Hacettepe University Graduate School of Social Sciences
Department of English Language and Literature
British Cultural Studies Programme

CONTRASTING APPROACHES TOWARDS INDIAN NATIONALISM IN MARY MARGARET KAYE'S *SHADOW OF THE MOON* (1957), JAMES GORDON FARRELL'S *THE SIEGE OF KRISHNAPUR* (1973) AND ZADIE SMITH'S *WHITE TEETH* (2000)

Fatma Kalpaklı

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Prof. Dr. İrfan Çakın
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TABLE OF CONTENTS

ÖZET

KALPAKLI, Fatma. Mary Margaret Kaye'in *Shadow of the Moon* (1957), James Gordon Farrell'ın *The Siege of Krishnapur* (1973) ve Zadie Smith'in *White Teeth* (2000) Romanlarında Hint Milliyetçiliğine Karşı Farklı Tutumlar, Doktora Tezi, Ankara, 2008

Bu tezin amacı yirminci yüzyıl İngiliz romanı bağlamında Mary Margaret Kaye'in *Shadow of the Moon* (1957), James Gordon Farrell'ın *The Siege of Krishnapur* (1973) ve Zadie Smith'in *White Teeth* (2000) adlı eserlerini ele alarak, söz konusu üç romanda İngiliz ve Hintli karakterlerin ırk, sınıf, sosyal cinsel kimlik, din, bölge, eğitim ve yaş unsurları incelenerek anılan yazarların Hint milliyetçiliğine karşı farklı tutumlar gösterip göstermediğini araştırmaktır.

Hint milliyetçiliğinin gelişimi düşünüldüğünde, 1857 Sipahi Ayaklanması İngiliz yönetimine karşı olduğu bilinen ilk ayaklanma olduğundan başlangıç noktası olarak alınabilir. Hindistan'da İngiliz yönetimi bir İngiliz ticaret şirketi olan Doğu Hindistan Şirketi'nin, on altıncı yüzyılda Hindistan'a gitmesiyle başlar. Fakat daha sonra, İngiliz yönetiminin, yerel halkın özellikle dinlerine saygı duymaması 1857 Sipahi Ayaklanması'na neden olur. *Shadow of the Moon, The Siege of Krishnapur* ve *White Teeth* romanlarında bu ayaklanmanın etrafında gelişen olaylardan yola çıkılarak roman karakterlerinin üstünden Mary Margaret Kaye'in, James Gordon Farrell'ın ve Zadie Smith'in Hint milliyetçiliğine olan tutumları irdelenecektir.

Shadow of the Moon, The Siege of Krishnapur ve *White Teeth'deki* roman karakterleri incelendiğinde ırk faktörünün çok önemli olduğu ve bu eserlerde İngilizlerin Hint milliyetçiliğine karşı oldukları, Hintlilerin ise bazılarının Hint milliyetçiliğini destekledikleri, bazılarının ise desteklemedikleri gözlenmiştir. Sınıf unsurunun da bu konuda karakterlerin bakış açısı üzerinde belirleyici bir rolü vardır; hem İngiliz hem de genelde Hint burjuvazisinin Hint milliyetçiliğine karşı olumsuz bir bakış açılarının olduğu saptanmıştır. Ancak, aynı zamanda Hint milliyetçiliğini yönlendirenlerin de Hint burjuvazi sınıfına mensup roman karakterleri arasından çıktığı gözlemlenmiştir. Her üç romanda da sosyal cinsel kimliğin Hint milliyetçiliğine olan bakış açısı incelendiğinde hem İngiliz hem de Hintli erkek roman karakterlerinin kadın karakterlere nazaran milli konularda daha aktif rol aldığı saptanmıştır. Din faktörü ise karakterlerin tutumları üzerinde oldukça etkilidir ve Hıristiyan İngilizler Hint

ABSTRACT

KALPAKLI, Fatma. Contrasting Approaches towards Indian Nationalism in Mary Margaret Kaye's *Shadow of the Moon* (1957), James Gordon Farrell's *The Siege of Krishnapur* (1973) and Zadie Smith's *White Teeth* (2000), Ph. D. Dissertation, Ankara, 2008

The aim of this dissertation is to analyse the contrasting and changing approaches towards Indian nationalism in *Shadow of the Moon* (1957) by Mary Margaret Kaye, *The Siege of Krishnapur* (1973) by James Gordon Farrell and *White Teeth* (2000) by Zadie Smith. This study will analyse whether a change occurs in the British writers' attitude towards Indian nationalism through the analysis of the English characters and Indian characters with regard to race, class, gender, religion, region, education and age in the novels mentioned above.

When the development of Indian nationalism is taken into consideration, the Indian Mutiny of 1857 can be taken as a starting point, since it is the first rebellion against the British rule in India. In the sixteenth century, with the coming of an English trade company to India, which is the East India Company, the British rule begins. Afterwards, the English administration's disrespectful attitude especially towards indigenous religions paves the way to the Indian Mutiny of 1857.

In *Shadow of the Moon, The Siege of Krishnapur* and *White Teeth* both the English and Indian characters' national backgrounds seem very influential in shaping their attitudes towards Indian nationalism as all the English characters have a negative stance towards it. With regard to the Indians, it has been observed that some of them support Indian nationalism, while some of them do not. Characters' class backgrounds also play an important role in determining their stance towards Indian nationalism. Having the same class background becomes a common denominator for middle class fictional characters and regardless of racial differences, both the middle class English and most middle class Indian people seem to be against Indian nationalism. However, paradoxically, at the same time it has been observed that the leaders and organisers of the Indian National Movement also have middle class backgrounds. In addition, in these three novels, with regard to gender it is seen that while both English and Indian male characters actively take part in national matters, English and Indian female characters take on more indirect roles. Religion is one of the most influential factors and nearly all the Christian English are against Indian nationalism. As for the Indians,

INTRODUCTION

A. THE HISTORY OF BRITISH AND INDIAN RELATIONSHIPS AND THE ESTABLISHMENT OF INDIA AS A FREE COUNTRY

This study aims at exploring if any change occurs in the British writers' attitudes towards Indian nationalism in the twentieth century selective British novels, namely Kaye's *Shadow of the Moon* (1957), Farrell's *The Siege of Krishnapur* (1973), and Smith's *White Teeth* (2000) through the analysis of the Indian and English characters' attitudes towards Indian nationalism with regard to criteria such as race, class, gender, religion, region, education and age. Hence, the dissertation aims to analyse whether a change occurs in the British writers' attitudes towards Indian nationalism between 1957 and 2000.

In order to provide a sound analysis of Indian nationalism, it is necessary to supply a general review of the history of English and Indian relationships and the reasons which lie behind the colonisation of India. Madhu Limaye, an Indian historian, argues that in the history of India "the recurrent theme has been the subjection of its people to alien rule for long streches of time…Subjection is the common fate and enjoyment of freedom and a unified state has been episodic" (3). When the significant invasions of India are taken into consideration, the validity of this argument becomes very clear. A brief survey of the history of India displays that the first invasion was carried out by "the Achaemenids of Persia[1]" between 520 and 515 B.C during the reign of Cyrus (Mahmud 16) and the second invasion was carried out by "the Macedonian Greeks" in 327 B.C. during the reign of Alexander the Great and lasted until around 316 B.C. (Thapar 59). When the Macedonian rule came to an end, "Muslim invaders" - Arab, Turkish and Afghan - came to India (Limaye 5) between the tenth and fifteenth centuries.

In the fifteenth century, India eventually came to be known by Western men through Portuguese sailors. On 27 May 1498, Vasco da Gama arrived at Calicut[2] on the West

coast of India (Limaye 11) and as a result of this geographical discovery Western men began to come to India and this changed the fate of the country. "At the turn of the fifteenth century, Western adventurers, traders and missionaries" came to India and this was the beginning of "the British supremacy" there[3] (Limaye 6).

However, as mentioned above, "the first Europeans to come to the sub-continent had been the Portuguese (Mahmud 183)," not the British. The Portuguese were followed by the Dutch (Mahmud 183) and later on, they were followed by British and French tradesmen. These Europeans had no aim of invading or colonising these lands, but they were there for commercial reasons. Michael Edwardes clarifies that in the beginning the first comers from Britain were British tradesmen, not British militarymen or British colonisers:

> Until 1858, British India was ruled by a chartered commercial corporation, the East India Company, operating under ever increasing interference from the British Crown. But there had been no thought of dominion in the minds of the eighty hard-headed businessmen who, in 1599, met in the City of London to found the Company. Their concern was with trade - in spices, silks, gems, camphor and indigo - and the first voyages were fitted out not for India at all, but for Sumatra. In 1608, however, the Company's agents in Bantam and the Moluccas reported that the people there were good customers for Indian calicoes and suggested that a trading post should be set up in India to buy them. (15)

The East India Company[4] was a legal trade company and trade was its top priority, as India would be both a good source for raw materials and a good consumer market for British products. As Ferro further states, "…in India the goals were strictly commercial, before becoming territorial" (59). In order to begin trading, the East India Company got permission from "the Mughal Emperor, Jahangir" to establish a post (Edwardes 15; Mahmud 183); hence it built warehouses at "Surat[5]". "After Surat, further 'factories'[6]…were set up at Ahmedabad, Burhanpur, Ajmer and Agra" (Edwardes 15). Later, however, the East India Company began to lose its civilian structure and began to

maintain an army for its own security. As time went by, these security forces began to be used to solve the conflicts among the indigenous people. Mahmud states:

> The East India Company had by the beginning of the eighteenth century three important trading centres, at Bombay, Madras and Calcutta, with governors appointed by their board of directors to control the affairs of the trading stations. To protect themselves they enrolled local soldiers whom they called sepoys[7] and trained them on Western lines. Soon they had three small armies too. As time went on, the local rajas [kings] and nawabs [governors], noticing the strength of their sepoy armies, began to ask them for help in their internal affairs. In return first for more trade concessions and later for more land, the three centres began to take an active part in Indian power politics. (183)

Thus, these armies were used by Indian princes to solve their internal conflicts and to suppress the rebellions in their regions in addition to oppressing their own people. Therefore, the British began to take advantage of this situation and to hold the upper hand in Indian politics. In return for their military support, the Company men began to demand land and some rights in the administration and eventually ended up with more power than the Indian princes and local governors. "The British power [was] firstly established in Bengal" (Limaye 111) with the Battle of Plassey in June 23, 1757. This battle broke out as the *nawab*[8] (governor) of Bengal attacked "the British factories" and captured Calcutta (Kulke 213). Then, Robert Clive,[9] a successful British officer, was given the responsibility of the British troops. Though, he had only "3000 troops" and the *nawab*'s army was "far greater" (Kulke 214), Clive "won the battle with the loss of only twenty men" (Mahmud 189) and defeated the Indian army which was led by Siraj-ud-daulah (Mahmud 189). However, in Clive's victory, Indian traitors also had their share. In many history books (James 52; Edwardes 20; Limaye 64; Delgoda 153) it is explained that Clive gave bribes and prepared conspiracy plans against the governor of Bengal and due to this fact he won the battle. Thus, Clive's victory was not merely because of his military talent, but also because of the weakness of the national feelings of some Indians. Kulke states that

> [a]fter having indulged in a secret intrigue with Mir Jaffar, the commander of the nawab's troops, Clive moved to the north in order to challenge the nawab on the battlefield of Plassey. Mir Jaffar was supposed to change sides while the battle was on and Clive would then see to it that he would become the nawab of Bengal… Mir Jaffar was then did change sides: and rewarded Clive handsomely with a fief and a huge sum of Money. Back in Calcutta Clive got himself elected as governor of Bengal by the company's offices there. (213-214)

Thus, acts of betrayal and treachery on the part of the Indians had an important role in the Battle of Plassey, which shaped the fate of Anglo-Indian history: "This was a small battle in which the English victory was due more to treachery than to superior arms but it had important results. It laid the foundation of the British Empire in India" (Sahgal 6-7).

As it is suggested above, some Indians' being deprived of national consciousness helped the English in establishing dominance over India: "The English learnt that Mir Jafar, the chief minister of Bengal, had certain ambitions. So they approached him and two influential Hindus also, Jagat Seth and Omichand" (Mahmud 188).

Hence, after the Battle of Plassey the East India Company took the control of Bengal with the help of some of the Indians who gave more importance to personal and secterian interests than to national interests. S.F.Mahmud, an Eastern historian, argues that Siraj-ud-daulah fled (189) after the war, whereas Hermann Kulke, a Western historian argues that "the nawab was defeated and killed" (214). Therefore, there is not enough objective data to comment on the governor's attitude towards his country and whether he is a patriot or a traitor.

However, the defeat of Plassey was just the beginning of a series of defeats for the indigenous people of India; for instance shortly afterwards in 1764 the Mughal forces were defeated in the Battle of Buxar. As a result of the defeats in Plassey and Buxar, instead of fighting back, the Mughal Emperors chose to cooperate and reconcile with the British and even offered them some privileges such as giving some responsibility in the civil administration of Bengal: "The Great Mughal in Delhi thought that he could perhaps restore some of his authority in Bengal by entrusting the British with the civil

administration (*Diwani*) of that province so as to curb the influence of the new nawab, who would be left with the military command only" (Kulke 214).

Thus, "the criminal jurisdiction over the area [was] left to Mir Jafar and the Company in return gave the Emperor the Doab [a city, a place], and... [some money] as tribute every year. The Nawab of Oudh was given back his dominions except for Kara and Allahabad... In return the Emperor promised to pay the Company all the expenses of the late war and to be an ally of the English" (Mahmud 191). Eventually, "in 1765 the grant of *Diwani* (the right to collect all taxes[10])" (Mahmud 191) was given to the Company and accordingly the Company had the right to collect taxes in "Bihar, Bengal and Orissa" (Mahmud 191). This enlarged their authority. Afterwards, Clive became the first British governor of Bengal (Sahgal 11). In 1773, the British government passed "the Regulating Act" and "under this Act, the Company was made responsible to [the British] Parliament" (Mahmud 194). Accordingly,

> [a] Governor-General was to be appointed for the province of Bengal and he was to have four councillors. The provinces of Madras and Bombay were to have governors, but were put under the government of Bengal. There was to be a supreme court at Calcutta, with a chief justice and three judges. The directors were to submit to Parliament copies of all official correspondence and make half-yearly reports on their affairs. (Mahmud 194)

As a requisite of these new regulations, in 1774 Warren Hastings was made the first governor-general and until the Indian Mutiny of 1857, a number of British governor-generals were appointed. At times, these governor-generals went to war to enlarge their lands "till almost all of India came under their rule" (Sahgal 11).

Most of these governor-generals were involved in very arbitrary practices and the best example for this may be the action put into practice by Dalhousie, the last governor-general. Dalhousie followed "a three-sided policy of annexation[11]." Firstly, his policy was based on "the right of conquest," secondly on "the belief that British rule should take the place of the inefficient rule in some of the Indian states," and thirdly on the

“doctrine of lapse” (Sahgal 11). This "doctrine of lapse" gave authority to the East India Company to annex the territories of rulers who died without male heirs and it also “denied rulers their right of adopting an heir in the absence of a natural heir” (Edwardes 31). Taking the policy of Dalhousie into consideration, it may be argued that under the circumstances mentioned above whatever the Indians did, sooner or later, they had to accept the British supremacy in their own land as there was no way out for them, especially in the case of the second item which dictated that the British should take control if the Indian governors were inefficient. Then, the question of who was to decide whether Indian governors were inefficient or not was open to discussion.

In addition, the internal conflicts between the religious sects in India contributed to the strengthening of British power as well. To exemplify, the British rulers were perceived by the Bengali Hindus as “liberators” (Limaye 112) from the Muslim rulers and therefore the British were supported by the Bengali Hindus. The letter of a Bengali Hindu of upper-caste illustrates this point:

> Divine Providence at last, in its abundant mercy, stirred up the English nation to break the yoke of those tyrants, and to receive the oppressed natives of Bengal under its protection… now conclude my Essay by offering up thanks to the Supreme Disposer of the events of this universe, for having unexpectedly delivered this country [that is Bengal] from the long-continued tyranny of its former Rulers, and placed it under the [g]overnment of the English, - a nation who not only are blessed with the enjoyment of civil and political liberty, but also interest themselves in promoting liberty and social happiness, as well as free inquiry into literary and religious subjects among those nations to which their influence extends. (Limaye 112)

In addition, some of the Bengali people expressed that if they had a choice between self-government (s*waraj*) and British rule, they “would choose the latter without any hesitation” (Limaye 113). While the Bengali Hindus saw “the British as their benefactors,” the Bengali Muslims saw the British as “usurpers” (Limaye 113).

Yet, there were Indians who were against the British rule in India and the sparks of nationalism began to be seen in some parts of the country. The first nationalistic movement was the Indian Mutiny of 1857, which was triggered by the disrespectful behaviour of the British officials towards the Indian religion and culture. With regard to the causes of the Mutiny, Chandra states:

> [T]he reports about the mixing of bone dust in *atta*[12] [a kind of Indian bread] (vinitavudali@hotmail.com) and the introduction of the Einfield rifle enhanced the sepoys' growing dissatisfaction with the Government. The cartridges of [the] new rifle had to be bitten off before loading and the grease was reportedly made of beef and pig fat. (34)

The British claimed to have replaced the cartridges with new ones and tried to make the Indian soldiers make their own grease from beeswax and vegetable oils but this was not enough to persuade the Indian soldiers and to prevent them from rebelling.

Therefore, the use of cow and pig fat in rifle cartridges was one of the main causes of the Mutiny but it was not the only one; the *sepoys* were also not content with their wages, and furthermore they were aware of the racial discrimination in the army especially "in matters of promotion and privileges[13]" (Chandra 34). To add to all these, "the British… view the Hindu religion as a barbaric, pagan creed, [which is] beneath contempt. [Therefore] [English] officers in the Company's army… grasped every opportunity of trying to persuade [Indian soldiers] to become Christian" (Edwardes 150); this was perceived both as a threat and an insult to Indian religion and culture.

On 10 May 1857, the *sepoys* revolted and "on the 11th of May, they reached Delhi and they captured Bahadur Shah Zafar and proclaimed him emperor" (Mahmud 223; Wood 167). This event was evaluated by Bipan Chandra as, "an unsuccessful but heroic effort to eliminate foreign rule" and he suggested that "the capture of Delhi and the proclamation of Bahadur Shah as the Emperor of Hindustan gave a political meaning to the Revolt and provided a rallying point for the rebels by recalling the past glory of the imperial city" (31). It also gave a sense of belonging to a group or to a nation.

Actually, the rebellion against British rule between 1857 and 1858 took place in Northern and Central India. Geographically, "Delhi was the centre of [this] national movement and the British besieged it on 8 June" and the *sepoys* "inflicted heavy losses on the British" (Mahmud 224), but because of the sectarian conflicts among the Indians themselves, "the Indian Sikhs" preferred to help the British and the British "captured the town and sacked it" and the *sepoys* were punished very severely. It can be said that there was no limit to violence; all the villages were set on fire "on suspicion only" and "nine of the emperor's sons were hanged and their heads were presented to him on a tray … and afterwards he was sent as a state prisoner to Rangoon [in Burma]" (Mahmud 224). In relation to these events, the first-hand experience of the great Urdu poet Asadullah Khan Ghalib reflected in his words, "the ensuing events [after the Mutiny] turned one's blood to water" (Mahmud 224) are further proof of the severity and intensity of the violence.

After the suppression of the rebellion, the British government decided to take India under the direct control of the Crown; that is under the rule of the British *Raj*[14]. During the Mutiny, it was seen that the East India Company was insufficient to sustain law and order in India. Therefore, a Viceroy was appointed to represent the Crown. The British prepared a programme of reform to integrate Indian higher castes[15] and Indian rulers into the government, and abolished the East India Company (James 292-293). Hence, the British gave some privileges to the higher castes and upper classes because they tended to be closer to the British as it was illustrated in the case of the Mutiny. Moreover, upper classes supported the British existence in India as they were also in need of the British help in order to exploit the lower classes and to hold the administrational positions in their hands (Sahgal 37-38). Classwise, most of the mutineers were from the lower classes; the Mutiny did not appeal to the upper class people. Hermann Kulke points this fact out: "The new educated elite did not participate in [the Mutiny] for fear of the chaos or restoration of the old order it might bring. The people who led this uprising had no use for English-educated gentlemen. Apart from the soldiers, the rebels were mostly disgruntled landlords and peasants, and some disinherited princes" (236). Thus, upper class people were ready to sacrifice national

benefits for the sake of personal benefits and they were ready to cooperate with the British (Sahgal 38).

After the Mutiny, the British began to admit Indians into civil service so as to prevent dissatisfaction among them; but they made sure that the Indians remained mainly as subordinates in these services. Another measure taken after the Mutiny was that the British increased the number of their own soldiers and limited the number of the indigenous soldiers and allowed only British soldiers to handle artillery ("Indian Independence Movement"; Kulke 253).

On 1 November 1858 Queen Victoria's proclamation was "read aloud, in various languages, in all the main cities and towns" (James 293) to announce that she, who later took the title of "Empress of India" in 1876 (Kulke 239), had promised the Indian people equal treatment under British law (Mahmud 225); but there was mistrust on both sides. Neither the English people nor the Indian people could trust the other side after the Mutiny. Therefore it may be claimed that the Indian Mutiny was a turning point in the Indo-British relations and things would never be the same.

While in most of the history books written by Indian authors the *sepoys*' revolt is considered to be the first Indian War of Independence or the first Indian national movement (Chandra 31; Sahgal 17; Mahmud 224), in history books written by English authors it is considered to be a rebellion or a revolt and the *sepoys* are labelled as terrorists or rebels (Morgan 506; Schultz 266-67; James 253).

However, there are some European historians like Hermann Kulke and Dietmar Rothermund who reject both of the above-mentioned approaches of the Indians and the English authors; they have a neutral and distanced stance towards this issue as they are neither English nor Indian but German and they judge neither the Indians nor the English:

> The uprising in northern India which terminated the existence of the East India Company almost put an end to British rule in India. While radical Indian nationalists later referred to this uprising as the 'First Indian War of Independence',

> the British called it the 'Mutiny' because the Indian soldiers who had helped them to conquer India had turned against them. But this revolt of 1857 was neither a national war of independence nor simply a Mutiny. It spread over much of northern India and affected many strata of the population. (236)

The *sepoys*' approach to the British presence in India goes through a change during the British *Raj*. In the beginning, they serve for the spread of the British rule, but then they try to put an end to the British *Raj*. This change in the *sepoys*' attitude towards the English may be taken as a huge step in the way of the awakening of Indian soldiers for the establishment of free India. As Marx suggested, "a mutiny was, in a sense, much more serious than any uprising: the army was the foundation, the sine qua non [sic], of colonial power, and it was, of course, trained and well armed... [Thus] [a] Mutiny was the most serious possible form of subversion of British colonial power" (qtd. in Young 165). This new consciousness among the Indian soldiers is reflected in one of the letters written around 1757 by Robert Clive to his superiors:

> The Soldiers [Indian soldiers], if they deserve that name, have not the least attachment to their Prince, he only can expect Service from them who pays them best, but it is a matter of great indifference to them whom they serve; and I am fully persuaded that after the battle of Placis I could have appropriated the whole Country to the Company… (qtd. in Limaye 63)

As it is mentioned above, the most important effect of the Mutiny on the many *strata* of the population was the awakening of national feelings among the Indians and the changes in the administrative system, which is the creation of a cabinet post in London for a secretary of state for India. Hence, the decades following the *Sepoy* Rebellion or in other words, the Indian Mutiny, were a period of growing political awareness as the Indians began to express their opinions publicly. However, the British did not believe in the possibility of India becoming a nation; they did not think that the Indians were capable of constituting a nation. Ainslie T.Embree quotes a speech in 1888 by Sir John

Strachey who was "one of the ablest of the British administrators of India in the 19th century":

> This is the first and most essential thing to learn about India - that there is not, and never was an India, or even any country of India, possessing according to European ideas, any sort of unity, physical, political, social or religious… That men of Punjab, Bengal, the North-Western provinces, and Madras should ever feel they belong to one great nation, is impossible. (1)

Contrary to the expectations of the British, seventy-three Indian delegates met in Bombay in 1885 and upon the suggestion made by Sir Allan Hume, a retired British civil servant, to build a congress they founded the Indian National Congress. This suggestion of Hume may seem paradoxical at first sight. However, Hume, as he knew the Indian society very well, recognised the popular discontent against the British government and realised that it could cause a revolt: "Being in the government service till 1882, he received possession of the very voluminous secret police reports which revealed the growth of popular discontent and the spreading of underground conspirational organization" (Desai 318-319). Thus, instead of making the Indians his enemies, Sir Hume made them his loyal friends and in that way, it became easier to control them.

Most of the men who founded the Indian National Congress were under the influence of English and Europen ideas as they were exposed to Western philosophy during their education and were mostly engaged in professions such as law, teaching, and journalism. S.F. Mahmud comments that "[t]he Indian Universities had produced a new generation of educated Indians, who had read the works of British and continental political philosophers and had become filled with national ideas. These public-spirited men joined to form the Indian National Congress" (234).

At the beginning, the Congress meetings were held to discuss political affairs and to make some recommendations to the government. From time to time, these meetings were criticised severely as the Congress failed to represent all India due to the fact that most of its members were from the upper class and the number of the members who

were from other classes was very small. The Congress failed to appeal not only to the lower classes, but also to the Muslims.

Before the foundation of the Congress, there were other nationalist groups such as "the Indian Association which was established in Calcutta in 1876 and the Poona Sarvajanik Sabha which was founded in 1870" and whose "leading spirit [was] Mahadev Govind Ranade [who was] a young judge" (Kulke 259). Also, Surendranath Banerjea[16] was the mentor of the Indian Association and led an all-India campaign for a better representation of Indians in the Indian civil service" (Kulke 259). However, these could not go beyond being local organisations and "there did not, however, still exist a national organization on an all-India basis" (Desai 320).

In addition, there were some religious nationalist organisations, which were inspired by Christian organisations and these were "the Brahmo Samaj of Bengal and Arya Samaj of northern India" (Kulke 258). These tried to construct a new Hindu identity and in order to achieve this aim, the Brahmo Samaj "sent missionaries to all parts of India" (Kulke 258). Ironically, however, these organisations were founded by people whose political consciousness was shaped by British education. Therefore, they may be good examples for the boomerang-effect caused by British education:

> ...liberal nationalists of the educated elite revived vocal political activity in the 1870s. They belonged to a new generation for whom the Mutiny of 1857 was only a vague childhood memory, whereas their experience in England – where many of them had gone for higher studies – had stirred their political consciousness. The old and long dormant associations of the 1850s were now superseded by new organisations of a more vigorous kind. (Kulke 259)

However, the Muslims founded their own organisation to defend their rights and to have a say in Indian politics. With these aims in mind, in 1906 The Muslim League was founded; they wanted to "prevent the emergence of a parliamentary political system in India which would lead to a permanent domination of the Hindu majority over the

Muslim minority" (Kulke 254). The British had similar aims and they did not want to give so much freedom to the Hindus and they followed a policy of restricted democracy for the indigenous people in India as long as they could. Therefore, many Muslims preferred to cooperate with the British instead of with the Congress leaders.

Nevertheless, the British could not prevent the impact of the freedom movements neither in India nor worldwide. To exemplify, the Japanese struggle against Russia was inspiring for India. In 1905, Russia was defeated by Japan; the defeating of a super power of the time set an example to the Indians and gave inspiration to them for resisting Britain, which was another super power at the time. The impact of the Russo-Japanese War upon the world is underlined by Prof. Yitzhak Shichor in his speech/article as he states, "…the Russo-Japanese War was to play a crucial role in … particularistic notions of nationalism and chauvinism - both on the left and on the right of the political map. Initiated by the Russo-Japanese War, radicalism affected Japan itself, as well as the Russian Far East, Vietnamese nationalists and Chinese revolutionaries" ("The Russo-Japanese War and the Origins of East Asian Radicalism"). Likewise, Mahmud argues that "[t]he Indians were further inspired by Russia's defeat at the hands of the small Asiatic nation of Japan" (241). As a result of these events in the world, the ideas of self-government and nationalist feelings began to spread in India. Under these conditions, the British realised that they had to give more rights to the Indians and therefore during the time of Lord Morley, who was a Liberal, the Minto-Morley Reforms were declared in 1909. In accordance with the Minto-Morley Reforms, as pointed out by Mahmud,

> [l]egislative Councils were to be set up in all provinces and they were to have elected as well as nominated members. Moreoever, minorities such as Muslims, Sikhs, landowners, tea and jute industrialists and others were to be separately represented. And then, the membership of the Viceroy's Legislative Council was to be increased from twenty-five to sixty. In addition to these, Indian members were to be appointed to the Executive Councils of Viceroy, of the Bombay and Madras Governors and the Secretary of State Council. (241-242)

In 1914, when World War I broke out, contrary to the expectations of many British people, India was on the side of the British Empire. The promises of the British Prime Minister, Lloyd George had been very influential in making the Indian soldiers join the war and do their best because Lloyd George had "promised self-government to the people of the sub-continent" and therefore "the Indian soldiers, Muslims, Sikhs, Gurkhas, Rajputs and Jats distinguished themselves everywhere" (Mahmud 243). Thus, with the contributions of the Indians, at the end of the war in 1918, Britain was victorious.

Meanwhile, Edwin Montagu, the secretary of state for India, suggested that the Indians take more part in the administration and that India eventually have a "responsible government" as an integral part of the British Empire (Chandra 168). These points were expressed in the Government of India Act of 1919 and were called the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms. The Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms brought "dyarchy[17]," that is the principle of "double government" in which both elected Indian legislators and appointed British officials shared power (Spear 187). It meant the division of the departments into 'reserved' and 'transferred' sectors: "law and order, revenue and finance were reserved by the provincial governor, while local government, sanitation, education and economic development were transferred to elected ministers" (Edwardes 158). In addition, the act also expanded the central and provincial legislatures[18] and widened the franchise considerably (Kulke 256); this was an important step in developing the administrative system in India.

The Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms, however, had some deficiencies because "with the coming of the dyarchy into effect certain responsibilities such as agriculture, local government, health, education, and public works should be under the control of the Indians, whereas finance, taxation, and maintaining law and order should be under the control of the provincial British administrators" (Edwardes 199-200). This meant that more important fields like finance and justice remained in the hands of the British. Thus, the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms, which seemed to be a development in the way of gaining independence, still were not enough to make the Indians happy as these

reforms did not give self-government to India contrary to the promises of the British during World War I.

Moreover, in 1919 the British government in India passed the Rowlatt Act which brought restrictions to nearly all fields of life in India. According to the Rowlatt Act[19], "[Indian] people could be arrested for political offences and imprisoned without trial" (Mahmud 246). These restrictions also brought strict censorship on the media and furthermore they constituted a threat to the freedom of speech for Indians. Edwardes states,

> [t]he Rowlatt report was published shortly after the report of Edwin Montagu, and together they made rather odd reading. On the one hand, the British at Westminster were envisaging some delegation of powers, while on the other, the British in Delhi were reinforcing their authority with all the apparatus of a police state - trial of political cease without jury, and the weapon of summary internment. Indians saw *the British giving with one hand and slapping down with the other.* (The italics are mine for emphasis) (200)

As a reaction to the Rowlatt Act, the Indians united under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi[20] who started the Non Co-operation Movement, which lasted from 1920 to 1922. The Non Co-operation Movement aimed at making people "refuse government service, leave schools and colleges [British education institutions], not to take cases to the [British] law courts, refuse to vote in the elections for the Legislative Councils, and to boycott British goods" (Mahmud 246; Kulke 267). Gandhi persuaded the people to use Indian goods for the revival of the Indian economy. Furthermore, he wanted Indian people to refuse British titles and honours. The British government did not remain indifferent to all this and in the end, Gandhi and his friends were put into prison and their followers were oppressed. Accordingly, "[t]he judge gave Gandhi a six-year prison sentence, while admitting that his decision cost him dearly in personal terms; but Gandhi was happy: prison was part of his scheme" (Clement 65) since he used his imprisonment for "gathering his strength and developing his ideas" (Clement 65).

Meanwhile, new Indian nationalist parties began to be seen in the political arena. "After the suppression of the Non Co-operation Movement, some of the important Hindu and Muslim nationalists such as Motilal Nehru and C.R.Dass founded the Swaraj Party in 1923 to achieve their ideals and M.A. Jinnah joined the Swaraj Party as well. Their aim was to be elected to the councils and to work for the freedom of India from within" (Mahmud 247).

On 23 December 1929, the Indian National Congress asked the British government to give dominion status to India (Sahgal 83; Desai 362). In case of the refusal of their demand, they planned to launch a Civil Disobedience Movement throughout India. In order not to create a chaotic atmosphere in the sub-continent, the English government, announced that in May 1929 India would get "dominion status" within the Empire. However, under the leadership of Jawaharlal Nehru the Congress then asked for "complete independence" from the British Empire and in case of refusal, the Congress ordered its followers to start a Civil Disobedience Movement throughout the country. "26 January 1930" was declared as the *Purna Swaraj*[21] Day, which meant "complete independence" (Desai 362).

In addition, Gandhi, who was one of the prominent leaders of Indian nationalism, started the non-violent Civil Disobedience Movement by protesting the Salt Law since the tax on salt was very high. Moreover, foreign cloth was boycotted as well: "On 5 May 1930… Gandhi was arrested" and this triggered many "hartals [strikes] (Kasturi 198) and demonstrations" (Desai 364) throughout India; therefore Gandhi was eventually released "in January 1931" (Desai 365).

In March 1931, the Gandhi-Irwin Pact was signed and accordingly the English government agreed to set most of the prisoners free, excluding those convicted of violent offences (Desai 365). The English government also "permitted the production of salt for individual home consumption" (Kulke 273). Then, Gandhi went to England to attend "the Round Table Conferences" but the conference broke up as the English and Indian sides could not reach a resolution (James 530-532) .

Later on, the Government of India Act of 1935 was passed in the Parliament in London and accordingly, "India was to be a federal state which would include the British Indian provinces as well as the princely states; although the centre would retain a great deal of control, power would be shared there in terms of dyarchy" (Kulke 256). Yet, there were strong oppositions from the English politicians to the Government of India Act of 1935 and one of the opposers was Winston Churchill who claimed that "provincial autonomy was enough and that the British hold on the Government of India should remain undiminished" (Kulke 256). In relation to this, Marc Ferro, the French historian states that,

> Churchill 'condemn[ed] the excesses of patriotism, jingoism, though he was supposed to be a Tory…Yet his perception of India was always that of an old imperialist' (326) [and here Ferro refers to Churchill's own words], 'on seeing what has happened in Ireland, and what goes on in Egypt, one cannot blame those who ask for concessions in the distant possessions… But, in India, Great Britain must remain a real power'. (326)

Churchill's words indicate very clearly his paternal attitude towards the colonies; he believed that India[22], just like a child, should be guided and administered by Britain. The British colonial attitude in India becomes more vivid in the words of Halide Edib Adıvar who visited India around the 1930s. Halide Edib expresses that "India had become the playground of an Imperialist race. They ruled as Olympian gods" (13).

Furthermore, a striking example of British oppression in India is seen during World War II. In 1937, the Viceroy Victor Alexander John Hope declared India's entrance into World War II without consulting the Indian leaders. To protest the British government, the Congress asked all its elected representatives to resign from the government. Jinnah and the Muslim League welcomed this withdrawal from government as an opportunity. Interestingly enough, Jinnah[23] persuaded the participants at the annual Muslim League session in Lahore in 1940 to adopt "the Pakistan Resolution," demanding the division of India into two separate sovereign states; one Muslim, the other Hindu (Edwardes 178; Wolpert 329-330).

In the beginning, the English seemed reluctant to grant India independence. Therefore, Gandhi launched the Quit India Movement in the August of 1942 to make the English keep their promise of independence for India. But this was not tolerated by the English government; the Congress leaders were arrested and violence was used to suppress the Quit India Movement. However, the Indian nationalists did not give up their struggles and finally on 20 February 1947, the English government had to announce its intention of leaving India by June 1948. Lord Mountbatten was appointed as viceroy to carry out the transfer of power (Edwardes 163). Afterwards, the India Independence Act passed in Parliament on 1 July 1947. On 15 August 1947, the constituent assembly in Delhi declared India a "dominion within the British Commonwealth." Parallel to this, Pakistan was given the same status and Jinnah was chosen the first governor-general of Pakistan (Edwardes 164).

In conclusion, it can be suggested that it was the Indian Mutiny of 1857, which triggered the national feelings of the Indians to protest the British rule, and ninety years after the Mutiny they achieved freedom and independence from Britain. Ironically, the English in India contributed to the raising of Indian national consciousness by challenging the Indians since at times of danger and war, the majority of the members of a country come closer and act as a group, not as individuals (Bozer Course Notes). Parallel to this, David Miller also suggests that "where an ethnic group finds its identity being threatened or its legitimate political aspirations being denied, it would be quite surprising if it did not begin to think of itself as a nation and to express those aspirations in nationalist terms" (20). Similarly, Gerard Delanty also suggests that "a real or imagined perception of threat to the collective goods of a particular collectivity" results in "nationalist mobilization" (145). When the pig fat was used in the guns, the Indians felt that their religion and identity were threatened by the English and this brought the Indians together against the foreign rule. Renan also suggests that "historical tragedies matter more than historical glories" (qtd. in Miller 23) as can be observed in the Indian people's coming together against the British Empire in times of danger. After coping with difficulties as a community or nation, then members of a nation tend to support each other in times of peace as well. Thus, if a nation manages to continue living

together and proves its strength by oscillating between good and bad times/experiences, then it can become a real nation. Accordingly, Indians who were exposed to the British policy of colonisation united against the British oppression. Another irony about Indian nationalism is that the Indians were exposed to English education so as to be eventually assimilated; however in the meanwhile they were also exposed to the concepts of democracy and nationalism through their English education during the British rule. In the end, they gained their independence by making use of these concepts within the established system in India. Finally, the British who had come to India to bring law and order and to carry out "the white man's burden[24]" were made to leave India, approximately two hundred years later, in the name of democracy.

B. RE/CONSTRUCTION OF INDIAN NATIONAL IDENTITY WITH REFERENCE TO IDENTITY-BUILDING THEORIES

In order to put the development of Indian national identity into perspective, terms such as identity, nation, nationality, nationalism and nation-state need to be clarified. In *A Supplement to the Oxford English Dictionary,* identity is described as "[t]he sameness of a person or thing at all times or in all circumstances; the condition or fact that a person or thing is itself and not something else; individuality, personality" (19). In addition, in the *Macmillan Contemporary Dictionary,* identity is described as "one's sense of being distinguishable from other persons; individuality" (510). Hence, in this definition of identity, one's being distinguishable from the other is underlined. According to Stuart Hall, one can find his/her identity by comparing and contrasting himself/herself with the other. In addition to these, Hall argues that identity is not a stable thing and it is open to changes and development:

> [Identity] goes on changing and part of what is changing is not the nucleus of the 'real you' inside, it is history that's changing. History changes your conception of yourself. Thus, another critical thing about identity is that it is partly the relationship between you and the Other. Only when there is an Other can you know who you are. To discover that fact is to discover and unlock the whole enormous history of nationalism and racism…The English are racist not because they hate the Blacks but because they don't know who they are without the Blacks. They have to know who they are *not* in order to know who they are... They are not Black, they are not Indian or Asian, but they are not Europeans and they are not Frogs either and on and on... And there is no identity that is without the dialogic relationship to the Other. The Other is not outside, but also inside the Self, the identity. So identity is a process, identity is split. Identity is not a fixed point but an ambivalent point. Identity is also the relationship of the Other to oneself. (1996, 345)

Moreover, "[i]dentity, however, is not only experienced at the level of the individual. Collective, ethnic and national identities are important ways in which people negotiate a sense of belonging and, often allied to this, political solidarity" (Giles 45). In this dissertation, especially Indian national identity will be given priority and it will be dealt with through the gaze of the other, that is, the English.

On the other hand, nation can be defined as a "large community of people, usually sharing a common history, culture and language and living in a particular territory under one government" (Hornby 1995, 773). Parallel to this, in *National Identity,* by referring to Deutsch, Rustow and Connor, nation[25] is also described as "*a named human population sharing an historic territory, common myths and historical memories, a mass, public culture, a common economy and common legal rights and duties for all members* [sic] " (qtd. in Smith 1991, 14). As suggested by Matt Rosenberg, nations are also "culturally homogeneous groups of people, larger than a single tribe or community, which share a common language, institutions, religion, and historical experience" ("Nations and Nation-States"). As for nationality, it refers to a relationship between a person and his/her nation, or in legal terms, the legal right of belonging to a particular nation (Hornby 2005, 1014) for which one has feelings such as familiarity, association, affiliation, fidelity, and loyalty ("Nationality"; Renan 16-18). Another definition of nationality is given as "a group of people with the same language, culture and history who form part of a political nation" (Hornby 2005, 1014). In *A Supplement to the Oxford English Dictionary* nationality is further defined as "a legal relationship between a state and an individual involving reciprocal rights and duties" (1138) and as "a racial or ethnic group" (1138). In other words, nationality can be associated with sense of belonging somewhere towards which a person has both responsibilities and loyalties. Correspondingly, in *Oxford Advanced English Dictionary* nationalism[26] is defined as "a strong feeling of love and pride in one's own country" and "a desire for political independence by a nation that is controlled by another or is part of another; a policy based on this" (Hornby 1995, 773). In addition, a nation-state is described by Matt Rosenberg as follows:

> When a nation of people have a State or country of their own, it is called a nation-state. Places like France, Egypt, Germany, Japan, and New Zealand are excellent

> examples of nation-states. There are some States which have two nations, such as Canada and Belgium. Even with its multicultural society, the United States is also referred to as a nation-state because of the shared American 'culture'.
> ("Nations and Nation-States")

Montserrat Guibernau and David Goldblatt also define nation-state as "[a] state which possesses external fixed, known, demarcated borders, and possesses an internal uniformity of rule" (124).

Taking the definitions of nation and nation-state into consideration, India's case seems to be problematic. The importance of the definitions of nation and nation-state with regard to India's case is referred to in *Ethnicity and Nationalism*:

> Nationality, states, boundaries, conflict between peoples, definitions of what it is that makes us what we are - never has there been such an intense or important debate and never did these conflicts appear so significant for the future, not only of Europe but of other parts of the world, as for example that multi-national state, India, shows us. (Krüger 75)

India's problematic case arises from the fact that "Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs, Parsees, Bengalis and Madrasis, who have experienced separate national consciousness" (Limaye, 122) all live together in India. An alternative approach to the definition of a nation was brought by an Indian nationalist, Bal Gangadhar Tilak in these words: "Common territory, language and religion taken singly [separately] or together are not enough to form a nation" (qtd. in Limaye 122). There is more to being a nation as E. Barker states: "The base of nationalism[27] is neither racial purity nor common religion and language. It is common suffering and common sympathy for one another which develop in them a strong feeling of unity" (qtd. in Singh 1995, 12). Accordingly, "[f]or maintenance of unity there was need to arouse sentiment of the people. Hence the need was felt to emotionalize the sentiment of a nationality, and national flag, symbols, songs and literature praising the national honour, were adopted as means to arouse the national feeling and sentiment" (Singh 1995, 6) all over the world. Likewise, Indian nationalists use a spinning-wheel[28] that is, the Indian flag, as a common national denominator to

implement national feelings and to create a sense of wholeness all over India ("Flag of India").

