an Usurper, who has destroyed the rightful Rajah or Prince of the country in which the fortress of Ramah Droog is situated. The troops are marched in two detachments by different routes; one detachment is surprised and surrounded by the Indians in a narrow pass, and after a gallant defence, are obliged to surrender. *Sidney*, their commander, seeing all is lost, entrusts to the care of *Sarjeant Liffey* his wife *Eliza*, who has accompanied him in the disguise of an Indian servant. They escape from the battle, and conceal themselves in a neighbouring wood, till want of food obliges them to surrender themselves as prisoners to some tiger-hunters, who carry them to Ramah Droog. *Liffey* afraid of being known for a soldier, passes for an European Physician, and *Eliza*, for his servant. Arrived at Ramah Droog, he is

immediately employed to prescribe for the Rajah, who is taken suddenly ill. Not knowing what to prescribe, he resolves to let the sick man take his chance, and gives him, as a harmless medicine, the only remains of his provisions, being a potato found in his knapsack. The Rajah immediately recovers, it being discovered that his illness has arisen from being intoxicated with claret found among the stores of the Prisoners. Charmed with the supposed skill of his European Physician, the Rajah appoints him to fill the highest offices of the State—The *Princess Alminah*, the daughter of the Rajah, conceives a violent passion for *Sidney*, and offers him his liberty, and to accompany him in his flight. On his rejecting her offer, and *Alminah* discovering by a blunder of *Liffey's*, that *Eliza* is *Sidney's* wife, she vows his destruction.—*Zelma*, the daughter of the late Rajah has been saved from the general massacre of her family by the *Prince Zemaun*, native of a distant part of Hindostan, who guards her in her confinement.—*Margaret*, the wife of *Liffey*, who also accompanied the first detachment, dressed as a soldier, is released from her captivity by *Zemaun*, and sent by him to meet the second British detachment, who are in the neighbourhood. She meets the detachment, and on her return sees *Chellingoe*, the Chief Prison-keeper, whom she obliges, with a pistol at his breast, to conduct her into the fort. This gives her an opportunity of releasing *Eliza* and *Zemaun*, who, with *Liffey*, make their escape from the fortress carrying the Rajah with them. They join the British detachment, who scale the rock, and surprize the fort by night, and, after some resistance, carry the place. The Captives are released, the Usurper deposed, and *Zelma*, the rightful Princess, is raised to the Throne, and united with Prince *Zemaun*.

This summary is intriguing for it simultaneously erases much of the stage business involving Chellingoe's machinations—and hence the opera's more egregious moments of cultural othering—and adds a far more precise account of the military action of the opera than is presented in performance. The former erasure allows room for unrestrained stereotyping of the Indian characters on stage while the latter augmentation forestalls volatile problems in the imperial self-construction of the audience. If the fable is rendered from a handbill then the audience would have the military scenario in hand prior to the performance and therefore any anxieties regarding the fate of the English prisoners would have been assuaged in advance. As we will see this pre-containment of narrative enigma is not only important to the hegemonic effects of the opera, but also to the ideological centrality of the set design.

3. If the sheet music disseminates the opera's racial and sexual fantasies in a remarkably intimate fashion, then the spectacular set design offers the most illuminating entry point for their specification. As if to confirm the secondary status of the opera's action the *Morning Herald*'s opening night review argues that "the first objects that attract our attention in the representation of this piece, are the Scenery and the Dresses. The ingenuity, beauty, and magnificence of these surpass every thing of a similar description that we have for many years witnessed" . Aside from their aesthetic qualities, the scenery is the occasion for a monetary thrill not unrelated to that of the Orient itself. The sets materialize the potential for surplus value in the colonial enterprise: "the Expence attending their construction and decoration must have been immense...the Piece bids fair to become so attractive, that we have no doubt of the liberality of the Manager meeting proper return from the attention of the Public."[3] The excitement generated here deserves careful consideration, for the sets themselves resolve a series of political anxieties which impinge upon the economic stability of colonial activity in India. I hope the strangeness of that remark is clear: I intend demonstrate not only the remarkably intimate relation between the "views" prepared for the audience and the emergent hegemonic view of British foreign policy, but also the complex resolution of multiple cultural anxieties in the space surrounding the singing voices of this comic opera.

4. The *Morning Herald* recognizes the significance of the set painting and dutifully provides a complete catalogue of every set in order of appearance:

> The principal scenes are a view of the fortress of *Ramah Droog*, the British captives on one side, the walls of the palace garden on the other—a distant view of the hill of the fort of Ramah Droog—an apartment in the Rajah's Palace, the women and Zenana dancing and singing—the battlements of the rock—an apartment in the Palace—a splendid procession as follows:—The Rajah ...on an Elephant, returning from hunting the Tiger hunt, preceded by his Harcarrahs, or Military Messengers, and his State Palanquin. The Vizier on another Elephant—the Princess in a gaurie, drawn by Buffaloes. The Rajah is attended by his Fakeer or Soothsayer--his Officers of State, and by an Ambassador from Tippoo Sultan in a Palanquin; also by Nairs or Soldiers, from the South of India—Poligars, or Inhabitants of the hilly districts, with their hunting dogs—other Indians carrying a dead tiger, and young tigers in a cage, a number of sepoys—musicians on camels on foot-Dancing Girls, &c—the other principal scenes are, a private apartment belonging to the Vizir—a wood near the Pattah, or town, at the foot of the rock—Zelma's prison—and outside the fort: the whole forming an exhibition of the utmost grandeur, occasionally diversified with scenes delightfully picturesque....

That the play opens in a prison is extremely important for it gestures towards the haunting scene of the Black Hole of Calcutta. Kate Teltscher has argued that "the narrative of this trauma, symptomatic of the wider insecurities of eighteenth-century British involvement in India, was refashioned into one of the founding myths of empire" (30). Significantly, *Ramah Droog* establishes this space but focuses its attention on a different and perhaps more troubling moment in the British cultural imagination. The first scene rehearses equally volatile moments of guilt by attributing embarrassing images of English colonial greed revealed during the Hastings trial to the principal Indian character Chellingoe. Chellingoe's extortion of every last article of value from the English prisoners is reminiscent of Burke and Sheridan's representations of the extortion of the Begums of Oudh by the minions of Warren Hastings. Both gestures combine to maintain the fearsome realm of Islamic punishment and to attribute English excesses to the servants of the Rajah.

5. Close attention to the list of sets reveals that the opera shuttles the audience in and out of this phantasmatic space in spite of the fact that almost all of the on-stage action and dialogue happens within the walls of the fortress. The moments when the opera provides either distance from the fortress, or a respite from the narrative problematic of imprisonment are therefore extremely important. Of these I will focus on two—the extraordinary procession with its mechanical elephant and the long range view of the fortress which accompanies the second scene.

6. The *Morning Herald*'s description of the procession is an exact transcription of the stage directions of the published version of the play, and it raises questions which cut to the quick of this opera's relation to colonial politics (176). One is immediately struck by the unusual level of specificity in the procession. Cobb and his reviewers specify the ethnicity of each member of the procession with annotated Anglicizations of the ostensibly Indian words and names. Comparison with the previous high-water mark for Indian excess on the London stage, the frequently performed *A Choice of Harlequin, or The Indian Chief* (1782) reveals an important historical transition. Messinck's *A Choice of Harlequin* contains the likely precursor to Cobb's tiger hunt procession but the pantomime's "Order of Procession" amounts to little more than a list of figures and props[4]:

> 4 Hircarrers with painted sticks
> 2 Nishanburdars with flags
> 2 Ticktaws with flags
> 2 Nishanburdars with flags
> 8 Pykes [etc.]

While the list specifies various ranks, no attempt is made to interpret the Indian words with the notable exception of "Ramjanneees or dancing girls." The emphasis therefore is on the sheer number of eroticized bodies traipsing across the stage. The fact that Harlequin, Virtue and Pleasure are incorporated into the list suggests that the entire panoply is understood to be similarly fanciful. Less than twenty years later, the desire for oriental spectacle has been complicated by quasi-anthropological concerns that resonate with the emergent tactics through which the British state displaced the East India Company as the overseer of British interests in the Indian sub-continent.