As a result of all the efforts to arouse national feelings through common denominators and symbols all over the world, the struggle for national liberation, which was the impact of the French Revolution, spread to India as well. Ironically, it came to India through the colonisers, rather than through the Indians themselves. Dr. Chandrika Singh in his book, *Indian Nationalism and National Movement* asserts that "[b]efore the arrival of the European masters the people of Asia and Africa knew nothing about new concept [sic] of nation and nationalism" (1995, 9). He also asserts that "Indian nationalism is rooted in the renaissance of India which itself was rooted in the concept of westernisation. The contact of the Indian intelligentia with the western socio-political philosophies based on liberal democratic and secular views ushered a new era in India" (Singh 1995, vii). This new era began with

> English education in India which had become [sic] universal medium of instruction in the Indian schools and colleges widened up narrow-mindedness and parochial concept of the Indian people and linked up the different peoples of the country with one another by creating a sense of unity and oneness in their minds and hearts. (Singh 1995, vii)

Under the influence of "English education and western political… [and] philosophical ideologies the modern Indian intelligentia class" (Singh 1995, viii) went through a process of self-realisation and began to discover their identity. Thus, the colonised must resist assimilation and must liberate himself/herself by regaining "self" and "autonomous dignity" (Memmi 128). The colonised must shake off the coloniser's intention of annihilation. Otherwise, the long rejection of the colonised's existence and culture by the coloniser results in the colonised's refusal of the coloniser's existence (Memmi 128). Consequently,

> …the racial discriminatory policy and behaviour of the English people towards the Indians created a strong feeling of self-regard in their mind. So they decided to fight against the British Raj in India and liberate India from their rule. These

> factors ultimately paved the way for the rise and growth of Indian renaissance and Indian nationalism. When nationalism in India became a force to reckon with, National Liberation Movement began challenging the mightiest British Empire of the world. (Singh 1995, viii)

However, the origin of nationalism[29] is a controversial issue; "[t]he question of whether the concept of the nation is a Eurocentric one, which among others is debated between the British historian Benedict Anderson and the Indian political philosopher Partha Chatterjee" ("Beyond the Nation"). With regard to the origins of nationalism, Indian researchers and historians Gobinda Prasad Sarma and Madhu Limaye assert that the concepts of nation and nationalism are Western-oriented ideas[30] and they are foreign concepts to the Indians since

> [m]odern nationalism began in France[31] during the revolutionary decade and was spread by revolutionary and Napoleonic armies to the rest of Europe... After…the remaking of European boundaries at the Congress of Vienna in 1815…struggle for national liberation became one of the most important themes of nineteenth and twentieth-century European and world politics. ("Legacies of the Revolution")

Similarly, Madhu Limaye, states the following:

> The British conquest of India and the establishment of a united state created a framework for the growth of national consciousness in India. Akbar [Mughal emperor] had provided a similar framework in the sixteenth century. But modern nationalism was not an Asian invention. It was an outgrowth of post-medieval Western Civilisation. The first powerful national state was England. France achieved national unity after coming out victorious in the Hundred Years' War under Joan of Arc's leadership. The American War of Independence and the Great French Revolution enthroned the nation-state as the "ruling concept" of the modern age. As the nineteenth century advanced Greece, Italy, Germany and the Balkan peoples were drawn into the vortex of nationalism. The idea travelled to India. (111)

On the other hand, Ainslie T. Embree, another Indian historian, explains that Indian nationalists refuse the idea that Indian nationalism has Western origins or is a Western import because in the minds of Indian nationalists Western nationalism is "a reflection of Western chauvinism" (2). He adds:

> They are correct, insofar as a nationalist movement necessarily draws its inspiration and vitality from the indigenous cultural tradition. But British rule did contribute that pattern of administrative organization characterized as "Western" or "modern." This political modernization was the base in India for the development of the variegated and powerful sentiments that make up what we call "nationalism." (2)

Thus, Embree finds a middle-way and states that Indian nationalism draws its inspiration from the indigenous culture but gets its pattern from the British administration. He gives further information about this issue:

> In the second half of the nineteenth century the nationalist sentiment then operating so powerfully in Europe became part of the thinking of important segments of the Indian intelligentsia. The national movements that had ended in the unification of Italy and Germany were well known to them, and Mazzini's writings were popular in translations in both English and Indian languages. Such analysts of political process as John Stuart Mill, Herbert Spencer, and Auguste Comte were familiar to the intellectuals in the great new urban center of Bombay, Calcutta, and Madras, and the intellectuals had memorized in school Shakespear's patriotic speeches and Milton's defense of political liberty. English literature and European history thus provided Indian nationalists with their illustrations and metaphors. Using European models, they created out of India's past what John Stuart Mill called the strongest cause for the rise of a sense of nationality: "the possession of a national history, and consequent community of recollections, collective pride and humiliation, pleasure and regret, connected with the same incidents in the past." (3-4)

Moreover, Miller claims that national identity has five characteristics which can be listed as follows: a will towards nationhood, historical continuity, active identity, shared lands and unique national characteristics/culture (27). "[T]he first noteworthy point …is that national communities are constituted by belief: nations exist when their members recognize one another as compatriots" (Miller 22). In other words, a nation is "in Renan's memorable phrase, 'a daily plebiscite'; its existence depends on a shared belief that its members belong together, and a shared wish to continue their life in common" (Miller 23).

The second point about national identity is that "it is an identity that embodies historical continuity" (Miller 23) and according to Dr Fabio Sani, "[p]eople tend to imagine the groups to which they belong, (for example, nations, ethnic communities and religious institutions) as collectives that move through time" ("Perceived Group Historical Continuity: A Cross-Cultural Investigation"). A survey revealed "the existence of two dimensions of perceived collective continuity. The first is concerned with cultural continuity - the idea that group values, traditions, customs, habits and mentality are transmitted across generations. The second is related to historical continuity - the idea that different events and ages in a group's history are inter-connected thereby forming a coherent narrative" ("Perceived Group Historical Continuity: A Cross-Cultural Investigation"). Miller argues that national identity embodies historical continuity:

> Nations stretch backwards into the past, and indeed in most cases their origins are conveniently lost in the mists of time. In the course of this history, various significant events have occurred, and we can identify with the actual people who acted at those moments, reappropriating their deeds as our own. Often these events involve military victories and defeats: we imagine ourselves filling the breach at Harfleur or reading the signal hoisted at Trafalgar. Renan thinks that historical tragedies matter more than historical glories ... [as historical tragedies] impose duties and demand common effort. The historic national community is a community of obligation. Because our forebears have toiled and spilt their blood to build and defend the nation, we who are born into it inherit an obligation to continue their work, which we discharge partly towards our contemporaries and

> partly towards our descendants. This historical community stretches forward into the future too. (Miller 23)

Drawing on this definition of historical continuity, it can be said that members of a nation are obliged to protect their nation and national culture to guarantee the historical continuity of their nations. In the case of India, it is the *sepoys* who tried to preserve the Indian culture against imperialism. Their rebellion is not only a rebellion against the English administration, but also an attempt to protect their national cultural values such as their religion, cast system and their way of administration; briefly, their "whole way of life" (Williams xiv). Thus, it is the historical continuity which transmits the national cultural values from one generation to the other.

Thirdly, this historical continuity is achieved by the nation's having an active identity. It is explained by David Miller in comparison with passive identity. He states that nations are communities or groups that act all together in such cases like in the case of taking decisions (24). The decisions taken as a community are vital in the establishment of a nation and having that kind of active identity differentiates a nation from other groups such as churches or religious communities, whose identity is fundamentally a passive one. Briefly, active identity may be defined as a society's creation of a collective reaction towards an event or a person. To exemplify, many *sepoys* come together and adopt a similar attitude towards the usage of pig fat in their guns and show their uneasiness by starting a rebellion. Moreover, the very same *sepoys* try to bring Bahadur Shah back in order to achieve the unity of their country and actively join in the independence struggle.

The fourth feature of "national identity is that it connects a group of people to a particular geographical place" (Miller 24) and consequently, they have a common history over the same land. Hence, people become unified with the bonds of the same geography and history.

The fifth point is that "national identity… should have… a set of characteristics that in the past was often referred to as 'a national character'… [or] a common public culture"

(Miller 25). Common public culture is essential in constituting a nation. Hence, common public culture is given priority, which

> may be seen as a set of understandings about how a group of people is to conduct its life together. This will include political principles such as a belief in democracy or the rule of law... It may also embrace certain cultural ideals, for instance religious beliefs or a commitment to preserve the purity of the national language. (Miller 26)

Related to the common public culture of India, the *sepoys'* commitment to protect the cast system in India may be given as an example since the cast system is one of the main characteristics of the Indian culture.

In addition to these five characteristics mentioned by Miller, language, being part of the common public culture, is another important factor in the construction of national identity as who has the power controls the language as well. This point is also supported by Bill Aschroft in *The Empire Writes Back* within the context of colonial relations:

> One of the main features of imperial oppression is control over language... Language becomes the medium through which a hierarchical structure of power is perpetuated, and the medium through which conceptions of 'truth', 'order', and 'reality' become established. Such power is rejected in the emergence of an effective post-colonial voice [and in the emergence of national language and literature]. (7)

Related to language and nationalism, "Johann Gottlieb Herder, one of the very first theorists of nationalism" (Poole 271) states that

> a nation is constituted through its language and culture... The most fundamental constituent of a culture was the language in which these stories, beliefs and myths find expression. Language and culture were not ... merely aspects of the social environment within which people made their lives; they were constitutive of their very identity. (qtd. in Poole 271)

With respect to language and nationalism, Anderson in his book *Imagined Communities* quotes from Kemilainen's book *Nationalism* and states the impact of Herder's ideas on Europe:

> 'Denn *jedes* Volk ist Volk; es hat *seine* National Bildung wie *seine* Sprache.'[Each nation is a nation itself; it has its own national education and language (Translations by Max Florian Hertsch)]. This splendidly *eng*-European conception of nation-ness as linked to a private-property language had wide influence in nineteenth-century Europe and, more narrowly, on subsequent theorizing about the nature of nationalism. (67-68)

Thus, Herder argues that a nation is constituted through its language and culture. Language was also used by Gandhi as a tool to unite Indians and to have common dreams about the future: "Even more instructive is the attempt by Gandhi to develop and maintain a single Hindi language based on the unity of the national movement, i.e. to prevent the Hindu and Muslim variants of the common lingua franca of North India from drifting too apart, while simultaneously providing a national alternative to English" (Hobsbawn 111).

However, British colonisation in India led the colonised Indians to think that they were inferior people and therefore should be guided by a superior race and for this end, "[t]he effect consciously sought by colonialism was to drive into the natives' heads the idea that if the settlers were to leave, they would at once fall back into barbarism, degradation and bestiality" (Fanon 1994, 37). Therefore "[e]very effort is made to bring the colonized person to admit the inferiority of his culture which has been transformed into instinctive patterns of behaviour, to recognize the unreality of his 'nation' and in the last extreme, the confused and imperfect character of his own biological structure" (Fanon 1994, 45) due to the fact that "[t]he Europeans… were not ready to call India as a nation. They doubted whether India could be a nation. Chirol[32] Maintained [sic] that India was 'mere geographical expression' which could never develop into a nation" (Singh 1995, 20). Taking at the time Western political concepts and India's situation into consideration, Chirol came to the conclusion that

> India had never approached to political unity any more than European has, except under the compulsion of a conqueror. ... We have got too much into the habit of talking about India and Indians as if they were one country and one people. We often forget that there are far more absolutely distinct languages spoken in India than in Europe... (qtd. in Singh 1995, 20)

In the case of India, certain problems arise with regard to the construction of national identity. Firstly, Indians do not share a common history or a common religion since they come from different regions and cultures. Ernest Renan who was "a liberal nationalist" argued that "nations were constituted by beliefs of their members rather than by objective criteria such as race or language" (qtd. in Miller 22). This argument may be seen as a safety valve by Indian people in areas of mixed ethnic population and of mixed religions since the diversity or the variety of cultural differences is seen as an obstacle in the way of becoming a nation for India. Renan further states that

> [m]an is a slave neither of his race nor his language, nor of his religion, nor of the course of rivers nor of the direction taken by mountain chains. A large aggregate of men, healthy in mind and warm of heart, creates the kind of moral conscience which we call a nation. So long as this moral consciousness gives proof of its strength by the sacrifices which demand the abdication of the individual to the advantage of the community, it is legitimate and has the right to exist. (20)

Renan's words clarify the problem of lack of a common national feeling in ethnically diverse countries and emphasises the importance of the will to come together under the roof of nationality: "Nationality has a sentimental side to it; it is both soul and body at once..." (18) as "[t]here is something in man which is superior to language, namely, the will" (16). In other words, nationality cannot be confined to the physical boundaries of race, religion or geography. There is the other side of the coin which appeals to the spiritual and psychological side of human beings such as the sense of belonging somewhere and the sense of feeling safe and secure in a familiar atmosphere. Correspondingly, according to Chandrika Singh, in the 1990s "[i]t were not the differences of languages and religions which kept the people of India, politically and socially disunited, but it was the lack of a common national feeling which kept them far

away from each other" (20). Therefore, first of all, the will to be a nation had to be awakened among the Indians so that they could achieve solidarity and be a nation.

In the first part of the Introduction, a detailed account of Anglo-Indian relations in history, and the beginnings of Indian nationalism from the Indian Mutiny of 1857 (the colonial period) to the present (the postcolonial period) has been given; these were followed in the second part by an in-depth analysis of terms such as nation, nationalism, nation-state and Indian national identity. In the following chapters, the contrasting and changing approaches from the British perspective towards these issues will be illustrated with reference to the three novels, namely Kaye's *Shadow of the Moon,* Farrell's *The Siege of Krishnapur* and Smith's *White Teeth* since "[l]iterary practices are not ideologically neutral (very little is): they are part of the apparatus through which people demarcate their identities within society" (Sinfield 1983, 6).

Parallel to Sinfield's argument, Astrid Erll, too, suggests that the literary narratives of national identity are not neutral. While, for instance, the Indian Mutiny constitutes the core of the literary narratives and in these narrations the British novelists foreground paradoxically the heroic aspects of English national identity, they negatively stereotype the Indian:

> Militarily merely one of the colonial 'small wars' and a not very well-conducted one at that, the 'Mutiny' was quickly turned into a foundational myth of the British that contributed to grand scale imperial self-fashioning and helped legitimate British rule in India. The British created a colonial narration – uncontested in British society in a formerly unknown way – which had little to do with the actual events. It prominently figures the themes of Indian treachery, of terrible Indian atrocities and – as far as the British side is concerned – of extreme heroism ('every woman was a man, every man a hero'…). From the colonisers' perspective, Indians had betrayed British benevolence by turning against their just, liberal and progressive rulers. (164)

In other words, the English colonial literature is used as a tool to encourage the development of English national identity, and to discourage the development of Indian national identity.

Apart from Kaye's *Shadow of the Moon,* Farrell's *The Siege of Krishnapur* and Smith's *White Teeth*, there are some other novels about Indian nationalism written by British writers[33] between 1950-2002. However, in this dissertation, Kaye's *Shadow of the Moon,* Farrell's *The Siege of Krishnapur* and Smith's *White Teeth* have been chosen for analysis as the events in these three novels develop around the *Sepoys*' Mutiny of 1857 and hold a mirror to the development of Indian nationalism. Though these novels are not in the canon like *A Passage to India*[34]*,* they are worth studying since they were popular books in their time and within the context of cultural studies, popular books by reflecting the everyday life are good sources to obtain information about the socio-historical context (Bennett xi-xii).

Moreover, considering the variety of the characters drawn in these novels with regard to their racial, educational, regional backgrounds *Shadow of the Moon, The Siege of Krishnapur* and *White Teeth* are rich in illustrating the changing attitudes towards Indian nationalism. Especially, *Shadow of the Moon* has a wide range of characters, some of whom are used very functionally to touch upon the issue of the Great Game, which was previously mentioned in the Introduction part. Though *The Siege of Krishnapur* does not have as many Indian characters as Kaye's novel, it still gives the tension between the English and the Indians very well. The significance of Farrell's *The Siege of Krishnapur* stems from his usage of the small events in daily life to reflect important issues such as the problems in the Anglo-Indian politics on the eve of the national awakening of the colonised. With respect to *White Teeth,* it is worth marking that this novel is significant with respect to its representation of the Indians who live in London with people from different regional, ethnic, gender and class backgrounds at the turn of the twentieth century and its colourful representation of the reactions of the Indians towards some issues such as nationalism, globalisation and Anglicisation.

Another reason for choosing these novels is that they have not been analysed in Turkey before in terms of Indian nationalism in a dissertation (http://www.mkutup.gov.tr; http://tez2.yok.gov.tr; http://www.ulakbim.gov.tr). Therefore, this study may contribute to the studies in Turkey made in the field of cultural studies and postcolonial studies.

In the analysis of *Shadow of the Moon, The Siege of Krishnapur* and *White Teeth,* the contrasting attitudes towards Indian nationalism will be established with regard to the characters' race, gender, class, religion, region or social environment, educational background and age. Moreover, the changing British attitudes towards Indian nationalism will be taken into consideration by judging from how Kaye, Farrell and Smith present historical events and how they portray English and Indian characters in their novels, the question whether these British writers support or are against Indian nationalism and national identity and whether the British attitude changed as time went by will be answered. In the next chapter, Kaye's *Shadow of the Moon* will be analysed with regard to these criteria and issues above.

CHAPTER I
MARY MARGARET KAYE: *SHADOW OF THE MOON*

Mary Margaret Kaye[35] was brought up in British India; this gave her enough data and inspiration to write about the Indian Mutiny in her first historical novel, *Shadow of the Moon* (1957). By chance, she found some transcripts of the Mutiny trials which gave her the opportunity to provide detailed information about the Mutiny in her book:

> The material for the book had come to her by a stroke of good fortune: while staying with friends she had discovered in an outhouse some transcripts of Mutiny trials. Using them for research, she was able to provide a wealth of accurate detail in her book. She was therefore infuriated when it was savagely cut by the publisher, leaving it as little more than a romance. But in 1979, following the success of The Far Pavilions [sic], Shadow of the Moon [sic] was among a number of her books to be re-published. It was restored to its full length, including some excruciating detail of Mutiny atrocities, and sold well. ("Mary Margaret Kaye")

Many years later, Mary Margaret Kaye's *The Far Pavilions*[36], which is also about India, was published in 1978 ("Mary Margaret Kaye"). The novel tells the story of Ashton Pelham-Martyn, son of a British botanical scientist, who was born on the road shortly before the *sepoy* uprising of 1857 ("The Far Pavilions"). The common point of *The Far Pavilions* and *Shadow of the Moon* is that both of them reveal Kaye's interest in India. As it is stated in an interview with Kaye on BBC Radio 4, "virtually the whole of the narrative in [both novels] is based on real events, and was inspired by an unpublished letter written by one of the female survivors of the Mutiny" ("The Literature of British India"). Under the guidance of these transcripts of the Mutiny trials, not only did Kaye write books about India but she also gave inspiration to other writers like Paul Scott[37] to write about India.

Kaye's first novel was *Six Bars at Seven* which was published in 1940. She wrote suspense novels such as *Death in Kashmir* (1953), *Death in Berlin* (1955), *Death in Cyprus* (1956), *Death in Zanzibar* (1959), *Death in Kenya* (1960), *Death in the Andamans* (1960), hence about other places in addition to India. And as mentioned above, India was the main topic of her historical novels; namely *Shadow of the Moon* (1957), *Trade Wind* (1963), *The Far Pavilions* (1978). In addition to the novels, she also wrote children's stories and radio plays ("Mary Margaret ('Mollie') Kaye") to reach a wider population.

In *Shadow of the Moon,* Mary Margaret Kaye's interest in India is reflected through the experiences of Winter, who is one of the main characters. At first sight, *Shadow of the Moon* seems to be a love story between Alex, an English soldier and Winter, an English girl born and bred in India, but it has more to it. It sheds light on the history of English and Indian relationships, especially on the events which pave the way for the Indian Mutiny of 1857, a turning point in the Anglo-Indian relationships. Through the experiences of Winter and Alex, Kaye sheds light on a dark point in history and narrates how the Mutiny breaks out and illustrates the different attitudes towards it by depicting many characters from different walks of life and different nationalities. In *Shadow of the Moon*, Winter, the female protagonist, and her guardian, Alex, witness the events before the Indian Mutiny and are exposed to its after effects as well and they try to get over the chaos of the post-mutiny days and manage to survive these events. Their dilemma is that they neither want a free India, nor want to suppress the Indian people. Both Alex and Winter want the British *Raj* to continue in India peacefully and with the consent of the Indian people. As they fall in love with each other and with India, they also try to preserve peace and order with their efforts to establish good will and good relationships between the Indian and English people; they act as mediators between two cultures in order to achieve as much peace as possible in India during the Mutiny. Along with the love and war story of Winter and Alex, the experiences of other English and Indian people in India during the Mutiny are conveyed to the readers to provide a wider perspective about the different approaches towards Indian nationalism. As the novel was published a hundred years after the Mutiny, it gives the opportunity both to the writer and to the readers to look at the events from a distance.

At the beginning of the novel, Alex, who knows Indian manners and culture well, warns the British authorities about the coming of a mutiny but the British authorities underestimate the power of the Indians, and seeing them as incapable of rebellion, do not take measures considering that it would destroy their prestige in the eyes of the world. They do not want to appear uneasy about the rumour of the *sepoys'* rebellion since they do not expect the *sepoy*s to have any idea about concepts such as freedom. Thus, his seniors suggest to Alex to ignore the rumours about a mutiny (Kaye 220-222) since it would harm the British prestige and the British power if taken very seriously as it would mean that rebel *sepoys* are recognised officially and hence given an official identity. Thus, the British believed that if they ignored the *sepoy*s, then the *sepoy*s would simply not exist.

Ignoring the *sepoys* reveals the superiority complex of the Western people. Fanon in *The Wretched of the Earth* refers to this point by illustrating how poorly the Indians are regarded by the English:

> ...neither man nor animal, is the native. Beaten, under-nourished, ill, terrified - but only up to a certain point - he has, whether he's black, yellow or white, always the same traits of character: he's a sly-boots, a lazybones and a thief, who lives on nothing, and who understands only violence. (14)

In other words, the English have a low opinion of the Indians, of the indigenous people. English people also think that if they leave India, India will be doomed to fall apart and she will end up in chaos. As Fanon argues: "[The coloniser] is the absolute beginning: 'This land was created by us'; he is the unceasing cause: 'If we leave, all is lost, and the country will go back to the Middle Ages' " (40-41). Indigenous people are perceived by the English as creatures who have no capacity to sustain their life. As an extension of this prejudiced attitude, the possibility of the Indians' having an identity, a religion or a nation was unthinkable for the English.

This attitude of looking down on the other and being disrespectful to the other was one of the main reasons for the Indian Mutiny and it is fully illustrated by Mary Margaret Kaye in *Shadow of the Moon*. She also presents in detail the practice of the doctrine of

lapse and the Christianisation of the Indian people and the reactions to these events. Apart from these unfair colonial practices, the complex relationships and the dilemmas, the love and hatred among the Indian and the English people are portrayed skilfully. For instance, Alex has respect[38] and love towards the indigenous people and their culture, but during the Mutiny, he has to disregard his love of Indian people and kills some of them to put an end to the rebellion. Likewise, because of their national interests many Indian people, like Akbar Khan who is one of the servants at Winter's house, turn their back on the English despite having been their admirers in the past. On the other hand, some Indian men like the servants of Lottie's father lose their lives (Kaye 438) trying to protect their English master. Similarly, though Sir Henry Lawrence is an English soldier and administrator, instead of torturing the servants and men of Wajid Ali Shah, the last king of Oudh, he helps them by providing houses and money after the deposition of the king (Kaye 390). Hence, it might be suggested that in *Shadow of the Moon,* both the Indians and the English have ambigious attitudes rather than clearly positive or negative attitudes towards the other. In other words, feelings of love and hate in both parties form the nucleus of Anglo-Indian relations of the time.

After having suffered from British colonial policies such as "annexation and lapse" and the "deposing of Indian kings" (Kaye 375) and "crop tax" (Kaye 317) for quite a long time, the *sepoys* rebel against the British rule in Berhampur and Barrackpore and this rebellion spreads quickly to Meerut and Calcutta. The *sepoys'* timing is very good since they rebel after the defeat of the British Army in the Crimean war, when it is vulnerable and open to attacks. Another factor which heartens Kishan Prasad, the leader of the rebellion, is the assumption that the control of India began to be perceived as a burden by Queen Victoria as she did not want to spend so much money for its defence (Kaye 369-370). Taking every small detail into account, plans of attack and defence are made behind closed doors and this is followed by fights and murders in the streets. There are many bloody scenes of the Mutiny, such as sabotages to destroy the English people by setting fire to their buildings:

> Almost every night now there were mysterious fires in the cantonments, and though extra guards patrolled the area, they never made any arrests. The Police Lines burned down one night and then the Post Office, and the following night the bungalow of Lieutenant Dewar, whose wife and young family were only saved with difficulty, for they had been sleeping on the roof on account of the heat, and the fire, which broke out in the living-room, had taken firm hold before they were aroused. (Kaye 463)

Parallel to the historical facts, the novel ends with the victory of the English. Such an ending also reflects the realisation of Mary Margaret Kaye's dream with regard to the continuation of the British *Raj* which her family had dutifully served:

> [Kaye's] grandfather, brother and husband also served the Raj, while a cousin, Edward Kaye, commanded a battery during the siege of Dehli [sic] in the Mutiny. John Kaye, Edward's brother, wrote the official history of the Mutiny and the First Afghan War. As a child, Mollie lived in Curzon House and played in the garden among the very gun emplacements which her ancestors had commanded. ("Mary Margaret Kaye")

Towards the end of *Shadow of the Moon*, Alex comes back after the Mutiny and he is with Winter which implies that they will have their offsprings in India and will continue to spread the English culture in India. Time here is used functionally as it is May; that is, spring which promises rebirth and happiness for the English. This victory which underlines the rebirth of the English authority in India brings forth all the colours and voices and happiness to Winter's room in the Gulab Mahal:

> The hum of the city rose up about the Gulab Mahal, washing around it; and through it and above it Winter could hear all the familiar, friendly sounds of the house. The distant chatter of shrill feminine voices, children laughing, a baby crying, the aged gateman clearing his throat and coughing asthmatically, a clatter of cooking-pots and the creak of the well-wheel. The sounds mingled and mixed with the no less dear and familiar scents of water sprinkled on parched ground, of the spicy smell of

> Eastern cooking and the smoke of dung-fires, the scent of warm dust and sun-soaked stone. (Kaye 611)

The Gulab Mahal has a special meaning; it is the place Winter was born and where she might give birth to Alex's children who will continue his name. For a short period of time, Winter had lost contact with Alex and was anxious about his life. At the end of the novel, Kaye, however, makes sure that Alex returns: "There were footsteps and a murmur of voices in the passage beyond the doorway, and then someone lifted the heavy curtain that hung before it, and she [Winter] opened her eyes and looked up. And it was Alex" (612). The reunion scene of Winter and Alex seems to support the continuation of the English race in India as their union can be associated with a marriage and with English offsprings in India in the following years.

Besides, Winter's final peaceful mood suggests happiness for the continuation of the British *Raj* in India, underlining Mary Margaret Kaye's major message that India should remain under the control of Britain and should have limited freedom; otherwise chaos and bloodshed will be inevitable as seen during the days of the Mutiny.

Indeed, Kaye's attitude towards Indian nationalism may be seen in her depiction of the characters in *Shadow of the Moon*. Indeed, one's race, gender, class, religion, region or social environment, educational background and age are important in the analysis of both the English and the Indian characters' attitudes towards Indian nationalism in *Shadow of the Moon*.

Shadow of the Moon is rich in illustrating the link between race and nationalism through a variety of characters. To exemplify, Alex becomes the mouthpiece of the British imperial system and he believes in the British *Raj*. Looking at him from the twenty-first century perspective, Alex seems to be a brutal[39] coloniser, but looking at him from the nineteenth century perspective and considering his behaviours within the context of the nineteenth century, Alex seems to be an understanding and humanitarian coloniser. For example, he fasts at Ramadan in order to empathise with Muslim Indians. He acts as a mediator when the rifle crisis breaks out in the army because of the usage of pig oil and

he suggests making an investigation to erase the doubts of the *sepoys* (Kaye 351-352). He is a friend of the Indians as long as they consent to British rule. However, when the British rule is challenged Alex takes strong measures and he kills some Indians to intimidate other rebels into silence and obedience. He advises the commanders to take strict measures and sometimes finds these measures against the *sepoy*s unsatisfactory and therefore complains about the insufficiency of these measures taken by Major Maynord:

> 'But I'll bear in mind what you say and keep a sharp eye on 'em. Personally, I'm inclined to think that the worst is past. I hear they hanged that Jack who touched off the Barrockpore business - Mangal Pandy? And the jemadar [sic] as well. That ought to stop the rot' [said Major Maynord].
> 'I envy your optimism,' said Alex drily… (Kaye 425)

Alex is realistic, yet optimistic at the same time. In his opinion, the fall of the East India Company is not a strong blow to the British *Raj* because the British government can find other means to govern India and can establish another system to direct India, and this is just a matter of time. The dialogue between Kishan Prasad, the Indian patriot, and Alex, the English patriot, brings this issue into the foreground:

> Alex… telling Kishan Prasad what he had told Winter earlier that day - that British regiments would be sent out to take over the country if the Company [the East India Company] fell.
> 'If the Company fall, it is enough,' said Kishan Prasad. 'If I can but live to see that, I will die content.'
> 'But we shall still hold India,' said Alex. 'If it takes a year - five years, ten, twenty! - we shall go on fighting you…' (Kaye 369)

However, Kishan Prasad challenges Alex's views by evaluating the situation differently: " 'You will find it too costly,' said Kishan Prasad. 'Your Queen and your Queen's Ministers will say, 'Let be. It is not worth it' " (Kaye 370). His predictions prove to be true in the case of the Mutiny as help from the British

Army came very late. Nevertheless, Alex's imperialistic attitude is revealed in these words:

> 'He and men like him [Kishan Prasad] do not realize that even if they murder every white man, woman and child in the whole of India, England, and not 'John Company', will go on sending out troops until she has smashed all opposition. And the reprisals that will follow will leave a legacy of hatred that will be handed down to future generations, from father to son and from mother to daughter. We shall forget - but they will not!' (Kaye 368)

Alex's prophecy comes true and the English begins to follow discriminative policies towards the Indians because of the seeds of suspicion planted in their minds during the Mutiny days. Historically, after the Mutiny, the English did pay special attention not to give important positions to Indians in the administration and army. Thus, Indians were given trivial jobs and were excluded from power circles (Kulke 253).

Apart from the problems between the Indians and the English, there were also internal conflicts in India with regard to nationalism within the Indian society according to different races, ethnicities and religions present in this country. To exemplify, there are Muslim, Sikh, Christian and Buddhist Indians and they often race with each other to have the upper hand in politics. This situation is possibly manipulated by the English to their own advantage. Alex is aware of the Achilles' heel of the Indians; he intends to use the well-known strategy of divide-and-rule or "*dividum et imperium*" (Giannakos 95). Kaye exemplifies this in the novel as: "We shall turn half that army against its fellows, and play off Sikh against Mussulman and Mussulman against Hindu, and Gurkhas against both. There will be atrocities on both sides - all sides" (Kaye 368). Hence, the local troubles and internal conflicts in India was to lead to a civil war leaving India powerless against its enemies.

Yet, Alex is criticised by his seniors as he crosses the racial and cultural boundaries by having intimate contact with the indigenous people. He wears local clothes in order to mingle with the indigenous people. He follows the doctrine of ruling through

persuasion, which may be more effective than ruling through force because in this case Indians become British subjects willingly. Many Indian people tend to feel closer to Alex due to the friendly behaviour he sometimes displays and offer their own lives for the sake of Alex's. Eventually, Alex declares that most of the Indians are loyal to the British and take side with the British at the price of their own lives:

> 'Mrs. Hossack, poor woman,' said Alex, 'will remember the death of her husband and children[40], and the cause of it, until the day she dies. What she will not remember is that thousands of the race who killed them have stood by us, and died for doing so. There are not only white people in the Residency, Winter. There are Indian troops too, and Indian servants, who could escape death and disease and starvation by deserting to their own people, but who are staying to help a handful of British to hold out, and who will be considered traitors to their own side and butchered without mercy if the Residency falls. There is no particular merit in fighting for your own skin when you know that it is fight or die, but there is considerable merit in being prepared to die when you know you can escape quite easily. Put at its lowest, there is a certain stubborn foolhardy heroism in that'. (Kaye 570-571)

Likewise, his Indian servant, Niaz is very loyal to him. Yet, Alex fails to appreciate Niaz's efforts and once he even feels hatred towards Niaz because the latter carries the same blood with the rebels (Kaye 492). From time to time, Alex's feelings oscillate between love and admiration and hatred and disdain towards India. Nevertheless, national and racial differences create an invisible wall between Alex and Niaz. Furthermore, Alex strongly believes in the white man's burden and asserts that the English bring civilisation to the Indians. He even claims that before the British rule in India, India was not a nation but only a crowd of people. The passage below is significant as Alex says,

> '[a] hundred years ago, this country was a collection of quarrelling, warring petty kingdoms, for ever at each other's throats. The Company - or Clive - put a stop to that, and we've been making a nation out of it ever since. We've done it in our own interests of course, because you can't mix profitable trading with continued uproar.

> But also because, as a nation, we cannot resist moving in and showing someone how to run his affairs when we see them being run damn badly. We regarded this country as being in a deplorable mess, and set out, fired by an entirely genuine and proselytizing zeal as much as the desire for profit, to put our neighbour's house in order and put our hand on what we consider to be the blessings of civilization'. (Kaye 570)

He tries to console his guilty conscience by justifying the British existence in India; claiming to bring civilisation to India rather than expressing it straightforwardly that they are there to use the raw materials of India. Then, it may be argued that the Indians are his friends as long as they are subordinated to him and subjected to the British Empire. Cecil Rhodes, the British statesman and the founder of the diamond company *De Beers,* explicitly states that "the motivation behind the British imperialism" is to find raw materials, therefore he adds, "[w]e must find new lands from which we can easily obtain raw materials and at the same time exploit the cheap slave labour that is available from the natives of the colonies. The colonies would also provide a dumping ground for the surplus goods produced in our factories" (qtd. in Foster 87-88).

With the portrayals of Alex, the English man and his Indian counterpart, Kishan Prasad, it may be suggested that Mary Margaret Kaye draws symmetrical characters in *Shadow of the Moon* for the presentation of certain issues such as the influence of one's race in determining one's attitude towards Indian nationalism. Similarly, she makes use of Winter and Ameera, an English woman and an Indian woman, to show the different female attitudes towards Indian nationalism. In doing so, first Kaye compares and contrasts Alex with Kishan Prasad and then she compares them with Winter and Ameera. First, the English male attitude is compared and contrasted with the Indian male attitude. Second, the male attitude is compared with the female attitude. This cross comparison is functional to show the different attitudes of the characters towards Indian nationalism.

Alex and Kishan Prasad have similar qualities; Kishan Prasad is well-educated and believes in the independence of his country and fights for the freedom of his country. He does his best and has an important role in arousing self-consciousness about national

issues. In the Indian Mutiny, he tries hard to gain victory against the British Empire. For his counterpart Alex, national benefits come first and he does not hesitate to sacrifice his well-being for Britain. Hence, their national priorities put Alex and Kishan Prasad on opposing sides at the time of the Mutiny.

The negative manner in which Mary Margaret Kaye depicts the *sepoy*s and Kishan Prasad, who is the organiser of the *sepoy* mutiny, reveals that she tends to see the supporters of Indian independence as brutal savages, not as freedom-fighters. She not only likens Prasad to a mugger (Kaye 355), but also emphasises the savageness of Indians by depicting Kishan Prasad and his followers in a scene of human-sacrifice (Kaye 197). Though, Kishan Prasad does not give his consent to the sacrifice of a baby, his followers carry on the ritual and kill the white baby boy, which may be taken as the beginning of shedding the blood of white people in India. It is assumed that in ancient times, Indians practised human-sacrifice to pray to their gods (Padel 111) and by bringing forth this practice into the nineteenth century India, Kaye seems to justify the British rule in India as she gives the impression that the existence of English people in India contributes a lot to Indian people as the former civilise the latter by forbidding some practices like the killing of widows (Kaye 355) and performances of human-sacrifice. Such depictions seem to challenge Kaye's portrayal in the *Telegraph* dated 31 January 2004 as "an admirer and a lover of India." ("Mary Margaret Kaye"). Moreover, by referring to India as her "home," Kaye seems to be presenting a colonial attitude which her strong love for this country does not even justify (Bozer Seminar Notes):

> …*The Far Pavilions* was also a detailed depiction of Mollie Kaye's own love affair with a country that she always referred to as "home". Every last detail, from the wild flowers that grew on the Himalayas to the complicated caste[41] system, was informed by her own enchanted childhood, which she described as "living in paradise". ("Mary Margaret Kaye")

On the other hand, contrary to the negative depiction of Prasad in the human-sacrifice scene, Kaye later depicts this prominent Indian rebel under a positive light. This further adds to Kaye's ambigious attitude towards the other since she depicts Kishan Prasad as a clever person, who is capable of developing strategies and taking action at the right

time against the British Empire. Kishan Prasad is a good strategist since he waits for the right time to attack the British. Kishan Prasad sees the defeat of British troops in Russia and he expects the defeat of British troops in India as well. Accordingly, he organises a pseudo duck-shoot in order to see the main roadways into Oudh and Lunjore so that he may prepare a detailed plan of the Mutiny and may take the required measures in case of an emergency (Kaye 367). Furthermore, Kishan Prasad knows how to appeal to the national feelings of the Indian people as he manages to persuade the *sepoys* to work for the national cause (Kaye 420). As a result, the struggle in the Mutiny days establishes a bond between Kishan Prasad and his men and makes them stronger and unified against the enemy. Finally, with the help of the *sepoy*s the Indians decide to get their freedom by force if necessary.

Yet, Alex does not think that Indian patriots would be successful because he has an eternal belief in the superiority of the Anglo-Saxon race and courage. As a result of this belief, the concept of the white man's burden becomes a means of violation rather than a means of bringing civilisation or protection.

Besides, the depiction of Alex's Indian servant, Niaz, raises questions about Kaye's objectivity in character construction. Niaz, though he is an Indian, gives the secret information about the preparations regarding the Mutiny to Alex. Therefore, his friends brand him a traitor, the enemy-within and exclude him from their circle. Eventually, he is wounded with a knife by a *Sadhu,* a Hindu holy man (Kaye 426-427) for his betrayal of his country. Niaz's betrayal can be explained with his lack of self-esteem and self-identity; he can only define himself in relation to Alex. Hence, his first duty in life is to serve Alex, which may be taken metaphorically for the situation of India at the time. India as a country lacks administrational skills, and acts according to the wishes of the British Empire. Just like Niaz, India has the energy and all the equipment but lacks the ability to govern herself and needs a master to be guided by. Whatever Niaz does, he is neither accepted by Alex nor by the Indians. His countrymen get angry with him when he crosses the forbidden line by taking sides with the enemy. Despite Niaz's many favours, sometimes Alex gets angry with him since Niaz is a member of the Indian race. Therefore, he belongs nowhere as he is a traitor for his own countrymen and a native for

the English people. To sum up, Niaz who is manipulated by Alex is depicted as being against Indian nationalism; hence a traitor to his own country (Kaye 426-427). He is doomed to lead a life in social limbo.

However, there is no counterpart to Niaz on the English side because no English person sacrifices his/her benefits for the sake of the Indians. The English characters have a sense of duty towards their country and they do not hesitate to sacrifice their lives for the sake of their national benefits and they work for the well-being of their community. Moreover, there is not a single English character who serves the welfare of the Indian people. Contrary to the Indian characters, they do not become traitors to their own country. Thus, national interests of Britain come first. This is illustrated through Willoughby when the English people are surrounded by the *sepoys*. He prefers to "blow up the Magazine to prevent it to fall into the hands of the sepoys [sic]" (Kaye 462). Kaye is very careful not to draw an English character similar to Niaz; that is an English traitor. Thus, she may be associating being a traitor only with the Indian characters deliberately because through Niaz, it may be concluded that Indian servants can only be tools for the continuation of the British colonial system because their duty as the colonised requires of them to serve the master, the white man.

Along with the attitudes of English men and Indian men towards Indian nationalism, the attitudes of Russians[42] and Persians towards Indian nationalism and the Mutiny are conveyed in *Shadow of the Moon*. The Russian and Persian governments deliberately escalate the uprisings of the *sepoy*s for political reasons. Russians[43] and Persians[44] support the Mutiny and Indian nationalism since they do not want Britain to get stronger in the Eastern oceans. Therefore, in *Shadow of the Moon*, Russian spies such as Gregori Sparkov (Kaye 296) collaborate with the rebels and the Indian Queen in order to protect Russia's power in the international arena:

> 'Russia has always wanted India. She has always wanted the whole world! But particularly the East. She can't get it while we [English] are here, and she knows it. But if she can help to get us [English] out she can crawl in through a hundred cracks and crannies and rot it from top to bottom until it falls into her hand like an

> over-ripe pear. Naturally she's doing all she can to fan the flames. That was only to be expected'. (Kaye 398)

Therefore, Britain tried to keep other countries out of India, and at the same time tried to prevent the spread of national uprisings with the fear that nationalists may come together and build a powerful regime in India. India was the "jewel in the crown" because it controlled the main sea routes and helped Britain to preserve its power in the oceans. For this reason, Britain always protested against the Suez Canal Project which meant the end of the supremacy of the British Navy in the Mediterranean and in the Eastern oceans. The British prime minister Lord Palmerston expresses in a letter dated 12 February 1858 that "[t]he [Suez] canal will be detrimental to Britain. In the event a dispute arises between Britain and France, France will be quicker to dispatch its warships to the Indian seas" ("Suez and the End of the 200 Years War"). From the English perspective, India was too valuable to lose and should be held under British control. Because of the same reasons, India aroused the appetite of other countries such as France. France and Britain had always quarrelled with each other over India since the early days of colonialism, and in time, Britain proved to be more powerful in the sub-continent.

There was a race among the imperial countries such as Britain, Russia and France to grasp lands and control sea ways to sustain their power:

> In the mid-nineteenth century the two greatest world powers were Britain under Queen Victoria (1819–1901) and Russia under Czars Nicholas I (1796–1855), Alexander II (1818–1881), and Alexander III (1845–1894). This was true despite the acknowledged naval superiority of France over Russia. Russia was jealous of Britain's conquest of India and ascendancy over France since the end of the Napoleonic Wars. Russia was especially worried that British expansion along the northwest frontier of India would eventually threaten its own borders and thwart its longstanding quest for the warm-water port it needed to enhance both its navy and its merchant fleet. ("Great Game")

Having similar interests, Britain was also unhappy about the Russian expansion in South-East Asia and in India. To achieve the continuity of the British rule, specially trained agents and spies were sent to Russia; their "mission was to spy out possible overland routes by which Russia might invade India. Meanwhile John Malcolm (1769–1833) was negotiating with Persia to prevent any such attack" ("Great Game"). Drawing on these historical accounts, it may be suggested that in her novel Mary Margaret Kaye sheds a realistic light on the strategic importance of India by giving reference to rumours about Russian and Persian spies, who give moral and logistical support to the Indians (Kaye 296 and 374).