7. But one detail above all others raises fundamental political and dramaturgical questions. How precisely does the audience recognize the actor on the palanquin to be "an ambassador of Tippoo Sultan"? This detail is crucial for it connects the military action of the opera to the complex demonization of Tipu and the shift in British attitudes toward colonization in the sub-continent following Cornwallis's victory at Seringapatum. I would suggest that like the narrativization of the opera's military action, the identity of the ambassador is provided for the audience on a handbill. It is also possible that the Ambassador's relation to Tipu is physically marked by his costume for by this time the audience would be well aware of the metaphorical construction of Tipu as the Tiger of Mysore. The English public were overwhelmed by an extraordinary flood of cultural materials in the early 1790's during the Third Mysore War. In addition to the quickly published books and almost contemporary newspaper reports of Cornwallis's victory over Tipu Sultan and the accompanying profusion of celebratory verse, the English public was inundated with visual images not only of the "hill forts" or "drugs" which were the focus of British military pressure, but also of the transference of Tipu's two sons to Cornwallis as hostages. This latter event was the subject of everything from paintings and prints to illustrated tea trays and large scale illuminated transparencies (*see plate 2*).[5] The range of media is noteworthy, for one could argue that both the visual images and the textual portraits of Tipu's hostage sons inhabit not only the public spaces of metropolitan life, but also the intimate realms of the domestic sphere.

8. The ubiquity of this image is largely a result of sentimental interpretations of the diplomatic transaction.[6] *The Gentleman's Magazine*'s account of the event is symptomatic:

> Lord Cornwallis received [Tipu's sons] in his tent; which was gauarded by a battalion of Sepoys, and they were then formally delivered to his Lordship Gullam Ally Beg, the Sultan's Vackeel, as hostages for the due performance of the treaty....At length Gullum Ally, approaching Lord Cornwallis, much agitated, thus emphatically addressed his Lordship: "These children," pointing to the young princes, whom he then presented, "were this morning the sons of the Sultan, my master: their situation is changed, and they must now look up to your Lordship as their father." The tender and affectionate manner in which his Lordship received them, seemed to confirm the truth of the expression. The attendants of the young princes appeared astonished, and their countenances were highly expressive of the satisfaction they felt in the benevolence of his Lordship. (72: 760)

   As Kate Teltscher argues, the representation of Cornwallis's acceptance of Tipu's sons as a scene of parental care is staged to contrast with the popular accounts of Tipu's alleged mistreatment of British captives. The wide circulation of this image achieved the two-fold effect of putting the atrocities revealed during the Warren Hastings trial into abeyance and of re-enforcing Whig fantasies of colonial rule as a form of affectionate paternalism. As P.J. Marshall argues, "the effusions provoked by the Third Mysore War suggest that the British were coming to see themselves not only as a great military power in India, but as people of justice and moderation. Victory was a triumph for British humanity as well as for British arms" (71-72).

9. This re-figuring of colonial conquest as familial care is tied to emergent sexual norms that have important ramifications for *Ramah Droog* which I will address at the close of this paper. However, the

more violent desires which ground these fantasies of benevolent British governance are encoded into Cobb's procession for it features a dead tiger and two young tigers in a cage. Even cursory knowledge of the iconography surrounding Tipu reveals that *Ramah Droog*'s procession acts as an allegory for acts of domination already achieved and yet to come. Widely known to the English reading public as the Tiger of Mysore, Tipu is here figured a year before his death as a dead tiger and his already hostage sons as captive tiger cubs. In this light, the opera's performance and specifically the procession draws the audience into a very particular historical juncture—one which not only analeptically stages Tipu's political and military defeat, but also proleptically instantiates the desire for his actual death. What is so remarkable about this opera is that this instantiation of the desire for the death of colonial resistance is geographically transferrable. The temporal problematic established in the theatricalized space of India is transferred to a more proximate space in order to deal with a similar historical juncture in Britain's imperial subjugation of Ireland.

10. The opera's less-than-subtle revisions of the history of British intervention in India open the way for the self-congratulatory combination of humanitarianism and military strength that dominates the third act of *Ramah Droog*. Of particular importance is the widespread public acceptance of Cornwallis's exemplary moderation, for he is a lurking presence in this play as much for his Indian career as for his role in putting down the Irish rebellion of 1798. Perhaps the most complex aspect of Cobb's opera is the way in which it invokes Britain's ostensibly parental relation to India as a model for hegemonic accounts of the Irish rebellion. *Ramah Droog* opened one day after the death of Wolfe Tone, and its audience members would have been suffused with accounts of violent uprising in Wexford. In short, the national fantasy of just moderation which allowed the English to justify colonial policy in spite of the revelation of abuses of power by the East India Company is deployed by Cobb to consolidate ideological support for government policy in Ireland.

11. Within the political plot of the opera, English, Irish and Indian prisoners enable other British troops to overthrow the usurper Mahah Rajah Surooj Seing and restore the rightful princess Zelma and her lover Zemaun to the throne. The Finale, which is sung by Zemaun and a chorus of British soldiers, should give ample sense of the opera's nationalist gestures:

> Joy shall swell the choral strain,
> Loyalty and truth to prove;
> Gratitude in Freedom's fane
> Shall hail the monarch of a people's love.
> Sacred to Freedom's glorious cause,
> Britain the sword of justice draws;
> A lesson to the admiring world:
> Oppression from his seat is hurl'd. (191)

This song's involution of loyalty and gratitude is the culmination of a series of speeches extolling not only the virtues of British law and governance, but also the the benevolence of British military intervention in Indian politics. Chief amongst these comes when Barney Liffey—the opera's principal Irish character—is threatened with death by the Princess Alminah:

> Lif.: What the devil! Condemned without a trial?....In my country the monarch and the meanest subject are bound and protected by the same laws...It seems very odd that we should find the value of the blessings of home, by looking for them abroad, where they are not to be found. But it is very true; and well may they say in our little kingdoms, that a man should travel to know the worth of his country and its constitution. (179)

Liffey's expression of the worth of his country and its constitution rehearses an earlier speech in which he teaches the Rajah that "An Irishman is an Englishman with another name....and we are like two arms, when one needs defence, the other naturally comes to his assistance" (172). The naturalness of this co-embodiment is perhaps the play's most violent re-writing of contemporary colonial conflict. However, to gain a full sense of *Ramah Droog*'s manipulation of Anglo-Irish affairs requires further spatial analysis.

12. The assault on the Rajah's fort which brings the opera to its conclusion is similar not only to Clive's victory at Tritchinopoly which ended French presence in the region, but also to a series of sieges conducted by Cornwallis against Tipu's *drug* fortresses in the region of *Barramah'l*—hence the title "Ramah Droog." Cobb fuses these historical moments in the following speech in which Zelma's servant Agra describes a military action which is reminiscent of Clive's use of a diversionary attack at Arcot to conceal the surreptitious ascent of the drug:

    > Agra: Fear not. The noise comes from the distant part of the fort, where the British soldiers make a false attack—All is silent here—See, madam, our gallant friends on this side have nearly reached the summit of the rock undiscovered. (190)

    Agra's description here ties the resolution of the opera's conflict to similar moments of violent conflict resolution in the history of British colonization. These two campaigns more than any other military actions in the subcontinent aroused intense interest among the British reading and viewing public. As Mildred Archer argues,

    > The South Indian word "droog" for a great fortified hill early became absorbed into the English language. As Captain Bellew, looking back in 1843 wrote, "Long before the period of my departure arrived—I may say almost from infancy—I had been innoculated by my mother, my great uncles, and sundry parchment-faced gentlemen who frequented our house, with a sort of Indomania...What respect did the sonorous names Bangalore and Cuddalore, and Nundy Droog and Severn Droog and Hookahburdars and Soontaburdars, and a host of others, excite in our young minds." (Archer, note of Plate 105)

    It was precisely this public interest that incited illustrators like Thomas and William Daniell to follow British forces into the region. The two artists painted a series of drug fortresses and a number of famous views of the fort at the rock of Tritchinopoly that were subsequently engraved and in circulation less than three months before the opening of *Ramah Droog*.[7]

13. The *Morning Chronicle*'s opening night review emphasizes the role of Daniell in the design of the opera's scenography:

    > We are prevented by want of room from going...into a more regular animadventure on work upon which infinite expence of decoration has been bestowed, and that with perfect taste; for the scenes...we understand have been prepared under the skilful direction of Mr. Daniels, who, as an artist that enriched the world with exquisite specimens of the picturesque scenery of India. In point of spectacle, therefore, it is superb, and the procession will please upon repetition.

    The reviewer of the *Chronicle*, perhaps inadvertantly, recognizes that the elephant-laden procession at the end of the Second Act seems to exist separate from the primary field of action. The pageant unfolds a sign of India that is incommensurable with the play's prison-bound scenography. In a gesture that marks the play as another phantasmatic engagement with the events of the Black Hole of Calcutta, Cobb's opera is set almost entirely with the prison space of the Rajah's palace Ramah Droog. The

primary action therefore is between British prisoners and their stereotypically presented Indian guards. If the pageant is excised, then a rather different spectacle captures the audience's attention—that of the *drug* itself.

14. John Inigo Richards's sketch for the staging of the opera's scene in which the audience is given a spectacular view of the *drug* fortress is explicitly derived from Daniell's engravings and is reminiscent of Tritchinopoly. The set change, therefore, shifts the audience from the phantasmatic space of colonial catastrophe to a famous scene of British victory in India. However, this visual resolution of one form of colonial anxiety is complicated by the appearance of a second phantasmatic assemblage whose operation is primarily sexual and which speaks directly to scenes of colonial violence much closer—both spatially and temporally—to the opera's audience.

Plate 1

15. The Daniells frequently painted groups of Indian subjects or each other in the foreground to give the viewing public a sense of scale. But the figures in the foreground do more than help to clarify the physical size of the object viewed, they also insert a English subject within the visual field thereby mediating between that which is recognizable and that which is entirely other. Richards's sketch replicates this gesture, but the two figures in the foreground de-stabilize this mediation because they are anything but normative English subjects. The first is Barney Liffey whose "Irish pleasantries" according to the *Morning Herald* "frequently enliven the scene, and convulse the audience with laughter." The second is Eliza, Captain Sidney's wife, who enters "in male attire." These examples of ethnic difference and gender transgression standing between the audience and the distant fort is telling, for normative English men rarely appear on stage. With the exception of Captain Sidney, the British are represented by an Irishman and two women in breeches parts. Sidney and Liffey's wives, Elizabeth and Margaret, have joined their husbands as soldiers in the colonial project. These cross-dressed characters pose an important problem for Dror Wahrman's recent argument regarding the shift from gender play to gender panic on the London stage throughout the 1790's. Wahrman argues that the female knight effectively disappears from the stage in the last ten years of the eighteenth century. That she gratuitously re-emerges first in front of the *drug* and later inside the fortress walls indicates precisely where emergent forms of sexual and colonial governance intersect on the London stage. I believe that the intersection is crucial for the separation of national and ethnic categories in colonial space. That this problem in the history of sexuality should be so deeply entwined with colonial politics indicates precisely where Wahrman's analysis of the shift from gender play to gender panic remains undeveloped.

16. *Ramah Droog* presents two kinds of women—the heavily eroticized Princess Alminah who is in love with Captain Sidney, and the British female-knights. In terms of the erotics of stage presentation, Cobb is mobilizing two forms of exoticism: one based on interracial heterosexual desire and one which plays on tropes of sapphic desire. As the play unfolds, the threat of miscegenation on the one hand, and of gender insubordination on the other are obviated when Elizabeth interrupts Alminah's pursuit of Sidney by revealing her femininity. At one level it is not surprising to see both forms of non-normative sexuality simultaneously ejected, but Elizabeth harmonizes her sex and her gender at precisely the moment in the final act when the British soldiers take over Ramah Droog. As the British regain colonial dominance, English cross-dressing is cast off in favour of normative gender relations. What this suggests is that the play rectifies related "perversions" in the sexual and the political world.

17. This conjunction of sexual and colonial regulation gains some depth when we look closely at the representation of the Irish in *Ramah Droog*. The relationship between Liffey and his English "master" Captain Sidney allegorizes an Act of Union which would have warmed the hearts of English audience members. However, Liffey is also placed in a subordinate relation to the Indian Rajah. In a complex

plan to help liberate the British prisoners Liffey impersonates a European doctor and cures the ailing Rajah with a potato. The potato becomes a crucial prop in the play not only because it figures for Liffey's Irishness, but also because it occasions an intriguing cultural exchange between the Irish character and the Indian Rajah. To compensate Liffey for curing his hangover, the Rajah makes Liffey a Vizir and grants him a Zenana of his own.[8] The gesture draws Liffey into broadly held cultural assumptions that the sexual excess implied by access to the seraglio devolves into compromised masculinity. For the remainder of the play Liffey wears a ceremonial "Khelaut" and he is included in the tiger hunting party described above. Nestled, therefore, in the elaborate spectacle of oriental splendour we find an Irish Vizier dressed in what a London audience members would have considered effeminate clothing. The feminization of Liffey is a significant departure from the hyper-masculinization of male Irish characters earlier in the century, but it is consistent not only with the ideological dis-armament of the Irish and Indian rebels in the English press, but also with the representation of Barney's wife Margaret as a pistol-toting duellist who terrifies her Indian captors.

18. One could argue that Liffey's inclusion in the procession has the potential to unsettle the play's overt endorsement of union between Ireland and England. But the threat posed by this collocation of two fractious colonial spaces is contained in advance by the opera's pastiche of British military victory in the subcontinent both at the level of set design and narrative. Significantly, it is not only Elizabeth who re-assumes her normative gender identity as the threat posed by the Rajah is erased. When the British storm Ramah Droog, Liffey casts off his Indian garb, re-assumes his soldierly masculinity and resumes his subservient relation to his English "master." The consolidation of gender roles in the emergent heterosexuality of the late eighteenth century is matched by a parallel consolidation of ethnic difference within the emergent political entity of Great Britain. And that difference is regulated by the subtle deployment of non-normative sexualities that ultimately connect Ireland and India as "unhealthy" sites in the colonial imaginary.

19. Margaret's masculinization, unlike Eliza's, remains intact at the close of Ramah Droog. What this means is that the relation between Barney and Margaret diverges from the normative heterosexuality exemplified by Eliza and Captain Sidney. Margaret and Barney's closing duet allows us to recognize the political importance of this sexual distinction. As the British troops scale the drug, the opera's principal Irish characters narrate in song the extraordinary restraint of British victory in a fashion that is reminiscent of what the Gentleman's Magazine called "the humane yet spirited conduct of the Marquis Cornwallis" not only in Mysore, but also in Ireland:

> Mar.: High on the rock methinks our troops we form,
> Still high above the enemy appears.
>
> Lif.: Now pressing on—the fort prepared to storm,
> Ever in front the gallant grenadiers.
>
> Mar.: Though bullets rattle round,
> No shot from our merry men is heard.
>
> Lif.: With bayonets fix'd advancing,
> Their volley waits the word:
> Steady our charge—it follows quick our fire;
> Now we pursue, their broken ranks retire.
> Conquest is ours, the sons of freedom cry!
>
> Mar.: Triumph shall mark the tabor's sprightly sound;

Lif.: See, on their walls the British colours fly,

Mar.: While with the dance we beat the conquered ground.

Lif.: Then drink a toast and sing—
By my soul, we'll all merry merry be;

Mar.: Heres our Country and our King,
With three times three!