As can be seen, throughout history, India was a source of conflict among the imperial powers such as Britain and Russia. Therefore, "Russian spies [created political problems] among the various native populations of the Indian subcontinent and surrounding lands so that they would arise against the British" ("Great Game"). The most prominent conflicts among the British and the Indians "were the two Anglo-Afghan Wars (1839–1842 and 1878–1880), the two Anglo-Sikh Wars (1845–1846 and 1848–1849), and the Indian Mutiny (1857–1858)" ("Great Game"). In spite of all the efforts of the Russian spies, Britain managed to sustain her power in India. As can be observed in the following lines even travelling permits to India were issued by the British:

> By 1895 Britain had completed its expansion upto the foot of Hindu Kush and this activity had not gone unnoticed by the Russians. From 1890s onwards the Russian desire to explore the strategic overland routes to India via Leh, Gilgit, Hunza and Chitral became irresistable. Numerous Russian military officers like Novitsky, Snesarev, Polotsov, Shersky, Kuznetsov, Kornilov and other specialists succeeded in obtaining British permission to travel down to India via the Karakoram, Mintaka and Kilik passes. (Warikoo 219)

Thus, the above-mentioned imperial powers wanted to have the control of the trade routes which were situated in India and India became the playground of these imperial

powers. However, whenever Indian people made attempts to defend their country, paradoxically they were labelled as savages. This approach is illustrated in *Shadow of the Moon*. Indian patriots are described as savage people who burn and damage wherever they pass, and destroy every sign of civilisation and technology such as the Post Office. However, this may be seen as a reaction against technology which serves the aims of colonialism. The quotation below questions the validity of the British claims of bringing civilisation[45] to India:

> Of all the nations that built large railway lines in the nineteenth century - in order of magnitude (in 1900), the United States, Russia, Germany, British India, France, Britain, and Canada - only British India failed to industrialize during the railway boom. The reason was that the goal of railway building in India was not to develop *India* but to develop Britain. The cotton manufacturers of Lancashire saw the Indian railway as a mere extension of the line from Manchester to the port of Liverpool. In addition, the Indian Mutiny of 1857 had demonstrated the strategic value of railways in moving troops and equipment rapidly. Railways are therefore built to serve the economic and military objectives of British colonialism… As a result of this policy, India was the only country with extensive railways that did not also develop a strong locomotive-building industry. (Foster 89)

Another important factor determining one's position in political and national issues is one's gender. Therefore, a closer look will be taken at the novel by taking the gender factor into account. Mary Margaret Kaye's women characters come from different races and different backgrounds and this gives the opportunity to see the different attitudes of women towards Indian nationalism. Some women characters are sensitive to national issues, whereas some of them are indifferent to it and are in pursuit of personal interests. The Indian Queen called Zeenut Mahal may be a good example for an Indian woman who is sensitive towards national issues. Zeenut Mahal is braver than the Indian King and is determined to preserve the national interests of India. Therefore, the Indian Queen is considered a threat to the British *Raj.* Sir Henry, a British soldier perceives her more dangerous than the Indian King since she is full of hatred against the English. Also, the English think that she collaborates with the Russian spies and agents: "The

old Padishah is too enfeebled and futile a personage to be of much danger except as a lay figure to prop up on a throne. But Zeenut Mahal is a very different matter. She has brains and drive and fury, and she is burnt up with hate and ambition. I imagine it is she who is the focus of this Russian-Persian intrigue" (Kaye 398).

Mary Margaret Kaye depicts patriotic Indian women not only from the upper classes, but also from the lower classes. For example, Kaye depicts a prostitute. This vulnerable and victimised woman refuses to sleep with Indian men unless they do something in the way of rescuing their brothers from colonialism. She is a nameless prostitute, yet this does not mean that she is indifferent to national issues. She is brave enough to talk about national issues openly and is more outspoken than many Indian men (Kaye 431) and she does her best for the national cause by refusing to sleep with Indian men if they remain indifferent to national problems. She uses her sexuality as a weapon since it is the only thing in her power which she can use for the benefit of her nation. She attracts the attention of Indian men to national issues by refusing to make love to them.

On the other hand, Yasmin, an Indian servant, sleeps with her master, Cornwall. Thus, Yasmin may stand for a collaborator with the enemy (Kaye 308). However, she also represents the exploitation of indigenous women because as the victim of Cornwall, she displays how women are turned into sexual slaves by colonialism. She is the embodiment of the victimisation of women by the colonial system. Kaye draws parallels between Yasmin's body and the fertile lands of India since both of them are exploited by British men. In doing so, she also points out the parallelism between the sexual oppression of indigenous women by white patriarchal men, and the oppression of India by the colonial system. Hence, Yasmin is doubly oppressed; both by the patriarchal system and by the colonial system.

In *Shadow of the Moon*, not only the Indian women, but also the English women become victims of colonialism and suffer from it. For example, an English woman called Mrs. Holly is victimised by the colonial system since she is forced to witness her husband's death. Hence, she suffers a lot because of the violence triggered by the colonial system in which they live. All of a sudden, she becomes the target of the

colonised, who seek revenge from the colonial system, the British Empire. She is forced to watch the killing of her husband and she herself barely escapes death:

> …her [Mrs. Holly's] round pleasant face sagged in deep harsh lines; for she had seen her husband's head struck from his body with a single swing of a sharpened *tulwar* [curved sword (Kaye 614)] in the blazing charnel house of Duryagunj, and only the sudden collapse of a burning roof-beam had saved her from a similar fate. (Kaye 460-461)

English women are also exposed to psychological violence because of the merciless acts of the Indian rebels: "The women had been forced to see their children die before their eyes, and the men to see both [children and women] die in turn before their own death came" (Kaye 553). Consequently, to see the death of their families is unbearable for the English adults (Kaye 558). Another English woman character called Lottie loses her mind because of the atrocities she sees during the Mutiny. Later on, her memory comes back with the shock of the rape attempt and only after this shock, she remembers that her husband and her parents have been killed. Under these conditions, English women are not expected to have sympathy for Indian nationalism since it may mean the increase of the cruelty and oppression on them by the Indian *sepoys*.

Apart from the Indian and the English women, there are also hybrid women characters such as Winter and Ameera. Neither of these two women are purely Indian or purely English. Their common point is that both of them have Spanish blood in their veins; Ameera is Indo-Spanish, whereas Winter, the main female character of the novel, may be considered Anglo-Spanish (since one of her grandparents was Spanish) and furthermore she herself was born and bred in India. Thus, both of these women have hybrid identities.

With relation to their attitudes towards Indian nationalism, for Ameera it may be suggested that she illustrates an opportunist attitude since she is interested in national issues as long as it serves her personal interests. The important thing for Ameera is to

lead a peaceful and harmonious life. Therefore, she is neither for nor against the British *Raj*. It does not make much difference to her who governs the country as long as law and order are established. However, the pioneer leader of Indian nationalism, Dadabhai Naoroji's comment on law and order should be given here; he states that "[u]nder the British despot the man is at peace, there is no violence; his substance is drained away, unseen, peacefully and subtly - he starves in peace and perishes in peace, with law and order!" (qtd. in Chandra 1999, 64). Thus, lacking national consciousness and entrapped in her desire for false security, Ameera seems to want peace without caring whether it is the English or the Indians who are in power.

The other hybrid character, Winter, is torn between her love for India and her duty towards England during the Mutiny. Throughout the novel, Winter approaches Indian culture in a positive way since she was brought up in India and is attracted to the Indian way of life. Therefore, she feels uprooted and displaced when she is sent to England for a short while. This is also an autobiographical element in *Shadow of the Moon*: "[W]hen [Kaye] was 10, [she] was sent to England to be formally educated" ("Mary Margaret Kaye") and about those days she later said, "I found the place incredibly drear… so cold and colourless" ("Mary Margaret Kaye"). Another point worth mentioning is that Kaye "spoke Hindustani before she mastered English." Michael Kourtoulou reports that "[i]ndeed, the children [Mary Margaret, her sister and brother] were unaware that they were not Indian themselves. 'I never thought for a moment that I was not one of them,' she explained. 'I was merely a member of a different caste in a land full of castes[46]' " ("Mary Margaret Kaye"). Though Kaye and similarly Winter perceive themselves to a certain extent, as one of the Indians, it is suggested in *Shadow of the Moon* that Winter is against the development of Indian nationalism since she works shoulder-to-shoulder with Alex to make sure of the continuance of the British *Raj* in India. She brings every piece of news and gossip about the latest situation of the *sepoys* and about the Mutiny to Alex so that he can take measures on time.

In *Shadow of the Moon,* Kaye makes use of her English women characters functionally; they are used as tools to bring the patriotic feelings of the males to the surface (Rosaldo 248). They are the driving force behind the men and hence, Alex looks for "vengeance

for the slaying of their women and their babes" (Kaye 456). In the novel, it is underlined that Britain will avenge the murder of English women and children sooner or later:

> Even if every European in all India were killed, the British would send, if necessary, every man they had, to avenge them. It would not be so much the loss of territory or prestige that would bring them, and nerve them to fight with stubborness and fury, but the murder of their women and children. They would not forgive that, or rest until they had avenged it. (Kaye 526)

Moreover, women, regardless of their nationality, are mere objects either to be protected or to be tortured by men. It is the men who organise rebellions and who invade or defend the land; women are subjected to the wills of men. Accordingly, when the Mutiny breaks out, the English women are sent to the mountains and villages because these areas are supposed to be secure places. Thus, desperate, terrified women begin to stream into the villages or mountainous areas. From then on most of the English women and children begin to lead a nomadic life to save their lives (Kaye 411).

In *Shadow of the Moon*, neither the English women nor the Indian women display heroic actions[47]. This may arise from the historical fact that one of the prominent women figures in India was an Irish woman, not an English woman or not an Indian woman. Relying on the historical accounts given in *Colonial Discourse/Postcolonial Theory* and *Freedom Movement in India*, activities of raising national consciousness among Indian women is encouraged by a woman called Annie Besant who has Irish origins. She does her best to achieve India's "self-government within the Empire" (Spivak 149; Sahgal 61). About her it is stated that "Annie Besant (1847-1933) was a brilliant woman of extraordinary enthusiasms and unremitting activism: for Christianity, atheist secularism, socialism and Theosophy/India. It is well-known that her aim for India was 'self-government within the Empire' " (Spivak 149). Hence Mary Margaret Kaye remains loyal to history in not depicting a prominent Indian woman nationalist.

At some points in *Shadow of the Moon*, Kaye seems to manipulate some historical facts and tends to take sides with the English. Through portraying victimised English characters and opportunist Indian characters, she tries to justify the British rule in India. For example, she depicts Indian women as temptresses and English women as victims of sexual harassment. It seems that during the Mutiny only English women are raped by Indian men and there is not a word referring to the rape of Indian women by English men. However, a researcher named Jenny Sharpe expresses "at the outset of her *Allegories of Empire*, [that] British Magistrates charged with investigating 'Mutiny'-bred reports of rape, torture, and mutilation found no substantiating evidence" (qtd.in Randall 6), which strengthens the idea that through the above-mentioned depictions, Kaye aims to justify the British *Raj*. Related to the rape issue in Mary Margaret Kaye's, Paul Scott's and Edward Morgan Forster's novels, Salman Rushdie says, "[i]t is useless, I'm sure, to suggest that if rape must be used as the metaphor of the Indo-British connection, then surely, in the interests of accuracy, it should be the rape of an Indian woman... " (89) and suggests that English writers provide "fake portraits" of India, in order to "provide moral, cultural and artistic justification for imperialism" (89).

However, in *Shadow of the Moon* it is implied that if an Indian woman has sex with an English man, it is mostly done willingly, not by force as in the case of Yasmin with Conway, Winter's husband (Kaye 441). As an extension of this, Indian women are depicted as temptresses of English men for material interests. Yasmin, the indigenous servant, is depicted like a prostitute who sleeps with the English man not out of love, but for material interests. Whereas, English women are depicted as virtuous and capable of doing everything to protect their chastity. For example, Lottie, the English woman, is faced with the danger of rape by an Indian man and she barely escapes it by killing the attacker with a gun (Kaye 529-531), which is the right behaviour for a virtuous young English woman who refuses to consent to the wishes of the enemy.

In relation to men's attitude towards Indian nationalism, male characters will not be analysed one by one here because male characters become more prominent with regard to their occupations and social class rather than with regard to their gender and will be analysed in detail in the sections related to class and occupation. On the other hand,

there is a minor character called Dundu Pant who should be briefly mentioned as he does not fit into other categories. Dundu Pant, *the Nana* (the local governor) of Bithaur is one of the victims of the doctrine of lapse. According to this doctrine, the territories of rulers who die without male heirs (Edwardes 31) are given to the administration of the East India Company. Therefore, Dundu Pant*, the Nana* of Bithaur feels hatred and anger towards the British government since it refuses to recognise him as the legal heir (Kaye 409) and deprives him of his land. Nevertheless, he seems to have good relations with the British and he goes to parties with them, but it is a mere disguise for hiding his bad intentions such as taking vengeance. Deep in his heart, he hates the English to such an extent that he even takes part in the previously mentioned sacrifice of a white baby-boy. In the novel, he is drawn as a mysterious man with the ruby earrings, which arouse curiosity; it is revealed that he plays an important role in the organisation of the Mutiny. However, all his struggles are in vain and eventually the Mutiny is suppressed. He may stand for the local governors who are exposed to unfair practices by the English men and who are deprived of their lands and rights through the doctrine of lapse (Edwardes 31; Sahgal 11). The end of the novel, in relation to Dundu Pant, might be implying that there is no possibility of having free Indian leaders in a WASP dominated society and that the idea of a free India is doomed to remain a utopia for the time being.

Another minor male character, Mr Barton prefers not to see the realities around him and continues to look down on the Indian people. He regards them as inferior and he puts them into the same category with animals. He further uses the insulting word "brute" to refer to the *havildar*[48] (sergeant; Kaye 613). Thus, the *havildar,* who is supposed to be shown respect within the social hierarchy, is called a brute by an English man just because he does what is expected of him as a soldier and defends the benefits of India. Thus, Mr Barton illustrates the negative attitude of English men towards Indian nationalism.

Thus, if the attitude of English men is compared with the attitude of Indian men, it would not be wrong to say that the English men such as Alex and Sir Henry are certainly against the development of Indian nationalism and they do their best to prevent its spread through India. When the attitude of the Indian men towards Indian

nationalism is analysed, a blurred picture comes out. Ironically some Indian men such as Niaz and other nameless servants are against Indian nationalism and prefer to take side with the English people, whereas some Indian men such as Kishan Prasad and Dundu Pant enthusiastically support the development of Indian nationalism. Similarly, there are different attitudes among the English and Indian women towards Indian nationalism. Women are more passive yet they are the driving force behind the men. Within the limits of the nineteenth century British and Indian gender patterns, women can only try to take part in national movements as far as it was socially permitted. English women such as Mrs. Holly and her female company are portrayed as the victims and sufferers of the nationalistic movements in India. Therefore, English women are against Indian nationalism, but they do not take active roles to suppress the national movement. They just inform the English men about the conspiracy theories and rumours of mutiny in order to save their lives. With regard to Indian women, some of them like the Queen and the nameless prostitute are for Indian nationalism and they are very sensitive about this issue. Only a few Indian women like Yasmin are hesitant to support Indian nationalism. Generally, Indian women are for the freedom of India. Hence, it might be suggested that English men take measures against the Indian national movement and they have important roles in order to suppress it, while English women are not as active as their men. Kaye draws a similar picture on the Indian side since Indian women are not as active as Indian men in the national cause. In other words, Indian men are the leading force in Indian nationalism, but Indian women are nearly invisible in areas concerning the national issues.

Another factor which determines one's stance towards national issues is one's social class. It should be underlined that though there is a caste[49] system in India, in this dissertation "class" will also be used with reference to the Indian characters' socio-economic backgrounds. Concerning the relationship between one's class and one's national tendencies, it is observed that middle class colonised people tend to take sides with the British government (Sahgal 38) because of their educational background and their self interests. It was a common practice for middle class Indian parents to send their children to English schools (Edwardes 110) so that they were exposed to the English language and culture there. After graduation, they became privileged over the

other Indians since they could speak fluent English which was a must to hold positions in prestigious jobs. Then, to be favoured by the English they began to imitate them and they turned their back on their own people and this vicious pattern continued.

Very rarely, a few patriotic people like Nehru may be seen among the middle class intellectuals. Paradoxically, some of the middle class had experienced a national awakening during their English-oriented education. They began to discover the beauty of Indian culture. Afterwards, in order to preserve the Indian culture they declare war against the English culture and dominance, as did many lawyers such as Nehru and Jinnah. Being motivated by a sense of responsibility towards their nation, they try to raise national consciousness throughout India. To exemplify from the novel, Kishan Prasad who seems to be from the middle class is well-educated and he is the leader of the Mutiny; he is the brain of the organisation, whereas the working class people or the peasants seem to be indifferent to what is going on around them. Furthermore, there are some hesitant people like the *talukdar* who is a large landholder; thus a member of the upper class. He cannot decide whom he should support. His hesitation is depicted by an English man who has just escaped from death with the help of "a loyal servant" (Kaye 553). The English man says:

> 'The local Talukdar [sic] has been wavering for some time. He cannot decide which side is going to win, and he seems to have given orders that any Europeans found in these parts were to be taken prisoner but not harmed. I think he means well enough, but he is getting nervous. The whole of Oudh is now in revolt, and since the Chinut affair the British position looks bad. I think that is why he has had any of us known to be in the district brought here'. (Kaye 553)

The *talukdar* of Pari tries to comfort the British captives by giving them food and a hygienic place and by finding carts (Kaye 557) to send them away. As mentioned above, servants as members of the working class are not only loyal, but also admirers of English men; they are servants at heart and do not hesitate to sacrifice national benefits for the benefit of their British masters. Contrary to them, *sepoy*s who might be put into the working class follow their own ideals and they go on struggling for India's freedom. This attracts Sir Henry Lawrence's

attention. Sir Henry Lawrence, who is a significant English soldier and administrator, thus a member of the upper class, is realistic and he predicts that the Mutiny will spread:

> 'There has been bad feeling for many years among the Bengal Army, but now that they are beginning to realize how few we are they are discovering a dangerous consciousness of power. A havildar [sic] to whom I was speaking only the other day warned me that if we did not speedily redress their wrongs they would redress them themselves.'
> 'I trust the brute was hanged as an example?' said Mr Barton, his face crimsoning with affront. (Kaye 387)

He further confesses that the British underestimate the power of the Indians and ignore some facts such as the big difference in number between the Indian and English populations. In India, English colonisers were the minority since they came from a distant land, and since they had only begun to settle in India from the beginning of the eighteenth century. As opposed to the English people, the Indian people were the indigenous people of the country and naturally they were greater in number which is important to some extent in defending one's country.

Hence, if Indian national consciousness continues to rise, the power of this huge population may be a threat to the British hegemony, despite the fact that the English people are the ones who have superior technology in their hands. Indian soldiers "as having the same ambitions as [the British]" (Kaye 387), are perceived as a big threat by Sir Henry Lawrence as it means that the Indians want to have the control of India, too and are as conscious about national issues as the English. In *Shadow of the Moon*, it is made clear that Sir Henry Lawrence is realistic about the capacity of the Indian men such as the *sepoys,* who serve in the British Army and whose national consciousness has now risen.

Leading Indian civilians in the cities should not be disregarded either since they are capable of directing their companions to a cause. Thus, Alex wants to collaborate with the "influential men of the city" because they are the leading force in India; nationalist

leaders are mostly upper class[50] *talukdars* since they have material wealth and social status to support the national cause. Once the wealthy important men and middle class men are made inactive, then only "petty agitators" (Kaye 459) who encourage the Indian public to revolt will remain to be dealt with.

However, as a measure, Alex seizes the weapons of the residents in the city of Oudh-Lunjore (Kaye 460) and deprives them of gun power and artilleries: "…a proclamation was issued calling upon all inhabitants of the city to give up their arms within twenty-four hours; followed by another, imposing a curfew" (Kaye 460). To Alex's surprise, "[t]here's enough stuff there [in the hands of the city-dwellers] to fit out an army"; he therefore says, "[n]ow that we've got it, don't let's take any chances of it falling into their hands again" (Kaye 460). Alex tries to follow every act of the rebels so that he can take measures against them on time.

Classwise, Alex sees landholders as a threat because of their having economic power in their hands to orient the common people towards rebellion. Thus, he continues to hunt Indian nationalists and he captivates Habib Ullah Khan who is a "landowner" (Kaye 459) and who is certainly a patriot considering the fact that some weapons and documents were found in his house. Then, he was put into jail since the documents proved his so-called guilt, that is defending his nation. Like landholders, because of their economic power shop-keepers too, constitute an important group in India. For this reason, after putting Habib Ullah Khan into prison, Alex tries to gain the favour of the Indian shop-keepers and holds a meeting with them since there could be other patriots like Habib Ullah Khan among the land owners and shop-keepers and they should be warned as well:

> '[t]he head of the whole trouble in the city is Maulvi Amanullah of the Moti Masjid, and Abdul Majid, the Talukdar's nephew. If we can get those two, the city will be left with only petty agitators, but no real leaders,' said Alex.'But if we try to take openly we shall have a first-class riot on our hands,…' and he adds 'I think it would be putting too much strain on the loyalty of the sepoys [sic] to ask them to fight a street action at this point. But if you hold a Durbar[51] [sic], I think we can

> manage it. Call a conference of all the influential men in the city. The larger shopkeepers included. It's the only hope.'(Kaye 459)

Similarly, Sir Henry Lawrence pacifies the shop-keepers and tradesmen in Lucknow (Kaye 390) in order to avoid a strong resistance against the British rule. Thus, the support of the members of the Indian upper and upper-middle classes is indispensable for both the English and the Indians as these classes are the owners of wealth and power. As Marx and Engels suggest "[t]he class which has the means of material production at its disposal, has control at the same time over the means of mental production,' (qtd.in Sinfield 1996, 66) which can either support or discourage nationalistic tendencies in a society. Thus, the class or the institution which "regulated and organized production also tended to be responsible for the organization of all other aspects of life" (Marx and Engels 181). In other words, the side which persuades the Indian upper class and upper-middle class men or the bourgeoisie to join its group would become advantageous over the other side.

With regard to their religious disposition characters display different attitudes towards Indian nationalism. As far as it can be deduced from the historical sources, Hindus were supposed to be in close contact with the British since they were exposed to English education longer than the Muslims were (Sahgal 57; Edwardes 145). Muslims rejected to go to English schools and in the long run, they became underprivileged in finding jobs because of their lack of knowledge of the English language (Sahgal 81). Besides, the high number of Muslims among the *sepoys* in the Mutiny caused religious discrimination among the British administrators and they tended to exclude Muslims from military and governmental jobs in the *Raj*. As Aziz argues, "[t]his uncompromising dislike of the Hindu prevailed until the Mutiny. Then the scales were turned and things were never the same again. It began with the British belief that the Mutiny had been engineered by the Muslims alone" (189). Instead, the British preferred to employ Hindus in these positions. This situation created rivalry between the Hindus and the Muslims. Subsequently, repressed Muslims began to look for ways in order to

escape British hegemony. In *Shadow of the Moon,* Ameera's husband Walayat Shah, is one of these Muslims, who is in search of a way to end the British rule in India.

There were many reasons for the Mutiny and the most prominent one was the English people's being disrespectful towards the religions of the indigenous Indian people.The causes of the Mutiny are referred to in *Shadow of the Moon* in these sentences: "The hated policies of Annexation and Lapse, the suppression of suttee [sic], the seizure of land, the deposing of kings and the curtailment of pay and power and privilege were as nothing to this [cartridge problem]; for this struck at the deepest beliefs of men, in that it destroyed their souls" (Kaye 375). The greased cartridge paper was the last straw for the Indians because according to the recent rumours the English soldiers had been putting bone dust into the *sepoys'* bread and rubbing pig fat in their guns, thus disregarding their Islamic, Hindu and Buddhist taboos[52] since eating pork is not approved by Islam and eating animal meat is not approved in Buddhism and Hinduism. About this issue, Richard Popplewell expresses that "[t]he problem for Indian soldiers was that [cartridges] were greased either with beef fat, which made them contaminating to Hindus, or with pork fat, which Muslims could not eat" (13). These disrespectful deeds of the English soldiers are perceived as a challenge to the Indian religious and cultural identity by the *sepoys.* Eventually, "[t]he news that the 19th Regiment of Native Infantry at Berhampur, a hundred miles to the north of Calcutta, had broken out into mutiny spread upwards through India and fanned the panic" (Kaye 376).

Briefly, it might be claimed that religious problems triggered the Mutiny and at first sight, all the Muslims and Hindus were expected to support the Mutiny and the national movement, but there were some exceptions; for instance, men like Niaz took sides with the English, though they were Muslims. Niaz "turn[s] from his own race to serve one [Alex] of alien blood" (Kaye 373) since he wants to fight on Alex's side against his own countrymen. He brings pamphlets of Mussulmen for Jehad and informs Alex that there are "Russian and Persian spies" (Kaye 374) in India to support the rebellion. Yet, from time to time in Niaz's relationship with his Christian master Alex, religious differences become inevitable and very noticeable. Later, in one conversation with Niaz, Alex gives reference to Mohammed and Jesus Christ and says, "[i]n the end there will be a

vengeance which will be as harsh, or harsher, than the offence. That is the evil that springs from such killing" (Kaye 456). Niaz tries to console him by saying that everything they live is written in one's fate and Alex should not feel responsible. Yet Alex's answer is significant in showing the different religious attitudes towards national problems: "…Niaz said quietly: 'It is none of thy doing, brother. What is written is written.' 'That is taught by thy Prophet, not mine,' said Alex bitterly. 'Mine would have me by my brother's keeper. Here - take the gun' "(Kaye 456).

Thus, Alex takes the responsibility of his actions and he is aware of his duties towards his nation. As opposed to this, Indian people tend to have a fatalistic attitude towards life and do not struggle for national issues. Another significant point in this conversation is the words uttered by Alex. He says, "thy Prophet" and "mine," reveal an "us and them" attitude and an othering process which is an important element in defining one's identity by looking at the differences. Kate Woodward also expresses that identity is marked by similarities and by differences (7). In other words, identity involves defining oneself by referring to binary oppositions and categorising the East and the West in such a way that the West stands for reason, civilisation and humanity whereas the East stands for supersitition, backwardness and violence or barbarism (Leoussi 218; Good 268; Hall 2002, 272-274).

In *Shadow of the Moon*, along with the different religious attitudes, there are also different urban and rural attitudes with regard to Indian nationalism. During the Mutiny, both English men and English women begin to move to the rural places. They lead a nomadic life in the villages and mountains since villages are considered to be more secure places for the English people. However, their attitude towards Indian nationalism does not change as a result of this move.

On the other hand, cities, having many educational facilities and modern schools, are perceived as centres where national and anti-imperial feelings have risen and spread to the whole nation. Moreover, city-dwellers are a further threat since they are more aware of what is going on around them because of having generally received better education. In line with these views, Ian Clegg, a researcher, argues that "[r]evolution as a concept

is alien to the peasant consciousness, while the peasant's relationship to the environment remains one of passive endurance rather than active transformation" (qtd. in Lazarus 200-201). This argument fits the behaviour of the Indian peasants in *Shadow of the Moon* since they seem to be passive in the beginning of the novel. However, D. N. Dhanagare claims that the role of the peasants and the agrarian aspect of the Indian Mutiny are undermined by official sources and by historians (qtd. in Lazarus 197-220) by ignoring their existence in the Mutiny. Dhanagare expresses that

> [i]t is true that liquidation of the landed aristocracy in Oudh (U.P.) under the principle of British paramountcy was one of the most important and immediate causes of the revolt. But this does not mean that the entire uprising was engineered by the dispossessed landed elite and that the masses played no part at all. While participation of the peasant masses in the revolt was either at the behest of their caste superiors or due to ethnic or religious loyalties to their chiefs, *rajas* or the overlords under whom many of them held lands, an examination of original records and sources by Sulekh Gupta has revealed that in those districts where the 1857 uprising was violent, practically all rural classes had been disturbed by the British land revenue policy and administration… (35-36)

As it is suggested above, peasants have also supported the national cause, though their contributions were not referred to in history books as much as the contributions of the middle class urban dwellers. Similary, in *Shadow of the Moon* villagers are not in the foreground, yet it is implied that the peasants seem to develop a national consciousness as time goes by and this is illustrated in the scene especially where, without using violence, the villagers take Winter and her friends as captives. During the Mutiny, villagers give food to the English babies and show kindness towards the English people; yet in the meanwhile they capture the English people. Thus, the peasants follow a two strand policy:

> Captain Garrowby and the doctor, with Mrs. Hossack and her remaining child – a baby of six months – had been driven to ask help at a village on the outskirts of Pari, and the villagers had taken them in and treated them kindly. But three days

> earlier they were put into a covered cart and brought to this house – they did not know why, nor how long they would remain there. They had been given food, and had not been ill-used, but the atmosphere and the attitude of their jailers was not reassuring. (Kaye 552)

Kaye's depiction of the peasants' attitude towards the British *Raj,* their uneasiness with the British rule, shows similarities with the argument in Dhanagare's study which suggests that "[w]ithout the agrarian disaffection at the grass-roots level, the peasant masses would not have participated in the Mutiny on such an extensive scale as they did in Oudh and other parts in north India" (35-36). In other words, peasants are not as indifferent as Lazarus suggests: "Peasant insurgents in India during the colonial era, that is to say, did not necessarily think of themselves as Indians, and they did not necessarily believe themselves to be fighting for the liberation of India" (208). However, they are not as dedicated to the national cause as the radical nationalists either. The peasants take part in the Mutiny out of the necessity of taking their rights back from the English administrators. They are moderate nationalists; they do not fight out of racial or religious causes, but merely to exist as human beings and to obtain their rights to lead a decent life.

It can be observed throughout the novel, the villagers are not leaders but helpers; when they are guided well, they become good supporters of the national cause. The support of the peasant population in agricultural countries like India, is an indispensable one. To exemplify, when the 2001 census in India is taken into consideration it is revealed that "[a]bout 70% of the people live in more than 550,000 villages[53], and the remainder in more than 200 towns and cities" ("Population of India"). Moreover, in the 1850s the percentage of the population living in villages must have been higher due to the historical fact that the influence of the Industrial Revolution was not felt very strongly in India at the time and most of the people would have been living in rural areas rather than in urban areas. Considering their potential power, peasants should be convinced to support the national cause since "Fanon warned that if, at independence, leadership were to come to rest in the hands of the elite classes, the whole momentum of the struggle for liberation would be jeopardized" (qtd. in Lazarus 199). In other words, if a

national movement continues to be directed only by the elite classes, then the possibility of gaining independence decreases. Therefore, peasants should also be attracted to work for independence. It is stated by Lazarus that " [t]here is now an abundance of scholarship to suggest that in colonial India, as elsewhere in the colonial world, local struggles and everyday forms of peasant resistance were often entirely divorced from and unassimilable to the "vertical" political concerns of elite anticolonial nationalists" (207). Therefore, Indian peasants had to be persuaded to join the anticolonial nationalist movements in order to achieve India's independence.

In *Shadow of the Moon*, villagers are not mentioned much and Mary Margaret Kaye may be doing this consciously to show that villagers are not interested in nationalism, as long as they have land to cultivate and bread to eat:

> Ploughing, sowing, reaping and irrigation would not wait while men sat in circles and listened to windy and grandiloquent phrase-makers who promised overnight Utopias provided that this or that class or sect, creed or colour were first destroyed or routed... But they toiled hard and they were kindly people, and Alex listened to them now and felt more relaxed and at peace than he had for many days. (Kaye 300-301)

The passage quoted above makes Alex feel at ease after seeing that the rural people are not interested in national issues, instead they work in the fields and do their own work in order to survive:

> The cities spawned as much evil as filth. Murder and prostitution, theft and trickery, intolerance, hatred and talk: a froth of talk that went in circles and was seldom concerned with essentials…windy poison with which to disturb the hearts and minds of the credulous, and which stirred up bloody riots between sects and the followers of different gods upon holy days. Talk that was never of building up but always of pulling down, and which could whip up hysteria with the speed of a whirlwind. But there were few such talkers in the villages, for the work of the land pressed hard upon the heels of those who took their livelihood from her. (Kaye 300)

Therefore, Alex suggests that Winter should: "…stay away from the city" (Kaye 429). But later, Alex becomes alert "seeing in the faces of the villagers the ominous signs of the sickness that was sweeping through India; the open insolence and hostility that must be stared down or disregarded; the quick-leaping panic that must be allayed" (Kaye 455) because in the villages and the countryside there were rumours that very few English men remained alive since the Persian king had sent help to Bahadur Shah. Very few English men survived since many English soldiers drowned in the sea, and some English children were killed with the curved Indian sword. On one of these days, three villagers come to a village and boast that they killed English people including a child and a woman. This makes Alex very angry and he immediately takes revenge and hangs these three men and adds,

> '[h]ang him beside his friends, so that all may see" and continues "And tell any who ask, that though every sahib now in Hind were slain, a hundred thousand more - and ten times a hundred thousand - would come from *Belait* [England (Kaye 613)] to exact vengeance for the slaying of their women and their babes. For the blood of such helpless ones is as seed which, falling to the ground, springs up in the likeness of armed man'. (456)

With regard to his immediate violent punishment, Alex is questioned by the Commissioner for fear that the former's unfair actions might be heard by the authorities. After hanging the three men without trial, Alex tries to justify his unfair deeds (Kaye 457). Alex's defence puts him in a worse position than his violent act because he argues that the villagers do not understand the law, but they understand justice. Thus, violence directed against the colonised in order to control or to punish is tried to be justified. He uses this argument to defend himself when the Commissioner warns him that he may be in trouble because of his irrresponsible actions. In these passages of *Shadow of the Moon*, the different attitudes of the British authorities towards the same event are also revealed. The conflict among the British with regard to the application of justice and the methods of controlling the Indian rebels is seen in the passage below:

> [Alex] sent in a brief report of the incident to the Commissioner and was sent for to explain himself. 'You had no authority to do such a thing!' fumed the Commissioner. 'Disgraceful! Supposing it should come to the ears of the Authorities that men had been hung in my district without trial? Why, I might be ---- Upon my word, Randall, you take too much [responsibility] upon yourself! The men should have been brought back here to stand their trial by the processes of the law and----'
>
> 'And been turned into heroes and martyrs,' interrupted Alex bluntly. 'This is war, sir! What do these people know of Western laws, which are not even their own? Those men were boasting to the villagers of murdering women and children and a wounded man… They understand justice – not law! And if I had taken those men into custody they might have been rescued ten times over on the way here, while if they had stood trial, half the city and possibly half the troops would have acclaimed them as heroes who had struck a blow against the British. We can afford no trials of that description, sir.' (457)

Alex's words, "[t]his is war, sir!" (Kaye 457), suggest that the end justifies the means and that he may ignore the law as long as it is beneficial for British interests. Alex's unfair deeds reveal his double standards.

Furthermore, Alex, in order to hold all control in the hands of the British and in order to guarantee their security, wants the *sepoys* to disarm. But his request is refused by his seniors:

> 'If you will allow me unfettered action, sir, I can maintain order in the district as long as the regiments in Lunjore remain quiet. At the moment the sepoys are quiet, but if they should revolt it would be a different matter, and I would again urge you most strongly to impress upon their commanding officers the advisability of disarming them while there is still time.'
>
> 'I shall do no such thing!' snapped the Commissioner, his pallid face becoming dangerously suffused. 'What would happen if they did? Why - we'd be left with no defenders and no defence at all! Disarm the sepoys, and we'd be at the mercy of the scum of the city and every villager who could carry a rifle por [sic] a *lathi* [long heavy staff, usually made from bamboo (Kaye 613)]!'

> 'It is not they [the villagers] whom we have to fear,' said Alex… (457)

With regard to the quotation above, it is worth underlining Alex's emphasis on the point that it is not the villagers who can be a threat to the British rule, but the *sepoy*s. That is, Alex has foresight and can see the danger the future holds for the English people in India because he knows the Indian society and culture well. For example, when he buries a Muslim person, he puts the dead body facing towards Mecca following Muslim rituals. He establishes relations with the Indian people not only for the sake of enjoyment and friendship, but also to get more information about the other so that he can feel safe and secure in a foreign society.

Alex's fears come true and cities like Meerut and Calcutta where British garrisons are very powerful have hard times because of the *sepoys*. As stated above, Calcutta[54] is one of the places where the first British settlements were established with the efforts of The East India Company since the beginning of the eighteenth century (Mahmud 183; Delgoda 153). Those British garrisons were one of the first places where Indians were trained as *sepoys* after Western military discipline. It is a real irony that it was in Calcutta that the *sepoys* wanted to put an end to the system, the city which had created the *sepoy* system itself. Likewise, "Delhi was captured easily by the sepoys [sic]" (Kaye 462):

> Calcutta was filled with panic in these days, as telegram after telegram, message after message, brought news of disaster. Delhi snatched from the hands of the British in an hour! Meerut, with one of the strongest British garrisons in India, bewildered and helpless and appearantly unable to do more than protect itself from a peril that had passed from it to spread out like a forest fire over half India. A hundred pleas a day poured in upon [Lord] Canning begging for troops - for British troops. 'We cannot hold out without troops. Send us help.' 'The sepoys have mutinied. Send us troops.'(460)

But help from the British Army came very slowly and very late. This shows the English attitude which does not take the Indians into serious consideration; thus they make the mistake of underestimating the enemy. Not seeing the Indians as a strong enemy is the beginning of the end for the British rule in India.

Moreover, there are differences between the Northern and Southern parts of India towards Indian nationalism. In the South, Indian nationalism does not spread as fast as it does in the North. The reasons of the limited development of Indian nationalism in the South is summarised by Kulke in the following words:

> …nationalism remained restricted to the small circles of liberal intellectuals. A number of factors contributed to this situation: the scarcity of urban centres of communication; the plurality of languages; the fact that the south contained several important princely states (Hyderabad, Mysore, Travancore) which provided no scope for nationalist politics; and the social distance between Brahmins and the rest of the population. Although the Brahmins of the south did turn towards nationalism, consciousness of their social isolation tended to make them very moderate liberals. Northern liberal nationalists found in them faithful allies against the radicalism of a younger generation of national revolutionaries. (262)

There are also differences in the attitudes of the people living in villages and towns[55] due to similar reasons as underlined in the above quotation, such as the social distance which is widened with the lack of trust among the peasants and the townsmen. The peasants cannot trust the townspeople since the latter have become the carbon copies of the English men in order to gain the favour of the English. This case about the middle class indigenous people who live in towns or cities is clarified in the passage below:

> The country people [peasants] are suspicious of the townsman. The latter dresses like a European; he speak [sic] the European's language, works with him, sometimes even lives in the same district; so he is considered by the peasants as a turncoat who has betrayed everything that goes to make up the national heritage. The townspeople are 'traitors and knaves' who seem to get on well with the occupying powers, and do their best to get on within the framework of the colonial

> system. This is why you often hear the country people say of town-dwellers that they have no morals. (Fanon 1967, 89)

The last factor to be taken into consideration in the analysis of one's attitude towards nationalism is age. In *Shadow of the Moon*, elderly English people cannot imagine a free Indian nation; therefore they disregard the realities. Whereas young people like Alex are more conscious about the recent developments in the country and they do not believe in temporary solutions found at times of wars and uprisings. Instead, he believes in ruling through persuasion, not through force. Accordingly, he mingles with the indigenous people and he persuades them to be on the British side; however his seniors believe in ruling through force. They take harsh measures at times of crisis but in times of peace, they tend to forget the existence of the indigenous people.

On the other hand, in *Shadow of the Moon,* at first sight, elderly Indian people seem to be passive, but underneath this passive and obedient appearance, they strongly resist colonisation. An old Indian man does not hesitate to kill his granddaughter as she hears some secret information about the Mutiny (Kaye 435). However, young Indian people like Kishan Prasad are in the foreground. They are determined and well-organised. They follow world politics and attack the enemy at the right time; that is after Britain's defeat in Sebastopol. They carefully organise the Mutiny by preparing a detailed plan beforehand. For instance, when the historical dates are reviewed carefully, the date of the Mutiny becomes very significant and meaningful. As it is stated above, Robert Clive is regarded by the English as a prominent[56] figure in the establishment of British India and therefore he is called "Clive of India" due to his contributions, "in the Battle of Plassey around 22 June 1757. [That day], Clive defeated the Indian army and the British East India Company took the control of Bengal" ("Robert Clive - First Baron Clive") and therefore May 1857, a hundred years later, is the revenge time for the Indians. To signal the beginning of the Mutiny, the five *chappati*s, that is special Indian bread, were delivered to each house (Kaye 359). Accordingly, on 12 June 1857, Alex feels that the revenge of the *sepoy*s is near and inevitable as 23 June is approaching; this day is significant since it was on this day that Robert Clive had taken half of India:

> That night was the twelfth of June…and it lacked only ten days to twenty-third of June - the centenary of the Battle of Plassey which an ex-clerk of the East India Company, Robert Clive, had fought with three thousand men against an army of sixty-eight thousand, and in winning it had won half India. The rule of the 'Company Sahib', said the prophecy, would last for a hundred years from the date of that battle, and now that day was near… (Kaye 524)

Kishan Prasad, the Indian patriot and the Maulvi of Faizabad, a minor character in *Shadow of the Moon,* plan the general mutiny of the Bengal Army (Kaye 420) and this makes Alex anxious about the future of the British people in India. If the young and the old Indian people in *Shadow of the Moon* are compared, it may be suggested that both the young and the old try to get their independence from Britain, despite the fact that at first sight the older ones seem to be content with what they are and accept the British rule without questioning. However, contrary to the tranquillity on the surface, the elderly Indians actually have a questioning and rebellious mind and resist the British rule.

Though national consciousness is mostly seen as a positive thing in the development of societies and civilisations, it may have some negative effects on some people. Karl W. Deutsch underlines some of its negative sides: "At the same time, nationalism developed among the disfavoured into a creed of bitterness, hatred, revenge, and sometimes expropriation" (53). Kishan Prasad, who is a relatively young Indian man, suffers from the negative effects of nationalism. He is full of hatred against the English because though he is a clever and hardworking man, he is not promoted in his job due to race discrimination. It might be suggested that because of these biased attitudes of the English towards the indigenous people, he becomes a radical nationalist. "Thus, nationalism produced dreams and images of savagery at the same time that it tried to promote self-government, enlightenment, and social justice. Throughout the history of nationalism in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, we find the noblest aspects of life mingled with the most terrible" (Deutsch 53) because people from

different nationalities massacre each other and cause bloodshed. This can best be seen in the passage on human-sacrifice in which a white baby boy is killed and Kishan Prasad and Dundu Pant do not show any reaction in order to prevent the human-sacrifice, but they remain silent and present an indifferent attitude. Though they have a noble aim in their mind, that is the freedom of their country, their method of achieving it is terrifying. Thus, nationalism brings the noble aspects of life such as patriotism together with the terrible aspects of life, such as killing babies in riots and wars. Subsequently, these examples in *Shadow of the Moon* arouse antipathy towards the Indian *sepoys,* who are the pioneers of Indian nationalism.

However, these violent deeds are not only confined to the young Indian men; they are also carried out by the old Indian men in *Shadow of the Moon*. Another horrible act is committed by Akbar Khan who is old enough to be a grandfather. He is one of the servants at Winter's house and has a granddaughter called Zeb-un-Nissa. Zeb-un-Nissa has some extraordinary abilities and she can speak with birds and see the future. Therefore, she hears the screams of the British men and women before the Mutiny. Later on, she gets lost mysteriously and it is implied that this girl might have been killed by her own grandfather[57] since she foresees the Mutiny (Kaye 435-436). In the case of this girl, Mary Margaret Kaye may have chosen the name of Zeb-un-Nissa on purpose because "zebun" means "weak, incapable and powerless" (Develioğlu 1412; Özön 912) in Eastern languages. Furthermore, Nisa means "women" (Steingas 1115). Her name meaning a weak girl, foreshadows that she will be hurt by the atrocities committed during the mutiny days by men.