Both: All the delights from victory that spring,
Friendship, and love, and wine, and mirth shall bring. (189)

For two Irish characters to be cheering "our Country and our King" and identifying with *British* "sons of freedom" on the London stage in early November of 1798—less than six months after the bloody extermination of the United Irishmen—is not only wishful thinking, but also an indication of the importance and the longevity of the image of "moderate Cornwallis" to English fantasies of "humanitarian" imperial domination. These fantasies rely on figures of benevolent paternal governance in the family that are consolidated by the attribution of non-normative masculinities to colonized others. In this light, the opera's subtle de-stabilization of Irish masculinity through the continuing presence of the Irish female knight helps pave the way for subsequent imperial policy. Significantly, the Indian characters who benefit from the British displacement of the "despotic" Rajah embody a similarly non-normative heterosexuality. Zemaun, is the heroic Indian figure in the opera, but he is always understood to be subordinate to Princess Zelma. This similarity between Indian and Irish heterosexuality is I believe crucial to the opera's image of coloniality, for the continuing presence of masculinized colonial women and subordinate colonial men is the defining distinction between colonized ethnicities and imperial English identity following the ejection of more threatening colonial others such as Tipu Sultan and Wolfe Tone. In this light, the buoyant celebration of normative middle class sexuality in this comic opera is intimately tied to the careful concealment—from metropolitan subjects—of violent dominance without hegemony in the colonial realm.[9]

Notes

1 For discussions of Inchbald's orientalisms see Bolton, Choudhury, O'Quinn.

2 The coincidence of *Bluebeard* and *Ramah Droog* on the same evening provides a particularly condensed entry point for a discussion of the supercession of "legitimate" theatre by various forms of spectacular entertainment. The following is John Genest's appraisal of Cobb's opera:

> the comic scenes are farcical—the serious scenes are dull to the last degree—yet this piece was acted 35 times—Cumberland, in his Passive Husband, makes *Starling* say—I write professedly rank nonsense—*Runic*. Why do you so?—*Starling* Because I write to live, and 'tis the readiest money at the market. (7:430)

Genest's invocation of Cumberland resonates with the latter's assessment of the London stage at the turn of the century:

> I have stood firm for the corps into which I enrolled myself, and never disgraced my colours by abandoning the cause of *legitimate* comedy, to whose service I am sworn, and in whose defence I have kept the field for nearly half a century, till at last I have survived all true national taste, and lived to see buffoonery, spectacle and puerility so effectually

> triumph, that now to be repulsed from the stage is to be recommended to the closet, and to be applauded by the theatre is little else than a passport to the puppet-show. (*Memoirs*, quoted in Sutcliffe)

For a useful discussion of the volatile critical climate for spectacles such as *Bluebeard* and *Ramah Droog* see Sutcliffe.

[3] Previous accounts of oriental spectacle have remarked upon this aspect of theatrical production. As Mita Choudhury argues, scenes like this "guarantee for the play a comfortable niche in a theatrical marketplace which was conducive for Oriental gazing and, in most cases, lucrative for those who staged the Oriental gaze" (483).

[4] The procession of Abomelique in Act I of Colman's *Bluebeard* is another—and perhaps more apt—comparison.

[5] See Marshall.

[6] This account was first published in the *Madras Courier* and reprinted in *Gentleman's Magazine*. For a thorough account of the discursive construction of this event and its significance for popular acceptance of British policy in India, see P.J. Marshall, "'Cornwallis Triumphant': War in India and the British Public in the Late Eighteenth Century" and Kate Teltscher's thorough reading of the representation of Haider Ali and Tipu Sultan in her *India Inscribed*.

[7] For an account of the publication of the Daniell engravings see Archer 234.

[8] Barney is also elevated to the rank of chief physician, the commander of the armies, grand judge in both civil and criminal courts, chief of elephants, purveyor of buffaloes, and principle hunter of tigers (171).

[9] For an account of the paucity of knowledge in the metropole of the Indian sub-continent and of the East India Company's activities see H.V. Bowen. For an account of British rule that is signalled by the phrase "dominance without hegemony" see Guha.

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The Containment and Re-Deployment of English India

Colonial Correspondence: The Letters of George Bogle from Bengal, Bhutan and Tibet, 1770-81[1]

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1. At some time in June 1774, somewhere on the road between Bengal and Bhutan, George Bogle, a young Scottish servant of the East India Company, began a letter to his friend John Stewart in Calcutta:

   > You must not mind my Dates. As the Folks in this Country are ignorant of the Julian Calender, and the new stile I am obliged to keep a Reckoning like Robinson Crusoe or Sterns Captive and if I make a Mistake it is impossible to rectify it now. I have some doubts about my Epochs, but there is to be an Eclipse which will bring me up. (MSS Eur E 226/77(c))

   As the first British envoy to Bhutan and Tibet, Bogle was—quite literally—in uncharted territory. His sense of cultural isolation is signalled here by his inability to adhere to letter-writing convention: he neither dates his letter nor supplies a precise location. Without access to the European calendar, Bogle has recourse to a tally stick—a device suggested by two literary figures: Crusoe on his island and the prisoner in Sterne's *Sentimental Journey*.

2. Defoe and Sterne supply Bogle with two of his epistolary identities. For Bogle fashions entirely different, even incompatible, personae for himself in his letters. In his official correspondence, reporting on his trade negotiations, Bogle shares some of the concerns of the pragmatic colonial merchant Crusoe; but when he writes to his family, especially his sisters, he is a sentimental traveller. This discrepancy is particularly apparent when he is about to leave Tibet. Bogle informs the Governor General that the Bhutanese are keen to purchase articles of trade from Calcutta, especially firearms (Bogle to Hastings 16 October 1774, MSS Eur E 226/77(e)). A few months later, however, writing to his sister Elizabeth (Bess), he represents his life in the hills as a "fairy dream", spent "without Business." He signs off:

   > Farewell ye honest and simple People. May ye long enjoy that Happiness which is denied to more polished Nations; and while they are engaged in the endless pursuits of avarice and ambition, defended by your barren mountains, may ye continue to live in Peace and Contentment, and know no wants but those of nature. (Bogle to Bess 5 March 1775, MSS Eur E 226/25)

   With this Rousseauesque benediction, Bogle completely elides his own role as trade negotiator.

3. In this paper I want to examine the version of East India affairs that Bogle offers for home consumption. How does Bogle represent his own activities, and how does he sustain family relations through correspondence? What literary models does he employ? What are the silences, the inconsistencies? We need to be aware that there are, inevitably, gaps in the archive. The Bogle papers preserved at the Oriental and India Office Collection, the British Library and the Mitchell Library, Glasgow consist of journals, notebooks, letter books, private letters, official correspondence and legal documents. The Glasgow collection comprises the Bogle family papers; largely letters from George Bogle, with a few from his father and male relatives, and a clutch from his friend William Richardson, then secretary to the ambassador at St. Petersburg. This collection had been "judiciously sorted and

arranged" by a family friend, before being consulted by Clements Markham who, in 1876, brought out an edition of Bogle's journal of his mission to Bhutan and Tibet. The papers may have been culled at this stage to conceal the existence of Bogle's two illegitimate daughters, argues Hugh Richardson in a study of the Bogle family genealogy. These two girls, whose mother was probably Tibetan, were sent to be raised at the family home at Daldowie, after Bogle's death at the early age of thirty-four. Scarcely any trace of them or their mother remains in the correspondence (Richardson 80).

4. George Bogle was only twenty-eight when he was appointed first British envoy to Bhutan and Tibet, just four years after his arrival in India in 1770. The aim of the mission was to conclude a trade treaty between Bengal and Tibet to open up the route through Bhutan. For some years it had been East India Company policy to explore the possibilities of trans-Himalayan trade. Tibet was seen as a way into China which would avoid the restrictions placed on the Company at Canton. Such concerns became more pressing following the financial losses sustained by the Company during the terrible Bengal famine of 1769-70. It was the Bhutanese invasion of Cooch Behar, a small state bordering on Bengal, which provided the Governor General, Warren Hastings, with the occasion to expand British influence in the area. The Raja of Cooch Behar appealed to Calcutta for military aid which was provided on condition that the Company gain sovereignty of the state. After the British defeat of Bhutanese forces in 1773, Hastings responded positively to peace overtures made by Lobsang Palden Yeshé, the Third Panchen Lama of Tibet (known by the British as the Teshu Lama), a man of great talent and initiative, who had risen to a position of political influence in Tibet and the neighbouring states during the minority of the Eighth Dalai Lama. It was in response to the Panchen Lama's peace initiative that Bogle was appointed ambassador to Bhutan and Tibet.

5. Bogle's letters home provide an exceptional account of British life in Calcutta of the 1770s and offer a fascinating record of the first mission to Bhutan and Tibet. While his observations on Bengali life are heavily influenced by contemporary notions of Indian culture and character, Bogle is a much more sympathetic observer of the Bhutanese and Tibetans. He is perhaps best known for the account of his friendship with the third Panchen Lama of Tibet, apparently a relationship of mutual respect and affection which developed during Bogle's five-month stay. But among the greatest attractions of his letters home, particularly those to his sisters, are their stylistic inventiveness and playful intimacy. Punctuated by pet names and filled with nostalgic invocations of childhood, they serve to create a private family space. But this domestic space must also accommodate unfamiliar cultures. In what guise is the Orient admitted to the home? By asking such questions, by tracing Bogle's multiple epistolary identities, we may hope to catch the process of textual, social and colonial self-fashioning at work.

6. The youngest child of a prominent Glasgow tobacco merchant, George had four sisters and two brothers. His mother died when he was thirteen, and the following year he briefly attended Edinburgh University to study logic, before transferring to a private academy at Enfield to continue his education to the age of eighteen. Six months' travel in France was followed by four years' work as a clerk in the London counting house of his brother Robert's import firm of Bogle and Scott. From there, through the influence of friends, he gained an appointment as writer in the East India Company.

7. Bogle arrived in Calcutta at the height of the devastating Bengal famine. In September 1770 he wrote to Robert (Robin) of famine victims dying in the streets, a shocking and pathetic sight. In Bogle's account the Calcutta government supplies as much grain as possible, thus absolving the East India Company of any responsibility for the suffering. By the following year however, Bogle attributes the escalation in the price of rice to the stockpiling activities of individuals (Bogle to Robert Bogle, 10 April 1771, Bogle Collection). These charges recur in an anonymous account of the famine published in the British press the same year which accuses Company servants of profiteering and criminal negligence: of withholding rice from the market and forcibly buying grain at fixed prices (*Gentleman's*

Magazine, *London Magazine*, *Annual Register*). Indeed the famine would become one of the central issues in attacks on the Company in subsequent years.

8. While Bogle may have censored, ignored or simply not been aware of the allegations against the Company in September 1770, it is clear that the famine itself was not considered a suitable topic for his female correspondents. Writing to his sister Martha (Mrs Brown) at precisely the same time as the letter to Robert, Bogle omits any mention of it. He chooses rather to describe the ease and indulgence of the life of young Company servants in Calcutta, complete with an account of their riotous behaviour at meal times: "after Supper it is usual to pelt one another with Bread, and even to throw Shoulders of Mutton and Dishes of Meat at one another—this last however is confined to the cold Season, and is one of the Winter Amusements; which I suppose will be exhibited in about two months hence—How I tremble for my fine Triqueté waiscoat" (Bogle to Matty, 7 September 1770, Bogle Collection). Bogle's touch remains light and the tone gently ironic throughout. There is no hint that such conspicuous wastage might be considered inappropriate, not to say grotesque, in the circumstances.

9. Bogle invariably avoids "weighty" issues in his letters to his sisters; politics, commerce, his own career—all are excluded. Such fluctuations of manner and matter are of course common to letter collections, as Patricia Meyer Spacks has noted. Spacks observes that when we read through a body of correspondence, as we see "the writer's tone and material shift from one correspondent to another, see sometimes virtually different selves emerging in different epistolary relationships, we may feel caught in a world of undependable narrators" (51). For the self revealed in letters "is specifically a writing self that gains its very identity from its dialectic with other selves" (56). Those other selves, the correspondents, of course occupy varying positions in relation to the writer according to, among other things, their gender and class or family status.

10. We also need to ask what particular considerations might be brought to bear on a servant of the East India Company writing home in the 1770s. The decade saw the first public expression of uneasiness over the conduct of Company servants in Bengal, with charges of extortion and profiteering levelled at Company servants who returned home hugely enriched (the so-called "nabobs") and a parliamentary enquiry into the financial activities of the former Commander-in-Chief, Robert Clive. For the first time then, the character of the colonial official was subject to public scrutiny. Bogle inevitably fashions his epistolary identities in the light of such interrogation. So in November 1772, Bogle writes to reassure his father of the probity of his own and the Company's current conduct in response to "the writings they publish in England of the lawless Behaviour of the Company's Servants" (Bogle to George Bogle Senior, 13 November 1772, Bogle Collection). As in all the letters to his ageing father, Bogle adopts a dutiful tone of filial obedience and sobriety. His father's shakily written replies are full of pious injunctions, warnings about the all-seeing eye of Providence and shrewd advice on career progress. Bogle's letters to his brother Robert, by contrast, are considerably less measured, positively thrilling at the idea of easy money. Writing in 1770, two years before the parliamentary enquiry, Bogle observes that he

> cannot help regretting, the Gilded Days that are past and gone, when a man was almost certain of a Fortune by Trade ... It was good fishing in muddy waters—And afterwards when everything was settled and these Provinces were to all Intents and Purposes our own, and the People intirely under our Government, and Protection, they have been squeezed and oppressed, in spite of every Order from home or every Regulation that was made here, and Individuals have carried home Princely Fortunes. O my dear Robin how amazed you would be to learn the way in which Money has been made in this Country—and how different Peoples Characters are here from what they are in England. (Bogle to Robin, 20 December 1770, Bogle Collection)

Bogle at once confides and tantalises; the scandals come without names or details. But then, as he explains to Robert a week later, he is not entirely at his ease writing letters sent by the Company packet, for he has been told that they are sometimes opened and read; if he wishes to write in confidence, he will send letters by a private hand, and he recommends his brother to do the same. On this occasion he writes two versions of the same letter, a self-censored one for the packet, and an uncensored one to be carried by a passenger on the same ship. In the letter sent privately, he tells Robert of the continuing evasion of orders from London, and of the abuses practiced by Company servants who accept "Presents" or fix the price of rice in the provinces under their control (Bogle to Robin, 26 December 1770, Bogle Collection).

11. Bogle the correspondent, then, operates under various external and internal constraints: the fear of interception, the need to assert his integrity as a Company servant, and the desire to frame his accounts according to his correspondents' interests and status. There is also the consideration of the letter as literary performance or intellectual display. A letter's audience may be wider than the named recipient. Bogle's father writes that he has perused the letters sent by George to his sisters on the outward voyage, and commends his son's powers of invention, as he never repeats himself. For Bogle senior, epistolary skill stands as a measure of mental agility and as a pleasing indication of future career prospects; George promises to be "a great Comfort" to his father in his old age (George Bogle Senior to Bogle, 11 December 1770, Bogle Collection). Indeed his father's words are strangely prophetic, for Bogle's talent as a writer would later win him the favour of Hastings, the Governor-General.

12. In praising the variety of Bogle's letters, his father selects one of the qualities by which, according to Keith Stewart, the eighteenth-century familiar letter was generally judged. The two other stylistic criteria were "ease," that is, a natural style implying sincerity, and "vivacity," the capacity to arouse attention and imagination (Stewart 186-7). While such categories are difficult to apply retrospectively, it seems to me that Bogle's letters home, particularly those to his sisters, fulfil them admirably. Engaging and playful, the letters to his married sister Martha in London, to Mary, Elizabeth and Anne at the family home in Daldowie, address a range of topics: the condition of Indian women, social life in Calcutta, childhood reminiscences, methods of butter-making, Tibetan ghosts. There is a stylistic inventiveness and freedom in these letters, rarely encountered in those to male correspondents.