In *Shadow of the Moon*, besides Indian children, there are English children, too. During the Mutiny, among the English, it is only the English children who are not very anxious and are not full of hatred against the Indians. However, this is because they see the Indians merely as playmates. Thus, like the English adults even the English children do not consider Indian men as grown up men:

> [The English children] loved [the Indian servants], trusted them, spoke their language with far more fluency than their mother-tongue, bullied them and ordered them about, and ran to them with their woes. The Indians - any Indians - were their friends and allies and playmates, and they would no more have conceived of receiving harm at their hands than at the hands of their own parents. Less! for parents could be stern at times and administer punishment and rebuke, but Mali-*ji* and Ayah-*ji*, and Makhan Khan and Piari Lal and Sobra Singh, Havildar Jewrakun Tewary and Sepoy Dhoolee Sookul, the *dhobi* [washer of clothes; laundryman (Kaye 613)], the *dhazi* [tailor (Kaye 613)], the sweet-seller and old Khundoo the *chowkidar* [night-watchman (Kaye 613)] - never! From all these and a hundred more the children had never received anything but kindness and petting. (Kaye 463)

It can be deduced from these lines that Indian adults are even incapable of scolding the colonisers' children, or of administering punishment to them. Furthermore, they have no identity as adults since English children put all Indians into the same bag and categorise them as one: "Indians - any Indians - were… friends" (Kaye 463) since their first duty was to show kindness and respect to the British people and their loyalty was taken for granted; disobedience by them was unthinkable. Briefly, they were puppets who could be governed easily. At first sight, this passage seems to be praising the Indians, but after an in-depth analysis, it reveals the dominance of the English children on the Indian adults. Ironically, a British child is given the authority to control an Indian adult. Thus, here it is also illustrated that regardless of one's experience and one's age, in national issues race comes into the foreground as a crucial factor in shaping all aspects of one's life.

If a close look is taken at the publication date of *Shadow of the Moon*, it is seen that it is 1957 which is only ten years after the independence of India. Hence, it is only natural that English people including Mary Margaret Kaye have not yet gotten used to India's being a free country, since "the loss of [the] empire was a profound shock to Britain" ("From Empire to Commonwealth"). Hence English people "reluctantly conceded independence to India in 1947" ("From Empire to Commonwealth"). This is the social

context in which Kaye writes *Shadow of the Moon* and naturally she is under the influence of these socio-political changes. The social context is put in the foreground in cultural materialism, which deals with the conditions in which works of literature are written. Moreover, cultural materialism suggests that a work of art is embedded within a cultural system that is specific to the moment of its creation, and therefore it should be read in terms of the historical moment it is written. More precisely, cultural materialism may be defined as "a literary criticism that places texts in a material, that is socio-political or historical, context in order to show that canonical texts, Shakespeare supremely, are bound up with a repressive, dominant ideology, yet also provide scope for dissidence" (Wilson 35).

One of the forerunners of this movement is Raymond Williams[58] and with respect to the relationship between art and social context he suggests that "art is conceptualized as both reflecting the economic structure and affecting attitudes toward reality that 'help *or hinder* the constant business of changing it' "(qtd. in Viswanathan 200) and "[for Williams] the task for cultural criticism is to accept seriously the challenge of dealing with what is concretely manifest - the "way of life" as a whole - without isolating economic elements from the totality or interpreting economic change as occurring in neutral conditions" (Viswanathan 200). In *Culture and Society*, Williams puts forward that

> [e]ither the arts are passively dependent on social reality, a proposition which I take to be that of mechanical materialism, or a vulgar misinterpretation of Marx. Or the arts, as the creators of consciousness, determine social reality, the proposition which the Romantic poets sometimes advanced. Or finally, the arts, while ultimately dependent, with everything else, on the real economic structure, operate in part to reflect this structure and its consequent reality, and in part, by affecting attitudes towards reality, to help *or hinder* the constant business of changing it. (274)

Thus, the social context in which a work of art is written cannot be ignored in the evaluation of the work of art itself as they are strictly united with each other. Therefore, *Shadow of the Moon* may be analysed within the context of cultural materialism as cultural materialism "calls for the analysis of… [the work of art] in terms of the means and conditions of production" (Higgins 141). In other words, cultural materialism calls for paying attention to the socio-political conditions in which a work of art is produced. With reference to new historicism and cultural materialism, Kiernan Ryan states that they "are united by their compulsion to relate literature to history, to treat texts as indivisible from contexts, and to do so from a politically charged perspective forged in the present" (xi). Parallel to this, Raymond Williams in *Culture and Society* underlines the importance of the socio-political conditions by saying, "one vital lesson which the nineteenth century had to learn – and learn urgently because of the very magnitude of its changes – was that the basic economic organization could not be separated and excluded from its moral and intellectual concerns" (200). Taking all these assumptions into consideration, it becomes a necessity to know the socio-political conditions of the 1950s, the years when *Shadow of the Moon* was written. In the 1950s, Britain[59] had questions and fears about its role in the new world order. It was in those days that "[f]ollowing the famous 'wind of change speech' by the Prime Minister, Harold Macmillan, Britain gradually handed back its nineteenth century acquisitions" ("From Empire to Commonwealth"). Besides this, it was the year when "the nationalisation of the Suez Canal Company" (Gorst 56) was realised on 26 July 1956, which meant that the fears of Lord Palmerston had come true since "[t]he canal was the vital link between the East and the West and its importance as an international waterway…had increased with the development of oil industry and the dependence of the world on oil supplies" (Gorst 58). In those years "a decline in Britain's Middle Eastern position" (Louis 326) was observed due to Prime Minister Sir Anthony Eden's wrong policies. Hence, longing for the old days and agonising over the past glory of Britain, Mary Margaret Kaye seemed to be against Indian nationalism in *Shadow of the Moon.* On 24 December 1956, in *The Guardian,* it was stated that "pro-empire sentiment was still strong less than a decade after the loss of 'the jewel in the crown' - India's 1947 independence" ("Last British Troops Withdraw from Egypt") and the same attitude can be observed in *Shadow of the Moon.*

Cultural materialism also suggests that a person's behaviour and attitude are constructed or limited by some factors such as his/her class, gender, religion, race and national identity:

> [I]nterest lies in ... particular, contingent cases, the selves fashioned and acting according to the generative rules and conflicts of a given culture. And these selves [are] conditioned by the expectations of their class, gender, religion, race and national identity... (Greenblatt 55).

Parallel to this, it is seen that in *Shadow of the Moon,* Kaye brings both Indian and English characters from different races, genders, classes, religions, urban and rural places, educational backgrounds and age groups together to present a well-balanced picture of the Mutiny days and to evaluate the Indian Mutiny of 1857 from a wider perspective. After the evaluation of the English and Indian characters with regard to these seven factors, the following conclusions are drawn. First of all, in *Shadow of the Moon,* with regard to race, it can be suggested that, on the whole, English people are against Indian nationalism, whereas, the majority of Indian people support it.

If the gender of the English people and Indian people is taken into consideration, it is observed that this criterion does not make a big difference. Thus, both English men and English women are against Indian nationalism and both Indian men and women are for it. However, there is a slight difference between the contribution of men and women to their countries' nationalistic causes. Both English and Indian men are more active than both English and Indian women; this may be a result of the fact that in the nineteenth century women had restricted rights and power. So, they were not leaders; instead, they assisted men in national matters as well.

When characters are analysed according to their class backgrounds, interesting results are observed. Middle and upper class English people are clearly against Indian

nationalism. Ironically, this attitude is valid among the Indian middle and upper-middle class people, too. Many members of the Indian middle class and upper-middle class believe in the continuation of the British rule in India. Only a minority of Indian middle class and upper-middle class men have national consciousness and it is this minority among the Indian middle class who plans and starts the Indian national movement. The Indian working class people too support the English. Especially Indian workers who are servants at the houses of English men tend to put their masters on a pedestal. Moreoever, most seem ready to give their lives for the well-being of the English people. Thus, the attitudes of the Indian servants are contradictory to the core of Indian nationalism.

As for religion, in *Shadow of the Moon*, it is clearly shown that Christian English people are against Indian nationalism, whereas Muslim Indians such as Niaz are also shown as against Indian nationalism. Like Niaz, some Muslim Indians contradictorily serve the interests of the British Empire. This depiction may be taken as a distortion of historical facts since Muslims were not liked by English people due to the historical fact that Muslim Indians were the ones who refused to serve Britain by starting riots within the British Army against the British *Raj* in order to revive the Muslim rule (Sahgal 57). In *Shadow of the Moon*, there are not any detailed depictions of the attitudes of Hindus towards Indian nationalism. Yet, it is implied that the sectarian conflicts among Hindu Indians and Muslim Indians may be manipulated by the British (Kaye 368) to decrease the Indians' power and to prevent them from uniting against the British Empire because the Indian Mutiny was one of the rare events in Indian history when all internal conflicts and sectarian differences were put aside.

After analysing the characters' social environment such as urban and rural environments, it is revealed that there are significant differences in the attitudes of urban and rural people towards Indian nationalism. Urban Indian people are revealed to be more politically oriented and more conscious in national issues in contrast to Indian villagers and peasants.

Also, the characters' educational backgrounds influence them to such an extent that Indian people who are educated in English schools tend to justify the British rule in India. However, in some cases it is observed that English education creates a sort of boomerang effect and enables the Indians to see the real value of India and arouses a will to become independent. Therefore, it may be claimed that Indians who are exposed to English education become either admirers[60] of the British Empire and traitors for their own country or ironically they become fierce patriots leading the national cause.

The seventh factor, age or one's experience, is also an important determinant in shaping one's nationalistic views and attitudes. In *Shadow of the Moon*, nearly all English people both young and old are against Indian nationalism, but there is a slight difference in their attitudes. Elderly English people do not question the British rule in India, but from time to time young English people have a critical mind and question it, though they still believe in it. With respect to young and old Indian people, it is observed that both young and old Indians take part in the national movement, but the young Indians are more passionate, active and more fierce. The old Indians act wisely and are in the background. They are mature and give advice in preparing and developing strategies against the British administration.

In *Shadow of the Moon*, Kaye seems to be suggesting that Indians are violent, lustful and are traitors. However, she does not openly use these terms but only makes implicit suggestions. For example, the violence of the Indians is implied by stating that even English children were killed in front of their mothers (Kaye 437 and 569); the Indians' "lustfulness" is underlined by illustrating that "[Mrs. Batterslea] had been raped before she died" (Kaye 475). Moreover, their being "traitors" is pointed out through the *sadhu*, a Hindu holy man, by giving a reference to Niaz's helping the English in India (Kaye 490). These examples illustrate that Kaye oscillates between a subjective, biased view and an objective view of Indian people in *Shadow of the Moon*.

Moreover, Kaye makes use of national stereotypes, such as the lustful savage (Kaye 475, 511). In order to have a better understanding of stereotyping and national

stereotypes, its meaning should be explained first. American journalist, Walter Lippman "used the term [of stereotype] metaphorically to describe fixed and exaggerated prejudices, which are held about members of other social groups" (qtd.in Leoussi 217) in the 1920s. Reasons which lie behind creating stereotypes are studied by social scientists and especially by social psychologists who reach the following conclusions:

> The idea was that prejudiced people do not see members of out-groups as individuals; instead, when they think of, or encounter, a member of another group, they have a preset view, or stereotype, of the characteristics which the individual possesses by virtue of belonging to the group. In this sense, a stereotype is a prejudgment based on group membership. National stereotypes refer to the preset views about members of national groups. (Leoussi 217)

This view may also be adopted to the case of Anglo-Indian relationships since English people perceive Indians as creatures, not as individual human beings. Hence, the English people, by categorising the Indians as creatures and by perceiving them as out-groups, employ the othering process to the Indians.

Stereotyping may originate from some psychological defence methods like the projection method:

> The notion of stereotyping has been central to a number of psychological theories such as that of "the authoritan personality"… Authoritarians… have a fear of ambiguity and a need to categorize the world clearly. In consequence, authoritarians have a hierarchical view, which divides the world into superior and inferior nations. The authoritarian's thinking is dominated by stereotypes, most principally negative stereotypes about out-groups and positive ones about their own group. Authoritarians are said to project their own denied desires onto the image of the despised out-group. (Leoussi 218)

Being an English person among the Indians, Kaye's descriptions of Indian characters may be explained with reference to the statement which argues that principally negative stereotypes are used for out-groups. In the *Dictionary of Education,* an out-group is

defined as "that group of persons toward whom we feel a sense of fear, dislike, and avoidance, and toward whom we have no sense of loyalty or cooperation (Good 268). On the other hand, positive stereotypes are used for in-groups. In the *Dictionary of Education,* an in-group is defined as "a group in which one belongs and whose customs and habits are shared and which is characterised by 'we' as opposed to 'they' (Good 268). Accordingly, Kaye[61] portrays the English people as the superior nation and the Indian people as the inferior nation.

Another feature of the stereotypes is that they "are not individual prejudgments or prejudices, but they reflect culturally shared beliefs about out-groups" (Leoussi 218). This may be seen in the case of Mary Margaret Kaye's attitude towards Indian people. A social psychologist, Henri Tajfel's, social identity theory also sheds light on the need of a person to belong to a group and a nation. In this theory, he explains how individuals attach themselves to nations in order to construct a group identity: "Nations are a form of individual categorization whereby members identify themselves with an in-group which is counterpoised to an 'OTHER' in order to develop a positive social identity. Stereotyping is employed to contrasting images of (good) self and (inadequate) Other' " (qtd. in Leoussi 216).

However, contrary to the prevalent image of the inadequate Other, through Ameera's husband Walayat Shah, Kaye seems to be trying to adopt an objective attitude and illustrates that not all Indian men or Muslim men are bad or barbarous. Muslim Indians, too, may have humane feelings and may have tenderness for people in need, regardless of their nationality and race. Walayat Shah has human dignity and he refuses to approve of the killing of the English children. In addition to Ameera's husband, an Indian shop-keeper, Dilatta Mull protects Winter from the mutineers (Kaye 447).Yet, Ameera's husband and Dilatta Mull are exceptions in *Shadow of the Moon*. Therefore, it can be concluded that Mary Margaret Kaye cannot help drawing the Indian characters under the influence of her Western education which implements the idea that the East is savage and should be enlightened and guided by the West. Thus, the Western/ English education made Kaye adopt a "paternalistic" (Memmi 76) attitude and as a result of this, she seems to suggest that without the help of the English people and English culture, the

Indian people cannot go beyond being mere savages; only if they are exposed to English culture, they could have a chance to be decent human beings.

In *Shadow of the Moon,* Kaye creates English and Indian people from different racial, religious, urban and rural and educational backgrounds and through these characters, she expresses her ideas on colonial issues and on Indian nationalism. In the light of all the examples given so far from *Shadow of the Moon*, it may be suggested that Mary Margaret Kaye is against Indian nationalism and Indian independence since she adopts the paternalistic attitude and believes in the continuity of the British rule in India, which may stand for the general attitude of the English people towards Indian nationalism:

> India was declared to be inherently unfit [by the English people] for self-government and democracy - this inherence being the product of India's climate and history and racial composition, Indians were to be a permanently child-people who must be ruled despotically - though perhaps benevolently - by the more vigorous race of Anglo-Saxons. (Chandra 1999, 65)

Consequently, in the 1950s English people are unable to give their consent to the independence of India, and insist on seeing it as a child-nation which is in need of Britain's guidance and protection. And the same English attitude is reflected in *Shadow of the Moon* by Mary Margaret Kaye as well. Thus, the anti-Indian nationalist attitude in the novel should not only be attributed to Mary Margaret Kaye, but also to the English culture and the socio-political context in her time.

CHAPTER II
JAMES GORDON FARRELL: *THE SIEGE OF KRISHNAPUR*

James Gordon Farrell was born in Liverpool on 23 January 1935, to an English father and an Irish mother. His father's family is originally from the Republic of Ireland and though they have an Irish Catholic name, they were Protestants and had settled in Liverpool (Crane 27) after their life in the Indian sub-continent, East Bengal (Binns 29) which was a part of the British Empire in India and where his father worked in the rubber industry. His family's experience of India may have inspired him to write about the British Empire and India (Crane 13). Binn states:

> In those days Chittagong [the place where Farrell's parents lived in East Bengal] was a small isolated port with a population of only eighty or so Europeans. This was the period of the 'freedom riots' and the situation was threatening for the white expatriate population. Farrell's father was himself shot and wounded (although not seriously) in a raid on the armoury at Chittagong. Farrell showed a keen interest in his father's Indian experiences. (29)

As observed in his famous Empire Trilogy which consists of "*Troubles* (1970), *The Siege of Krishnapur* (1973) and *The Singapore Grip* (1978)" (Bergonzi 42), Farrell has a keen interest in British imperial policies as well. These three novels present three different aspects of the decline and fall of the British Empire. In *Troubles*, the period of Irish history from 1919 to 1920 is scrutinised in *The Siege of Krishnapur,* the Indian Mutiny of 1857 is depicted, and in *The Singapore Grip,* the fall of Singapore to the Japanese during the Second World War is dealt with (Crane 13). Thus, in the Trilogy the main theme is the attacks against the British colonial rule in general. Descriptions of these attacks become more vivid and realistic because Farrell's childhood covered the years of the Second World War (Binns 23) and he lived in Paris during the Vietnam War protests. Moreover, he worked in Arctic Canada, and at various times travelled in America, Morocco, and Asia (Crane 26). Considering his above-mentioned experiences of war and his Anglo-Irish background, Farrell may be expected to be more sensitive than Kaye towards the colonial issues.

Farrell's interest in history and in writing historical novels was rewarded with literary prizes. In 1971, he was given the Faber Memorial Prize for *Troubles* and then in 1973 the Booker Prize for *The Siege of Krishnapur* ("James Gordon Farrell"), which dealing with the Indian Mutiny of 1857, also deals with "the disruption of and overthrow of European imperialism throughout the world, of which the Indian Mutiny was an early anticipation; and the precariousness of civilization itself" (Bergonzi 63).

At the award ceremony for the Booker Prize, Farrell surprised everyone by making a fierce verbal attack on the donors of the prize, the multinational firm Booker-McConnell, bitterly accusing them of exploiting and underpaying their black employees in the West Indies (Binns 31). However, this was not very surprising for those who knew Farrell closely:

> In fact Farrell's interest in politics had developed many years earlier when he was a student at Oxford. His mother remembers Farrell developing into a passionate socialist and coming home in the holidays to rail against his bourgeois background. Farrell's friend the journalist Malcolm Dean identified the novelist as a 'romantic socialist idealist'. (Binns 31)

In 1979, Farrell returned to Ireland. He drowned on 11 August 1979 while fishing (Crane 36). He was buried in the cemetery of St. James's Church in Durrus ("James Gordon Farrell").

The Siege of Krishnapur (1973) is based on a historically true event, the Indian Mutiny. However, the setting is Krishnapur instead of Lucknow[62]. As Crane states,

> [t]he action of *The Siege of Krishnapur* is set during the so-called 'Indian Mutiny' of 1857 and thus it does seem to belong to a particularly ideology-laden sub-genre of the adventure story, the 'Mutiny novel'... Farrell's siege occurs in the fictitious town of Krishnapur ('city of Krishna'), where Mr. Hopkins, the middle-aged

> 'Collector' of taxes for the District, heads a small garrison of British administrators and members of the military and their families. They become trapped in the elegant Residency on the Indian plain by the sepoy [sic] rebellion, defending themselves against attacks for three months before a relief force arrives. (84)

In *The Siege of Krishnapur* during the *sepoys'* rebellion English people in India go through very difficult times. The British government in Calcutta does not take the rebellion seriously. Therefore, they are unable to take measures against the *sepoys* on time. These neglectful attitudes of the English authorities lead to the death of many English and Indian people. Contrary to English assumptions, the *sepoys* manage to spread the Mutiny throughout India day by day and they resist the British Empire longer than expected. Similar to *Shadow of the Moon,* in *The Siege of Krishnapur* too the first omen of the Mutiny is the deliverance of five *chappatis*, the special Indian bread, which is used as a sign to show the coming of the Mutiny. Only very few foresighted English people are able to grasp the fact that it is a signal for the coming of bad events. News of rebellions at Meerut, Calcutta come to the ears of the English authorities, but they continue to deny the existence of a Mutiny. They rely on the mistaken assumption that Indian people would not dare break the *sahib*'s word, and thus they are not worth being feared. Meanwhile, the *sepoys* continue to put their plans into action and they surround the English Residency in Krishnapur. The English community in the Residency begins to lose their hope of survival, but with the Collector's efforts they succeed to keep their morale high. Eventually, the English relief forces come to their rescue and the British control over India is regained.

"In *The Siege of Krishnapur*," argues Binns, "Farrell's interest lies less in the causes of the Mutiny or its historical developments than in the condition of an isolated community caught up in the dramatic experience of being besieged" (80). Farrell takes "histories and memoirs of the Siege of Lucknow[63]" (Binns 80) as the basis for his novel, thus making a slight change in the setting. He further omits some historical truths to disguise the fact that English people are not wanted in India: "This allowed Farrell to use history in a very flexible way. During the Siege of Lucknow loyal Indians left the city and passed through the sepoy [sic] lines with messages for Brigadier Havelock, who was a

leading relief column. Nothing like this occurs in *The Siege of Krishnapur,* since Farrell is interested in emphasizing the utter isolation of his embattled community" (Binns 80).

Farrell focuses not only on the isolation of the English, but also on their sufferings, whereas he remains indifferent to the sufferings of the Indian people. He seems to look at the Mutiny just from one side, from the English side:

> ...*The Siege of Krishnapur* also has its historical absences. The ugly end to the Mutiny, with massive and bloody reprisals inflicted indiscriminately upon sepoys [sic] and Indian civilians alike, is simply omitted in the chronological leap from September 1857 to the late 1870s which takes place at the end of the novel. At no point during the siege do Farrell's English characters discuss the motives of the sepoys [sic] or how they would like to punish them for their monstrous insubordination. Indeed, they do not discuss them at all, other than in relation to matters of strategy. (Binns 80)

As it is stated above, Farrell does not mention political or military violence against the Indians for their daring to ask for more freedom in their own homeland.

V.G.Kiernan, in his critique of the illustration of imperialism in the *New Cambridge Modern History,* has complained that "[a]trocities committed on both sides [on the English and Indian side] during the Indian Mutiny are only fleetingly mentioned. Imperial history altogether was a vastly more painful business…" (qtd. in Binns 80). Farrell's descriptions give us glimpses of the situation of India during the Mutiny. Thus, only brief moments of sorrow and violence are presented. Atrocities committed during the Mutiny are not given in detail, but just implied or simply ignored. By ignoring the dark side of the British *Raj*, Farrell tries to justify the British rule in India.

Moreover, when the whole novel is scrutinised, it can be seen that many atrocities committed against the Indian people in the Mutiny days are not referred to and are simply ignored. However, the sufferings of the English, especially the fear of English women of being raped, is referred to during the siege of the English Residency (Farrell 224).

Though, Farrell tends to take sides with the British Empire, he is not carried away with the British victory over the *sepoys.* As stated by Crane,

> [u]nlike other Mutiny writers Farrell does not celebrate the end of the siege as a great victory for the British. The colonisers may have won the battle (though at terrible cost to both sides), but there are no fanfares, no sense of a glorious success, merely the bathos of a few filthy, ragged, starving survivors so changed that, significantly, they are hardly able to communicate with their rescuers. Farrell shows that this temporary win is far less important than the fact that the British have begun the century-long process of losing the ideological war. The security of Empire is over. (93-94)

In an interview in 1978 with George Brock from the *Observer Magazine* (Binns 11), Farrell remarks, "[i]t seemed to me that the really interesting thing that's happened during my lifetime has been the decline of the British Empire. When I was a child it was very much a going concern" (qtd. in Binns 16-17). Furthermore, Colin Cross states:

> [i]n 1918 the Empire contained over a quarter of the world's population and dominated over a quarter of the world's land surface. Fifty years later virtually all British colonies had been granted independence and Britain had become in essence a solely European power: 'So far as the end of the British Empire can be set at a definite point of time, it was the afternoon of 19 January 1968, when the Labour Prime Minister, Harold Wilson, announced the final homecoming of the British legions.' Farrell's trilogy is implicitly about the decline of modern Britain and significantly he selected moments in history which involved blows to imperial self-esteem and a loss of cultural self-confidence. (qtd. in Binns 16-17)

When the events in 1973, the publication date of *The Siege of Krishnapur,* are taken into consideration, it is observed that Britain needed to assert her power in the world:

> In mid-1973, India and Pakistan signed an agreement providing for the release of prisoners of war captured in 1971 and calling for peace and friendship on the Indian subcontinent. Also in 1973, India's ties with the USSR were strengthened by a new aid agreement that considerably increased Soviet economic assistance; at the same time, relations with the United States improved somewhat. In 1974, India became the world's sixth nuclear power by exploding an underground nuclear device in the Thar Desert in Rajasthan state. ("India in the Late Twentieth Century")

To assert her power, in 1971, Britain signed treaties with other countries situated in the Indian Ocean[64] and with the United States of America ("EU Relations with British Indian Ocean Territory"). Thus, in the 1970s India's power was on the rise, whereas Britain's power, compared to her Imperial days, was on the decline. Therefore, the theme of the power of the British Empire was an issue to be avoided because of the sensitivity of the English people towards this unfortunate matter. About the significance of the British Empire in the eye of the English people, Spivak says, "imperialism, understood as England's social mission, was a crucial part of the cultural representation of England to the English" (qtd. in Crane 99). The failure of the Empire created a crisis in "the cultural representation of England to the English, which was still being acutely felt in Farrell's 1950s and 1960s Britain" (Crane 99). A decade later, in 1973, in *The Siege of Krishnapur,* the same longing or "nostalgia for the good old times of the empire" (Nicora 356) can be observed. This nostalgic attitude towards imperial days is defined as "the *Raj* revival" by Salman Rushdie (87).

Although, Farrell, too, was in favour of the continuation of the *Raj,* he could not escape becoming the target of severe criticism because of his style in *The Siege of Krishnapur.* As Binns states,

> ...*The Siege of Krishnapur*... is really far too funny to convey effectively the underlying seriousness of Farrell's critique of Empire. Certainly one never feels that Farrell's amiable cast of characters… is seriously or reprehensibly involved in

> colonial exploitation or repression. Farrell's treatment of Empire is rather different from Forster's or George Orwell's since the predominantly comic tone of his narrative conjures away the problem of evil. (79-80)

Evidently, Farrell was exposed to severe criticism because of the usage of a comic tone in his novel when dealing with a serious issue such as a siege or a Mutiny and also for depicting the English in a comic tone at times. His comic tone attracts the readers' attention in scenes of daily life such as his depiction of English people with their heavy clothes in the heat of India and their fussiness[65] about their clothes and their food during the siege of the English Residency. Their concern for their clothes goes beyond the limits of reason; Dr. McNab has to warn the English community and the Collector for wearing the right clothes for the climate after,

> hearing that it was the Collector's order that these children continued to wear velvet, flanel and wool, while the other children in the cantonment were dressed in cotton or muslin for the hot weather. Even as children, it seemed, they had a position to keep up in the community. Only perhaps in the hottest period, when he chanced to notice how red-faced his offspring had become, might the Collector permit a change to summer clothing. (Farrell 61)

As it is stated above, even as children, the English had to keep up appearances during dangerous times and this creates laughter. In another instance, the narrator emphasises such a trivial detail like Louise Dunstaple's wearing no longer the poultice of flour in order to reflect the harshness of life conditions for the English people, which further contributes to the comic tone in *The Siege of Krishnapur* since within the context of a siege, the poultice is the last thing to think about. Another good example to the comic tone in *The Siege of Krishnapur* is the following passage:

> Louise Dunstaple, who had once been so fair, now looked like some consumptive Irish girl you might find walking the London streets; in spite of the angry red spots on her pale brow she no longer wore the poultice of flour… the temptation had been too much for her and she had eaten it. To make things worse the women had now discovered lice in their hair. (Farrell 257)

Afterwards, the English women without lice begin to behave with malice towards the ones with lice. Within the context of a siege, their anxiety arising out of trivial things such as their exaggerated concern and fussiness about their appearance and their vanity seem so unnatural and strange that these points create laughter and add a comic tone to the novel. It is noticeable that from the beginning to the end of the novel, Farrell preserves his comic tone, which is directed against the English, not against the Indian people. This mocking attitude towards the English should not be perceived as Farrell's giving support to Indian nationalism, but on the contrary Farrell wants the English colonisers to follow the right methods of colonialism so that the Indians would not want to rebel against the British *Raj*. Farrell also suggests that instead of focusing on trivial matters such as their make-up and costumes, the English should concentrate on the ways and strategies of improving their relations with the Indian people such as learning Indian culture better in order to establish a stronger and long-lasting dominance over India.

His few depictions of the Indians are limited mainly to crowds in *The Siege of Krishnapur;* except the *Maharaj* and his son Hari, which shows Farrell's tendency to deny the existence of the Indians in the British-India. However, the adjectives used in defining the Indians give clues about Farrell's contemptuous[66] attitude towards them. For instance, Indian soldiers are depicted as "naked" (Farrell 71) and "barefoot" (Farrell 74) so as to suggest that they are so poor that they cannot be imagined to establish their own country or defend their country. His reference to Indian soldiers' nakedness also imply their resemblance to beasts as they do not have the basic items such as clothes and shoes to wear, not to mention guns. Moreover, the Indian Prime Minister is referred to as "the so-called Prime Minister," (Farrell 71) which shows Farrell's lack of respect for the Indian Prime Minister and on the whole, for India as well. The Prime Minister is drawn like a cartoon figure; despite being a prime minister, he seems to be incapable of any decision-making. The image of an incapable Prime Minister serves to justify the British *Raj* in India. Furthermore, Hari and the Prime Minister are kept as captives (Farrell 225) in the novel in order to show their misery and to insult the honour of the

Indian nation. Thus, his few depictions of the Indians, as a crowd, as *sepoys,* reveal his lack of will to recognise the Indians as individuals.

Another instance for the comic tone can be observed when Lieutenant George Foxlett Cutter rides his horse into the drawing room while trying to act heroically:

> [T]he young Lieutenant Cutter demonstrates his idea of the heroic by riding his horse into the drawing room, jumping it over a sofa, attacking the cushions with a sabre, and terrifying the women and the Indian servants. Although he does act 'heroically' in the subsequent siege, Cutter's sudden death, when it comes, seems 'disconcertingly trivial.' (90)

Thus, Cutter's riding the horse into the living room and his attack on the cushions are used in *The Siege of Krishnapur* for comic effect. But the comic tone in the depiction of the English characters aims to show that "the English should improve their colonial strategies and not make fools of themselves while trying to colonise the other" (Bozer Seminar Notes).

Moreover, in order to be perceived as a brave soldier by the young English girls, Fleury's efforts to be a good fighter while fighting with a *sepoy* (Farrell 322) seems funny, since he is a romantic person and the role of a heroic soldier does not fit him. The scene of the fight between Fleury and a *sepoy* adds to the comic element in *The Siege of Krishnapur.* Through the usage of comic tone, parody and mock-epic "the heroic is ironized and conventional ideas of heroism called into question" (Morey 115). And this point is further supported:

> For example, the young romantic hero Fleury exchanges his threadbare garments for a green suit cut from the baize of a billiard, which makes him resemble that archetypical English hero Robin Hood, but which also has the unfortunate consequence of rendering him a highly visible and popular target for sepoy snipers… (Morey 115)

In another scene, Fleury and Harry Dunstaple are in pursuit of a heroic action, that of rescuing the English women:

> While the Collector was observing the slow demolition of the mosque Harry Dunstaple, attended by Fleury and a couple of Sikh *sowars,* had gone to rescue the "fallen woman" [Miss Hughes] from the *dak* bungalow… this was exactly the sort of daring and noble enterprise that appealed to the two young men's imaginations, rescuing girls at the gallop was very much their cup of tea, they thought. (Farrell 109)

Farrell depicts these two English men, who follow their sexual urges, rather then their duties in order to criticise the English who put the British *Raj* at stake by following their personal benefits and by losing their belief in the white man's burden.

Another comic incidence which depicts the fight between the *sepoys* and the English people (including the Collector) during which the latter use teaspoons and forks is as follows:

> Below nothing was moving, but there appeared to be a carpet of dead [sic] bodies. But then he [the Collector] realized that many of these bodies were indeed moving, but not very much. A sepoy [sic] here was trying to remove a silver fork from one of his lungs, another had received a piece of lightning-conductor in his kidneys. A sepoy [sic] with a green turban had had his spine shattered by "The Spirit of Science"; others had been struck down by teaspoons, by fish-knives, by marbles; an unfortunate *subadar* had been plucked from this world by the silver sugar-tongs embedded in his brain. (Farrell 317)

In the passage above, the process of the decline of the British Empire in India is illustrated by giving reference to the wrong policies of the English authorities and the wrong behaviour of the English people in India. As it is mentioned in the passage above, the English use violence against the Indians. Farrell is pointing out that the use of violence against the civilians in India is one of the wrong policies of the English authorities there.

Moreover, instruments of civilisation such as a fork becomes a means of destruction since the English use them as weapons. Hence, rather than civilisation, the English bring violence and bloodshed to India. Thus, Farrell believes in colonisation through persuasion, not colonisation through violence. He mocks the English, so that they could see their mistakes and learn from these mistakes. Farrell by drawing bad examples and by mocking the English, in fact tries to raise the consciousness of the English people about the importance of the application of the right methods of colonisation.

In addition, Farrell may be suggesting that if more sound policies had been followed, the Indian Mutiny and Indian nationalism may not have been realised. Thus, he focuses on the process rather than on the end. The scene above is illustrative of his focus on the process since the usage of forks and sugar-tongs as weapons is in conflict with the British claim of bringing civilisation to the backward people or places. By depicting the English people using "forks and sugar-tongs as instruments of killing and violence, rather than instruments used in civilised life, Farrell criticises the colonial wrongs such as the use of violence by the English authorities during the British *Raj*" (Bozer Seminar Notes). In other words, he "is concerned with the gap between imperial ideals and imperial practice[s]" (Taylor 41). Despite the claims of the English people having a superior and a deep-rooted civilisation as it is also illustrated through the statues of Plato and Socrates in the novel, the invalidity of this claim becomes apparent in the passage below:

> European civilization is personified by the giant marble busts of Plato and Socrates that gaze implacably over the hostile plain, and which provide cover for Harry Dunstaple's cannon on the ramparts. Their final appearance, 'terribly pocked by round shot and musket-fire', reveals the inability of Western systems of thought to contain and 'speak for' the East… With his collection of artefacts from the Great Exhibition, the Collector begins the novel as the embodiment of that part of Victorianism which sought to exploit the potential offered by cultural and technological innovation to bring Western civilization to the 'uncivilized' East. The wealth engendered by capitalism (and colonialism of course) should also be used to this end. [However, towards the end of the novel the Collector seems to realise that India has a significant civilisation of its own.] He says, 'It's not simply

> to acquire wealth, but to acquire through wealth, that superior way of life which we loosely term civilization and which includes so many things… both spiritual and practical'… (Morey 116).

Eventually the Collector realises two facts; first, the inability of the English to bring "civilisation" to India, as they end up bringing bloodshed and violence and secondly, the Indians actually already have a civilisation of their own. Thus, Farrell seems to be making the following points: In order to have a long-lasting colony in India, the English have to accept that indigenous people have their own unique culture, which deserves the respect of the English as well. After accepting the uniqueness of indigenous cultures, English colonisers should learn to mingle with the Indians more easily and to colonise Indian society, not from the outside but from within the Indian society. The English coloniser should know the Indian society so well that he should manipulate their weaknesses and should prove that the British rule is the ideal rule for Indians. They should rule India through persuasion and through the consent of the Indians themselves, not through violence.

Farrell criticises the wrong behaviours of the Indian administrators through Hari, who would in the future hold an important position in the administration of India since he is the son of the *Maharaj*. As an Anglophile, his lack of respect for his own culture, for Indian way of life and his inferiority complex become the target of Farrell's criticism:

> Near a fireplace of marble inlaid with garnets, lapis lazuli and agate, the Maharaj's [sic] son sat on a chair constructed entirely of antlers, eating a boiled egg and reading *Blackwood's Magazine*. Beside the chair a large cushion on the floor still bore the impression of where he had been sitting a moment earlier; he preferred squatting on the floor to the discomfort of chairs but feared that his English visitors might regard this as backward. (Farrell 72)

The passage above is one of the rare passages where Farrell directs his criticism towards the Indians. In this scene, by criticising and by underlining Hari's mistakes, Farrell suggests that Indians are not capable of administering India as it is illustrated in the person of Hari. An Indian prince, who is blind to the uniqueness of his own culture and

imitates the English, cannot satisfy the expectations and needs of a large country like India. Thus, through the criticism of Hari, Farrell justifies the British rule in India. He implies that India is in need of British guidance because of not having qualified Indian princes, kings or administrators. Like Hari, his father the *Maharajah* is depicted in a negative way. Throughout *The Siege of Krishnapur* money, jewels and naked girls are mentioned as his only concern, not India's progress. Thus, the *Maharajah* is drawn as a corrupt man, who is not good enough to administer India.

Hence, a close look at *The Siege of Krishnapur* has revealed that the number of passages criticising[67] the English, yet in a comic tone, outnumber the ones criticising the Indians. Nonetheless, this should not be misinterpreted and should not be concluded that Farrell has sympathy for the Indians or for Indian nationalism. On the contrary, he does support British imperialism, but he sheds a light on the wrong deeds of the British Empire in order to suggest that if more sound policies had been followed, India could still be a part of Britain today.

Moreover, Farrell makes good use of metaphors in *The Siege of Krishnapur.* Even the title itself is metaphorical and this is explained in the following words by Farrell himself in an interview with Malcolm Dean from the *Guardian* on 1 September 1973; "[a siege] is a microcosm of real life and [the] human condition - hostility all around you with the individual in a rather temporary shelter" (qtd. in Binns 18). Considering this explanation, it can be suggested that Farrell foresees the coming end of the British Empire and feels the rising hostility of the Indian people against the English people. If this is evaluated within the context of the British *Raj,* and applied to Anglo-Indian relationships more precisely, Farrell may be fearing that the English people are so vulnerable against the problems which may arise unexpectedly in India that they will have a temporary existence there, not a permanent one. As Binns suggests,

> [t]he bomb attack [childhood experience of Farrell] on 'Boscobel' in 1941 and the 1956 polio attack seem to have combined to colour Farrell's vision of human existence as frail, insecure and temporary. In Farrell's mature fiction human beings and their communities are in perpetual states of siege, battered by circumstance both from without and within. (23)

The best example for such a vulnerable, insecure and ill man may be the Collector. He is an English man with myopia and his myopia should not only be taken literally, but also metaphorically. He can see the near future, the uprising of the *sepoys,* but cannot see the distant future, the end of the British Empire. Related to the Collector's illness,[68] Crane argues that,

> [t]elescopes cannot help the Collector's cultural myopia or his Whig view of history, but the siege itself provides the displacement which unsettles his deeply entrenched habits of sight and thought. His resulting illness (one of the recurring metaphors of disease and decay, both personal and imperial, here as in *Troubles*), is significantly a problem of the eyes. It leads him to retire to bed at noon, a sign of cultural and ideological disorientation. When he recovers he becomes not a collector but a disperser, giving instructions for the removal of everything possible out to the ramparts. He realises that his confidence in the superiority of his own time over all past times has quite vanished. (100)

After the loss of his faith in the superiority of his Anglo-Saxon culture over the Indian culture, the Collector, namely Mr. Hopkins, utters the following lines, "[c]ulture is a sham… It's a cosmetic painted on life by rich people to conceal its ugliness" (Farrell 343). At the end of *The Siege of Krishnapur*, the Collector realises that Indian and British cultures are totally different (Farrell 226) and consequently two different things cannot be compared and categorised as superior or inferior to one another.

In the novel, not only the Collector, but also General Jackson suffers from illnesses. As Binns suggests, these illnesses are not only reflections of historical or environmental truths but they are also metaphorical:

> In *The Siege of Krishnapur* "sickness functions as a metaphor for the rottenness of the imperial order. The Joint Magistrate is absent from Krishnapur, having 'gone to

> the hills for a cure from which it was feared he would not return'(p.42). The collector's wife is in poor health and is despatched home to England; her youngest child has died of ill-health only six months earlier. Dr McNab's wife has died from cholera. Mr Donnelly dies of a heart attack and so, too, does Dr.Dunstaple. During the course of the siege Mrs Scott gives birth but the baby is stillborn and she herself expires shortly afterwards. In August two more babies are born and one dies almost immediately. Little Mar Porter dies. This inventory of sickness and death is in a sense more credible and realistic than that found in Troubles [sic], since India in the nineteenth century was a land with a high mortality rate amongst Europeans. (69-70)

Binns further expresses that the cholera outbreak in the English Residency can also be taken as the "manifestation of moral decay and sickness". In addition, as mentioned above, the Collector suffers from an illness called erysipelas and therefore he is delirious. He recovers when he abandons his social idealism, which may be interpreted as his obsession with civilisation, which is a psychological illness. Not only cholera and erysipelas, but "partial blindness" and "swollen heads" begin to influence the English community and these health problems become the "physiological manifestation of their moral myopia" (Binns 71).

Moreover, General Jackson's poor mental health metaphorically stands for the unhealthy-decisions taken by the British government in India, such as retarding the disarming of the *sepoys* and ignoring Indians' capacity to implement national consciousness among their countrymen. General Jackson becomes the embodiment of all these wrong decisions as they are in the same line with his physical qualities, too. He is over seventy; his memory and his perceptive faculties are very poor, but because of his age and his seniority he is promoted General. He considers that the Collector exaggerates the events like all civilians. He sees no reason for the disarming of the *sepoys*. He cannot evaluate the uprising in Meerut properly and "[h]e refused to accept that the fires indicated disaffection among the sepoys and said so, testily… thinking, however, that Hopkins and Willoughby could hardly be blamed, in a way, because they were civilians and, like all civilians, spent their time either in pettifogging or in 'croaking' " (Farrell 65).

Though, General Jackson is not taking the Collector's warnings and ideas into serious account, the Collector represents the English race, the English values[69] and the English attitudes towards life. In *The Siege of Krishnapur,* the Collector is the representative of the Company. Therefore he is the stereotype of a nineteenth century English man in India, who is a believer in British colonial policies. Even his choice of a job as a collector is functional and is used functionally by Farrell. As Crane suggests "his 'collecting' represents the whole British philosophy which urges the accumulation not only of objects but of colonisable (usable) countries, a philosophy of dominion, possession, materialism, all in the name of 'the spread of civilization' "(94).