13. Bogle is at his most Sterne-like in a letter written to Anne in October 1771 which spirals into an orientalist parody. Bogle begins by asking what has become of an admirer of Anne's, a Mr. A--t, but breaks off as if such information were a state secret: "I was in great Hopes—but no more of that lest this Letter should be taken by Pirates, and fall into the Hands of Strange Folks" (Bogle to Annie, 31 October 1771, Bogle Collection). The vulnerability of the letter in its epic journey across the ocean appears to suggest the figure of the romance heroine, for it is this role which Bogle assigns next to Anne. Determined to visit her brother in India, Anne attempts to cross the Arabian desert. She is captured, sold as a slave, and married to Haran Alrasheid (the Caliph of the *Arabian Nights' Entertainments*) or his son Albarassin:

> O what a Charming Story will your Life be—The Riches and Jewells you will be mistress of Hundreds of Slaves to attend you, all the Delicacies of Nature—all the Perfumes of Persia, all the Spices of Arabia lavished at your feet. Passing the Day in Cool and Shady Bowers, with Melodious Birds and Cascades of Rose Water, listening to the Tales of a Daughter of Circassia—In the Evening a Collation of the most exquisite fruits and Wines, where the charming Albarassin repairs, and after presenting you with costly Offerings, and many Compliments upon the Charms of your Person, entreats you to relate the Adventures of your Life—What a Conflict there is between Truth and Pride—"If I tell him that my Father was a Merchant that I have three Brothers Merchants, and Traders, in how mean a light shall I be considered by this warlike Son of the Desert,—I will say that my father was

> a Cheif in the Court of the King, and commanded the left Wing of his Army, on that fatal Day when he lost his life in Battle, and you your Liberty—here have some Tears Ready—that the cruel Invaders carried you Prisoner, and sold you to the Merchants of the Caravan &c &c—But what are they doing at Daldowie all this time—There indeed is sad lamentation—Ah says my Father I always told her what would happen but you young Lasses will take no advice, speaking to Mary & Bess, & Nancy Bogle,—O (says Mary) Pappa Dont say that for you know we were always against her going—Poor Annie says Bess with a Deep Sigh—Upon my word says Nancy she seems to have fallen on her feet, and I wish everyone could get as good a Match, I dare say he will treat her vastly well—Then my father laments your being married to a Mahometan—Moll & Bess—that you will never see your freinds again & that they will never see you, and Nancy at last persuades my father to try to ransom you.(Bogle to Annie, 31 October 1771, Bogle Collection)

Bogle decks his story with all the stock orientalist furniture: jewels, slaves, perfumes and bowers. Weaving his tale around his sister, Bogle involves her directly in the narrative. The Annie character is prompted with stage directions ("here have some Tears Ready") and made to collude with the orientalist fantasy when she lies about her origins to impress the charming prince. When we remember that this letter began with a query about Anne's admirer, known only as Mr. A--t, it seems that Bogle has recourse to the orientalist medium to speak to his sister about female desire. But the seductive Eastern fantasy evaporates when the scene shifts to the Bogle family home. Here the dialogue takes a realist turn, with Father always knowing best, the sisters justifying themselves, and cousin Nancy envying Annie's good fortune. Bogle concludes by suggesting that perhaps it would be best after all if Anne were chaperoned in her travels by his reliable elderly *munchi*, or Persian teacher. Then, after a narrow break on the page, Bogle returns to a conventional letter-writing mode, expressing his delight at receiving news of the good health of family and friends. The inserted tale is a charming digression, a knowing literary game. *The Arabian Nights' Entertainments* version of the Orient which Bogle sends to Daldowie would have been a familiar one; the English version of Galland's collection was highly influential in eighteenth-century Britain, although generally regarded as suitable reading only for women and children (Mack xvi-xviii). But as we shall see, Bogle often evokes childhood memories or employs a feminized discourse to characterize his experience of the East. And in a sense, Scheherazade is a fitting figure for Bogle the letter-writer, for the narrative or flow of correspondence is coterminous with life itself; as Janet Altman has noted, "[t]o write is to live when the letter is literally the only sign of life" (149). This association of letters with the life-force is particularly appropriate in the case of India, where the mortality rate for Europeans was notoriously high.

14. Much of the charm of the letter derives from its apparent inconsequentiality. It recreates a sense of family intimacy and exclusivity with the story-telling scene. The desire to re-assert familial relationships dominates many of Bogle's letters. He is engaged in what Altman has called the "impossible task of making his reader present" (135). As many critics have observed, one of the stylistic techniques employed by letter-writers to give the impression of presence and immediacy is to mimic the informality of oral speech (Altman 136, Porter 4, Lowenthal 29-30). In his letters to his sisters, Bogle attempts to conduct written conversations. This is not just a matter of approximating his own spoken voice, but also of writing his sisters' parts. In a letter of 23 September 1770, Bogle advises Anne (whom he calls by the pet name of Chuffes) to follow his own letter-writing practice:

> I write whenever I have spare Hour on my Hands & send my Letters when I can. I wish you wou'd follow the same Plan in writing to me and not waite till you hear from London that the Lord Something Indiaman is to sail soon & then you finish your Epistle, with a "realy I intended to have wrote you a longer Letter but, as my Brother tells my father that there is a Ship to sail next week I have time for no more"—Indeed Chuffes it is an excuse I will not admit of—but I expect that when ever anything strikes you in the Noddle that you

> wish to let me know—you will down with it once upon Paper, no trusting to Memory or Apoligy for a bad Pen—send me out your Quills and I will make them for you, and you know the making of Pens is the thing I *pique* myself upon, as being my Forte. O George George will you never give over these outlandish Words? Indeed my Dear Chuffes they are quite homely ones in comparison of those I am now learning—and the next time you see me, pray don't be surprised if I grace my Conversation with Persian or Moors Words, which will certainly have a Charming Effect. (Bogle to Annie, 23 September 1770, Bogle Collection)

In framing his request for longer letters, Bogle (the youngest member of the family) teasingly assumes a position of fraternal dominance: issuing instructions and parading his linguistic sophistication. Indeed it appears that Anne inhabits a world where the composition and transmission of letters are controlled by male relatives. When Bogle writes of his brother's message to his father about ships' departures, he touches on a major preoccupation of colonial correspondence: the workings of the mail. The voyage of the "Lord Something Indiaman" would last around six months, but could be delayed by contrary winds for weeks, if not months. A ship would leave Calcutta for Britain every month or six weeks during the sailing season from September to April (Bogle to Annie, 25 August 1770, MSS Eur E 226/77(a)). The receipt and transmission of mail was therefore seasonal, with the whole cycle (that is, the time required to receive an answer to a letter) taking at least sixteen months (Chaudhuri 74). These problems were compounded for Bogle on his mission, when Bhutanese messengers had to carry letters across the great Himalayan range, impassable during the winter months (Bogle to Hastings, 27 April 1775, MSS Eur E226/23; Bogle to Bess, 30 December 1774, MSS Eur E226/80). The difficulties of conveyance caused Bogle to send copies of some of the mission letters to his family only on his return to Calcutta (Bogle to the family at Daldowie, March 30, 1776. Bogle Collection).

15. Little wonder then that scenes of letter composition and receipt occur frequently in the collection. The arrival of letters from home often provides the occasion for the expression of sentiment and family feeling. Writing from Tassisudon (Tashichö Dzong), the capital of Bhutan, in August 1774, Bogle tells his sister Elizabeth that he has received a packet of her letters, dated April, June and September of the preceding year. He has read her letters "over and over again," he will not say how often, but he has "just given them another Reading" (Bogle to Miss B. Bogle, MSS Eur E 226/78). This tribute to the value of his sister's letters is followed by a reflection on the pain of separation. The Bogles, like so many Glasgow families, were involved in colonial trading enterprises across the globe: Bogle's middle brother John was a merchant in Virginia and, after the collapse of the London firm, his eldest brother Robert managed a sugar plantation in Grenada. Distance, for Bogle, sharpens the faculty of feeling: "The Country People who live among their Freinds and Relations are strangers to the Pangs of Parting, and to the Sollicitude of Absence. But they know not the Knell of Joy which your Letters give me, and the Tear which now starts from my Eye is worth an age of their vegetable Affection" (Bogle to Miss B. Bogle, MSS Eur E 226/78). Sensibility is here defined in terms of class status. As the tears mingle with delight, Bogle enjoys an exquisite rush of emotion denied to the agricultural labouring classes. Bogle the Company servant shares in that capacity for feeling associated with merchant heroes since the sentimental drama of Steele and Lillo.

16. Pleasure and pain are compounded in the experience of the letter which, as Altman has argued, is an emblem both of separation and connection (15). The letter also acts for Bogle as a memorial to times past; he goes on to tell Elizabeth that he wishes he could have spent longer with his brother Robert at Daldowie:

> But Alas, our Destinies have wove for us a different Web. We are scattered over the Face of the Earth, and are united only by Hope and a tender Remembrance. Let us cherish these as the only Pledge that is left us; and while you are passing chearful Evenings at Daldowie;

> while Robin with his Negroes (and happy are they that are under him) is planting his Sugar Canes and while I am climbing these rugged Mountains, there is a secret Virtue like a Magnet which attracts us together and chears or solaces us in every situation. (Bogle to Miss B. Bogle, MSS Eur E 226/78)

In this sentimental discourse, destiny stands for empire and slaves are happy (although the parenthesis inevitably implies the possibility of ill-treatment). The brothers cherish memories of the home where Bess resides in cheerful domesticity—reading this very letter. Correspondence and sentiment here unite to ease the grief of separation and sustain the benign work of colonialism.

17. In the letter to Elizabeth, Bogle characteristically omits to explain precisely what he is doing climbing "these rugged Mountains." Writing to Anne at around the same time, Bogle represents himself as a hapless wanderer:

> But where are you got to, say you, with your Valleys and your Boots [Bhutanese]? It is a hard Question; but I think with my Father's Assistance, Molly's Knowledge in Geography which she learned at Miss Anderson's, and her namesakes maps which used to lye in the Cradle that once had Gold Fringes, you may be able to conjure within about 40 or 50 miles whereabouts I am and that is as near as I can find out myself. For it has been by such Turnings and Windings, Ups and Downs, that I have got here that I protest I am as much at a loss as if I had been playing Blind Man's Buff. (Bogle to Miss A. Bogle, MSS Eur E 226/78)

The precision with which Bogle locates the maps at home presents a striking contrast to the vagueness of his current situation. In this letter Bogle seems more concerned to reaffirm childhood co-ordinates than geographical ones. Bogle turns his mission into a game and represents himself as blindfolded and helpless. With this gesture of self-infantilisation, he apparently renounces any claim to authority or control. In his letters to his sisters, Bogle typically distances himself from his actual project of commercial reconnaissance and diplomatic negotiation, for despite his assertions to the contrary, every stage of the journey is observed and annotated in detail. Indeed before his departure, Bogle had been specifically instructed by Hastings to keep a diary,

> inserting whatever passes before your Observation which shall be characteristic of the People, the country, the climate, or the road, their Manners, Customs, Buildings, Cookery, &c., or interesting to the Trade of this Country, Carrying with you a pencil and Pocket-book for the purpose of minuting short Notes of every Fact or Remark as it occurs, and putting them in order at your Leisure while they are fresh in your Memory. (Private Commissions to Mr Bogle, MSS Eur E226/6)

From the start then, the mission was also a textual enterprise. Bogle was to chart the unknown territory beyond the northern borders of Bengal, and the resulting journal was part of his official report.

18. The party which made up the mission comprised of Bogle, a Company surgeon named Alexander Hamilton, the Lama's agent Purangir Gosain, and a retinue of servants. But in his letters to his father and male friends, Bogle tends to write himself into the role of lone explorer; generally employing the first person singular, invoking such figures as Robinson Crusoe (as we saw earlier), and claiming to be the first Company servant ever to enter the region (Bogle to John Stewart, June 1774; Bogle to George Bogle senior, June 1774. MSS Eur E226/77(c)). For his sisters, however, he exchanges the heroic for a mock-heroic voice. When the embassy arrived at Tashichö Dzong, Bogle was officially received by the Deb Raja of Bhutan. Bogle sends an illustrated account of this occasion to Anne, as an "Opportunity of exercizing ... [her] risible Faculties":

But it is time I should make you acquainted with the Company and let you know where you are. In order to get a clear Idea of the Deb Rajah's Presence Chamber you have only to look at the very elegant plan of it annexed. He was dressed in his Sacerdotal Habit, a scarlet collour gilded Mitre on his Head, and an Umbrella with Fringes twirling over him. He is a pleasant looking old Man with a smirking Countenance. On each side of his Officers and Ministers to the Number of a dozen were seated upon Cushions close to the Wall, and the Rest of the Company stood in the area or among the Pillars. The Pannells of the Room and also the Ceiling were covered with Chineze sewed Landscapes and different Colloured Sattins, the Pulpit was gilded, and many Silver and gilt Vases about it and the Floor all around was laid with Carpets. At the opposite End of the Apartment and behind where I sat, several large Chineze Images were placed in a kind of Nich or Alcove with Lamps of Butter burning before them, and ornamented with Elephants' Teeth, little Silver Temples, China ware, Silks, Ribbons and other Gew Gaws. Among these I must not forget a solitary Print of Lady Waldgrave, whom I had afterwards the good Fortune to be the Means of rescuing out of the Hands of these Idols. For it happening to strike some of the Courtiers, whither the Upholsterer, the Chamberlain or a Page, I cannot pretend to say; that Lady Waldgrave would make a pretty Companion to a Looking Glass I had given the Rajah, she was hung up on one of the Pillars next the throne, and the Mirror on the other, and as I would wish to give you the best and latest Accounts, you may depend upon it that things continue still in that posture. (MSS Eur E226/77(c))

Plate 2

With a Sterne-like flourish, Bogle inserts a diagram into the text (*see plate 1*). The plan—a form better suited to illustrate a military engagement than a state reception—is itself a kind of parody with entries such as "Looking Glass," "Lady Waldgrave," "Idols" and "Me." Bogle's account of his knight errantry (rearranging the furniture) has something of the bathos of mock-epic, and the exotic "Gew Gaws" on the altar recall Belinda's cluttered dressing table in Pope's *The Rape of the Lock*. Bogle's adoption of the mock-heroic manner, where style and matter collide to comic effect, is perhaps a response to the moment of cultural collision: the sight of a Buddhist shrine adorned with a print of Lady Waldegrave, Duchess of Gloucester.

19. This scene has interesting affinities with the nineteenth-century colonial "myth of origin" identified by Homi Bhabha as "the scenario, played out in the wild and wordless wastes of colonial India, Africa, the Caribbean, of the sudden, fortuitous discovery of the English book" (102). For Bhabha, this is a moment which at once reinforces and interrogates colonial authority; for while the book's unexpected presence testifies to the universal power of the English text, the book itself appears in a strangely distorted or dislocated form. We may detect something of this unsettling displacement in Bogle's account, light-hearted though it is. For here cultural appropriation is figured as abduction or sexual violation (Lady Waldegrave in the hands of the idols) and at the end, Bogle is at pains to stress that decorum has been restored.