Especially in the passages depicting the Collector's defence-strategies against the *sepoys* and in the passages where he gives morale to other English people in the Residency, it is shown that he believes in the continuity of the British rule in India by claiming that it is beneficial for the indigenous people. As opposed to him, Fleury, a young English man, questions the superiority of the English culture over the Indian culture. Therefore, Mark Saunders suggests that Hopkins, the Collector and Fleury, "each embody [sic] warring sides of Farrell's own psyche" (457). In the passage below, Fleury's and the Collector's ideas are compared:

> The Collector had been discoursing in an objective way on the perplexing question of why, after a hundred years of beneficial rule in Bengal, the natives should have taken it into their heads to return to the anarchy of their ancestors. One or two mistakes, however serious, made by the military in their handling of religious matters, were surely no reason for rejecting a superior culture as a whole. (Farrell 170)

The Collector here ignores the assumption that religion is an important factor in the constitution of national identity and national culture (Delanty 150-151). In *The Siege of Krishnapur,* many English people think that English culture is superior and should be accepted by the Indians as the only true culture. Fleury rejects this argument by developing a counter-argument on the basis of refusing civilisation altogether. He suggests that "[i]t's wrong to talk of a 'superior civilization'

because there isn't such a thing. *All* civilization is bad. It mars the noble and natural instincts of the heart. Civilization is decadence!" (Farrell 171). Fleury further supports his argument by emphasising that civilisation brings bombs and death (Farrell 173). The Collector stubbornly prefers to turn a deaf ear to Fleury's arguments and preserves his belief in the white man's burden.

Even the name of the Collector's collection of statues and small scientific objects, which was intended as the title for Farrell's novel in the beginning, reflects his belief in the white man's burden. Crane remarks that,

> [o]ne of the statues owned by the Collector is an allegorical group of figures called 'The Spirit of Science Conquers Ignorance and Prejudice', a phrase which sums up part of this ideological justification, and one which Farrell at first planned to use as the title for this novel. A phrase which was sincerely meant and without irony in its time is full of irony in almost any circumstances now, but most particularly as the title for this self-aware fiction in which the Collector and his Exhibition voice the 'shaping concept of history' which justifies the enterprise of colonisation. (94)

Farrell's intention in using the statement "The Spirit of Science Conquers Ignorance and Prejudice" reflects his negative attitude towards Indian nationalism because here science stands for the British Empire and ignorance and prejudice stand for India. Farrell may have given up using this phrase as the title, since the word "conquer" is pejorative, depicting the English as invaders who kill other people for the sake of gaining more land and power. Finally, Farrell makes his mind up on "*The Siege of Krishnapur"*. In this title, he associates the negative images with the Indians, as they raised a siege around Krishnapur. The irony is that in their own land, they are defined as invaders, whereas the real invaders like the Collector are depicted in a positive light. Therefore, critics such as Bristow-Smith praises the Collector, instead of criticising him: "[i]t is certainly true that the Collector represents the conscience of British imperialism, since he embodies its most humane and idealistic side" (qtd. in Crane 95). However, from another point of view, the Collector can be seen as a heartless coloniser, greedy for new

lands and new objects, not as an idealist. Therefore, Bernard Bergonzi describes him as the "expansive side of the Victorian consciousness" (62). Paradoxically, in *The Siege of Krishnapur* the Collector and all the English people in Krishnapur are portrayed as the victim rather than the victimiser. Hence, sympathy is aroused for the sufferings of the English and for their insistence on living in India.

Likewise, the references to the Great Exhibition works in two opposing ways to show the two different facets of the British Empire. On one side, the power of the British Empire, on the other, its fragility in the face of anarchy is shown. John McLeod in 'Exhibiting Empire in J.G. Farrell's *The Siege of Krishnapur'* argues:

> Farrell's "use of the Exhibition" is "to reveal the collection as the display/performance of imperialist culture and order. … Farrell uses the collection to demonstrate the inherent fragility of the colonially imposed order. The gathering of objects in any collection or exhibition imposes a taxonomy which draws together under a new heading a group of disparate objects, but the new group is always threatening to disperse into its original individualities. Each single object is a startling reminder of the potential for separation and anarchy." (qtd. in Crane 96)

In fact, the Collector has fears about the fragility of the colonially imposed order from the beginning of *The Siege of Krishnapur*; he is one of the first who foresees the coming of the Mutiny. Due to this fear, he suggests to "disarm the native regiments" (Farrell 65) to prevent them from rebelling, as they did before in Meerut. Rumours of the Mutiny received the least attention from the English authorities, except the Collector: "Only the Collector remained convinced that trouble was coming" (Farrell 14). As a measure, "[h]e ordered the digging of a deep trench combined with a thick wall of earth 'for drainage during the monsoon' all the way round the perimeter of the Residency compound" (Farrell 15). The Magistrate and one of the railway engineers find his measures exaggerated. He is exposed to severe criticism and disapproval as indicated in the following words, "[w]ord of the Collector's behaviour in Calcutta had already come back to the barracks, together with mocking comments from brother officers at other stations" (Farrell 44). Yet, he does what he believes right and takes measures just in case a Mutiny breaks out.

Moreover, the Collector has a strong sense of responsibility towards his nation and his people. He says, "[i]t's my duty. I have a duty towards the women and children under my protection" (Farrell 61). Since he disagrees with the prevailing belief that the *sepoys* would not attack the English Residency in Krishnapur, he orders the establishment of the mud ramparts to protect the Residency. Later, upon the General's assurance that he is "in complete control of the situation" (Farrell 66), the Collector does not take immediate measures and waits:

> A week of indecision passed. News came of a massacre at Delhi but still the Collector hesitated to give the order for women and children to be brought into the Residency; he could see that there was some truth in what the General had said about showing fear; on the other hand, he continued surreptitiously to collect powder and provisions to store in the Residency in spite of the General's disapproval. What he most needed were cannons and muskets or, even better, rifles… but he could not ask Captainganj to supply them without risking a fatal breach with the old General. (Farrell 66)

The English community in Krishnapur is divided into two; some of them are on the side of taking measures against the *sepoys,* whereas others, like the followers of the General, prefer to deny "India's nascent nationalism" (Stern 107) and prefer to have a "display of confidence" (Farrell 66) in order not to create an unnecesssary panic among the English people and in order not to create self-confidence among the *sepoys*. It is possible that if the *sepoys* see that the English people do not take them into consideration, then they will be discouraged and disperse. However, it is seen that the prudent English people are right since the *sepoys* arrive at Krishnapur to take the control of the English Residency. The Collector is one of these foresighted and prudent English who does everything to take measures beforehand considering the *sepoys "*might make a surprise attack" (Farrell 208). Even under these circumstances, the Collector manages to keep the morale of his followers high. One way to keep their morale high is to use national values, national symbols and national honour. Therefore, he makes sure,

> [f]rom the beginning of the siege, the union Jack had floated from the highest point of the Residency roof and had constantly drawn the fire of the sepoy sharpshooters… the flag was crucial to the morale of the garrison; it reminded one that one was fighting for something more important than one's own skin… (Farrell 180)

During the siege, the English people suffer from hunger, diseases and violence and naturally, they lose their hope of freedom. The Collector being an honourable man, makes plans: if the worst is to come, he would kill all the English people to prevent them from being captives in the hands of the *sepoys* (Farrell 308). Towards the end of the novel, he begins to oscillate between feelings of hope and despair. At one point in *The Siege of Krishnapur*, he is described as sitting exhausted on an oak throne. Binns suggests that "[t]he Collector, like a medieval baron, ends up sitting on an oak throne which has lost one of its four legs - a striking emblem of his vanished authority and personal instability" (77). Yet, considering the Collector's strong belief in the high self-esteem of the English nation and the sustainability of the well-being of his people until the end of the siege, it seems to be otherwise. Eventually, he is rescued by the British relief forces and all ends well. Thus, the Collector and in his person, the British Empire preserve their authority until the end of *The Siege of Krishnapur*.

Binns suggests that the Collector's returning to his home, to England, at the end is a foreshadowing for the end of the British Empire: "Alone of the characters in *The Siege of Krishnapur* the Collector is emotionally maimed by the experience of siege, and returns to England in a mood of depression and disillusion. By the end of the book his idealism and optimism are blasted and his mood is… dejected and perturbed" (75), but one thing is indisputable that at the end, the Collector understands that "a people, a nation doesn't create itself according to its own best ideas, but is shaped by other forces, of which it has little knowledge" (Farrell 343). The Collector's theory might be applied to the case of India: India was shaped by other forces, first by the Mughal Empire and then by the British Empire. Karl Marx in "The Future Results of British Rule in India" states:

> Such a country and such a society, were they not the predestined prey of conquest? If we knew nothing of the past history of Hindostan, would there not be the one great and incontestable fact, that even at this moment India is held in English thraldom by an Indian army maintained at the cost of India? India, then, could not escape the fate of being conquered, and the whole of her past history, if it be anything, is the history of the successive conquests she has undergone. Indian society has no history at all, at least no known history. What we call its history, is but the history of the successive intruders who founded their empires on the passive basis of that unresisting and unchanging society. The question, therefore, is not whether the English had a right to conquer India, but whether we are to prefer India conquered by the Turk, by the Persian, by the Russian, to India conquered by the Briton. (5)

Accordingly, the novel's ending too suggests that British forces would go on shaping India for the time being since Britain seems to be the most promising party in the Great Game or in the race for colonialism.

Another important English character in *The Siege of Krishnapur* is Fleury. In spite of the English blood in his veins, he is in the habit of questioning the so-called services of the English race in India. At this point, he is extraordinary and eccentric. He is an Oxford graduate whose mother died in India twenty years ago (Farrrell 18) and he came to India to write[70] a book/report about India. He may be described as an idealist liberal humanist since he has a more positive approach towards the Indian people in general; but his attitude towards the *sepoys* is ambivalent. Fleury is a new comer and does not know India well, so he cannot make up his mind whether the English people, especially the women and children, should leave India or not because of the rumours of a bloody Mutiny:

> Fleury himself was, in principle, all for bolting, if that was what everybody wanted to do… but he knew so little about the country that he had no real way of knowing whether or not the time for bolting had come. He had no sensation of danger in the least. The result was that he tended, by default, to find himself in the "confident" camp… though, at the same time, quite ready to leg it for the Residency at the first sign of trouble. (Farrell 67)

With regard to Fleury, Crane states that "Fleury is not, as in 'straight' Mutiny novels, the handsome, young, British male for whom heroism is simply an outcome of 'doing his job' while displaying the manly courage, self-discipline, and intelligence 'natural' to the superiority of his race" (88). Contrary to the expectations of the English settlers in the Residency, he is even considered to be slightly feminine and eccentric:

> Before Fleury's arrival in India, Dr. Dunstaple is rather worried about signs from England that Fleury, when he appears, will be effeminate; there have been rumours of his disturbing tendency to play the violin in a ruined folly at the end of the rose-garden. But the doctor need not have feared; Fleury's only use of a violin emerges in an unskillful attempt to kill a besieging Sikh whom he strangles with the strings. (Crane 89)

It may be suggested that Fleury is one of the the main characters in *The Siege of Krishnapur*. However, because of his not being an ideal Englishman without any fears, there are some arguments that the novel lacks heroes. Erll states:

> D.C.R.A. Goonetilleke records that '[t]here has been disagreement among critics as to who the hero of the novel is, and, consequently, as to the distribution of authorial emphasis' (2003: 409). This is one further clue to the novel's wholesale demythologisation of 'Mutiny' memory. There is no hero in a strict sense in *The Siege of Krishnapur,* no character the reader would be led to empathise with continuously. There is not even an anti-hero or a complete villain. This strategy is part of the deconstruction of the British 'stock-figured' memory of 1857 with its larger-than-life heroes and villains. (176)

Nevertheless, Fleury is beneficial to his country. He intends to write a book about India (Farrell 18) and uses his intention of writing a book as a cover to get information about the *Maharaj* and his military power (Farrell 79). His visit to the *Maharaj*'s house reveals the injustices done to the Indians. The local Indian army is forbidden "by law to carry firearms" (Farrell 69) rendering the Indians incapable of defending themselves in

case of an emergency. What is more tragic is that if the worst is to come, Fleury, the Collector and Harry Dunstaple plan to use this army against the *sepoys.* In other words, they plan to cause brother to kill brother by supplying the Indians with logistic support if the need arises, but they do not ask for help from the *Maharaj* openly due to their obligation to keep up appearances. They have to make sure that the British Empire should not appear weak and vulnerable in the eyes of the Indian people, so they do not reveal their need for the *Maharaj*'s army. On the one hand, Fleury tries to raise an army but on the other hand, he can not help questioning the British rule in India. Though he is British himself, he thinks that to some extent Indian nationalists are right: "Why, if the Indian people are happier under our rule" Fleury asked a Treasury official, "do they not emigrate from those native states like Hyderabad which are so dreadfully misgoverned and come and live in British India?" (Farrell 34).

Thus, as Crane claims most of Farrell's characters experience a dilemma about whether to follow liberal humanist ideology or not: "A liberal humanist ideology which [Farrell's] characters can neither continue to believe in, nor yet reject" (18). Fleury's case is a good example of the Farrell tradition; especially the following conversation between Fleury and Louise, reminiscent of one between Alex and Winter (Kaye 569-571) in *Shadow of the Moon,* reveals this dilemma:

> "Alas," said Louise, looking sad, "I sometimes wonder whether we shall ever find the right way. I wonder whether we shall ever live together in harmony, one class with another, one race with another… Will not the labouring classes always be resentful of our priviliges? Will not the natives always be ready to rise up against the 'pale-faced Christian knight with the Excalibur of Truth in his hand' as the Padre so picturesquely referred to him last week?"
>
> …
>
> "Oh Louise," he [Fleury] exclaimed, "that is why it's so important that we bring to India a civilization of the heart, and not only to India but to the whole world… rather than this sordid materialism. Only then will we have a chance of living together in harmony. Will there even be classes and races on that golden day in the future? No! For we shall all be brothers working not to take advantage of each other but for each other's good!." (Farrell 125)

Still, Fleury does not hesitate to use indigenous people against each other and cause brother to kill brother. Fleury gets help from the Sikhs and from the indigenous people to hurt the other Indians (Farrell 199, 318). Yet, as stated above, he is not totally carried away by the white man's burden and he even questions the concept of civilisation which is generally associated with the white man. He is against the concept of civilisation which is solely linked with materialism and technological development. He asks if civilisation is only railways or channels or if it has an emotional or spiritual side (Farrell 35, 38). He is reasonable and tries to establish a balance in his behaviours, and in Binns' words, he "sheds his romantic sensitivity and his sceptical, critical attitude to colonial life" (76). In fact, he is a poet (Farrell 322). In Crane's words, Fleury is "a self-made imitation of a Romantic poet, a Shelley or a Chatterton, a pseudo-Byron… with the addition of a little Keats… a pale Romantic hero of a recognisable, if eclectic, type" (88-89), but he has to carry out military duties against the Indian *sepoys* during the Mutiny as well.

The Siege of Krishnapur has fewer Indian characters compared to the English ones. Generally the Indian characters are not even given names, but referred to as "natives" (Farrell 188, 303), "monkeys" (Farrell 54), "*sepoys"* (Farrell 182, 243,294) and "negroes" (Farrell 309). Exceptionally, the *Maharaj* and his son Hari are given more space in *The Siege of Krishnapur* because of the necessity of depicting some heroic acts by Fleury and Harry in the *Maharaj'*s quarter. Despite being from the same race and family, Hari and his father, the *Maharajah* are on opposite sides; the *Maharajah* does not support the British Empire, whereas the young son declares his loyalty to the British Empire in order to obtain a certificate of loyalty and to return to the Palace (Farrell 134). Hari supports the British rule in the name of progress:

> …evidently Hari and his father, the Maharaj, had had a disagreement over the question of loyalty to the British. Hari, firmly on the side of Progress, had insisted on leading the Palace army to their [the English's] defence. But the Maharajah had declined to let him do any such thing. The whole country was rising to put the *feringhees* and their vassals to the sword; his [Maharaj's] own power was certain to increase once the Company was destroyed. He [the Maharaj of Krishnapur] did not

> want Progress… he wanted money, jewels and naked girls, or rather, since he already had all of these things, he wanted more of them. (Farrell 134)

Hari admires the British nation and its technological products (Farrell 75). Besides, he has great respect for the Holy Bible (Farrell 76). He is also such an admirer of the English people that he shows the Indian armoury to Fleury (Farrell 79) who does "some spying… on the Maharaj's troops" (Farrell 79). Hari is not aware of the fact that he is being used by the English as a tool to gain the favour of the *Maharaj*'s subjects. Hari's loyalty to the British Empire seems to be a great opportunity for the Collector as "Hari's presence might give the impression that the Maharaj supported the British. At the very least it would guarantee the neutrality of his army" (Farrell 134). It is only after his captivity at the hands of the English that Hari's eyes open to the reality. The awakening of national consciousness begins to emerge in Hari during his captivity. He resists the wishes of the Collector: "You want me to kill for British perhaps my own little brothers and sisters who plead with me for lives, raising little hands very piteously? I will not do it, Mr. Hopkin, I will rather die than do it, I can assure you. It is no good. You torture me first. I still not killing little brother and sister" (Farrell 189). He regrets remembering that "[he] killed little babies for [the] Queen" (Farrell 189). Eventually he is portrayed as torn between his loyalty to India and to Britain (Farrell 226). Considering the fact that most of the Indians' social and moral values are constructed through English education by the British Empire, Hari's conflict, when he criticises the English rule, is instructive.

Hari is despised and leads a miserable life in the hands of the English authorities. In his person, the honour of the Indian nation is degraded:

> The sight which greeted him [the Collector] now in the tiger house was a pitiful one. Hari no longer paced nervously up and down; he lay sprawled on a pile of dirty straw, his eyes extinct. Around him lay scattered the festering remains of half a dozen meals. There was a powerful stench of urine also, as if he no longer went outside to perform his natural functions. He had turned grey, as Indians do when they are unhappy. (Farrell 225)

Finally, Hari is released and his final words reveal his ambivalent attitude towards the English people. Surprisingly, he even gives a present to the Collector as a symbol of his good intentions:

> Collector Sahib, though I do not forgive bad treatment from *Sircar* and from British Collector Sahib, I do not wish to cause personal grievence to my good friend, Mr. Hopkin. I like to make Mr. Hopkin as private citizen a small gift of Frenloudji book, which is the only object in my possession and to give him handshake for last time. Correct! (Farrell 227)

Though, Hari is treated badly during his captivity, still he cannot really hate the English since his feelings of admiration for the English seem to be dominant in his heart and results in ambigious feelings towards the English.

Another important Indian character in *The Siege of Krishnapur* is the *Maharaj*. Though, Farrell, like his spokesperson Fleury, is a "romantic socialist idealist," in Malcolm Dean's words in the *Guardian* (qtd. in Binns 31), Farrell still depicts patriotic Indians like the *Maharaj* by using negative stereotypes like lustful Easternmen in pursuit of luxury and women.

In *The Siege of Krishnapur,* there are not only the English people and the Indian people, but also the mixed-race people. These people are the most unwanted people by both sides. For instance, the hybrid women are put into the least desirable and most insecure room in the Residency during the siege (Farrell 229). Moreover, especially the English people prefer to stay away from hybrid people: "The idea of spreading Christianity through mixed marriages seems both attractive and horrible to the General and the fear of the native seems to be more dominant upon him" (Farrell 64). Consequently, hybrid people suffer from a sense of disbelonging and they can take sides neither with the English nor with the Indian people.

When the gender of the characters is taken into consideration, it can be observed that both English men and women are against Indian nationalism and they do their best to hold the British supremacy in India. English women may not be physically as strong as

the men, but this does not decrease the importance of their roles in national issues considering that they are seen as carriers of culture in *The Siege of Krishnapur*. This may originate from the idea that it is the mothers who give the first education to the next generation. Hence, mothers have an important role in the transfer of culture. Women thus may become a powerful weapon in the hands of the British Empire against the indigenous people. Therefore, Indian people tend to see English women as a strong means of erasing the Indian population and Indian culture from Southeast Asia:

> "There was a rumour in the bazaar this morning," said the Magistrate as the General disappeared from view. "They say that because so many British were killed in the Crimea there's nobody left in England for the memsahibs to marry. And so they're going to be brought out here and forcibly married to the native landowners. Their children and the lands they own will thus become Christian." (Farrell 64)

However, on the English side, women in general, are perceived as weak. Farrell draws a parallel between the situation of women and the situation of the natives as the Collector says, "[w]omen are weak, we shall always have to take care of them, just as we shall always have to take care of the natives" (Farrell 169-170). Thus, Farrell believes that men should take care of women and the English people should take care of the indigenous people. Thus, there is a parallelism between the oppression of the women by the patriarchy and the oppression of the colonised by the coloniser. Another parallelism is drawn between the desire for women and the desire for new lands (Farrell 170) in the words of the Collector: "They [women] are made of a softer substance. They arouse our desire, but they are not our equals" (Farrell 170). In other words, untouched far away lands and women are attractive enough to arouse the appetite of the English men but they are not good enough to be their equal. For the English, women, like the indigenous people, are weaker and should be guided by English men.

As often is the case, the war is fought through women's bodies. According to the rumours, "English girls had been stripped naked and draggered through the streets of Delhi" (Farrell 224) and among the English men "now there was even talk of shooting wives if the situation became hopeless, to spare them a worse fate at the hands of the

sepoys" [sic] (Farrell 153) and to preserve national honour and dignity. Contrary to the fears of English men, women prove to be more strong in the face of difficulties. Louise, for instance, becomes more mature during the Mutiny days:

> Louise… remained constantly at his [Dr.McNab's] side, helping him to care for the sick and wounded. From this pale and anaemic-looking girl who had once thought only of turning the heads of young officers, and whom the Collector had considered insipid, he now saw a young woman of inflexible will-power emerging. He [the Collector] watched her as he passed the section of the hall reserved for the sick, the wounded, and the dying. (Farrell 331)

Lousie Dunstaple suffers from "scurvy" (Farrell 305), which causes her to lose her teeth. Metaphorically, the white people who exploit and usurp the indigenous people with their "teeth" begin to lose them, which might be interpreted as the decline of the colonial power. The indigenous people, in return, take revenge by surrounding the English people and confining them to shortage of food. When the English Residency is surrounded by the *sepoys*, its contact with the outside world and as a consequence, its food supplies are cut off. As a result, Louise is so hungry that she cannot concentrate on her lover Fleury's words. At her birthday party, "…she stared at [cakes] with a fearful concentration, ignoring Fleury's polite conversation as he made the tea" (Farrell 305). Despite all these obstacles, Louise works as a nurse during the siege and cares for the patients, to serve for her nation. She does not have much interest in politics as it is not acceptable by the patriarchal English society. In order to fit into the norms of her society, "Louise, too, remained silent. In Fleury's view she was quite right to sit there quietly and listen to what the gentlemen had to say, because speaking a great deal in company is not an attractive quality in a young lady. A young lady with strong opinions is even worse" (Farrell 47). Women are supposed to have ideas neither on daily issues nor on national issues. Within the limits of the nineteenth century English social codes, English women could contribute to the national cause by taking up feminine jobs, like working as nurses (Farrell 229).

Like Louise Dunstaple and many other English women, Miriam, Fleury's sister, works as a nurse at the hospital and helps the wounded and ill people there. Miriam, sensitive about the interests of the British nation, remains indifferent to the exploitation of the indigenous people in India especially in the opium factory. As Binns argues, "Miriam is given a tour of the opium factory outside Krishnapur and neither she nor anyone else in the English expatriate community finds this trade at all incongruous (although in fact there was a century-long campaign in Britain against the opium trade)" (67). This indifference to the plight of the workers adds to the negative image of the *memsahibs* who are as cruel as the *sahibs*. Miriam remains silent in the face of the exploitation of the indigenous people in the opium factory.

Another English woman character, Lucy, makes cartridges to help the English soldiers (Farrell 332, 339). Other unnamed English women donate their stockings to the army on Harry's suggestion that silk stockings could be used to contain iron balls (Farrell 314). Women play a significant role during the Mutiny: "[T]his powder-hose fuse had been extemporized from a tube of linen sewn by the ladies; it was immensely long and about an inch in diameter, and had provided the ladies with a task which had occupied their fingers for many hours" (Farrell 199). Thus, these efforts of the English women show that they are certainly against Indian nationalism and they do everything to stop it. They do not have a questioning stance towards the British *Raj* and they do not regard the *sepoys*' being right in their struggle as possible.

It can be suggested that, in *The Siege of Krishnapur,*

> [o]n the one hand, male protagonists prove their virility by displaying military abilities and taking chivalric care of the British women… protecting them from the danger of real or imagined rapes; on the other, female characters confirm the "British character," accepting heartily the sacrifice of their privileges to become nurses for the wounded, supporters and source of inspiration for their partners and children. (Nicora 359)

On the other hand, in *The Siege of Krishnapur* Indian women have nearly no existence[71] and are not mentioned except in one place, "a perilously swaying cargo of

Mohammedan women passed by on a camel, their masked heads turned towards Fleury; he felt himself stared at weirdly by their tiny, embroidered eye-holes" (Farrell 109).

If the characters are taken into consideration with regard to their class, some results about the influence of class on Anglo-Indian relationships may be obtained. On the English side, most of the characters have bourgeois backgrounds. For instance, Fleury has "a bourgeois identity" (Crane 97) and it is the same for the Collector and for the women as well. In general, the upper class people need not go to colonies as they are satisfied with their lives in Britain. However, the middle class people generally have the necessity to find better jobs and colonies provide young middle class men with new job opportunities (Memmi 46). In *The Siege of Krishnapur,* the English people, such as Fleury, the Collector and Harry, mostly have middle class origins. As stated above, the bourgeois or the middle class attitude towards Indian nationalism is thus quite explicit. Members of the English middle class are depicted as being against Indian nationalism.

On the Indian side, however, there are both servants who are working class people and governors who are aristocratic or upper class people. Most of the servants, on the Indian side remain loyal to their English masters and fight against the Indian *sepoys*. For instance, Ram, an Indian minor character in *The Siege of Krishnapur*, has no national consciousness (Farrell 148) and is very loyal to the British Empire. He and Mohammed help the English people in the Residency in collecting "combustible material" (Farrell 326) to use against the *sepoys*. They become traitors to their own country and this shows that without the help and consent of some Indian civilians Britain may not have colonised India. In accordance with the image of submissive and passive Indian people, Farrell draws some lower class Indian people as umbrella bearers to the English; that is they are always ready to serve the English *sahib*. Even Fleury, who is more humanitarian compared to the other English characters in *The Siege of Krishnapur*, let the Indian people serve him like he does in the scene below, "Fleury… accompanied by the bearer holding the umbrella over his head…" (Farrell 53).

As one's occupation also determines his class (Abercrombie 132-133), accordingly *sepoys*, pensioners, doctors, the magistrate and engineers will be examined within this

category. It is the *sepoys* who trigger all the events in *The Siege of Krishnapur,* but paradoxically as Margaret Drabbie, British writer and critic, has acknowledged, Farrell's *sepoys* "are never shown as people at all, but merely as cannon fodder and comic fodder at that, and… their cause is given only the most frivolous explanation, seen, as it were, through British eyes" (qtd. in Binns 80-81). *Sepoys* do not have an individual existence, they are portrayed as having a collective identity. Furthermore, they are depicted through the eyes of the other characters. Farrell does not show them when they are speaking or discussing anything. They are always referred to by other people as they are deprived of any voice or any idea. They are drawn like shadowy characters though they are the ones who started the national movement by "marching on Delhi" (Farrell 56). They rebel upon the rumours that the English have "intention of forcibly converting them to Christianity" (Farrell 30) and eventually they attack their officers (Farrell 94). As the *sepoys* are depicted through the eyes of the other, the English, they are depicted negatively.

Moreover, the *sepoys* are depicted as disgusting creatures as "[n]ow a stomach-turning howl rose from the advancing natives; the *sowars* spurred forward, the infantry broke into a trot, bayonets at the ready; behind them a curtain of yellow dust climbed into the heat-distorted air" (Farrell 158). In some cases, the *sepoys* are referred to as "Negroes" and "Idolaters" (Farrell 309). The *sepoys* are portrayed as "cut[ting] down defenseless people" (Farrell 55) and as disrecpecful to religious values as they attack the English people when they are having a ceremony in the Church:

> Two native infantry regiments had shot down their officers and broken into open revolt; in due course they had been joined by the *badmashes* from the bazaar who had set to work plundering the British cantonment. The British troops had been on church parade when the trouble started. In the end they had managed to quell the outbreak but the mutineers had escaped with their firearms. The telegraph wires had been cut soon after the first word of the outbreak had come through, but all sorts of grim rumours were circulating. (Farrell 55)

The field, where the fights occurred between the English and the Indians is likened to a lake of blood full of dead and wounded bodies as a result of the *sepoys'* atrocities. In the novel, it is stated that "[o]nly then did he [Fleury] realize that he [himself] had skidded in a great lake of blood which had leaked out of the pile of bodies and spread over the verandah" (Farrell 148). Thus, the *sepoys* are to blame for all this bloodshed. A similar accusatory attitude towards the *sepoys* can be observed in the following sentence, "[e]ach of them [the Collector, Fleury, Harry] simply had two or three terrible scenes printed on his mind: an Englishwoman trying to say something to him with her throat cut, or a comrade spinning down into a whirl-pool of hacking sepoys [sic], something of that sort" (Farrell 99). Thus, considering Farrell's accusatory attitudes towards the *sepoys* it might be suggested that he has a biased attitude towards them.

However, some critics argue the opposite. For instance, Charles Palliser suggests that Farrell adopts an objective stance in general towards historical issues in his historical novels. In the *Literary Review,* Charles Palliser points out that Farrell's historical novels are objective:

> His historical novels have an almost Tolstoyan objectivity which is partly due to their setting in a past whose political, economic and ideological contradictions are understood without being patronized. Farrell's characters illuminate the particular historical context in which they are caught without ever being reduced to mere representative figures. (qtd. in Binns 34)

Nevertheless, only in one place, there is praise for the *sepoys*: "The only trouble was this: the sepoys [sic] kept on bravely coming forward, while he and his men kept on retreating. Against such an onslaught there was nothing much else he could do" (Farrell 320). As the *sepoys* were so dedicated to the national cause, the Mutiny continued to spread day by day. They were supported even by the prison guards: "The prison guards had mutinied on a signal given by the sepoys at Captainganj and had reached their prisoners. Soon afterwards came the news that the Treasury sepoys had also mutinied: a number of them had been seen hurrying through the now empty streets of Krishnapur from the direction of the Treasury" (Farrell 127).

The Mutiny days proved to be really difficult for both sides and to come alive out of this struggle, both sides had to develop some strategies. When the *sepoys* got closer to the Residency, the English began a mining to prevent the *sepoys* from entering easily. So the Collector began to think about "defensive mining" and digging "listening galleries" (Farrell 182-183). Here it should be underlined that the English use the indigenous people against each other to do their dirty jobs and they cause brother to kill brother, like the Collector who makes use of two Cornish privates from Captainganj, and some Sikhs during the defensive-mining against the *sepoys*: "For several nights the Collector had stayed up until dawn reading his military manuals by the light of an oil-lamp in his study to instruct himself in the art of military mining; only Cutter of the officers, two Cornish privates from Captainganj, and one or two Sikhs, had had any experience of mining before" (Farrell 182).

These strategies of digging listening galleries and minings show that it was not only a physical war but also a mental war. In other words, whoever was clever enough to develop new strategies such as listening galleries had more chance to win and to survive. Though the Indians' weaponry was less than that of the British soldiers', the *sepoys* endured much longer than the British had expected (Farrell 151) and this reveals the *sepoys*' dedication to the national cause. After gaining awareness of their national identity, the *sepoys* perceived the Union Jack as something to be destroyed: "From the beginning of the siege the Union Jack had floated from the highest point of the Residency roof and had constantly drawn the fire of the sepoy [sic] sharpshooters" (Farrell 180).

While s*epoys* grasp the meaning of the national symbols, Hari takes side with the English. The *sepoys* do not want to hurt him, out of their respect for his father, the *Maharaj:* "It had been noticed that the one part of the enclave which the sepoys [sic] had been careful to avoid hitting with their cannons was precisely the spot where Hari was quartered" (Farrell 188). This may be interpreted as a sign of the *sepoys'* respect and loyalty towards the Indian nobility and on a larger scale, to their nation.

By showing resistance against the English people, the *sepoys* begin to gain the support of the other Indian people. Hence, the Indian servants begin to change sides after seeing that the *sepoys* are becoming stronger and more daring day by day. Therefore some journalists such as Malcolm Dean suggest that, "[t]he Indian Mutiny, which provides the setting for Farrell's second historical novel, was 'a traumatic event… destroying the myth of the grateful and obedient natives being led onwards and upwards by the paternal white ruler' " (qtd. in Binns 64).

For instance, some *sepoys* even dare to salute a young English soldier, Harry, with their left hands, which can be taken as a great insult within the context of military rules:

> As they approached Krishnapur they saw a few travellers on the road, including some sepoys who looked very fine in their red coats and black trousers. As they passed, the sepoys saluted the pallor of the faces they glimpsed in the dim interior of the carriage… Only Harry noticed with a frown that one or two of them had saluted with their left hands; if he had been alone he would have stopped and rebuked them for such a deliberate lack of respect; as it was he had to pretend not to have noticed. (Farrell 40)

Unlike the *sepoys*, pensioners who are the indigenous soldiers paid by the English people, did not have the luxury of taking sides with the Indians since their wages were paid by the English people. Indian pensioners are used as tools to do the dangerous and filthy jobs in the British army. For example, their lives are put in danger when they are ordered by the Magistrate to collect some documents when there is a constant musket fire (Farrell 234-235). They obey the orders of the English people without questioning them. This implies that they have no national consciousness. If they had any sense of national consciousness, they would not have worked for the British *Raj* just for the sake of money.

Indeed, the English soldiers fire at the Indians regardless of their being civilians or *sepoys* (Farrell 142). This is one of the rare instances where Farrell's critical approach towards colonialism can be seen: "Of the score of the subalterns who had managed to escape, the majority had never seen a dead person before… a dead English person,

anyway… one occasionally bumped into a dead native here and there but that was not quite the same" (99). Thus, to see dead Indians was quite common, but to see dead English people was not. Consequently, it is understood that Indian civilians, especially women and children, were killed and were victimised.

Compared to Indian soldiers, English soldiers seem to be in a more advantageous position regarding their superior technology and ammunition (Farrell 146). They had the advantage of watching the *sepoys*' actions and their route by using telescopes and other equipments. Their other advantage was their discipline and organisational skill (Farrell 303). They thought of every small detail and calculated every possible deviation in their programme and they prepared their military strategies taking into account all these details. Under the leadership of the Collector, the English prepared refuges for their women and children (Farrell 96-97) so that they would not be hurt in case of a riot or raid. In order not to be injured by the *sepoys*, they also built "mud-walls" (Farrell 97). Besides, they prepared for urgent medical cases. Hence, the English soldiers wounded in Captainganj were treated by English doctors on time (Farrell 97).

Nonetheless, the English people had one disadvantage: as they were foreigners in India, physically they were more vulnerable to the illnesses prevalent there. Consequently, cholera epidemics spread among the English people very quickly and this decreased their defence power (Farrell 271). Also, some of the English men suffered from personal ailments, such as the Collector who had erysipelas.

Apart from the Collector, one of the most referred to English men in *The Siege of Krishnapur* is Lieutenant George Foxlett Cutter (Farrell 182, 223). As mentioned above, his efforts to act heroically are emphasised; however, eventually he dies. After Cutter's death, "[h]e had become a hero for the garrison, for English and native defenders alike. Many tears were shed…" (Farrell 223) and it is concluded that "[t]he pages of history will record and rehearse them far and wide, and every Englishman, whether in his island home or a wanderer on some foreign shore, will relate with admiration what George Foxlett Cutter did at the siege of Krishnapur!" (Farrell 223). Hence, Farrell aims at

stating that like himself, history will also write the wrong deeds of English soldiers such as seeking fame during the Mutiny and during the *Raj*.

In addition to the military men, there is a wide range of occupations, hence members of different classes from the English race in *The Siege of Krishnapur,* such as doctors, magistrates and engineers. Some of the English men try to contribute to their nation by doing their job properly, whereas some of them do not pay attention to national issues, but put their personal benefits first. The latter may be exemplified through Rayne, the English Opium Agent and his friend Ford, who is a railway engineer. In *The Siege of Krishnapur*, Farrell draws attention to their lack of interest in national issues. Moreover, Fords' words reveal his neglectful and indifferent attitude: "The first thing one learns in India, Burlton, is not to listen to the damned nonsense the natives are always talking" (Farrell 56). Therefore, the English tend to ignore rumours about the Mutiny. Burlton, another minor character who looks after "the Treasury" (Farrell 54) however is more alert towards the news of a mutiny due to the recent developments that "the mutinous sepoys had marched on Delhi and that soon the Mogul Empire would be revived" (Farrell 56). Though Rayne is late to sense the coming of the rebellion, he is not late to take advantage of it. He dreams of selling food at a high price during the food-shortage (Farrell 284) as people had begun to eat horse-meat (Farrell 304) in order to survive. But the Collector prevents him from realising his bad intentions (Farrell 285). The Collector's motto is "[they] should all starve together, or all survive together" (Farrell 285). Moreover, Rayne's ego-centric and unpatriotic behaviours in the auction scene are evaluated below:

> …self-interest will be the emotion which outlasts most other human passions. This pessimistic final position of the Magistrate and the Collector, endorsed by the narrative voice, indicates clearly that *The Siege of Krishnapur* is as much a novel about Britain in the 1960s as about Britain in the 1850s and 1860s. It appears almost to be dramatising two of Raymond Williams's major insights in the chapter of *The Long Revolution* entitled 'Britain in the 1960s'. Williams argues that the Labour movement, the unions, and other formerly socialist groups have become indistinguishable from capitalism in their practical operations, whatever the very different philosophical abstractions they still profess. (Crane 103)

Like Rayne, the Magistrate or the judge wants to sell food at a high price during the food-shortage and he holds an auction to this end (Farrell 282), though he is a supporter of Chartism (Farrell 281) which requires showing respect to human rights and human dignity. From the limited information given about the Magistrate, it is understood that he is not a sincere English nationalist, but an opportunist. He privileges his personal benefits over everything else. He further begins to show interest in phrenology[72]: "In abandoning any belief in the possibility of changing the selfishness of man or the corruption of imperial India, the Magistrate finds intellectual refuge in the deterministic pseudo-science of phrenology" (Binns 72-73) which analyses the shape of one's skull to find out his character and abilities. It is pointed out that "his interest in humanity now was stone dead, and probably had been for some time. He no longer believed that it was possible to struggle against the cruel forces of capitalist wealth" (Farrell 282). His only aim becomes to stay alive at any cost even if it requires showing disregard for humanitarian or ethical values.

Hence, self-interest is seen in both the Indian people like Hari and the English people like Rayne and the preference of self-interest over self-sacrifice leads to the negligence of national duties on both sides. Furthermore, privileging self-interest constitutes the foundation of the exploitation of one nation by another nation, which paves the way to colonialism.

In addition, in *The Siege of Krishnapur* there are two British doctors called Dr. Dunstaple and Dr. McNab. Both doctors serve their country by caring for the patients. Dr. McNab in the Collector's words, was "[t]he only one who knew what he was doing" (Farrell 342) since he was the one who was able to cure cholera by using new methods in medicine despite Dr. Dunstaple's protests. Thus, Dr. McNab's success in the use of new methods in curing illnesses may stand metaphorically for Farrell's hope of solving the conflicts between the Indian and English people by using new methods.

Moreover, religion is an important factor in influencing people's determination in taking sides with a group or not. "The Padre represents Christian dogmatism" (Binns 72) and according to him, Christianity is the only true way to follow. His attitude may simply be described as "the missionary attitude" (Erll 166). He thinks that the Mutiny is sent as a punishment from God because of their failure at being good Christians. The Padre prays for gaining victory over the Indians and he tries to implement piousness on the English side to gain the favour of God (Farrell 158-162).

Like the Padre, other Christian English people are against the so-called heathen Indian nationalists. Hostility against non-Christians is prevalent among the Christian English. However, when the Indians convert to Christianity they are not welcomed by the English community in India, either. They are doomed to be the other in spite of having the same religion, that is Christianity (Farrell 114). For example, converts are not taken into the Residency due to the shortage of food; instead they are promised to be rewarded with certificates of loyalty (Farrell 113-114). Indian Christians have to be content with the certificates of loyalty and are deprived of all the help given to English Christians. Indian Christians do not know where they stand; they are excluded from both sides. Their in-between situation becomes more striking when Christian Indians are left to their destiny at the hands of the *sepoys* since British officers do not want to protect them (Farrell 114).

The picture on the Indian side is ambigious because some Indian people despite their non-Christian identities are against Indian nationalism, too: "Downstairs, the Sikhs, the Magistrate, Rayne, a couple of young ensigns, and a motley collection of indigo planters and Eurasians, were engaged in a desperate fight to keep the sepoys [sic] out of the building" (Farrell 318) and to protect the English Residency. Thus, by fighting against the *sepoys*, these Indians become traitors to their own country. As mentioned above, another example to this situation is seen when some Muslims take the side of the English. For example, an Indian pensioner, Mohammed, "takes up positions on the verandah with rifles" (Farrell 157) against the *sepoys*. Furthermore, Muslims are defined by the Collector as "the Mohammedans, who were generally considered to be the most loyal section of the native population" (Farrell 92). Apart from some Muslims,

some Sikhs also take a hostile stance against the *sepoys* and fight against them (Farrell 199).

In *The Siege of Krishnapur,* for the British the degree of the reliability of the Indians in issues such as loyalty and commitment may change according to their religion. The General says to the Collector, "[r]aise extra police with Mohammedan recruits, if you like. They're more reliable than Hindus or native Christians, but don't start a panic" (Farrell 65) and "The Collector could not afford to alienate the Mohammedans, who were generally considered to be the most loyal section of the native population" (Farrell 92). From another perspective, in *The Siege of Krishnapur*, Muslim Indians are perceived as the most submissive and the least patriotic ones. Hence, Muslim Indians are ready to serve the Christian English people willingly.

As can be seen, in *The Siege of Krishnapur* religion is an undeniable denominator in binding people and nations together, but exceptionally it is not enough to establish a bond between Britain and Russia. Though Russia is a Christian country, she prefers to be on the side of India against Britain during the Indian independence movement because of shared economical and national benefits. This fact is also mentioned in *The Siege of Krishnapur*: "It was said that the sepoys were also sending a horseman to Saint Petersburg to acquire the assistance of the King of Russia whom they believed would be sympathetic to their cause" (Farrell 101). Thus, people with different religious backgrounds work together when they have common interests. On the other hand, Dr. McNab is a "Jew" (Farrell 298) and a Scott, but he willingly serves the British Empire. Russia's support of the *sepoys* and Dr. McNab's support of the British Empire show that on some occasions, for the sake of national benefits, religion and race might be kept in the background.

However, with regard to the problems between Britain and India, religion has a hidden and crucial role. In *The Siege of Krishnapur* the demolition of the Mosque,[73] reveals the disguised hatred of the British towards other religions. The demolition of the Mosque is realised with the help of the corrupt Muslim Indians themselves: "A *futwah,* or judgement, had been obtained from the Cazee [sic][a Muslim religious leader] in

Krishnapur after tedious negotiations by Messenger and in return for a promise of future favours" (Farrell 106-107). The English authorities obtain an official permission from the *Cazee,* who is a Muslim religious leader, so that they would not become the target of the Indian attacks, especially of the Muslim Indians (Farrell 107) instead they use the *Cazee* as a tool to demolish the Mosque. However, the Collector's guilty conscience does not remain silent and he sees the destroyed Mosque as "the evidence of his own barbarity" (Farrell 109).

Parallel to this, some *sepoys* make sure that "the churchyard was constantly swept by fire" (Farrell 253) during the burials. Consequently, it might be said that two *sepoys* do their best to erase the symbols of Christianity, which show the hegemony of the British Empire in India. In other words, the Christians, Muslims and Sikhs all see the other religions as something to be destroyed and therefore religion continues to be a source of conflict among the members of different faiths.