20. But the dominant tone of the letter is that of gentle ridicule, both of the state ceremonial of the court and Bogle's own masculine dignity. He goes on to tell his sister about the formal presentation of a robe:

> a water Tabby Gown, like what Aunt Katty used to wear, with well-plated Haunches was put on me: a red Sattin Handkerchief was tied round me for a Girdle ... Thus attired I paid two or three Visits to some of the Officers in the Palace, and walked home like Mordecai, in great State to my Lodgings—O that you had been but there to have seen me—I believe I would have sent my Robes by you to Jenny Gilchrist, but being without this opportunity, I have converted them into a Night Gown, in which I have the Honour to write you. (MSS Eur E226/77(c))

The investiture in Bhutanese robes represents a potentially disturbing moment of alienation; an anxiety which emerges here through a series of images which confuse gender roles. Cultural cross-dressing turns into transvestite performance with Bogle in his shot-silk gown playing Aunt Katty and Jenny Gilchrist, his old nurse. Between these two Glaswegian women appears Mordecai the Jew, gorgeously attired in royal apparel, a sign of favour from the King of Persia and Media. At once domestic and oriental, ancient and modern, feminine and masculine, Bogle turns himself into a pantomime figure. The fast-shifting analogies distract the reader from the political significance of the scene as a display of amity between Bhutan and the East India Company. And as he signs off, Bogle asserts his original cultural and gender identity by demoting the royal robes to a nightgown, worn at the time of writing.

21. The description of dress is characteristic of Bogle's letters to female correspondents. He enthuses about the warmth and practicality of loose Tibetan clothing, detailing his outfit: a satin gown lined with Siberian fox fur, a cap faced with sable and Russian red leather boots (Bogle to Mrs Brown, 3 November 1774; Bogle to unspecified female correspondent, 27 November 1774, MSS Eur E226/80). Clothes would have fallen into his correspondents' sphere of traditional feminine concerns, but in these letters Bogle also explores the importance of dress as a sign of identity; to Martha, for instance, he writes a semi-serious disquisition on the influence of dress on national character (Bogle to Mrs Brown, 8 March 1775, MSS Eur E226/77(k)). The focus on clothing is suggestive too of the role of Bogle the letter-writer, donning different guises to suit different correspondents, engaged in that epistolary performance which Cynthia Lowenthal has called the "theatrical costuming of the self in various languages and styles" (21). Indeed Bogle makes this connection between dress and epistolary style himself when he writes of his delight in his sister Anne's ill-structured letters: "Her Ideas look best in negligee" (Bogle to Bess, 31 August 1771, Bogle Collection).

22. Bogle's sartorial relish recalls Lady Mary Wortley Montagu's elaborate account of her Turkish habit in the *Turkish Embassy Letters* (114-15). In fact Bogle cites Wortley Montagu when he compares his own intimate acquaintance with the Panchen Lama to her adventures (referring no doubt to her entrance into the harem and Turkish baths); describing both of them as "enjoying advantages, which no European Traveller before .... ever possessed" (Bogle to Robin, 8 January 1775, MSS Eur E226/80). The parallel at once feminizes Bogle and makes claims for the literary status of his letters. The "advantages" which Wortley Montagu enjoyed, conferred by her gender and class, allowed her to move with relative ease in aristocratic Turkish circles, and caused her to dismiss earlier travellers' versions of the Levant as fictitious (Montagu 146). She was particularly impressed by the refinement of harem manners, recounting in detail her social calls on Turkish ladies and the gracious entertainment she received. Bogle entered into relationships of even greater intimacy with members of the ruling classes of Tibet. His protracted negotiations at the Bhutanese court finally resulted in a invitation from the Panchen Lama to travel on to Tibet. During his five months' residence at the Panchen Lama's palaces, Bogle conversed extensively with the Lama, played chess with members of his retinue, went on a hunting expedition with his nephews, attended Buddhist festivals, and even composed a history of Europe at the Lama's request. Like Wortley Montagu, Bogle discounts earlier travel accounts as inauthentic and celebrates friendship across the cultural divide. Throughout his correspondence, in both his official and familiar letters, the Lama is described in the most glowing of terms: attentive, obliging, affable, charitable, humane (Bogle to Hastings, 5 December 1774, MSS Eur E226/77(h); Bogle to George Bogle Senior, 8 January 1775, MSS Eur E226/77(i)). For his sister Elizabeth, these qualities are manifested in the Lama's solicitude to provide acceptable food for Bogle's breakfast (Bogle to Bess, 30 December 1774, MSS Eur E226/80). Such domestic concerns and such testimony of affection serve once again to relocate Bogle's mission in the personal rather than the political sphere.

23. Yet it could be said that the friendship with the Panchen Lama was indeed Bogle's major diplomatic achievement. This alliance was commemorated in a painting of around 1775 by the Calcutta artist Tilly Kettle which represents the Panchen Lama's reception of Bogle (the painting is reproduced in Aris 19

and Earle 91). Dressed in Tibetan robes, Bogle presents a ceremonial white scarf to the Lama. The painting is now in the Royal Collection and is thought to have been presented by Hastings to George III; a striking testimony to the political significance attributed to the alliance between Bogle and the Panchen Lama (and charming record of Bogle's penchant for cultural cross-dressing).

24. As far as trade was concerned, Bogle's mission was less successful. The route through Bhutan remained closed to East India Company servants; British goods could enter Bhutan only through the agency of non-European traders. Bogle attributed this restriction to the intervention of the Chinese residents, or *ambans*, stationed at Lhasa, who monitored the direction of Tibetan policy. In the Panchen Lama, Bogle saw a possible future mediator between the Company and the Emperor of China. After Bogle's return to Bengal, relations between the British and the Lama were cemented by the gift of a plot of land in Calcutta for the establishment of a monastic house. Five years later, the Lama visited Peking, and was to arrange a passport for Bogle to join him to conduct negotiations with the Chinese authorities. But these plans came to nothing: the Lama succumbed to smallpox at Peking and died there in 1780, and Bogle himself died in Calcutta the following year.

25. Among the Bogle family papers in Glasgow survives an emblem of this intended alliance in the form of a photograph of a Buddhist rosary, probably sent by Bogle to his sister Martha (*see plate 2*). An accompanying letter explains that the beads were given to Bogle by the Lama who received them from the Emperor of China. This gesture of political and personal amity is then replayed in the family setting. Bogle requests that his sister tie one strand of the beads around the neck of her favourite child, and distribute the rest among the children of Bogle's relatives and friends[2]. He comments:

Plate 1

> You will say this is a whimsical Direction—but I dont know the use of these Beads but to wear about Childrens Necks, or as a Token of my Remembrance and a Relique picked up on my present Pilgrimage—in this light you will please to consider it—and then the Emperor's Cornellians will acquire an imperial Value. (Bogle to Mrs Brown, 3 November 1774, MSS Eur E226/80)

Here Bogle reaches the culmination of his career as sentimental pilgrim. The Emperor's rosary, originally a sign of political favour, achieves imperial status only as sentimental souvenir, restrung and distributed among the Bogle family and friends (although the photograph, which shows the rosary either intact or reconstructed, suggests that the Bogles may not have followed this direction). Drained of its political significance, the exotic is to be dismantled and reassembled in domesticated form. This act of sentimental appropriation is a characteristic technique of Bogle's correspondence, and perhaps more widely of colonial letter-writing in general. The rosary also furnishes a suitable concluding image, for Bogle conceived of colonial correspondence itself as a chain to link to the mother country, a guarantee of national identity, a kind of *aide-mémoire* for the affections. Writing to his sister Anne, he demands news from home, for 'the memory of our early Friends and Acquaintances is the Chain that attaches us to our native Country, and we cannot forego the one without dissolving the other' (Bogle to Miss A. Bogle, MSS Eur E226/78).

Notes

[1] This article originally appeared in *Epistolary Selves: Letters and Letter Writers, 1600-1945*, ed. Rebecca Earle (London: Ashgate, 1999). I am indebted to the late Michael Aris for introducing me to Bogle, encouraging my research and answering queries with enthusiasm and generosity. I am also grateful to Hugh Richardson and Hamish Whyte for their help.

[2] Clements Markham includes a wood engraving and detailed description of the rosary in the introduction to his edition of Bogle's journal. See Markham cxliii-cxlv.

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