Accordingly, some of the British people "blamed their present perilous situation on the missionary activity of the Church" (Farrell 116) since one of the reasons of the Mutiny was the fear of being converted into Christianity. These accusations make the Padre, the Churchman, angry and he makes a speech to enlighten the English people. In his speech, it has been observed that he believes in a religion-based unity. For him, religion is the most important element in establishing a nation or a community:

> "They blame the pious men who have circulated this missionary address to the more educated natives in our Presidency," cried the Padre, flourishing a pamphlet in the pulpit, "demonstrating that our European civilization, which is rapidly uniting all the nations of the earth by means of railways, steam-vessels and the Electric Telegraph, is the forerunner of an inevitable, of all other faiths into the One Faith of the white ruler. (Farrell 116)

The One Faith the Padre promotes is Christianity. The English people try everything to spread Christianity since they perceive the beliefs of the indigenous people to be unreasonable and as something to be dispensable. They believe that the unity of mankind can be realised under the roof of Christianity, which may at the same time

"mean unity under the yoke of the British empire" (Morey 117). Since the English have a negative attitude towards the beliefs of the Indians, some English people like the Padre feel nothing but contempt for people who have a different belief from that of the white ruler. His speech to the English children in the Sunday school reveals this contempt clearly:

> "It [the lighthouse at the Great Exhibition] reminded me of the Bible. Why? Because I thought of the many lives it had saved the way a lighthouse saves men from shipwreck. The Bible is the lighthouse of the world. Those nations which are not governed by it are heathenish and idolatrous. Men without the Bible worship stars and Stones. For example, ancient history gives an account of two hundred children being burned to death as sacrifice to Saturn… which is, of course, the Moloch of the Scriptures." The Padre surveyed the class. "You wouldn't like that, children, would you?" (Farrell 123)

In *The Siege of Krishnapur,* only in one place the dedication of the Hindus to their religious practices is praised by the English. The Collector and Miriam come across a naked man and the Collector explains that "he must belong to a Hindu sect which has renounced the material world. Such men see their nakedness as a symbol of this renunciation and keep a fire constantly burning at their side to signify the burning up of earthly desires… One can't help but admire the rigour with which they pursue their beliefs" (Farrell 82). Thus, it is seen that the English people's admiration and respect are not for the Indian people's beliefs, but for the Indian people's dedication to their religious beliefs. And this dedication would gain more meaning if it were practised in Christianity. The English do everything that can be done to convert these dedicated Indians to Christianity. Thus, the coloniser is seen to be oppressing the colonised in matters of religion as well.

In *The Siege of Krishnapur,* it can be observed that one's stance towards Indian nationalism is related to one's regional background or where one lives. Krishnapur stands for the city of Lucknow[74] in *The Siege of Krishnapur* and it is "situated" in the North of India. The expatriate community of Krishnapur suffers from isolation and alienation. Binns states that,

> …by his emphasis on the isolation of the city amid the vastness of the Indian subcontinent (one need only look at a map of India and examine the position of Lucknow, on which Farrell based Krishnapur, to understand something of this) [is remarkable since] Krishnapur is only tenuously linked to Calcutta and the coast by a carriage that brings mail and occasional visitors once a forthnight across 'the vast plain' (p.41). The isolation of Krishnapur has parallels with that of Kurtz's Inner Station in *Heart of Darkness*. Farrell's India, like Conrad's Africa, is portrayed as a vast, incomprehensible land that makes the pretensions of the white man seem puny and absurd. (68)

This isolation makes it more difficult for the English expatriots to get help from the outside world and puts the *sepoys* in a more advantegous position and encourages them to fight for the freedom of their own country.

Considering the news in *The Siege of Krishnapur* that first nationalist rebellions and massacres broke out in cities such as Delhi (Farrell 66) and Captainganj (Farrell 97), it can be suggested that cities have convenient atmosphere and facilities for the awakening of national consciousness. In the beginning, the English had come to India with the aim of doing trade, which resulted in their settling in the harbour towns and in the big cities. Therefore, these cities were the first places which were exposed to British culture and British influence. As an irony of history, cities thus became centres for resistance against the *Raj*. With regard to the English culture in Indian cities, Binns states, "[t]he Mutiny… shows how thinly the layer of 'English civilization' lies upon India [especially upon Indian cities]" (68). On the surface, the English people create a small England in India, especially in urban India and there is harmony and order in their life, but all of a sudden everything is turned upside down with the *sepoys'* rebellion.

Moreover, one's educational background is also important in establishing one's stance towards nationalism. Fleury was educated at Oxford and likes poetry very much. He is not the type of man to fight, but during the Mutiny he does fight out of necessity. The passage below describes a fight between Fleury and a *sepoy*:

> The sepoy was a large and powerful man, Fleury had been weakened by the siege; the sepoy had led a hard life of physical combat, Fleury had led the life of a poet, cultivating his sensibilities rather than his muscles and grappling only with sonnets and suchlike…(Farrell 322)

As opposed to Fleury, Harry Dunstaple is educated in one of the military schools and he is happy during the Mutiny that he gets a chance to use his military skills. His lack of knowledge of the Indian culture creates an obstacle between him and the indigenous people. He knows only imperative words in the Indian language; this reflects his patronising attitude towards the indigenous people.

The Padre is most probably educated in one of the religious schools and keeping in mind all the information about him given so far, it can be suggested that his only aim in life is to convert the indigenous people to Christianity, which may be perceived as assimilation or colonisation through religion. Looking at Indian nationalism from his perspective, the Indian *sepoys* are following the wrong path since they have different faiths from the faith of Jesus Christ. So the *sepoys* are doomed to fail and need to be governed by a white master who follows the right path of Christianity since as non-believers, the Indians are not capable of constituting a nation. Thus, the Padre is certainly against Indian nationalism. Despite having different educational backgrounds, all of the English people in *The Siege of Krishnapur* are strongly against Indian nationalism.

As for the Indians, their educational background determines their attitude towards Indian nationalism. Hari, the *Maharaj*'s son, is educated by English tutors in Calcutta (Farrell 45) and this makes him adopt a negative attitude towards Indian nationalism as he believes that the British way of life is the best one in the world and as an extension of this belief, he sees the British *Raj* as the best way of administration and therefore as a safety valve against more serious social and political disruptions in India. Only after his captivity, he realises that he is making a mistake by supporting the British Empire. Thus, he has a changing attitude, from negative to positive, towards Indian nationalism. On the other hand, the *sepoys* are trained by English lecturers and soldiers, but this

training ironically works as an eye-opener for them so they begin asking for their independence. As stated by Delgoda,

> [t]he impact of western culture, western education and new scientific techniques gave traditional Indian life a tremendous shock. It led Indian society to re-examine and reassess its traditional beliefs and practices, fostering a new cultural awareness. As the nineteenth century progressed this new-found confidence translated itself into a growing political consciousness. Increasingly proud of their own culture and identity, Indians began to demand many more political, social and economic rights. These demands were led by the educated, westernized class which had grown up under the British. By learning English this class had absorbed new political and social ideas which helped give it a common identity and a new sense of purpose. (181)

Also, one's attitude towards an issue may change with regard to one's age. Hari and his father, the *Maharaj* may be good examples for this assumption. The experienced old *Maharaj* is for the independence of India, whereas the young and inexperienced Hari is against it. On the English side, regardless of their age all English people are against Indian independence. Old English people do not refrain from fighting when the necessity arises, "[t]heir joints were swollen with rheumatism, their eyes were dimmed with years… But never mind, though their blue-veined old hands might be trembling their fingers could still pull a trigger" (Farrell 325).

In addition to the young and old English people's attitudes, in *The Siege of Krishnapur* the English children's attitude towards the Indian people is also noteworthy. In a seemingly innocent dialogue between the Padre and the English children, it is seen that the idea of national superiority is implemented in the minds of the English people from their childhood (Farrell 123). The Padre tells all the details of the Great Exhibition to the children (Farrell 121) in order to underline the greatness of the English nation in the minds of the English children. As an illustration of this national superiority, the Padre wants the English children to give sugar to the poor native children, which is an extension of the British paternal attitude towards the indigenous people. Thus, the young English children are in training to be future colonisers. This scene illustrates how

English nationalism and "paternalistic" (Memmi 76) colonial attitude or "the colonial mother" (Fanon 1990, 170) attitude are implemented in the minds of the English people since early childhood with constant schooling which follows strictly the colonial policies of the British Empire based on the superiority of the English race.

Farrell uses not only the characters, but also symbols to demonstrate the relationship between Britain and India. One of the symbols in *The Siege of Krishnapur* is the baby. Mrs. Scott and her baby die at birth-giving, "[b]ut as it turned out, the baby was not born alive and Mrs. Scott herself, in spite of everything that was done to save her, sank rapidly and died before morning" (Farrell 194). Here, Mrs. Scott may be associated with the mother country, with Britain and the baby with independent India. The baby is stillborn and here, Farrell may be referring to the case of India as he does not give any chance to India's existence as a newly-established free country. On the other hand, the British *Raj,* like Mrs. Scott, is doomed to die sooner or later regardless of all its efforts of being sustainable. The death of Mrs. Scott and her baby are foreshadowings indicating that India and the British Empire will go through difficult times as the Indian Mutiny of 1857 is about to come with all its violence and bloodshed.

In addition, in *The Siege of Krishnapur,* food and eating also carry symbolic meanings with regard to Britain's colonisation of India. Eating may refer to the usurpation of India by the English people. The coloniser makes use of all the resources of India and this is shown through the gluttony of the English people. The full stomachs of English characters are emphasised in the beginning of the novel (Farrell 26-27). Later on, this situation is reversed and the English people suffer many privations such as nutritional privation. Binns states:

> Food and eating are central subjects in *The Siege of Krishnapur:* from the lavish picnic in the Botanical Gardens, with its ham, oysters, pickles, cheese, tongue, chickens, chocolate and other delicacies, the narrative moves on to Krishnapur and a sumptuous dinner at the Residency, with fried fish, curried fowl and roast kid, followed by a creamy mango fool. The gluttony of these well-fed colonists is destined shortly to give way to the privations of a siege, and within a relatively short time they are reduced to eating almost anything at all. (67)

During the Mutiny, everything is reversed and the English people have to eat horse-meat because of the shortage of food (Farrell 304). The miserable situation of the English people is defined by Binns as "going natives" (79). The members of the relief forces are deeply disappointed by the appearance of the English people: "[Lieutenant Stapleton] had never seen Englishmen get themselves into such a state before; they looked more like untouchables" (Farrell 338), meaning the English people are reduced to the state of indigenuos people, or to emphasise the English people's miserable situation, they become like "natives".

Besides, as Binns observes the game of blind man's buff is another symbol for showing the English people's blindness to the coming Mutiny:

> The news of trouble at Barrackpur and Berhampur is blithely dismissed: 'But there was no cause for alarm and, besides, now that everyone had finished eating, a game of blind man's buff was being called for' (p.32). The game provides an apt visual symbol of the blindness expressed at the beginning of the sentence, since there is every cause for alarm regarding the threatening situation then developing in northern India. (67)

Farrell uses the game of blind man's buff functionally to indicate the blindness of the English people in Krishnapur to the realities about India.

Another symbol is the marriage of three English couples described at the end of the novel, which stands for the continuation of the English existence in India considering that marriage means new off-springs and continuation of life through them in the following days, decades and ages. Historically, the British rule in India continues until 1947 and its cultural influence is still, even in the twenty-first century, felt as it is indicated through the symbols in *The Siege of Krishnapur*. For instance, Fleury and Louise get married. Then Fleury's brother-in-law, General Dunstaple marries Miss Hughes and Fleury's sister, Miriam marries Dr. McNab. What is significant about these married English couples is that only one couple out of the three returns to England which shows that the English people still perceive themselves as the owner of India and

they organise their lives accordingly. Thus, Farrell seems to support the existence and continuance of the British rule in India. Moreover, related to the English couples' marriages and weddings in the Mutiny novels, Flaminia Nicora suggests that these can be taken "as a symbolic seal of the private and public restoration of order" (359), hence restoration of the British supremacy.

However, the issue of Farrell's attitude towards Indian nationalism is still open to debate. Margaret Drabbie finds that the events in *The Siege of Krishnapur* are narrated only through the eyes of the English (qtd. in Binns 80-81). On the other hand, another critic, Victoria Glendinning finds "the politics of the Empire trilogy [*Troubles* (1970), *The Siege of Krishnapur* (1973) and *The Singapore Grip* (1978)] elusive and ambigious" (qtd. in Binns 35). She declares that nothing is simple in J.G.Farrell's world:

> His dislike for the tyranny and distortions of colonialism is always apparent, as is his respect for the most hopeless individual… he has sympathy for those caught up in good faith in a decaying system of empire - such as the major in *Troubles* [and the Collector in *The Siege of Krishnapur*]. Maybe it was this compassionate ambivalence that made him such a good writer. (qtd. in Binns 35)

To conclude, Farrell shows the process of the decline of the British Empire in India by giving reference to the wrong policies of English authorities in India and points out the fact that if more sound policies had been followed, the Indian Mutiny and Indian nationalism may not have been realised. He focuses on the process rather than on the end:

> Farrell is concerned less with the loss of Empire than with moments that explain the loss. His fictions examine the process of decay, the small continuous subversions which propel change. He is interested in historiography rather than history… historical novels should 'not only identify in the past the causes of what came later, but also trace the process through which those causes began slowly to produce their effects.' (Crane 20)

As Crane further suggests, "[u]nlike other Mutiny writers Farrell does not celebrate the end of the siege as a great victory for the British" (93-94). In *The Siege of Krishnapur,* Farrell gives the impression that this victory is actually a defeat as it is the beginning of the end, the end of the British Empire. Out of the ashes of colonialism, an independent India is about to rise. This idea is implied in the scene where two Indians are depicted in tranquility drawing water from a well. About the effect of this scene on the Collector Binns states: "[T]wo Indians drawing water from a well - a scene which sums up India for him, presumably in the way it shows lives which are functioning perfectly satisfactorily without the assistance of western culture, ideas or technology" (82). This scene may lead to the question marks about the necessity of the white man's burden in the Collector's mind since these two Indians seem to be content and satisfied with their present situation, with what they have in their hands. They may have fallen behind in technological developments or may have been perceived as savages by the members of the Western civilisation, but they seem to be content with their indigenous culture. In this scene, Farrell's criticism of the British policies, which fail to gain the liking of the indigenous people and which make them turn towards their own roots and indigenous culture, is noteworthy. The refusal of the Indian culture by the English people results in the refusal of the English culture by the Indians as well. This rejection of the English culture by the Indians means the end of the Empire in the long run, which is an undesirable end for Farrell. In other words, Farrell has sympathy for the *Raj*, but he does not have any sympathy for Indian nationalism. Though, *The Siege of Krishnapur* is written in 1973, twenty-six years after the independence of India, the wish for the revival of the *Raj* can still be observed.

CHAPTER III

ZADIE SMITH: *WHITE TEETH*

Zadie Smith was born in Northwest London in 1975 to a Jamaican mother, Yvonne McLean, and an English father, Harvey Smith ("Zadie Smith"), and lives in the area. Her first novel, *White Teeth* (2000) was the winner of the Whitbread First Novel Award, the Guardian First Book Award, the James Tait Black Memorial Prize for Fiction, and the Commonwealth Writers' First Book Prize. Her second novel, *The Autograph Man,* won the Jewish Quarterly Wingate Literary Prize and was long-listed for the Man Booker Prize ("Zadie Smith Talks With Ian Mcewan"). Her third novel, *On Beauty,* was published in September 2005 and was short-listed for the 2005 Man Booker Prize on September 8, 2005. This book made Zadie Smith win the Orange Prize for Fiction in June 2006 ("Zadie Smith"). Furthermore, she is a fellow of the Royal Society of Literature ("Zadie Smith Talks With Ian Mcewan"), which increases her prestige and respectability in the literary arena. Smith attended the local state schools, Malorees Junior School and Hampstead Comprehensive School, and King's College, Cambridge University, where she studied English literature ("Zadie Smith").

In *White Teeth*, Zadie Smith's main concern is multiculturalism yet one of the minor themes in this novel is the Indian Mutiny of 1857 and Indian nationalism. In this chapter, the different attitudes towards Indian nationalism in *White Teeth* will be analysed through the lives of the Indian characters within multicultural Britain at the beginning of the twenty-first century. *White Teeth* will be analysed with regard to the development of Indian nationalism through the Iqbal family and Archie Jones and his black Jamaican wife. The novel "spans 25 years of these two families' assimilation in North London. The Joneses and the Iqbals are an unlikely pairing of families, but their intertwined destinies distill the British Empire's history and hopes into a dazzling multiethnic melange…" ("Interview with Zadie Smith").

The main focus will be on the Iqbal family which is an Indian family living in Britain and which has ancestors who participated in the Indian Mutiny of 1857. Samad Miah

Iqbal, the head and father of the family, is a "Bengali Muslim" (Smith 2000, 12), an "Indian man" (Smith 2000, 40) who works as a waiter in London. He is married to an Indian woman, with two children. What is interesting about him with regard to Indian nationalism is that his great-grand father Pande[75] had joined the Indian Mutiny of 1857 and Samad is proud of him as he is a great hero in his eyes. Samad suffers from a sense of disbelonging; he feels at home neither in India nor in England. Eventually, he develops a curiosity for Indian culture and history and decides to hold onto his Indian identity and tries to preserve it. Another way of preserving his national identity is to hold onto his stories concerning his heroic ancestors. Hence, in *White Teeth*, Samad tells stories[76] about Pande's heroic actions, which help him to strengthen his national feelings and his national identity. However, his fear of losing his Indianness becomes so great that he decides to send one of his twin sons to India. In doing so, at least one member of his family can have the chance of learning the unique Indian culture and preserving the Indian identity. As an irony of fate, his son called Magid, who goes to India becomes an admirer of English culture, whereas his other son, Millat, who remains in Britain turns out to be a defender of the rights of minorities especially of the Muslims in Britain and begins to spend all his time preparing organisations and meetings to unite the "Eastern men" (Smith 2000, 407, 470-471, 473) in Britain. Millat does not hesitate to use violence in order to defend the non-Christian, non-white men against the racist attacks of the English people. Meanwhile, Samad does some research and finally finds a book[77] which gives Pande his due, rather than criticising him or labelling him as a terrorist or a barbarian. This means a lot to Samad because for the first time in his life, in a book Pande and as an extension of him, India, is shown respect (Smith 2000, 257).

In *White Teeth,* race plays an important role in determining one's stance towards Indian nationalism, as characters tend to take side with something or somebody on the basis of their race. This can be observed both in Samad's and Archie's attitudes towards Indian nationalism. For instance, Samad, being an Indian, has great sympathy for Pande and for the *sepoys*. Moreover, Samad has a pro-Indian attitude and tries to persuade his close friend, Archie, into questioning official British history and into seeing the

historical events from the Indian point of view. On the other hand, Archie has an anti-Indian nationalist attitude since he insists on looking at the events only from the English point of view. Hence, it can be suggested that, Zadie Smith draws attention to official history (Smith 2000, 99-100, 257) and provokes a critical reading by questioning the validity of the official history and by suggesting alternative histories as it is done by new historicists and cultural materialists.

World War II influences Samad deeply and functions as an eye-opener for him by leading him to realise that whatever the Indians do, they will not be welcomed by the British society and will not be a part of it (Smith 2000, 112). Then he begins to consider his roots, his culture and feelings. He tries to preserve his religion and culture (Smith 2000, 96, 294) which should remain entirely untouched by the British culture. With the same aim in his mind, in the past, his great-grand father put his life in danger. Thus, for the first time in his life, Samad achieves a kind of self consciousness about his identity. He asks: "What am I going to do, after this war is over, this war that is already over - what am I going to do? Go back to Bengal? Or to Delhi? Who would have such an Englishman there? To England? Who would have such an Indian? They promise us independence in Exchange for the men we were. But it is a devilish deal" (Smith 2000, 112). He has to serve Britain just like India served the British Empire in World War II. Therefore, Samad's service in the British Army during World War II can be taken as the microcosm of the Anglo-Indian relationships. "On September 3, 1939, when Lord Linlithgow informed the people of India that they were at war with Germany" (Wolpert 329), without asking the opinion of the Indian administrators,

> [t]hough Nehru and other Indian socialists sympathized personally with Britain's humanitarian struggle against Nazi and Fascists dictatorships, they were unwilling to support a government that had not consulted them prior to its declaration of war, nor would they consent to fight without the grant of *purna svaraj*.
> "A free democratic India will gladly associate herself with other free nations for mutual defence against aggression and for economic co-operation," the Working Committee resolved, "[but] co-operation must be between equals and by mutual consent." Britain was not ready to address itself to the problem of Indian indepence

> in the fall of 1939, however, and so in October Congress's high command ordered all of its provincial ministries to resign. (Wolpert 329)

Zadie Smith draws a parallel between Samad's enslavement in Britain and India's dependence on British Empire. Regardless of their consent, both Samad and India have to obey the commands of the English people. As a reaction to the English exploitation, Samad tries to preserve his identity by following Islamic rules such as abstaining from eating pork[78] (Smith 2000, 54, 96). Furthermore, in conversations, he refers to hadithes from Bukhari (Smith 2000, 294). Most important of all, he rejects being called Sam (the shortened form of Samuel) by Archie, which reveals his consciousness about his Indian identity. By refusing to be called Sam, he actually refuses to be Anglicised (Smith 2000, 456).

He knows that preserving his Indian identity will not be easy since formerly colonised people still do not have enough freedom and power to express themselves as they wish. This situation is expressed in Samad's own words, "one strong man and one weak is a colony" (Smith 2000, 92), which reflects the imbalance of the power on the Indian side and on the British side. Although, in Britain, the Indians live side by side with the English, he does not want to be assimilated by the host WASP culture and does not want to become a mimic man (Smith 2000, 96, 456). He tries to preserve the distinctive customs of India and the distinctive features of Indian identity. He is aware of the fact that being an Indian is being someone unique; being different from an English man or an Arab. This can also be observed in his conversation with his commander. His commander Captain Dickinson - Smith calls him "the Indian Sultan bastard" (Smith 2000, 85). Samad tries to explain to him that he is using the term wrongly and also as a part of the othering process:

> 'Sultan… Sultan…' Samad mused. 'Do you know, I wouldn't mind the epithet, Mr. Mackintosh, if it were at least *accurate*. It's not historically *accurate*, you know. It is not, even *geographically* speaking, accurate. I am sure I have explained to you that I am from *Bengal.* The word "Sultan" refers to certain men of the *Arab* lands - many hundreds of miles west of Bengal. To call me Sultan is about as

> accurate, in terms of the mileage, you understand, as if referred to you as a Jerry-Hun fat bastard'.
> 'I called you Sultan and I'm calling you it again, all right?'
> 'Oh, Mr *Mackintosh*. Is it so complex, is it so impossible, that you and I, stuck in this British machine, could find it in ourselves to fight together as British subjects?' (Smith 2000, 85-86)

Though Samad serves the British Army and British interests during World War II, he is aware that he will never be accepted as a British subject, it is best to return to his roots, to lead a life of a decent Indian. His experience of serving as a British soldier becomes an eye-opener for him and when he returns to civilian life, he does further research into Indian history and the Indian Mutiny to find the missing points related to his great-grand father and his roots.

Moreover, Samad believes that English scholars have a racist attitude and distort history for the benefit of Britain: " 'It's like this, Sam: imagine here' … 'are all the people who have written about your Pande in the last hundred-and-whatever years. Now: here's the ones that agree with me.' He placed ten plates on his side of the table and pushed one over to Samad. 'And that's the madman on your side.' " (Smith 2000, 257). The biased attitude of English scholars is observed in the great number of books which describe Pande in a negative light since there is not a single English scholar who gives Pande his due. Thus, Pande is depicted as a traitor, a rebel by many English scholars. Indian scholars like A.S. Misra, who depict Pande as a hero, are labelled mad as does Archie above. To oppose Archie, Samad replies, "A.S. Misra. Respected Indian civil servant. *Not* a madman" (Smith 2000, 257). He further suggests that in his eyes, Pande with his burning patriotism deserves to be a father figure like Gandhi for the Indian nation. Hence, Samad questions the one-sided attitude of the Western historians and tries to deconstruct official history by telling the unknown facts about the Indian Mutiny and his heroic ancestry. After examining the history book *A Traveller's History of India,* finding out that his country Bengal had a leading and indispensable role in the Indian National Movement, Samad's pride in his great-grand father can be understood more clearly and becomes more meaningful. In *A Traveller's History of India* with regard to

the *sepoys,* it is stated that "[t]he [East India] Company's [military] forces were divided into three main groups, each of them centred on one of the three presidencies - Bengal, Madras and Bombay. In Bengal there had already been several outbreaks of discontent within the ranks" (Delgoda 165-166).

As stated above, the first sparks of Indian nationalim in the shape of discontent with the British rule and resistance towards it were observed in Bengal; this occurred earlier than the ones in Madras or in Bombay. Having a Bengali background, to show his pride, Samad "hangs [Pande's picture] on the walls of the Restaurant" (Smith 2000, 249) which he visits frequently and he questions the one-sided attitude of the Western historians by claiming that his great-grandfather was a patriot, not "a traitor" (Smith 2000, 251) as the English claim.

In *White Teeth,* one of the English historians named Fitchett[79] claims Pande to be a drunkard. Then, Archie shows this historian's claims as counter-evidence to Samad's arguments: "Some thirty yards in front of the line of the 34th swaggers to and fro a Sepoy named Mangal Pande. He is half drunk with bang, and wholly drunk with religious fanaticism" (qtd. in Smith 2000, 254). Such depictions in history books make Samad lose his nerve:

> This version of events - by a contemporary historian named Fitchett - was enough to send Samad into spasms of fury. When a man has nothing but his blood to commend him, each drop of it matters, matters terribly; it must be jeaolusly defended. It must be protected against assailants and detractors. It must be fought for. But like a Chinese whisper, Fitchett's intoxicated, incompetent Pande had passed down a line of subsequent historians, the truth mutating, bending, receding as the whisper continued. (Smith 2000, 255)

Accordingly, Samad's great-grandfather's name entered into the English language and the word "Pandy" was given negative meanings such as traitor, fool or coward. These derogatory expressions were even inserted into the *Oxford English Dictionary*: "1) any

sepoy who revolted in the Indian Mutiny of 1857-92. 2) any mutineer or traitor 3) any fool or coward in a military situation" (qtd. in Smith 2000, 251).

Especially the words "fool and coward" hurt Samad's national pride and he desperately tells everyone who comes to the restaurant that his great-grand father is not a coward, but a patriot. But the word had gained such an acceptance among the English people that in a conversation between Samad and Archie, it is revealed that "Pandies" is still used in England to refer to the rebels in the army. Archie says, "[y]ou know, you still hear people in the regiments calling each other *Pandies*, you know, if the bloke's a bit of a rebel… I never thought where it came from… Pande was the rebel, didn't like the English, shot the first bullet of the Mutiny. I remember it now, clear as a bell. And that was your grandfather!" (Smith 2000, 99).

The pejorative meanings attributed to the word "Pandy," on the one hand, illustrate the negative attitude of the English towards Indian nationalism. On the other hand, its usage in the twentieth century in the British Army also shows the great impact of Pande on the British people. In other words, in the unconscious of the English people, he is the unforgettable greatest rebel of all times and therefore all the rebels in the army, even in the twentieth century, are called by his name.

Samad's determination to tell the true story about his great-grand father's role is used functionally in *White Teeth* to question the so-called objectivity of the works, especially the works written by English academicians. Samad says, " '[n]aturally, you will get these petty English academics trying to discredit him, because they cannot bear to give an Indian his due. But he [Pande] was a hero and every act I have undertaken in this war [World War II] has been in the shadow of his example' " (Smith 2000, 99-100). Then, Archie approves of Samad's words by further revealing the prevalent negative attitude of the English towards the Indians, " '[t]hat's true, you know, ... They don't speak well about Indians back home; they [the English] certainly wouldn't like it if you said an Indian was a hero… everybody would look at you a bit funny' " (Smith 2000, 99-100).

Then, the what-if question such as "what would have happened if the writer of the history books had been Indian?" is asked. With the same question in his mind, Samad continues his search for the truth and at Cambridge College Library he finds a book written by a historian called "A. S. Misra[80]" (Smith 2000, 257), most probably an Indian historian, in whose book Samad's great-grand father is described from the Indian point of view. Thus, through A. S. Misra's history book in *White Teeth* Zadie Smith gives a voice to the Indians to express themselves:

> *Mangal Pande fired the first bullet of the 1857 movement. His self-sacrifice gave the siren to the nation to take up arms against an alien ruler, culminating in a mass-uprising with no parallel in world history. Though the effort failed in its immediate consequences, it succeeded in laying the foundations of the Independence to be won in 1947. For his patriotism he paid with his life. But until his last breath he refused to disclose the names of those who were preparing for, and instigating, the great uprising.* (qtd. in Smith 2000, 259)

Although Zadie Smith states in a conversation in the New York Public Library that she is not a politically oriented writer, but rather "ambivalent about political positions" ("Conversations in the Library: Zadie Smith & Kurt Andersen"). Evidently, Zadie Smith criticises not only the English existence in India, but also the objectivity of English historiography.

Moreover, it can be said that *White Teeth* is rich in examples illustrating racial diversity and racial problems in contemporary Britain. Accordingly, the characters in the novel come from different nations and they are brought together under the roof of the restaurant called "O'Connell's" (Smith 2000, 256), which can be seen as a microcosm of multicultural Britain. The immigrants in the restaurant called "O'Connell's" witness one of the debates between Archie and Samad about Mangal Pande and the Indian Mutiny. In this debate, the only person who sympathises with Samad is Rajnu, his nephew: "Rajnu knew in his heart that the book [which was found at Cambridge College Library] was an inferior, insignificant, forgotten piece of scholarship, but he loved his uncle, so he smiled, nodded and smiled firmly again" (Smith 2000, 258) after seeing tears in Samad's eyes because of the excitement and happiness aroused by the discovery of this book which was pro-Pande and pro-Indian nationalism. However,

considering that the others present in the restaurant prefer to remain silent during these debates it can be concluded that they seem to believe in Archie's thesis rather than in Samad's:

> It was the 1989 New Year's Eve shift in O'Connell's, and the debate was in full swing.
> 'True, he [Pande] was not a hero in the way you in the West like your heroes - he did not succeed except in the manner of his honourable death. But imagine it: there he sat.' Samad pointed to Denzel, about to play his winning domino. 'At the trial, knowing death was upon him, refusing ever to reveal the names of his fellow conspirators-'
> 'Now, *that*,' said Archie, patting his pile of sceptics, … Syed Moinul Haq and the rest, 'depends what you read.'
> 'No, Archie. That is a common mistake. The truth does not depend on what you read. Please let us not get into the nature of truth. Then you do not have to draw with my cheese and I can avoid eating your chalk.'
> 'All right, then: Pande. What did he achieve? Nothing! All he did was start a mutiny - too early, mind, before the agreed date - and excuse my French, but that's a fucking disaster in military terms. You *plan*, you don't act on instinct. He caused unnecessary casualties. English and Indian.' (Smith 2000, 256-257)

As this debate goes on between the Indian man, Samad, and the English man, Archie, the attitude of the English and Indian military men towards Indian nationalism is included in their conversation as well.

The English and the Indian soldiers involved in the Mutiny are always referred to as shadowy figures, not as flesh and blood human beings. Archie claims that the names of the Indians supporting the Mutiny were given to English authorities by Pande during his trial. Thus, Archie suggests that Pande is not a hero like Samad states, but a coward who betrayed his friends by revealing their names at the trial.

Nonetheless, taking these references into consideration, for the military men, of both the English and the Indian race, it can be suggested that they performed their duties as it

was expected from them. The Indian soldiers, that is, the *sepoys* tried to acquire their independence from the British *Raj*. Therefore, they did not hesitate to show their growing unease with the British. In this way, the first shattering blows are delivered to the British *Raj*.

As a reaction to these nationalist rebellions, English soldiers, such as General Henry Havelock, who is also referred to in *White Teeth*, try to preserve the interests of the British Empire and do not hesitate to punish the *sepoys* severely. The English soldiers are determined to suppress the rebellion. Accordingly, as it is narrated by Fitchett,

> …Pande stood trial and was found guilty. From the other side of the country, on a chaise lounge in Delhi, his execution was ordered by one General Henry Havelock (a man honoured, much to Samad's fury, by a statue just outside the Palace Restaurant, Trafalgar Square, to the right of Nelson), who added - in a postscript to his written instruction - that he *did* hope that this would put an end to all the rash talk of mutiny one kept hearing recently. But it was too late. As Pande swung in the sultry breeze, hanging from a makeshift gallows, his disbanded comrades from the 34th were heading for Delhi, determined to join the rebel forces of what was to become one of the bloodiest failed mutinies of this or any century. (qtd. in Smith 2000, 255)

As exemplified above, the English soldiers try to preserve England's national interests, whereas the Indian soldiers try to preserve India's national interests. But sometimes this clear-cut distinction between the English and the Indian men gets blurred as it happens during World War II. It becomes inevitable for Samad, being a British citizen at that time, to defend the national interests of Britain against the enemies. Thus, when the necessity arises, he does his best to defend Britain:

> 'On my first day there,' continued Samad, 'I destroyed a Nazi hide-out from the air. Like a swooping eagle.' 'Bollocks,' said Roy.
> On my second day, I shot from the air the enemy as he approached the Gothic Line, breaking the Argenta Gap and pushing the Allies through to the Po Valley. Lord Mountbatten himself was to have congratulated me himself in his own person. He

> would have shaken this hand. But this was all prevented. Do you know what occurred on my third day, Sapper Jones? Do you know how I was crippled? A young man in his prime? (Smith 2000, 88-89)

Samad's services in the British Army also contradictorily serve the economic and political interests of India since Britain promised to give India her independence on the condition that she provides logistic and military support to Britain in World War II. Under these circumstances, Samad serves the British Army with all his might and this eventually leads to his gaining Archie's admiration:

> A vein in Samad's forehead was fighting passionately to escape his skin. He wished to defend a country that wasn't his and [sic] revenge the killing of men who would not have acknowledged him in a civilian street. Archie was amazed. It was his country; in his small, cold-blooded, average way he was one of the many essential vertebrae in its backbone, yet he could feel nothing comparable for it. (Smith 2000, 95)

To Alfred Archiebald Jones's surprise, Samad Miah Iqbal is very dedicated to the British Army and would like to serve it even in higher positions. But because of this Samad should not be considered a British nationalist, but rather an Indian nationalist since he believes in the British promise of an independent India, in return for Indian support during World War II. Thus, people's reactions towards Indian nationalism may change with regard to their racial backgrounds. Samad, being a British subject during World War II, contributes to the welfare of the British Empire and as a part of it, to India. One day during World War II, he exclaims, "I should not be here… I mean, I am educated. I am trained. I should be soaring with the Royal Airborne Force, shelling from on high! I am an officer! Not some mullah, some sepoy, wearing out my chappals in hard service" (Smith 2000, 87). Samad, like his great-grand father, wants to be a good soldier and once his duty successfully finishes in the British Army, then he expects Britain to keep her promise and give independence to India. But, he realises that the Indian support to the British Army during World War II is doomed to be disregarded by

Britain and the British promise for independence might prove false. Samad's desire for India's independence is expressed in the following passage:

> Samad, inwardly cursing the English goldfish-memory for history, lifted five dead, tightly curled fingers from their usual resting place on his chest - 'this shitty hand that the useless Indian army gave me for my troubles, I would have matched his [Pande's] achievements. And why am I crippled? Because the Indian army knows more about the kissing of arses than it does about the heat and sweat of battle! Never go to India, Sapper Jones, my dear friend, it is a place for fools and worse than fools. Fools, Hindus, Sikhs and Punjabis. And now there is all this murmuring about independence - give *Bengal* independence, Archie, is what I say - leave India in bed with the British, if that's what she likes'. (Smith 2000, 87-88)

Samad's resentment is expressed clearly. He is very dissappointed and angry with India as she lets her subjects be used by Britain. Therefore, he suggests the separation of Bengal from India since India is already in bed with the British and a lover of Britain. Thus, at least Bengali people should take care of themselves, if India is incapable of doing it. This is shown through his crippled hand, which is sacrificed for the benefit of Britain in World War II. Thus, his crippled hand stands for India's inability to establish a healthy independent country and suggests metaphorically that for the time being India cannot go beyond being a crippled state, which is in need of Britain's guidance.

In *White Teeth,* gender is an important denominator in nationalistic feelings. When Samad and his wife Alsana are compared with regard to their attitudes towards Indian nationalism, it can be said that both of them try to catch up with the socio-political events in India and their hearts remain there, but with an important difference. Samad is a romantic nationalist, whereas Alsana is a realistic nationalist. Alsana loves her homeland, but she is aware that the socio-political chaos in India would not be beneficial for their sons' education and development, therefore she wants them to be educated in England, rather than in India. Her wish does not stem from an inferiority complex, but out of security problems in India. She pays attention to every single news about India on TV and the reports of the atrocities committed by the extremists in Bengal and fears the possibility of the spread of bloodshed in India after the death of

Mrs. Indira Gandhi which can trigger more violence. Not surprisingly, after the Prime Minister's assassination,

> [f]or three days and nights, India's capital turned into the most lawless, terror-ridden place on earth as hired gangs of arsonists and killers ran free, stimulated by self-righteous avengers of the fallen prime minister. Police, meanwhile, turned a blind eye on all criminal assaults and India's Army slept. By official count more than one thousand Sikhs were murdered in Delhi alone during the first three days of November 1984, but unofficial observers saw many thousand of corpses in ravaged suburbs of Delhi, such as Trilokpuri, alone. The entire government of India seemed to have collapsed with the prime minister. (Wolpert 419-420)

Contrary to Alsana, Samad has a nostalgic and romantic attitude and thinks that if he clings to Indian history and culture, he could create an illusionary India in London and be happy. Samad is not capable of evaluating Mrs. Indira Gandhi's assasination properly and he says:

> 'She was no bloody good anyway. None of them is any bloody good. And who cares what happens in that cesspit, India… you care more about some corrupt politician you never met. Do you know you are the perfect example of the ignorance of the masses, Alsi? ... Crying for the rich and mighty who would disdain to piss upon you. Doubtless next week you will be bawling because Princess Diana broke a fingernail'. (Smith 2000, 197-198)

As opposed to him, Alsana seems to have a better foresight and she expresses her fears of more bloodshed in India. Upon Indira Gandhi's death, she says to Samad:

> I am not crying for her, you *idiot*, I am crying for my friends. There will be blood on the streets back home because of this, India and Bangladesh. There will be riots - knives, guns, public death, I have seen it. It will be like Mashar, Judgement Day - people will die in the streets, Samad. You know and I know. And Delhi will be the worst of it, is always the worst of it. I have some family in Delhi, I have friends, *old lovers...*' (Smith 2000, 198)

Alsana is more down-to-earth than Samad and does not have dreams of returning to India one day. She is equally at home in India or in England, but she prefers to live in England. Moreover, she considers her family lucky for being safe and healthy in England: "I am crying with misery for those poor families and out of relief for my own children! Their father ignores them and bullies them, yes, but at least they will not die on the streets like rats" (Smith 2000, 198). And time proves Alsana right, not long after their discussion with Samad, they get the news of the bloodshed at Kashmir gate:

> Maybe all the Iqbals were prophets because Alsana's nose for trouble was more right than it had ever been. Public decapitations, families cremated in their sleep, hanging bodies outside the Kashmir gate, people stumbling around dazed missing pieces of themselves; body parts taken from Muslim by Sikh, from Sikh by Hindu; legs, fingers, noses, toes and teeth, teeth everywhere, scattered throughout the land, mingling with the dust. A thousand people had died by 4 November[81] when Alsana emerged from under the bathwater to hear the crackling voice of Our Man in Delhi telling her about it from the top of the medicine cabinet. (Smith 2000, 201)

In *White Teeth,* no data is given with regard to the attitude of the English men and women. Only Archie may represent the English man's stance towards Indian nationalism and he adopts a negative attitude towards it.

Furthermore, class plays a major role in determining the way the Indian and English characters evaluate the Indian Mutiny and Pande. In other words, characters tend to choose whom to support under the influence of their class backgrounds as well. With regard to the class backgrounds of the characters in *White Teeth,* it may be said that they are mostly working class people. Samad as a waiter is working class. Similarly, Samad's close friend Archie might be defined as a member of the working class. However, there is no reference to his job in his adult life.

Archie, being a "newspaper boy" (Smith 2000, 96), is defined as "working class" (Erll 178). He has a negative attitude towards Indian nationalism and believes in the official

history. Thus, Archie sees Indian *sepoys* as rebels rather than freedom fighters. He prefers to accept the so-called historical facts which are recorded in English school books without questioning. In other words, Archie tends to accept the shadows as realities and seems to be content with the pseudo-facts, which can also be a result of his working class educational background as Abercrombie emphasises that the hidden curriculum, for the working class children at English schools, teaches many concepts such as obedience to state and to social hierarchy, and acceptance of state power and official history without questioning (458-459). Thus, he becomes a simple-minded man as it is reflected in the passage below:

> But when Archie was in school the world seemed far more open to its own fictionalization. History was a different business then: taught with one eye on narrative, the other on drama, no matter how unlikely or chronologically inaccurate. According to this schema, the Russian Revolution began because everyone hated Rasputin. The Roman Empire declined and fell because Antony was having it off with Cleopatra. Henry V triumphed at Agincourt because the French were too busy admiring their own outfits. And the Great Indian Mutiny of 1857 began when a drunken fool called Mangel Pande shot a bullet. (Smith 2000, 254)

Archie's attitude towards the historical events listed above shows that Samad may be right in his claims of the biased attitude of the Western scholars, which also results in the biased attitude of the ordinary English people. Archie makes use of Fitchett to confute Samad's argument:

> The scene is Barrackpore, the date 29 March 1857. It is Sunday afternoon; …Some thirty yards in front of the line of the 34th swaggers to and fro a Sepoy named Mangal Pande. He is half drunk with bhang, and wholly drunk with religious fanaticism…'The English are upon us. Through biting these cartridges we shall all be made infidels!' (qtd. in Smith 2000, 254)

Archie does not think about the causes of the Mutiny or the events in the background, but just takes the surface meanings of the historical events without an in-depth analysis. However, the false statements such as Pande's being drunk at the time of the Mutiny do not seem logical to Samad: "It didn't matter that bhang, a hemp drink taken in small doses for medicinal purpose, was extremely unlikely to cause intoxication of this kind or that Pande, a strict Hindu, was extremely unlikely to drink it" (Smith 2000, 255). But due to the lack of written material supporting Pande, Samad feels incapable of disproving all these anti-Indian claims.

In *White Teeth*, as opposed to "Archie [who] usually came armed with a plastic bag full of Brent Library books, anti-Pande propaganda, misquotes galore" (Smith 2000, 256), Samad, after having conducted ardent research, could find just one book, at Cambridge College Library written by "A. S. Misra" (Smith 2000, 257), which does not contain anti-Pande propaganda. The lack of pro-Pande books written by English historians undermines the objectivity of English historians.

After examining the Indian Mutiny, it can be seen that there are many causes[82] for the Mutiny such as the uneasiness of the Indian people with the British policies of annexation, with the domineering English education and with conversions to Christianity. But it is actually religious issues which triggered the Mutiny; religion is the most important factor behind the *Sepoys'* Rebellion as it is underlined by Delgoda as well. He states, "[c]ombined with the effect of the increasing missionary activity of the times, [all these wrong policies] served to give the impression that Indian religion and culture itself was in danger" (165), which suggests that religion is an important factor, a driving force in national and political issues; and in the case of the Indian Mutiny of 1857, it takes the leading role. Samad's explanations in *White Teeth* correspond to Delgoda's statements:

> According to the legend, during the spring of 1857 in a factory in Dum-Dum, a new kind of British bullet went into production. Designed to be used in English guns by Indian soldiers, like most bullets at the time they had a casing that must be bitten in order to fit the barrel. There seemed nothing exceptional about them, until it was discovered by some canny factory worker that they were covered in a Grease

> - a grease made from the fat of pigs, monstrous to Muslims, and the fat of cows, sacred to Hindus. It was an innocent mistake - as far as anything is innocent on stolen land - an infamous British blunder. But what a feverish turmoil must have engulfed the people on first hearing the news! Under the specious pretext of new weaponry, the English were intending to destroy their caste, their honour, their standing in the eyes of Gods and men - everything, in short, that made life worth living. (Smith 2000, 253)

Evidently, Indian people do not hesitate to sacrifice their life in the name of preserving their religion and as an extension of it, their culture. Later, in the nineteenth century, they rebel against the British *Raj* to achieve their independence.

In the twentieth century, after immigrating to England, the Indians's attitude towards their culture in *White Teeth* does not change much either. With the same reasons in mind, in the novel, in contemporary England, immigrants come together under the roof of KEVIN, which is a radical organisation, to protect their religion and their culture from the dominance of the English culture; this may be defined as "radical religious nationalism" (Delanty 147). Habermas also underlines that "nationalism was a defensive and reactionary force" (353-354); in *White Teeth,* this can be seen in the establishment of the religious-nationalist organisation of KEVIN:

> …the idea of KEVIN had been born within the black and Asian community. A radical new movement where politics and religion were two sides of the same coin. A group that took freely from Garveyism, the American Civil Rights movement and the thought of Elijah Muhammed, yet remained within the letter of the Qur'an. ... KEVIN: an extremist faction dedicated to direct, often violent action, a splinter group frowned on by the rest of the Islamic community; popular with the sixteen to twenty-five age group; ... 'There are three things,' continued Brother İbrahim, looking briefly at his notes, 'that the colonial powers wish to do to you, brothers of KEVIN. Firstly, they wish to kill you spiritually…oh yes, they value nothing higher than your mental slavery. There are too many of you to fight hand-to-hand! But if they have your minds, then...' (Smith 2000, 471)

As it is observed in *White Teeth*, the oppressive and possessive paternal colonial attitude of Britain, as it is expressed by Brother İbrahim, still continues through the imposition of British values and enslavement of minds. This can be observed best in the case of Magid, who becomes a mimic man (Smith 2000, 151). Immigrants or formerly colonised people are expected to be assimilated into the British culture. Contrary to these expectations, since the members of the former colonies are under the influence of their indigenous cultures, they are not as flexible towards WASP culture as they are expected to be. Moreover, they seem to be determined to preserve their indigenous and national cultures by refusing to be assimilated by the English. In doing so, they could have a distinct religious identity as well. By giving place to radical voices and aggressive attitudes in *White Teeth,* Zadie Smith demonstrates how colonial history influences the experiences of immigrant youths in contemporary Britain.

On the other hand, taking the reasons behind the establishment of KEVIN into account, it may be concluded that though many colonies eventually got their independence from Britain, cultural imperialism through religion and education still continues to be a threat for people from the former colonies and they try to find ways to protect themselves from cultural imperialism in order to preserve their national culture and national identities. For instance, Samad suggests to celebrate Muslim festivals[83] at school and to include them in the school *curriculum* (Smith 2000, 131-133). He emphasises that the British *curriculum* privileges Christian festivals over the non-Christian festivals, such as Muslim or Hindu festivals. This negligence of the non-Christian festivals at English schools can be seen as an attempt to erase religious and national values of the immigrants through education by the English.

Furthermore, Samad holds onto the principles of Islam by trying to find a shelter in the guidance of the Quran at times of danger (Smith 2000, 222). However, contrary to him, his son Millat, who represents the second generation of Indians in Britain, does not seem to be as religious as Samad expects him to be. For instance, when a storm is about to break out, Samad suggests taking the most important things necessary for survival with them before leaving the house. It turns out that Alsana takes Linda Goodman's book on star signs and Millat takes Anthony Burgess's *A Clockwork Orange*. This is

criticised by Samad: "No pen knife, no edibles, no light sources. Bloody great. No prizes for guessing which one of the Iqbals is the war veteran. Nobody even thinks to pick up the Qur'an. Key item in emergency situation: spiritual support" (Smith 2000, 222).

In *White Teeth*, Samad represents the Muslim Indians. With regard to the Muslim Indians, Stern states:

> The most important lines of religious diversity, however, are between Hindus and Muslims. Muslims are everywhere in India. Forty percent of them live in the Hindi/Urdu-speaking north, where they are 11 percent; of the population. Other areas of Muslim concentration are: Jammu and Kashmir, which has a Muslim majority of about 65 percent; Kerala, West Bengal and Assam, where Muslim populations are between 20 and 25 percent. Everywhere in India, Muslims are part of their local society. They live in the same villages and towns as non-Muslims; they speak the same mother tongues and read in the same languages. Hindu castes and Muslim quasi castes, though generally separate from one another, are usually parts of the same local societies. Though less now than in the recent past, Hindus and Muslims of the same local societies sometimes professed more or less the same religious beliefs and performed some of the same or similar religious rituals. (21-22)

Stern underlines the similarities between the faiths of the Muslims and the Hindus[84]. Similarly, Zadie Smith draws the characters of Samad, who is a Muslim and Pande, who is a Hindu as relatives in *White Teeth* in order to show the variety of religions within the same family or ancestory. This also suggests that despite many internal conflicts, Indians can come together and unite under one nation as they do under the roof of one family.

However, deep-down Samad is not as religious as he seems to be. Although, at every opportunity, he salutes Mohammed, the Prophet, by saying, "Muhammad - peace be upon Him!" (Smith 2000, 406). It is implied that he has not even read the whole of the Quran, but just some passages from it (Smith 2000, 234). With regard to Pande's

religious practices, there is very limited information. It is only stated that Pande is a "strict Hindu" (Smith 2000, 253, 255). The important thing about Pande and Samad is that inspite of their religious differences, both of them are for Indian nationalism. And Samad's confession to Poppy, his girl friend, is significant: "We are split people. For myself, half of me wishes to sit quietly with my legs crossed, letting the things that are beyond my control wash over me. But the other half wants to fight the holy war. Jihad!" (Smith 2000, 179). Here *Jihad* should not be taken as the holy war against non-Muslims since Samad disapproves of Millat's acts in KEVIN, but it should be taken as the war against the internal conflicts in India and against the poverty in India. Samad should not be taken as a radical, militant nationalist because of his usage of the word "*Jihad."* On the contrary, he does his best in the British Army to prove that a Muslim Indian can be an ideal British soldier as well:

> "So! I went Italy, I thought, well, this is where I will show the English army that the Muslim men of Bengal can fight like any Sikh. Better! Stronger! And are the best educated and are those with the good blood, we who are truly of Officer Material.'
> 'Indian officers? That'll be the bloody day,' said Roy." (Smith 2000, 88)

However, since the Indian Mutiny the preference of Sikhs and Hindus over Muslims in the British Army was a debated issue during World War II. This is underlined by Samad:

> …the real mistake the viceroy made was to give the Sikhs any position of power, you see? Just because they have some limited success with the kafir in Africa, he says Yes, Mr. Man, with your sweaty fat face and your silly fake English moustache and your pagri balanced like a large shit on the top of your head, you can be an officer, we will Indianize the army; go, go and fight in Italy, Rissaldar Major Pugri, Daffadar Pugri, with my grand old English troops! Mistake! (Smith 2000, 88)

In the examples above, Samad's jealousy of the Sikhs and his wish to show to the world that Muslims can also serve well in the Army and be ideal soldiers, continues to captivate him in the following years as well. Accordingly, one day, after listening to the news, Samad, triggered by Islamic zeal and attracted by the prospect of having a true Muslim son, decides to send Magid to India in order not "to have his mind poisoned by a Rule-Britannia-worshipping Hindu old Queen?" (Smith 2000, 289). In doing so, Magid would be brought up firmly within the sphere of Muslim education, rather than in compliance with Christian British education. On the other hand, his other son, Millat is kept in England and exposed to English culture. Related to Samad's sons' education, in *The Women's Review of Books* it is stated:

> Smith has a talent for constructing extraordinary characters, placing them in extraordinary circumstances and making it all appear perfectly ordinary. So it goes with Millat and Magid, who are separated by their father Samad as young boys. In order of Magid, the smarter of the two, to learn to respect and cherish his cultural and religious roots, Samad has him raised and educated in Bangladesh while Millat remains in polyphonic London.
>
> Smith handles the contrast between the twins to great comic effect. Magid returns to London an ardent atheist and Anglophile, clad proudly in white Levi Jeans. Milat, meanwhile, joins an Islamic fundemantalist group, Keepers of the Eternal and Victorious Islamic Nation, (with the unfortunate acronym KEVIN), a militant anti-Western organization claiming Quranic roots. He bandies about gangster film lines in his head - "As far back as I can remember, I always wanted to be a gangster" - transforming them for KEVIN: "As far back as I can remember, I always wanted to be a Muslim." He struts, Rambo-style-around his prayer mat. (O'Grady 19)

As underlined above, Samad's twin sons prefer to be on opposite sides; Millat nearly becomes a radical religious militant (Smith 2000, 407), whereas Magid becomes a mimic man denying his racial and religious roots as a follower of British life style[85].

Moreover, Archie Jones, who is a Christian, has a negative stance towards Indian nationalism and he does not give any chance to the *sepoys*' being freedom-fighters, or to their risking their lives for the independence of their country. In Archie's eyes, *sepoys*

could be just rebels, who like violence and bloodshed. For Archie, the English school books or more appropriately Western scholars are the real standard-bearers of what is right and what is wrong in Anglo-Indian history.

In *White Teeth,* not only one's religion, but also one's region influences one's stance towards national issues. In the novel, Samad is defined as a Bengali Muslim[86] and about Bengal Stern states: "…Bangladesh has the second largest Hindu population in the world: about 13 million" (17-18). Stern also states: "All the subcontinent's present international borders cut across ethnic boundaries. There is a Hindu majority and a Muslim minority of about 60 million Bengalis in India, most of them in the state of West Bengal. Across the border in Bangladesh there is a Muslim majority and a Hindu minority of about 100 million Bengalis" (16). Thus, it can be concluded that Bengal is a region where a variety of ethnic and religious groups live together, and Samad represents the Muslim minority in Bengal. The issue of the variety of ethnic and religious groups in Bengal is also confirmed by Delgoda:

> The hilly territories to the north-east of Bengal are home to a very different group of peoples. These areas are inhabited by a number of tribes of mixed origins and varied cultures. Some are Muslim, some are Hindu and some are Christian, all of them speak their own tribal dialects. (11)

However, from time to time, this variety brings about clashes and chaos and Bengal suffers from internal conflicts:

> From the middle of the 1920s, localized conflicts, "riots," between Hindu and Muslim communities became ordinary, recurring events on the Indian political scene. The partition of the subcontinent between India and Pakistan in 1947 was accompanied by a communal bloodbath in Punjab and Bengal. In independent India, communal riots are, again, ordinary and recurrent. Encouraged by increasingly militant, well-financed and ideologically oriented communal organizations, tensions between Hindus and Muslims have increased, particularly during the 1980s, and the incidence and destructiveness of communal riots have also increased. (Stern 22)

The chaos and the conflicts in India are reflected in *White Teeth* as well. In the news, internal conflicts in Bengal and the death[87] of Indra Gandhi are reported and make both Samad and Alsana worried because of the possibility of more bloodshed in India due to a civil war. In the article "India after Indira: A Tale of Two Legacies," it is stated that Indra Gandhi herself has fears about the coming of chaos to the country because of the anti-national activities:

> For much of the year [1984] Mrs. Gandhi spoke… of a convergence of external and internal threats to the integrity of India. With reference to both Punjab and Kashmir she gave little evidence but peculiar prominence to allegedly 'secessionist and anti-national activities' and often suggested that they were parts of a larger 'conspiracy aimed at dismembering the country', indeed 'agents working at the behest of foreign powers'. (245)

Time proves Mrs. Gandhi right and the region of Bengal finds itself in chaos. Furthermore, Prakash Chandra suggests in "The National Question in Kashmir" that "[t]he use of religion as the ideological raw material in the politico-ideological warfare... [in] Kashmir" (35) is not a new strategy and is one of the ways of causing brother to kill brother. Parallel to this, Zadie Smith refers to the events at Kashmir gate in *White Teeth,* since religious conflicts are one of the causes of these events even in the twentieth century. Thus, religious conflicts may become a threat for the construction of a unified Indian national identity.

All these internal conflicts in India make Alsana very unhappy. In *White Teeth*, with regard to Alsana's regional background, there is not much information except that she is "from a respected old Bengal family[88]" (Smith 2000, 60) and later begins to live in London. As for the regional backgrounds of the members of the Iqbal family, except for Magid, they live in London yet follow the political agenda of Bengal. Contrary to them, Magid, who lives in India, shows no sign of interest in Indian politics and instead, he prefers to follow the recent developments such as the latest fashion and life style in Britain. This escapist attitude towards his roots may be because of the violence he is exposed to or he witnesses in Dhaka[89], which is the capital of Bangladesh. *White Teeth*

provides a glimpse into the life in the streets of Dhaka: "…on 10 February 1988, as Magid worked his way through the violent crowds of Dhaka, ducking the random blows of those busy settling an election with knives and fists…" (Smith 2000, 220). Thus, the negative events in the region of Dhaka, like the application of violence during the elections may have been influential in shaping his negative stance towards Indian culture and India.

Therefore, Magid finds peace and shelter in holding onto English culture; he shows no interest in Indian nationalism and Indian culture. In other words, both Magid and Samad have an escapist attitude towards life and they look for peace in places in which they do not live. Magid lives in India, but adopts English culture; Samad lives in England, but adopts Indian culture.

Archie, coming from "Brighton" (Smith 2000, 102), also lives in London and he has the advantage of having access to full equipped libraries there; this helps him to disprove Samad's claims with regard to Anglo-Indian history. In the city, he finds many library books written against Mangel Pande. Thus, he may stand for the ordinary Londoner who is exposed to the one-sided English publication world. If he were in a village or in a small city, where the influence of the publication world is not as strong as it is in the big cities, he could not be so stubborn and so biased against Samad's arguments as he would not have "evidence" in his hands.

However, in *White Teeth*, there is one person, the national hero of Samad, Mangal Pande, who is from "a small town" (Smith 2000, 253) which lacks the facilities of helping raise national consciousness. However, Pande develops a sense of national consciousness and starts the first movement of the Indian independence. He shows resistance against British rule in Barrackpore,[90] which is observed as the place of several mutinies against British rule both in *Shadow of the Moon* (Kaye 376) and *White Teeth* (Smith 2000, 254). Since his struggle for freedom is seen as a threat to British interests, he is described by Fitchett as "drunk" (qtd. in Smith 2000, 254) at the time of the Mutiny.

People's regional background influences their attitudes towards politics and nationalism, due to the fact that the region one lives in also determines his educational life and background with regard to the educational facilities a region embodies. Therefore, education is another important denominator in determining one's stance towards nationalism.

In *White Teeth,* educational background of the characters seems to play a role, though there is limited information. It is only expressed that Samad studied biology in Britain and he went to college in Delhi. Most probably, his college education in Delhi is the most influential period in his life in developing his investigative spirit. He is confident of himself and defends his ideas to the end and this is illustrated in his defence of Pande's acts during the Indian Mutiny. He is a well-educated Indian man, whereas his English friend Archie has a short school life. Reversal of the stereotypes of educated English man and ignorant Indian man can be observed in *White Teeth*. The words "Archie's Failure to Go to Grammar School because his mother couldn't afford to buy the uniform" (Smith 2000, 90) reveals that Archie does not have the chance to continue his education. His lack of proper education results in being closed to new ideas and in adopting an uncritical attitude towards the official history, which also cause him to present a negative stance towards Indian nationalism throughout *White Teeth*.

Like Archie, Alsana is also deprived of the education she dreams of. In a discussion with Samad, she defines herself in these words: "What do I know… barefoot country girl… never went to the universities" (Smith 2000, 80). After observing her realistic stance in life, her question "What do I know" can be taken as a rhetorical one. She makes up for her lack of education through following the news on TV and through her experience in life. She loves India, but at the same time she is capable of adapting to British way of life. This is reflected in her clothes as well; she wears sports-shoes and *sari* at the same time (Smith 2000, 198). She can be defined as a moderate nationalist.

Contrary to her, her twin sons are driven to extremes. Magid who is sent to India and exposed to Indian education and culture becomes an admirer of British culture and Millat who remains in London and is exposed to British education and culture becomes

a radical nationalist. Thus, it can be observed that one's stance towards Indian nationalism may differ with regard to his educational background; however Magid and Millat's experiences are an exception.

The case of the twins' education needs further analysis. Millat's education's predominant characteristic is its privileging of WASP values, based on the continuation of the belief of the superiority of the English people by erasing indigenous and national values. This is done through the exclusion of the cultural festivals of the minorities and privileging the Anglo-Saxon festivals (Smith 2000, 131-133) to ensure the continuance of cultural colonialism and to erase the national values of the each immigrant group. The English education system not only excludes the festivals of the immigrants but also categorises all the immigrants, Indians, Jamaicans or Spanish, regardless of their differences and national backgrounds, as the other, as the non-whites. This also contributes to the erasure of their national values and cultures:

> Differences between colonies were subordinated to their common difference from Britain…Colonial education systems reinforced this axis by providing in-school 'readers' (for example, the Royal Reader Series in the West Indies, or the Queensland Readers in Australia) a normative core of British literature, landscape, and history (Browning's thoughts in exile, Wordsworth's daffodils, Sir Philip Sidney's chivalry) and a sprinkling of colonial adventure which often asserted British values against a hostile physical or human environment (Stanley's explorations, Newbolt's desperate cricketers). It required the aggression of nationalist traditions to break this pattern of inevitable reference to Britain as a standard and to provide space for the consideration of the literary and cultural patterns the colonies shared. (Ashcroft et al. 18-19)

However, educational policies may have some unexpected effects and from time to time they may end in failure as it is observed in Millat's case, in his Anglo-Saxon centred education, and in Magid's case, in his Islam centred education. By ignoring Millat's differences and uniqueness, the Anglo-Saxon centred education policy turns Millat into a gang leader. However, Magid's strict Muslim education in India leads him into the denial of his Indianness. Thus, it can be suggested that the young Indian people,

especially the second generation, like the twins in *White Teeth,* are very different from their elders. According to Wood, the second generation lack the "sympathy of their elders for both their own culture and that of the West; for them the West means a fast life style …Perhaps surprisingly, [they] can also be aggressively nationalistic; they are great believers in…the dawn of the Asian century" (212). This observation is true to some extent; some aspects of it are illustrated by Millat, some aspects of it are illustrated by Magid. For instance, Millat leads a fast life with his gang-like group KEVIN and he is aggressively[91] nationalistic, whereas Magid has no sympathy for Indian culture and becomes a mimic man and even changes his name to Mark Smith (Smith 2000, 151), which shows the loss of his Indian identity and the break with his past, with his roots as his father had given his name by reading the azan into his ear. His change of name means a complete breakaway from his previous life, Indian life. Neither Millat nor Magid can escape from living in a state of social and religious limbo; this makes Millat very angry as revealed in his conversation below with Samad. One day, "[Samad] wrote IQBAL from one chair leg to the next. Then, in an attempt to make it more permanent, he had gone over it again with a pen knife, scratching it into the stone" (Smith 2000, 505). Samad's behaviour suggests that the act of naming and the usage of one's own language signify having power:

> It meant I wanted to write my name on the world. It meant I presumed. Like the Englishmen who named streets in Kerala after their wives, like the Americans who shoved their flag in the moon. It was a warning from Allah. He was saying: Iqbal, you are becoming like them. That's what it meant.'
>
> It just meant *you're nothing*. And looking at it now, Millat felt nothing but contempt…That's why Pande hung from a tree while Havelock the executioner sat on a chaise lounge in Delhi. Pande was no one and Havelock was someone. No need for library books and debates and reconstructions… Because Millat was here to finish it… To turn that history around. He liked to think he had a different attitude, a second generation attitude. If Marcus Chalfen was going to write his name all over the world, Millat was going to write it BIGGER. There would be no misspelling his name in the history books. (Smith 2000, 506)

This passage is very illustrative of the second generation Indian attitude towards Indian history and identity and shows that Millat and Samad seem to hold completely opposite views as the former thinks that Indians have no name, no history, no identity of their own.

However, a further insight into Samad's psychological world reveals that deep-down Samad also has similar anxities with Millat as he knows that, in England whatever they do, they will never be welcomed and will never be perceived as people with their own names and identities, but will just be tolerated:

> Cold, wet, miserable; terrible food, dreadful newspapers - who would want to stay? In a place where you are never welcomed, only tolerated. Just tolerated. Like you are an animal finally house-trained…Who would want to stay? But you have made a devil's pact…it drags you in and suddenly you are unsuitable to return, your children are unrecognizable, you belong nowhere." (Smith 2000, 407)

Samad's case of double-identity can be explained best by referring to Ashcroft's arguments about identity, place and displacement:

> It is here that the special post-colonial crisis of identity comes into being; the concern with the development or recovery of an effective identifying relationship between self and place… A valid and active sense of self may have been eroded by *dislocation*, resulting from migration, the experience of enslavement, transportation, or 'voluntary' removal for indentured labour. Or it may have been destroyed by *cultural denigration*, the conscious and unconscious oppression of the indigenous personality and culture by a supposedly superior racial or cultural model. The dialectic of place and displacement is always a feature of post-colonial societies whether these have been created by a process of settlement, intervention, or a mixture of the two. (9)

Thus, by writing his name on the floor, Samad tries to prove to the English people that he also exists in the world, in England. He knows that naming is closely linked to having power.

In *White Teeth*, there is another instance of naming, illustrative of its relation to power and power struggles. In the novel, there is a black girl called Irie, who is interested in Jamaican history and culture and on one occasion, she remembers the days when Columbus gives a new name[92] to a place in Jamaica, when he arrives there: "Somewhere Columbus called St Jago but the arawaks stubbornly re-named Xaymaca, the name lasting longer than they did. *Well-wooded and Watered* " (Smith 2000, 400). Zadie Smith, through the reference to Columbus and to the act of giving names, draws attention to the power struggles hidden in the naming of geographical places in colonial days and emphasises the power of naming when she underlines that the name lasts longer than the Arawaks did. From this story, it can be deduced that the Arawaks resist passively against Columbus by refusing to define their places in Columbus' language and by continuing to define the place in their own national or indigenous language. Then it is implied that though the Arawaks pass away, their words are still remembered. This indicates that though the Arawaks lose their physical existence, their national culture, national identity and their contributions to the world culture manage to survive.

However, Samad's son, Magid, willingly replaces his Muslim Indian name with a Christian English name. Hence his act means a defeat in this hidden power struggle in the game of name-giving between England and India. By changing his name, he tries to establish a new identity in order to start a new life for himself. In *White Teeth,* with respect to the importance of the influence of one's name on his/her identity*,* it is underlined that "Millat[93] was neither one thing nor the other, this or that, Muslim or Christian, Englishman or Bengali; he lived for the in between, he lived up to his middle name, Zulfikar, the clashing of two swords" (Smith 2000, 351). Moreover, the clash of Eastern and Western culture and the sense of disbelonging are seen both in Millat and his non-English friends. In other words, it can be suggested that to be born into an immigrant family in England is to be born into the third space, which paves the way for constructing new identities. In Homi Bhabha's own words: "These 'in-between' spaces

provide the terrain for elaborating strategies of selfhood - singular or communal - that initiate new signs of identity, and innovative sites of collaboration, and contestation, in the act of defining the idea of society itself'" (1-2).

Consequently, it is observed that neither Millat nor his friends feel at home in Britain and they live in the in-between spaces. Millat's past and roots always catch up with him and he is torn between loyalty to his Indian roots and his responsibilities as a young British man in London. This situation is foreseen by Alsana even in the beginning of *White Teeth* :

> But the past is made of more than words, dearie. We married old men, you see? These bumps'- Alsana pats them both - 'they will always have daddy-long-legs for fathers. One leg in the present, one in the past. No talking will change this. Their roots will always be tangled. And roots get dug up. Just look in my garden - birds at the coriander every bloody day…' (Smith 2000, 80)

Thus, to suppress the clashing of two opposite cultures and of the past and the present, and to develop strategies of selfhood, eventually Millat builds the KEVIN society. If the meaning[94] of his name, which is "birthday"; "Millat: birthday, birthday of Jesus Christ" (Özön 536, Translations mine), is considered and applied to Millat's condition, it may be suggested that his building of KEVIN becomes a kind of birthday for the minorities, especially for the Muslim minority in London. Thus, through establishing KEVIN and through protecting the Muslim minority's rights, Millat tries to construct his identity. He reads "the autobiography of Malcolm X" (Smith 2000, 352), which shows that he takes Malcolm X as a role model for himself and reconstructs his identity under Malcolm X's influence.

His twin brother's full name is Magid Mahfooz Murshed Mubtasim Iqbal. Magid means "fame and honour" (Özön 469); Mahfooz means "embosomed, larvated, secreted" (Özön 475); Murshed means "guide, pioneer, shepherd, leader" (Özön 604) and finally Mubtasim means "smiling" (Özön 579). Under the light of all these meanings of his name, it can be suggested that Magid is Samad's hope for the future as he might be a

famous Muslim to guide his congregation as it is implied in the name of Murshed. But contrary to Samad's expectations, he turns out to be a hidden English man captivated in a dark-skinned body, as it is implied in his name, Mahfooz, meaning "hidden."

Finally, the meaning of Samad Miah Iqbal is also significant as Samad means "so almighty" (Özön 732; Örs 461), and Iqbal means "good fortune" (Özön 368). As it is indicated in his name, with all his might he searches for a pro-Pande book. The belief of "having might and power to achieve his ends" leads him to do research and then to the discovery of the book.

All these, Magid's changing his name, Millat's founding a group like KEVIN, show that young Indian people living in England are in search of an identity. Their efforts of constructing an identity are not always welcome by their parents and result in disappointment on the side of the parents, eventually increasing the generation gap:

> …mutinous Millat aged thirteen… chased blondes and smelt of tobacco, and not just Millat but all the children: … Dipesh (fifteen, marijuana), Kurshed (eighteen, marijuana and very baggy trousers), Khaleda (seventeen, sex before marriage with Chinese boy), … what had gone wrong with these first descendants of the great ocean-crossing experiment? … Hadn't they all come to this island for a reason? To be safe. Weren't they *safe*?
>
> Too safe, Samad explained, … How can our boys become men when they are never challenged like men? Hmm? No doubt… sending Magid back was the best thing. I would recommend it.'… A distance was establishing itself, not simply between fathersons, oldyoung, bornthereborn here, but between those who stayed indoors and those who ran riot outside… (Smith 2000, 219)

In *White Teeth*, in addition to the problems resulting from the generation gap, problems resulting from the young Indians's attitude towards English culture and racism, and towards Indian culture and nationalism are reflected. In the novel, it is observed that however hard these young immigrants try, they are looked down on by the English and the denial of their existence and their identities by the English trigger antagonism

between the English society and the immigrants. Thus, their exclusion by the English society paves the way to the establishment of KEVIN[95]. By coming together, they can defend the Indians and other immigrant groups against any threat, such as the racial attacks they are exposed to in England. In doing so, they can prove to the English society that they also exist and whether the English people like it or not, they too have power, and can defend themselves against the English people's racial attacks and discriminative acts, if the necessity arises. The members of KEVIN represent a religion and culture which remains entirely separate from the WASP culture. This can be seen as an important development since they establish a group, where they can have a kind of sense of belonging, and where they can be themselves. For instance, Millat is distinctly Indian in his customs, manners and diet. Millat tries to adopt an Indian identity. He tries to find an answer to the question "What constitutes Indian-ness?" Is it something to distinguish oneself from the others or is it being the same with others? Stern puts the basics of national identity as,

> more or less shared characteristics, at least: myths and mythologies, memories of the past, the sense of a common fate - now and in the future; religious, philosophical and intellectual traditions, political ideologies and modi operandi, emotional and affective conventions, self perceptions and notions about others and the world in general, prejudices and stereotypes, ideas about morality and propriety; affinities of social structure, language, physiognomy - actual and perceived; music, art and architecture; diet, dress and adornment. (23)

Young immigrants try to create these criteria within the sphere of KEVIN. Moreover, Alsana has the same anxities and she is worried about Millat's new identity conceptualisation since she thinks that Irie, a black English girl, and Millat's other friends are "Englishifying him completely! They're deliberately leading him away from his culture and his family and his religion" (Smith 2000, 345). However, time proves her fears wrong and Millat becomes the defender of Muslim Indian culture.

Paradoxically, Magid becomes English-like; the more he is exposed to Indian culture, the more hatred he develops towards it. In Samad's own words: "The one I send home

comes out a pukka Englishman, white suited, silly wig lawyer. The one I keep here is fully paid-up green bow-tie-wearing fundemantalist terrorist" (Smith 2000, 407). Thus, Millat creates his own diet by eating *halal* food, his own dress by wearing green bow-ties, which is known as the colour of Islam, within the circle of KEVIN.

As it has been observed in *White Teeth,* KEVIN is a youth gang popular among the immigrants agewise varying from "the sixteen and to twenty-five" (Smith 2000, 470), and who are holding onto their indigenous customs and life style. This youth gang is not confined only to Indian youth, but to all immigrant youths from all walks of life, from all countries. For example, a young immigrant, Mohammed Hussein Ishmael (or Mo), who is the owner of the most famous *halal* butcheries in North London, becomes a member of KEVIN to be protected from racial attacks and organised racial discrimination (Smith 2000, 472). KEVIN's interest is not only limited to racial attacks, but also to the psychological exploitation as well. For instance, a member of KEVIN, called Brother Ibrahim suffering from psychological exploitation, finds peace in the shelter of KEVIN, after becoming the main target of the English media as he "locked himself in his aunt's Birmingham garage and spent five more years in there, with only the Quran and the fascicles of Endless Bliss for company" (Smith 2000, 469). The British press mocks him; showing no respect for his religious identity. Therefore, Millat expresses that as a member of KEVIN he wants to "dissect Christian culture and Western morals until it was dust in his hands. He [Millat] wanted the degenerate nature of these people explained to him" (Smith 2000, 473). The sentences above show that disrespect to religion is Millat's Achilles' heel as it was for Samad's great-grand father, Mangal Pande in the days of the Indian Mutiny.

In other words, young Indian people like Millat are as sensitive as their ancestors with regard to issues concerning their national honour and pride. Smith gives us a very distinct picture of the British society in London at the turn of the twenty-first century. She also sheds light on the reasons behind the establishment of KEVIN and why it is welcomed especially by the young immigrants.

Hence, it can be claimed that old Indian people like Samad tend to show passive resistance against English culture, whereas young Indian people on the whole tend to show an open and radical resistance against English culture and do not hesitate to use violence. Furthermore, old Indian people, like Samad, prefer to defend Indian nationalism and Indian national heroes through persuasion, through narrating the background of the Indian Mutiny, whereas young Indian people like Millat, are ready to take action in order to defend their national identity, if an English person shows any sign of disrespect towards them either by insulting their religion or by disdaining their race. Thus, in *White Teeth* young Indian people seem to be more aggressive and radical in order to preserve their identity.

Consequently, it may be suggested that in *White Teeth,* Zadie Smith does not judge either the English or the Indians. She displays a neutral and distanced attitude towards Indian nationalism as she invites the reader to look at the Indian Mutiny of 1857 from different angles; that is both from the English and from the Indian perspectives at the same time.

CONCLUSION

In this dissertation, the manner in which the Indian and English characters' stances differ towards Indian nationalism with regard to factors such as race, class, gender, religion, region, education and age has been examined in twentieth century selective British novels, namely in Kaye's *Shadow of the Moon* (1957), Farrell's *The Siege of Krishnapur* (1973), and Smith's *White Teeth* (2000).

In *Shadow of the Moon,* with regard to race, it has been observed that generally the English people like Alex and Winter are against Indian nationalism, while most Indian people, like Kishan Prasad support it. Then, with regard to gender, it can be suggested that characters' gender does not have a significant influence on their attitudes towards Indian nationalism since English men such as Alex and women such as Winter have a negative stance towards Indian nationalism, while Indian men and women have a positive stance towards it. Unlike gender, the characters' class backgrounds seem to be quite influential in determining their stance as it is observed in *Shadow of the Moon.* Regardless of their racial backgrounds, both English and Indian middle class people such as Sir Henry Lawrence and some unnamed Indian landholders prefer to prevent the development of Indian nationalism. In addition to these, religion is very influential in shaping one's ideas; thus the English Christians like Alex are depicted as against Indian nationalism due to the fact that many Indians are non-Christians. Moreover, with regard to the characters' regional backgrounds it can be suggested that urban Indian people like Kishan Prasad are more likely to have developed national consciousness than rural people as seen in the case of the nameless Indian villagers in *Shadow of the Moon.* Furthermore, the analysis of the characters' educational backgrounds reveal that English education either enables both the English and the Indian people to justify the British rule in India or leads the Indian people to question the British rule there. For instance, Alex being an Oxford graduate justifies the British rule in India, and his servant Niaz, having been exposed to English culture through his master Alex, does not question it, either. Finally, with regard to the age of the characters in *Shadow of the Moon,* it can be concluded that both young and old English people such as Sir Henry Lawrence and

Alex are against Indian nationalism. As opposed to them, both young and old Indian people like Kishan Prasad and Akbar Khan work for the spread of Indian nationalism, the young Indians as active defenders, the old Indians as mentors.

In Farrell's *The Siege of Krishnapur,* there are many English characters, but there are only a few Indian characters. The Indian race is presented as a crowd as it is illustrated through the references to the *sepoys*. They are deprived of identity and of flesh and blood representation in *The Siege of Krishnapur*. In addition to the shortage of the Indian characters in *The Siege of Krishnapur,* there is limited data about them. However, it can be suggested that if a general look is taken at the English race and Indian race, it is seen that English people such as Fleury and Harry Dunstaple adopt a negative attitude towards Indian nationalism, whereas Indian people such as the *Maharaj* support it. Similarly, with regard to gender there is not enough data in *The Siege of Krishnapur* to draw a conclusion. With regard to class, many English characters, who have middle class backgrounds such as the Collector, are against Indian nationalism. In addition, in *The Siege of Krishnapur* with regard to religion, Christians such as Pande seem to consider Indians merely as pagan people, who should be converted to Christianity. In this novel, with regard to Sikhs and Muslims, it is seen that some of them help the English, but the Muslims are defined as the most loyal sect to the English among the Indians. Moreover, cities are considered as suitable places for the strengthening of national movements. The references to the rebellions in Delhi illustrate the nationalistic atmosphere in the cities. Moreover, the influence of education on one's stance towards nationalism is illustrated with characters who are exposed to military education such as Harry or religious education such as the Padre. However, regardless of the differences between military or religious education, nearly all the English characters seem to be against Indian nationalism, which suggests that all the English institutions such as the army and the church implement the concept of the white man's burden in the minds of the English people. Paradoxically, in *The Siege of Krishnapur* it is revealed that even Indian people exposed to English education seem to share similar anti-Indian nationalist approaches with the English; Hari's previous anti-Indian attitude can be an example for this. One's age, regardless of being Indian or English, does not

seem to be as influential as the other factors in relation to one's attitude towards Indian nationalism in *The Siege of Krishnapur.*

Furthermore, in Smith's *White Teeth* English people seem to be against Indian nationalism; for example Archie illustrates a negative stance towards it. Yet, the Indian people can be divided into two groups: those like Millat who support the development of Indian nationalism and those like Magid who remain indifferent to the development of Indian nationalism. Related to class, in *White Teeth* both English and Indian characters are mostly from working class and the relationship between one's class and attitude is illustrated through Samad and Archie as both men accept their elders' version of the Indian Mutiny as truth. The former believes in the Indian version of it, while the latter prefers to belive in the English version without any doubt. With regard to gender, there is not enough data in order to make deductions. However, religion seems to be a crucial factor in shaping both the Indians' and the English people's attitudes towards Indian nationalism. Among the Indians, while Muslims like Samad support it with all their hearts, there are some exceptions like Magid, who remain indifferent to it. As for the Christian English such as Archie, they are presented as against Indian nationalism. Related to the characters' regional backgrounds, like Samad most of the characters have urban backgrounds, but only Pande comes from a small town. Yet, it is observed that both Samad and Pande are on the side of the development of Indian nationalism, regardless of their different regional backgrounds. In *White Teeth* education seems to be very influential in shaping the characters' stance, but after Samad's experience regarding the education of his twin sons, it is shown that from time to time education may end in failure in creating the desired effects as it happens in the twins' education. The last criterion, that is one's age, seems to be only slightly influential in national issues as both young and old Indian people have nationalistic tendencies. However, while the young like Millat are more active and courageous, the old like Samad are more passive and prudent.

Thus, when *Shadow of the Moon, The Siege of Krishnapur* and *White Teeth* are taken into consideration together the following conclusions can be drawn. It is observed that the English and the Indian characters display different attitudes towards Indian

nationalism in these novels. With regard to the race of the characters, it can be pointed out that English people, without any exception, are certainly against the development of Indian nationalism. However, on the Indian side, it is difficult to make such a clear statement since some of the Indians are for, whereas some of the Indians are against the development of Indian nationalism.

Classwise, it can be claimed that in these novels middle class Indian people along with middle class English people do their best to prevent the spread of Indian nationalism. This paradoxical situation arises from the fact that middle class Indian people in India are exposed to English education since their childhood and they are brought up with English values. As Anita Loomba suggests, "English was not taught just as a foreign language but was the means of imposing a culture, a cluster of ideologies, a way of being and seeing, of which the literary text became the privileged signifier" (qtd. in Country 260). As depicted in *Shadow of the Moon, The Siege of Krishnapur* and *White Teeth,* contrary to the middle class Indian people, members of the *sepoy* army fully support Indian nationalism and in fact they are the first ones to start the Indian National Movement with the outbreak of the *Sepoy*s Rebellion.

Genderwise, the scenes illustrating the male stance towards Indian nationalism outnumber the ones illustrating the female stance towards this issue. On both the English and the Indian sides, men seem to be more active than women in the national and political arenas. It has also been observed that there is not enough data related to Indian women[96] characters' approach towards this issue in these three novels, except for a few minor characters such as the unnamed prostitute, who passively resist the British *Raj,* in *Shadow of the Moon* and except for Alsana, who is always interested in India's politics and problems, in *White Teeth*. On the other hand, with respect to the English female characters, having an anti-Indian nationalist stance, they are described as bringing the latest rumours about the organisation of the Mutiny in order to protect the English males like Winter does in *Shadow of the Moon,* and they are also described as making cartridges such as Lucy does in *The Siege of Krishnapur*. However, in *White Teeth,* there is not any clue regarding the English female characters' stance towards Indian nationalism. As for religion, most of the Christian English people are against the

development of Indian nationalism, perceiving the non-Christian Indians as non-believers. The "heathens" can only be saved, if they are converted to true Christians. On the other hand, some of the Indians, regardless of their Hindu or Muslim backgrounds, tend to either support Indian nationalism or prevent the development of Indian nationalism. They do not pay attention to the religious differences between the English and themselves. Indian people prefer to deal with the internal religious secterian conflicts among themselves rather than the differences between Christians and non-Christians. Consequently, because of the internal secterian conflicts some Indians feel sympathy towards the British *Raj*, and prefer to be ruled by a Christian English administration instead of a Muslim Indian or a Hindu Indian administration. This attitude creates a suitable atmosphere for the strengthening of the divide-and-rule policy of British administrators and contributes to the interests of the British Empire.

In *Shadow of the Moon* and *The Siege of Krishnapur,* the role of one's regional background is presented in a similar way; the urban people are shown to be more conscious about national issues compared to the rural people. However, in *White Teeth* both urban and rural characters are depicted as having national consciousness. In many history books, it is stated that *sepoys* first rebel against British rule in Berhampur and Barrackpore and then the Mutiny spreads to Meerut, Delhi and Calcutta, all of which are situated in the Northern part of India (Mahmud 223; Wood 167). Kaye, Farrell and Smith remain loyal to historical data since in all of the three novels[97], the Northern part of India seems to be the setting of the Independence Movement. Taking the geographical features[98] of North India into consideration, this may be because of the fact that the North is mountainous and is closed to invaders and hence to foreign influence (Delgoda 2). After comparing Northern[99] and Southern India with regard to social and geographical aspects, Delgoda states that Southern India has so much ethnic-religious diversity[100](12) that this diversity may be one of the reasons why Southern Indian people cannot come together under the desire of being a nation. He also states, "[a]s any visitor will observe, southern India is inhabited by people with a distinct ethnic and cultural make-up, speaking languages which are quite unlike those in the north" (11).

With respect to the characters' educational backgrounds, in *Shadow of the Moon, The Siege of Krishnapur* and *White Teeth*, it can be concluded that some Indian people who are exposed to English education have sympathy for the British *Raj*. On the other hand, English education creates a boomerang effect and causes some of the Indian people to question the British *Raj* and take important steps towards the independence of India. Many of the English people, regardless of their military or religious educational backgrounds, believe in the superiority of the British Empire and even deny the possibility of the emergence of an Indian national movement.

Finally, with regard to the age of the English characters in *Shadow of the Moon, The Siege of Krishnapur* and *White Teeth*, whether young or old, they all refuse to perceive Indian people as grown-up adults, who can take responsibility; the English people see the Indians as immature, childish people. This perception is valid for English children as well. Even English children see Indian adults as either their toys or their playmates. English children are conscious of their Englishness and their so-called superiority. Therefore, they treat their Indian servants accordingly. Hence, it can be suggested that most of the English people, regardless of their age are against Indian nationalism. In these three novels, on the Indian side, while some old Indian people take sides with the English, others work for the independence of India secretly. But Indian nationalism, within the framework of these three novels, seems to be shaped and directed by young Indian males. They have the courage and energy to make their claim for the independence of India. Nonetheless, there are also some young Indians who are admirers of the English way of life and hence cannot go beyond being just mimic men.

Judging from Kaye's, Farrell's and Smith's approaches to Indian nationalism, it can be suggested that from 1957 to 2000, British writers have undergone a significant change in their attitude towards this issue since both Mary Margaret Kaye and James Gordon Farrell adopt the paternal coloniser's attitude and illustrate an anti-Indian nationalist stance, whereas Zadie Smith adopts a neutral stance towards Indian nationalism. In other words, within approximately fifty years, a remarkable change in the attitudes of Mary Margaret Kaye, James Gordon Farrell and Zadie Smith towards Indian nationalism can be observed.

This change of attitude towards Indian nationalism among the British writers is related to the socio-political changes in Britain, as well. First, *Shadow of the Moon* is written when Britain begins to lose its colonies and power. Thus, during this period it is difficult for the English people to accept that Britain is beginning to lose its power. As a reflection of these times, Mary Margaret Kaye has the paternal coloniser's attitude towards Indian nationalism in *Shadow of the Moon,* since like Rudyard Kipling she is a defender of the idea that the white man should guide the indigenous people and should bring civilisation to them. Secondly, the year 1973, in which *The Siege of Krishnapur* is written, is the time when India's power is on the rise, whereas Britain's power is on the decline and through his novel James Gordon Farrell suggests that if more sound policies had been followed, the Indian Mutiny and Indian nationalism may not have occurred and the British rule in India could have continued. Finally in the year 2000, in which *White Teeth* is written, nearly fifty years have passed since the independence of India. This time gap gives sufficient time for the English society to have a look at their imperial past, and eventually the emergence of a critical look at Imperialism begins to be observed. However, in *White Teeth* it is observed that Zadie Smith adopts a neutral attitude towards Indian nationalism. In addition, she raises the issue that so-called terrorists like Pande, may have done the right thing in believing in "secessionist nationalism" (Stern 107) in the Mutiny days. Thus, Zadie Smith seems to have a neutral approach to historical events by taking sides neither with the English nor with the Indians. Her neutral stance may also arise from the fact that she describes the nineteenth century from the perspective of a twenty-first century person and with the cultural background of a millennium writer, which means she can have a comparatively more distanced and objective stance due to the time gap between the Indian Mutiny and the century she lives in.

Moreover, in order to have a better understanding of Mary Margaret Kaye's, James Gordon Farrell's and Zadie Smith's stances towards Indian nationalism, their contemporaries should be briefly mentioned as well. In bibliographic studies such as Gupta's *India in English Fiction, 1800-1970* and books on Anglo-Indian fiction such as Chakravarty's *The Indian Mutiny and the British Imagination*, it has been observed that

after the independence of India in 1947 the number of Mutiny novels which were written by the British authors seem to have decreased since in the colonial days, the suppression of the Mutiny stands for the British Supremacy in India. But after 1947, the theme of Indian Mutiny loses its popularity among the British authors due to the fact that India was no longer a colony and the suppression of the Indian Mutiny could not be shown as a symbol of the superiority of the English race and culture.

In the 1950s, John Masters and Mary Margaret Kaye seem to be the only British writers who deal with the Indian Mutiny. In 1951, Masters' novel *The Nightrunners of Bengal* was published (Chakravarty 8; Gupta 132); in this novel, he adopts a pro-imperialist attitude ("Nightrunners of Bengal"). Peter Morey finds some parallels between Masters' and Kipling's writings and suggests that "[i]ndeed by concentrating on the English ruler facing various challenges, Masters can be said to resuscitate and participate in the myth of the White Man's Burden; nor is this his only connection with Kipling. Masters' writing allows a confirmation of imperial aims…" (80). Therefore, it can be suggested that Kaye's pro-*Raj* attitude in *Shadow of the Moon* is similar to her contemporary Masters.

In the 1970s[101], Norman Partington's *And Red Flows the Ganges* (1972) and George Macdonald Fraser's *Flashman in the Great Game* (1975) were published. In these novels, both Partington and Fraser support British imperialism (Chakravarty 8), as Farrell does in *The Siege of Krishnapur*. However, it should be underlined that Farrell may be different from his contemporaries because of his criticism of the wrong deeds of British administrators in India. He draws attention to their wrong policies, which stem from their ignorance of Indian culture and these wrong policies result in the rebellions against the British rule in India. Farrell underlines these strategical mistakes so that lessons should be derived from them. Hence, although Farrell is unique in his evaluation of the British policies in India among his contemporaries, his criticism of the British colonial practices should not be misinterpreted as that he was against the British *Raj*. On the contrary, he supports it, but suggests that the British *Raj* should have more sound policies to sustain itself.

Furthermore in 1985, there is Andrew Ward's *Blood-Seed,* which deals with the Indian Mutiny (Chakravarty 8) as well. This novel, which was published only fifteen years before *White Teeth*, gives clues about another British writer's stance towards Indian nationalism. Taking into account the interview with Andrew Ward in *India Abroad* ("Perhaps Gandhi was an Inevitability") and Sheila Solomon Klass' article in *The New York Times*, ("The Blood Seed") it can be claimed that in *Blood-Seed*, the emergence of a questioning attitude towards the British *Raj* is seen.

Although Kaye and Farrell share the same goal of undermining and looking down on Indian nationalism and they reaffirm the necessity and the superiority of the British *Raj*, they differ in their handling of the issue of the *Raj* and of Indian nationalism. In comparison, Zadie Smith seems to have a more objective attitude towards the development of Indian nationalism in her novel. Moreover, it can be suggested that Kaye's, Farrell's and Smith's attitudes towards Indian nationalism are nearly in the same line with the attitudes of their contemporary British writers towards this issue.

Consequently, taking Mary Margaret Kaye's *Shadow of the Moon,* James Gordon Farrell's *The Siege of Krishnapur* and Zadie Smith's *White Teeth* into account, it can be suggested that within the fifty years, encompassing the publication of these three novels, the British writers' stance towards Indian nationalism have changed remarkably.

END NOTES

[1] However, the exact date of India's conquest by the Persians is a controversial issue:

> In the sixth century B.C., the Persian kingdom of the Achaemenids emerged within a few decades as the first major empire in recorded history. Kyros [Cyrus], the founder of this empire, is said to have sent an expedition to Afghanistan which reached the borders of India, but the conquest of Northwestern India was left to Dareios [Darius] (521 to 485 B.C). In the famous inscription of Behistun (c.518 B.C), he mentions Gandhara as a province of his empire. Other inscriptions add Hindush (Sindh) to this list of provinces only a few years later. (Kulke 53)

[2] "Kozhikode was formerly called Calicut. It was the traditional capital of Northern Kerala under the Samuthiri rule. Calicut, the most important city of the Malabar region of Kerala, was a leading trading centre for spices on the West Coast of India during the medieval period" ("Kozhikode").

[3] Great Britain's supremacy begins in India in 1757 (James 33).

[4] The date of the establishment of the East India Company is a controversial issue and its establishment date changes from book to book; for instance in Mahmud's book it is given as "1599" (15), while in Edwardes' book it is "1600" (183).

[5] The chief port in Western India in 1612 (Edwardes 15).

[6] The trading posts were called "factories" in the seventeenth century (Edwardes 15).

[7] A *sepoy* (from Urdu *sipahi*, soldier) was a native of India employed as a soldier in the service of a European power, usually of the United Kingdom ("Sepoy") and moreover *sepoys* might also be called *sipahi* who was "a trooper, usually an infantryman" (Chakravarty xi).

[8] "*Nawab:* the pl. of *Naib* or deputy; the title of provincial governors in the late Mughal administration, though under British rule it sometimes came to mean independent rulers" (Chakravarty x).

[9] Clive, "even obtained a Mughal title, Sabat Jung - the tried in battle - from Delhi" (Spear 84).

[10] The right to collect all taxes belongs to the civil administration (Mahmud 191).

[11] The panic caused by the policy of annexation is narrated in the passage below:

> These policies of abolition and annexation greatly alarmed the Indian ruling classes, many of whom were already deeply uneasy about British expansion. These deep-seated feelings of fear and unease were also shared by the majority of the ordinary people. The spread of English education, the astounding technological innovations, the unprecedented social reforms, all had a deeply disturbing effect on conservative minds. Combined with the effect of the increasing missionary activity of the times, it served to give the impression that Indian religion and culture itself was in danger. (Delgoda 165)

[12] The main features of *atta* are summarised in the quotation below:

> *Atta* is a mixture of wheat flour, water and a little bit of oil. It is kneaded and then rolled out so that it looks like a pancake and then cooked with a little oil on a *tawa* which is a heavy black disc-shaped kind of frying pan without handles. After it is cooked, it is called *chuppati* which is the staple bread for Indians. Poor people survive on this and vegetables. It is even cheaper than rice. (Private e-mail

correspondence with Vinita Vudali, an Indian English teacher, on 23 October 2005 via vinitavudali@hotmail.com)

[13] With regard to the privileges given to the Europeans and with regard to the racial discrimination applied to the Indians, after the Mutiny of 1857, Aiyar states:

> After the Mutiny, the total strength of the European troops was largely increased and that of the Indian Army largely diminished. It was decided that the ratio of Indian to British troops should never greatly exceed two to one and that the field and other artillery should be exclusively manned by Europeans. They considered the military police to be an element of future danger and would not therefore give them a stricter military training than was required for [sustaining] discipline. The commission further recommended that the Indian section of the army should be composed of different nationalities and castes which should, as a general rule, be mixed premisculously in each regiment; that Europeans alone should, as far as possible, be employed in the scientific branch of the services and that a Corps of Pioneers should be formed for the purpose of relieving European Sappers from duties entailing exposure to the climate. (20)

[14] The term *Raj* may be explained as either "the British government of India after 1858" (Chakravarty x) or "(the period of) British rule in India before 1947" (Hornby 960).

[15] "Caste may be defined as a system of social stratification characterized by hierarchy, heredity, pursuit of one or a few particular occupations, inequality, endogamy, restrictions as to taking food from outsiders, and the Notion of purity and pollution associated with hierarchy" (Jha 19).

[16] "Banerjea was one of the first Indians ever to be admitted to this service" (Kulke 259).

[17] *Dyarchy* also means "divided responsibility" (Embree 56) and it was "the invention of the imperial theoretician Lionel Curtis" (Spear 187).

[18] In other words, "at the centre there were to be two legislative bodies. One, "the Council of State," which would function like "the House of Lords" in England. The other would be called "the Legislative Assembly" (Mahmud 243-244).

[19] The Rowlatt Act is also known as the Black Act and it gives the full authority to the government to inquire into "criminal conspiracies - i.e. terrorist activities" (Edwardes 200) and to imprison a person without trial if he is suspected of criminal conspiracies (James 468-469 and Edwardes 200).

[20] His struggles become the topic of some novels like Raja Rao's *Kanthapura* (1938) (Gupta 166) and R. K. Narayan's *Waiting for Mahatma* (1955) (Gupta 148).

[21] Paradoxically, the idea of *Purna Swaraj* brought not only unity and self-government but also division and bloodshed to India because the attitudes of the Hindus revealed that "the Purna Swaraj… meant the rule of majority in India, that is the Hindus" and this caused "Hindu-Muslim riots" (Mahmud 248) and continued until the partition of Pakistan from India. Nevertheless, "the partition did not solve the secterian conflicts… Altogether and violent clashes between Hindus, Muslims, and Sikhs followed this partition. Moreover, the area of Kashmir became a source of controversy and this led to the First Indo-Pakistani War between the years of 1947 and 1949" (Spear 240-241).

[22] Burma was a part of India in the past and it separated from her in 1948 (Ferro 327; James 549).

[23] The important role played by Muslims in the Indian Army at home and abroad greatly strengthened Jinnah's hand (Wolpert 332).

[24] Rudyard Kipling believed that white man had responsibilities towards the black people or the native people such as educating and protecting them and he defined the obligations of white men in his famous poem entitled "The White Man's Burden" which first appeared in *McClure's Magazine* ("The White Man's Burden").

[25] The terms nation and state are often used interchangeably; to clarify them it may be said that "'nation' must refer to a community of people with aspiration to be politically self-determining, and 'state' must refer to the set of political institutions that they may aspire to possess for themselves" (Miller 19). Thus, the state

> refers exclusively to public institutions, differentiated from, and autonomous of, other social institutions and exercising a monopoly of coercion and extraction within a given territory. The nation, on the other hand, signifies a cultural and political boud, uniting in a single political community all who share an historic culture and homeland. (Smith 14-15)

[26] Herder, who coines the word 'nationalism' (in German), links a series of concepts - *Volk, Bildung*, language-as-consciousness-and-act, empathy, organic form, in an effort to connect with, and respect, what we must now call other cultures" (qtd. in During 139).

[27] It is worth noting that "[u]ntil the French Revolution, most countries were governed with 'hereditary monarchy,' but after the revolution people began to choose their leaders and their way of government. Many movements such as "nationalism, liberalism, socialism, and eventually communism" emerged "as a result of, or in reaction to, the French Revolution" ("Revolutionary Legacies in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries").

[28]  The Indian "flag with the colours saffron, white and green, and featuring the *"Charkha"* (spinning-wheel) in the centre" ("Flag of India").

[29] Although it is widely believed that nationalism became popular with the French Revolution, Ernest Renan, a well-known French theoretician, argues that its origins lie in earlier times. According to Renan nationalism emerges with the Normans: "The Germans had given the lead to establish a nation on the basis of racial unity. This, in fact, inspired other races of Europe to create the nations of their own based on racial unity. For example, the races like Polls [sic], Czecks [sic], Franks etc. succeeded in creating their nations basing on the racial unity" (qtd. in Singh 1995, 4) and "in the words of Rena [sic] 'in spite of the brutality of invaders (Germans) the pattern laid down by them became, in course of time, the very pattern of the nation' " (qtd. in Singh 1995, 4). Then Renan adds that,

> [t]he Norman invaders are credited to give the conquered country a nobility, military habits and a feeling of patriotism which were unknown to the original settlers. These habits and feelings made them proud of their race and nation. When they began to live together and face the common fate, a strong common feeling for their nation appeared which came to be known as nationalism. (qtd. in Singh 1995, 4)

[30] With regard to the origin of nationalism, it is stated that "[t]he concept of nationalism was alien to India before the nineteenth century just as it was alien to all other Asian and African countries" (Sarma 1). However, "…with the spread of Western education, the educated Indians became familiar with Western political ideas such as sovereignty and state, nation and parliament, limited monarchy and responsible government, rule of law, franchise and elections, uniform codes applicable to all classes, individual liberty and freedom of the press and so on" (Limaye 111).

[31] "The British's [sic] attempt to dominate France… roused the national spirit among the French" (Singh 1995, 6).

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[32] With respect to Ignatius Valentine Chirol in *Wikipedia* the following information is given:

> "Ignatius Valentine Chirol (28 May 1852 – 22 October 1929) was a journalist, prolific author, historian and British diplomat"… and he was the man who made the term 'Middle East' popular. "A series of twenty articles by Chirol that appeared in ***The Times*** in 1902 and 1903 under the heading "The Middle Eastern Question" helped to bring the term Middle East into common usage." He also wrote books called *Indian Unrest* (1910) and *India*; *Old and New* (1921) about India. However, "[d]eprecatory comments in Chirol's book *Indian Unrest* resulted in a civil suit being brought against him in London by Bal Gangadhar Tilak, who advocated Indian independence. Tilak lost the suit". ("Sir Ignatius Valentine Chirol")

[33] A selective list of novels on Indian nationalism between 1950 and 2002 would include the following:

(1950-1970)
Christine Weston, *The World is a Bridge* (1950)
Venu Chitale, *In Transition* (1950)
John Masters, *Nightrunners of Bengal* (1951)
Edison Marshall, *Bengal Tiger* (1952)
R.K. Narayan, *Waiting for Mahatma* (1955)
Khwaja Ahmad Abbas, *Inqilab* (1955)
Anand Lall, *The House at Adampur* (1956)
Khuswant Singh, *I Shall not Hear the Nightingale* (1959)
Alex Stuart, *Star of Oudh* (1960)
Stanley Wolpert, *Nine Hours to Rama* (1962)
Manohar Malgonkar, *The Princes* (1963) and *A Bend in the Ganges* (1964)
Satinath Bhaduri, *The Vigil* (1965)
Bhabani Bhattacharya, *Shadow from Ladakh* (1966)
Zulfikar Ghose, *The Contradictions* (1966)
Brian Cooper, *A Mission for Betty Smith* (1967)

Margaret Duncan, *The Faces of Courage* (1967)
George MacDonald Fraser, *Flashman: from the Flashman Papers* (1969) and *Royal Flash* (1970)
(Gupta 37-216)

(1972-1981)
Norman Partington, *And Red Flows the Ganges* (1972)
George MacDonald Fraser, *Flashman in the Great Game* (1975)
Paul Scott *Staying On* (1977)
Salman Rushdie, *Midnight's Children* (1981)
(Gupta 83; Chakravarty 8; Gorra 24; "*Midnight's Children"*)

(1985-2002)
Andrew Ward, *Blood Seed* (1985)
Gita Mehta, *Raj* (1989)
Rudrangshu Mukherjee, *Spectre of Violence* (1998)
Amitav Ghosh, *The Glass Palace* (2000)
George MacDonald Fraser, *Quartered Safe Out Here* (2000)
Saul David, *The Indian Mutiny* (2002)
(Chakravarty 8; "IndiaStar Review of Books Gita Mehta"; Erll 165; "Amitav Ghosh-*The Glass Palace*"; "Personal Interview")

[34] E.M.Forster (*A Passage to India,* 1924), George Orwell (*Burmese Days*, 1934) and Leonard Woolf (*Village in the Jungle*, 1913) are depicted as "attackers of the British *Raj* in India" by Dinshaw Maneck Burjorjee ("Anglo-Indian Politics in British Fiction").

[35] She also uses the name Mollie Hamilton and Mary Kaye in her writings ("About M M Kaye").

[36] *The Far Pavilions* (1984) was broadcasted as a television serial and it was also released in cinemas as *Blade of Steel* ("Mary Margaret (Mollie) Kaye").

[37] The relationship between Mary Margaret Kaye and Paul Scott is explained in the following sentences below:

> During the 1950s Mollie Kaye's agent was Paul Scott, who was embarking on The Raj Quartet [sic], his own epic about ex-patriate life in India. Scott had been to India during the war and had become fascinated by it; but he knew nothing of the country before the war. Mollie Kaye provided Scott with many stories of life in India in the 1920s; indeed, their collaboration was so close that it was she who suggested to him the theme of his most successful novel, Staying On [sic]. ("Mary Margaret Kaye")

It is also known that through *Staying On,* Paul Scott won the Booker Prize in 1977 ("Paul Mark Scott").

[38] Some parallels can be found between Alex's behaviour in *Shadow of the Moon* and Lord Curzon's behaviour in India due to the fact that Alex in the novel makes himself unpopular amongst the English expatriates by becoming friends with the Indians, and struggling to improve the efficiency of the British rule:

> The imperial ethos reached its peak during the viceroyalty of Lord Curzon (r.1899-1905). Perhaps the most brilliant man ever to become viceroy, Curzon was convinced of Britain's destiny to rule India. At the same time he was determined to improve the efficiency and justice of British rule. In this cause he worked tirelessly to improve the administration and made himself unpopular amongst the European expatriates by vigorously punishing incidents of racial violence. Despite this, Curzon did little to hide his belief in British superiority, which he felt was essential for the good of India. (Delgoda 173-174)

However, contrary to Lord Curzon, Alex does take part in an incident of racial violence by punishing three villagers without any questioning as he believes that the villagers are guilty.

[39] In relation to nationalism, Fanon himself supports "the radical anticolonial resistance movement" (Lazarus 198) and he expresses that there are many kinds of nationalism:

"[O]n the one hand, there was bourgeois nationalism, on the other, there was a liberationist, anti-imperialist, nationalist internationalism" (qtd. in Lazarus 198).

[40] With regard to the victimisation of women and children on both the English and the Indian side the passage below is significant:

> The murder of the defenceless women and children had a strange effect on the British officers, who afterwards seemed determined to inflict much the same thing on helpless Indians who crossed their path… The diaries of many British officers reveal a passionate and unforgiving hatred for the Indians, and this found expression in their behaviour. (Wood 168)

[41] "Caste may be defined as a system of social stratification characterized by hierarchy, heredity, pursuit of one or a few particular occupations, inequality, endogamy, restrictions as to taking food from outsiders, and the Notion of purity and pollution associated with hierarchy" (Jha 19).

[42] However, in "The Future Results of British Rule in India," Karl Marx in London, on July 22, 1853 foresees the future of the Anglo-Indian relations and suggests that

> [t]he Indians will not reap the fruits of the new elements of society scattered among them by the British bourgeoisie, till in Great Britain itself the now ruling classes shall have been supplanted by the industrial proletariat, or till the Hindoos themselves shall have grown strong enough to throw off the English yoke altogether. At all events, we may safely expect to see, at a more or less remote period, the regeneration of that great and interesting country [India], whose gentle natives are… even in the most inferior classes… have astonished the British officers by their bravery… (7)

[43] In *Shadow of the Moon,* Kaye refers to the rumours about the activities of Russian spies and remains loyal to the historical facts by emphasising their existence in India at the time of the Mutiny. Russian spies tended to live in cities which had strategic

importance. A section from Warikoo's book will be sufficient to give information about the Anglo-Russian rivalry over the strategic places in India:

> Especially Kashmir played a significant role in India's relations with Central Asia on account of its geographical proximity and cultural affinities with the region. Kashmir assumed a new importance in the context of the Anglo-Russian rivalry over Central Asia. The shadow of this rivalry continued to lurk even after the establishment of the Soviet power in Central Asia. The Anglo-Russian rivalry which lost its intensity with the conclusion of the 1907 convention and in the face of the emergence of a common threat from Germany, was again revived in the wake of the October revolution in Russia. The British felt tempted to interfere in Central Asia owing to the chaotic conditions of civil war there. The Soviets tried to embarrass the British by giving encouragement to anti-British activities of the Indian revolutionaries, which in turn resulted in the further tightening of British stranglehod over Kashmir and its frontier dependencies… The emergence of an independent India in 1947 alone terminated the Anglo-Russian tug of war in this strategic region. Independent India freed herself from the old hangovers of British imperialist policy in Central Asia and established close friendly relations with the Soviet Union. (221-222)

[44] As it was stated earlier, Persia was interested in India, too. This interest was so strong that it resulted in a war which ended with the victory of Britain on 4 March 1857. In the "Anglo-Persian War" it is explained that,

> [t]he Anglo-Persian War lasted between November 1, 1856 and April 4, 1857, and was fought between the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Persia…. In the war, the British opposed an attempt by the Persians to acquire the city of Herat, which was nominally part of Afghanistan (then a very loose entity) but which had been part of Persia under the Safavid dynasty. ("Anglo-Persian War")

The Anglo-Russian rivalry over India or Central Asia is called "the Great Game" ("Anglo-Persian War") and this Great Game rose from the fact that "Afghanistan [wanted] to remain an independent country [which was] friendly to Britain as [Britain

might be seen as] a buffer against Russian expansion towards India. They opposed an extension of Persian influence in Afghanistan because of the perception that Persia was [excessively] influenced by the Russians" ("Anglo-Persian War").

[45] From time to time, white man's burden or the mission of bringing civilisation to India is replaced with non-inference policy:

> After 1857, British policy in India had moved toward a position of non-interference. Consequently, Indian and English social reformers often found themselves confronted by government aloofness whenever they agitated for change in legistation concerning women. The resistance of the government to social reform and the new policy of non-interference was the result of a general shift in attitude among British officials following the 1857 Revolt. The liberal determination to improve India, which prevailed in the early and middle 1800s, gave way to an Orientalist refusal to change India. (Hubel 110)

[46] "The many thousands of castes in India are grouped into five broader social classes: The four varna that originated in ancient times (Brahman, priest; Ksatriya, warrior; Vaisya, tradesman; Sudra, worker) and the untouchable" (Wadley 122).

[47] About the negligence of the story of women or women's history, Bhardwaj states:

> Till very recently, the history of Partition was read essentially as HIS-STORY, with emphasis on men's experiences. Women were seen as small players who did not seem to have distinctive experiences of their own and who simply followed their men's commands, succumbing to them in order to save the 'honour' of their communities... The objective is to undo the myth that the history of women is the same as that of the history of men, that significant turning points in history have the same impact for one sex as for the other. This is not to say that the history of women cannot in any circumstance, ever be the same as that of men, simply that it cannot be subsumed in the history of mankind. (70)
>
> …
>
> Thus, while the so called 'ruling' class and also large number, of ordinary Indians unscarred by the trauma of Partition were celebrating Independence with joy - for

> women, as for many 'refugees', specially the middle class Hindus who migrated from West Punjab to Delhi and the less privileged Muslim community of Delhi, Independence remained a very 'abstract' thing. For women, 'Independence' was associated with Partition. It meant being uprooted, it cut at one stroke their 'familial channels'. Thus to them Independence and Partition could hardly be conceived of as separate things, they were the same. (73-74)

[48] *Havildar* means "sergeant (infantry)" (Kaye 613).

[49] Caste is a term coined by the Portuguese, and is not an Indian word. It comes from the Portuguese word *casta*, which means breed, race, or kind (Wood 222).

[50] Though there is a caste system in India, in this dissertation "class" will also be used with reference to the Indian characters' social backgrounds.

[51] *Durbar* means "public audience" or "levee" (Kaye 613).

[52] The use of animal fat was a taboo for Indian people and "[i]t was rumoured… that the cartridges were greased with animal fats that were unclean to either Hindus (who would be defiled were there cow fat in the grease) or Moslems (who would be equally defiled were there to be pig fat in the grease)" (Wood 166) and eventually all that led to the Mutiny.

[53] Mahatma Gandhi underlines the importance of rural places in the quotation below:
"You people are seeing Delhi - this is not India. Go to the villages; that is India, therein lives the soul of India" (qtd. in Mohanti 9).

[54] With regard to the the first British settlements in India the following information is given:

> Clive's triumph [at the Battle of Plassey] enabled the British to install their own nominee on the throne of Bengal, which became a British client state governed by a puppet ruler whose only duty was to satisfy the Company's financial

> expectations. Between 1757 and 1765 a series of ruthless financial and commercial demands gradually drained Bengal of its seemingly inexhaustible wealth. As Clive had anticipated, the rewards proved enormous and huge fortunes were made by the Company's servants; he himself became one of the richest men in England almost overnight, with a fortune of £234,000 plus an annual income worth £30,000. The new Nawab, [sic] however, proved unequal to the task of satisfying British expectations, and in 1765 the Company began to take over the administration of the province for itself. Within a few years the East India Company had become the real ruler of Bengal and Calcutta became the seat of government for the whole province. (Delgoda 153)

[55] With respect to the class consciousness and differences in the attitudes of the people living in villages and towns, it is stated that,

> [for] Indians who live in cities…class consciousness and conflict are facts of urban life…In villages and small towns class consciousness is not so clearly articulated and class conflict tends to be absorbed or incorporated into patron-client relationships and factional and caste conflicts. But even here, in the countryside, wealth and power are intruding more heavily than they have in the past and even displacing the traditional caste criteria of social status. (Stern 23)

[56] However, he is defined by Marx as the "great robber, Lord Clive" (qtd.in Pierson 180).

[57] In his person, Indian grandparents are depicted as unmerciful violent people who can sacrifice their own children in the name of Indian nationalism.

[58] Raymond Williams brings together

> three dimensions of textual, historical and theoretical analysis into the distinctive practice of cultural materialist investigation. In this new paradigm of study, a text is read formally, in terms of the play of its generic and internal construction; it is

> located historically, both in terms of its means and conditions of original production, and also in relation to the history of its readings; and it is read theoretically, in terms of whatever questions can be productively put to it. (qtd.in Higgins 173)

[59] "The loss of [the] empire came as a profound shock to Britain. For the past half century, successive politicians have attempted to re-define the UK's role in the modern world" ("Timeline: From Empire to Commonwealth").

Suez, 1956: the end of imperial self-confidence

[60] With regard to the role of the educated Indians in relation to the spreading of the English culture, Gauri Viswanathan states:

> In British India, specifically, there was a clear-cut recognition by British authorities of the authoritative position held by the learned classes and of their potential usefulness as intermediaries for diffusion of Western principles... to the masses. (189)

[61] Druce states that Kaye in her Mutiny novels reveals treachery, violence against women and children, and British retribution in order to justify the British rule in India. This is further explained in the quotation below:

> Whether consciously or unintentionally on the part of the author and/or readers, the dominant British narrative of the 'Mutiny' is structurally continued in English literature and thereby implicitly legitimised and further consolidated. The dominant themes of treachery, violence against women and children, and eventually British retribution, find expression in the conventionalised 'narrative formula' of 'mutiny gothic'. (qtd.in Erll 172)

[62] In the novel, Farrell does not refer to the secterian conflicts among the Indians themselves such as the "mounting Hindu-Muslim conflict… near Lucknow" (Farmer 64), but he just focuses on the Anglo-Indian conflicts in *The Siege of Krishnapur*.

[63] 

The painting above, named The Relief of Lucknow drawn by Thomas Jones Barker, is referred to as the best-known depiction of the Mutiny by Peter Morey in his book. He states, "[a]s far as the Mutiny is concerned, perhaps the best-known representation is T.J.Barker's *The Relief of Lucknow*, showing the meeting of three of the most celebrated figures of the campaign, Campbell, Havelock and Outram" (123). Detailed information about the important English military men and the Mutiny is given on the web site of this painting as well:

> **The Relief of Lucknow during the Indian Mutiny by Thomas Jones Barker.** At the outbreak of the Great Mutiny in May 1857, 1,700 English and Indian troops fortified the residency in Lucknow, 270 miles southeast of Delhi. They took refuge here as a mutineer force approached on 1st July. The garrison held out against 60,000 rebels under Sir Henry Havelock. On 25th September a force of 3,000 men of the British army, commanded by Sir Havelock and Sir James Outram, fought their way into the residency from Cawnpore. After marching for a week through the hostile Oudh, the relief column had over 500 casualties, the garrison inside Lucknow had lost almost as many men, including Lawrence, during the defence of the residency. Sir Havelock died from exhaustion before a second relief force led by Sir Colin Campbell arrived on 19th November. Campbell reinforced the garrison before moving southwest to smother a new uprising in Cawnpore. General Outram held the residency for four months until it was liberated by Campbell on March 21, 1858. The rebel chief Nana Sahib disappeared into the jungle. ("The Relief of Lucknow")

[64] Regarding Britain's efforts to gain power in the Indian Ocean and the British overseas territories the passage below can be useful:

> The British Indian Ocean Territory (BIOT), one of the 12 British Overseas Territories, comprises around 2,300 tropical islands of the Chagos Archipelago in the Indian Ocean and covers some 54,400 sq km of ocean. It is situated about 500km south of the Maldives and 1770 km east of Mahe (the main island of the Seychelles). The islands have a total land area of only 60 sq km and 698km of coastline. Diego Garcia, the largest and most southerly island, is 44 sq km. ("Development and Relations with African, Caribbean and Pacific States")

[65] Peter Morey explains that "[s]erious events are narrated in tones of barely suppressed relish at the counter-discursive potential of incongruity; for example, the *sowars*' attempts to carry the dying General Jackson into the residency without spilling his blood on the 'rather expensive carpet' is compared and to the way in which, 'someone eating toast and honey might try, by vigilance and dexterity, to prevent it dripping' " (124).

[66] Moreover Rayne, the Opium Agent, calls his servants by the names of animals. For instance he calls one of his Indian servants "Ram," the other "Monkey" (Farrell 54). Furthermore, words such as "Ant! Monkey! Bring *simkin* double quick!" (Farrell 56) are uttered by Burlton to degrade the Indians in *The Siege of Krishnapur*. Parallel to this, Farrell himself frequently draws an analogy between his characters and animals. The Collector is highly regarded by " the 'big dogs' of the East India Company, although he himself 'looked like a massive cat' " (Binns 76-77). Interestingly, however, Farrell uses animal imagery not only for the Indians, but also for the English people as well, but with a slight difference. English people are likened to cats and dogs and bees (Farrell 113), whereas Indian people are likened to monkeys and rams (Farrell 54; 313). An example for this may be found in the following sentence: "We call this lad 'Ram'. That's not his real name. His real name is Akbar or Mohammed or something like that. We call him Ram because he looks like one" (Farrell 54). More examples may be given from the novel; such as "the sepoys [sic] swarmed as thick as flies" (Farrell 147), Indians "smiling sheepishly" (Farrell 194).

Also, the indigenous people are taken advantage of and are reduced to the state of cheap-labourers or waged-slaves. This point is underlined by Mr Simmons of the Opium Factory when he expresses that the balls of opium "would fetch about seventy-six shillings, while to the *ryot* and his family the Government paid a mere four shillings a pound" (Farrell 81). Afterwards, the balls of opium are sent to Calcutta to be sold in an auction at a high price to make the highest benefit out of them. Hence, the Indians are exposed to both psychological and physical exploitation by the coloniser.

[67] With respect to the wrongs of the English and their weaknesses Astrid Erll states:

> However, the besieged British are no heroes, but – as shown by means of variable internal focalisation – have many things on their minds which do not exactly contribute to the Victorian image of 'muscular Christians', sex, greed and envy ranging prominently among them. Quarrels over food, over money, over Protestant and Catholic corpses (between the two clerics of the Anglo-Indian community), and finally over moral standards and social positions (there is a 'fallen woman' in the residency) seem to take up most of the energy of those who will be remembered as the 'heroes of Krishnapur'. On the other hand, far from being cruel and mad fanatics, many Indians… gather at a hill nearby and impassively watch the spectacle of the siege as tourists or picnickers would. And as regards the rape fantasies of British memory: the only attempt to defile an Englishwoman is made towards the end of the novel by an Englishman – the misanthropic magistrate. (176)

[68] Farrells' metaphorical use of the illness may result from his own prolonged and life-threatening illness [polio] in his twenties (Binns 23).

[69] The Collector is reminiscent of Matthew Arnold, which suggests that some historical figures are inserted into the novel. Throughout the novel, the Collector allegedly defends the refined Western culture against the unrefined Eastern culture. However, later on he realises that "any juxtaposition of cultures will bring about sooner or later a forcible recognition that all culture is constructed, time-and-place-specific, rather than natural or essential" (Crane 99).

[70] Fleury's attempt to write a book about India is evaluated in these words:

> Also, the ironic narrator reminds us that a young gentleman like Fleury on his first visit to India might be tempted to record his impressions in a journal subsequently to appear under a title such as 'Highways and Byways of Hindustan'; in other words he might perform the duty of even the most casual orientalist and attempt to define, depict and control the colonial space too. (Morey 122)

[71] With regard to this issue, Teresa Hubel states:

> …the standard picture of the nationalist/imperialist confrontation in India depicts two large groups of men, divided by politics, culture, and race, waging a century-long battle over the political status of the Indian subcontinent. If women are present at all, they are usually portrayed as caught in the crossfire. Even the Subaltern historians and most of the post-Orientalist historiographers do not go much beyond this paradigm. (118)

[72] With regard to phrenology in *The Siege of Krishnapur*, Peter Morey states:

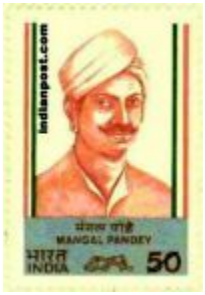
> In *Siege,* Farrell parodies this impulse in the Magistrate's interest in phrenology, a 'science' of Western individualism, since it seeks to distinguish *individual* character through cranial measurement, whereas skulls in anthropology formed evidence of the collective qualities of other cultures. (120)

[73] Robert W. Stern expresses that religious buildings such as mosques and temples have always been sources of conflict between Hindus and Muslims. He states: "Its monuments, from early times and still standing, and now a terrible political issue, are the mosques built by Muslim warriors on the ruins of Hindu temples they desecrated or destroyed. During the nineteenth century, the British imparted a political dimension to tensions between Hindu and Muslim middle classes" (22). Paradoxically, in *The Siege of Krishnapur* the British become the ones who destroy the religious building of the Muslims; they begin to have the role of the destructor, not the mediator.

[74] About Lucknow, Robert Wood expresses:

> The Mutiny spreads quickly, with similar episodes elsewhere; troops mutinied at Lucknow and Kanpur, and in both places the British community was placed under siege. At Lucknow, the siege became an epic and passed into legend, for it was to last from late June, when the Residency was surrounded, to late November when the final relief took place under Havelock and Campbell. Lucknow was in fact relieved twice, but on the first occasion the relieving force wasn't strong enough to

> break the siege, although its members fought their way through the mutineers' lines to the famous Residency. (167)

[75] 

A stamp is issued in the memory of Mangal Pandey by the Government of India ("Mangal Pandey").

[76] Related to these stories Erll claims that "[w]ith the description of Samad's acts of cultural remembering *White Teeth* is the first British novel to represent the Indian experience and later memory of 1857" (177).

[77] In *White Teeth*, a historian named Misra who gives Pande his due is referred to. In *Wikipedia* the same historian is referred to as well. Hence, it can be concluded that before writing *White Teeth*, Zadie Smith conducted ardent research about the Indian Mutiny and Mangal Pande.

[78] Contary to Samad, Magid wants to eat pork; a bacon sandwich (Smith 2000, 450) and in doing so, he breaks Islamic rules.

[79] "[A]s a representation of the biased British view a paragraph from the imperialist *Tale of the Great Mutiny* by William Fitchett (1901) is inserted into the novel" (Erll 177).

[80] Relying on the data given in *Wikipedia*, a historian named Misra really gives information about Pandey and his deeds. In Wikipedia it is stated:

> Pandey was born in the village of Nagwa in district Ballia (Uttar Pradesh). Families in Nagwa village claim Mangal Pandey to be their first ancestor and trace their family lineage to him. There is some dispute over his exact place of birth. One

account (Misra, 2005) claims that Mangal Pandey was born in a Bhumihar Brahmin family to Divakar Pandey of Surhupur village of Faizabad district's Akbarpur Tehsil. He joined the English East India Company's forces in 1849 at the age of 22, as per this account. Pandey was part of the 5th Company of the 34th B.N.I. regiment and is primarily known for attacking the officers of that regiment in an incident that was the first act of what came to be known as the Sepoy Mutiny of 1857 or the First War of Indian Independence. Mangal Pandey was a devout Hindu and he practiced his religion diligently. ("Mangal Pandey").

[81] Related to the events and massacres in Delhi in 1984, which were also referred to in *White Teeth*, the following passage can be illuminating:

> On October 31, 1984, the Indian Prime Minister, Indira Gandhi, who had ordered Operation Bluestar, was assassinated in a revenge attack by her two Sikh bodyguards. Over the following five days, one of the worst gendercidal massacres of modern times took place in the Indian capital, Delhi. The victims were Sikh males of all ages. At 10 p.m. on the evening following the Prime Minister's assassination, widespread killings broke out across Delhi, apparently organized by the Hindu extremist parties that have become prominent players in Indian politics. Hindu men roamed the streets, declaring an open season on Sikh males (those who were religiously observant were easily identified by their long hair and turbans). The gendercidal character of the killings was indeed almost total. According to the Indian feminist Madhu Kishwar, the nature of the attacks confirm[s] that there was a deliberately plan to kill as many Sikh men as possible, hence nothing was left to chance. That also explains why in almost all cases, after hitting or stabbing, the victims were doused with kerosene or petrol and burnt, so as to leave no possibility of their surviving. Between October 31 and November 4, more than 2,500 men were murdered in different parts of Delhi, according to several careful unofficial estimates. ("Case Study: Kashmir/Punjab/The Delhi Massacre (1984)"

[82] The wrong policies of the British *Raj* and their results are narrated below:

> These policies of abolition and annexation greatly alarmed the Indian ruling classes, many of whom were already deeply uneasy about British expansion. These deep-seated feelings of fear and unease were also shared by the majority of the ordinary people. The spread of English education, the astounding technological innovations, the unprecedented social reforms, all had a deeply disturbing effect on conservative minds. (Delgoda 165)

[83] Important Religious Festivals among the Bengal Muslims are listed below:

1. *Moharrum*
   The first month of the Islamic calender. The festival is held to commemorate the martyrdom of Hassan and Hussain, the sons of Ali. Observed from first to tenth day of this month.

2. *Shab-e-barat*
   Held on the 14th day of the month of Shaban. The Muslims believe that Allah records the duties of the men and women for the ensuing year on this night. The Muslims also consider this occasion as the determination of fate.

3. *Eid-ul-Fitr or Eid or Eid-er-Namaz*
   The most important religious festival of the Muslims. Observed on the first day of the lunar month of *Shawal*. Marked by the breaking of *Ramjan* fast (*roja*), congregation prayer (*Namaj*) and helping of the poor.

4. Eid-up-Zoha or *Bagar-Eid* or *Bagr-eid-er-Namaj* or *Kurbani*
   Observed on the tenth day of the lunar month of *Zel-haj*. Marked by the congregation prayer *(namaj)* and sacrifice *(Kurbani)* of cattle. This is celebrated in commemoration of Hajrat İbrahim's act of highest devotion in offering his son İsmail for sacrifice before Allah, which he commanded to be substituted by a ram.

5. *Milad-un-Nabi*
   The birthday of the Prophet, Celebrated [sic] through performing the religious *jalsa* or *milad* (Mondal 217).

[84] The important features of Hinduism are stated in the passage below:

> Hinduism is a classical religion, with ancient and established textual and authoritative traditions. But it differs from Christianity, Judaism, and Islam in that

it lacks a single authoritative text: rather, it has thousands, produced over a 3000 year period. In general, the *Vedas*, written over a period of a thousand years, are the ultimate source to which Hindus refer. However, most Hindus are themselves unfamiliar with the contents of the *Vedas*, and Hinduism as it is practised today is more non-Vedic than Vedic. In addition, within the geographic space of South Asia, Hinduism assumes varied forms and often appears more diversified than unified. Thus, any particular practice or belief found among a group of Hindus may, in fact, be contradicted elsewhere or denied by Hindus of other groups or regions. (Wadley 130)

[85] Similary, the British Rule is also evaluated by Delgoda as a positive thing:

Although the British no longer concerned themselves with modernizing Indian society, in other areas British rule had far-reaching effects. In less than 200 years they made an even greater impact than the Muslims had in 800. They measured and mapped, standardized and centralized, bridged and connected the subcontinent into a single workable unit. This was especially the case in communications and economic development. (174)

[86] About the Bengali Muslim population the following information can be given:

According to 1981 Census, the Muslim population is 11.35 per cent of India's total population. In India the proportion of Muslims in urban population is higher (16.28 %) than in the rural population (9.82 %). The sex ratio of the Muslims is 937 females per 1000 males. The Census of 1981 also reveals that in West Bengal the Muslim constituted 21.51 per cent of total population of the state. Here the proportion of Muslims in rural population is higher (23.46 %) than in urban population (11.34 %). In Bengal there are relatively more Muslims in rural areas owing to their ties with the land. Muslims in Bengal developed an identity historically separated from the rest of the Muslims of this country in the matters of language, life style, social behaviour, and cultural pattern. (Mondal 144)

[87] In *Women in India* it is stated that "[a]fter nearly sixteen years in office, including an electoral defeat in 1977 followed by a return to India's most powerful political position, Mrs. Gandhi was tragically assassinated in 1984. Some have likened Mrs. Gandhi to the Goddess Durga, and memories of her prominence remain strong in India" (Jacobson 6). Whether Samad likes Mrs. Gandhi or not, it is an undeniable fact that she is an important figure in Indo-political history and defined as "a dynamic woman prime minister"(1) by Doranne Jacobson in the Introduction of her book.

[88] "In a joint upper-class Bengali home when a girl finishes her high school she has two alternatives open to her. One is to be married within six months or a year; the other is a college education, with the anticipation that by the end of the second or third year of college she will be married" (Roy 73). Similarly, in *White Teeth* Alsana is depicted as a married Bengali woman, whose education is neglected in her youth.

[89] Magid witnesses violence in the streets of Dhaka, about which the information below is given:

> **Dhaka** (previously **Dacca**; Bengali: ঢাকা) is the capital of Bangladesh and the principal city of Dhaka District. Located on the banks of the Buriganga River, Dhaka, along with its metropolitan area, has a population of 11 million, making it the largest city in Bangladesh and the 11th most populous in the world. With its colourful history, Dhaka is known as the 'City of Mosques' and for the famous fine Muslin cloth which has great ethnic value. ("Dhaka")

[90] In *White Teeth*, one of the places, where Pande resists the British was Barrackpore and with regard to this place in *Wikipedia* the following information is given:

> Barrackpore sub-division, under District of North 24 Parganas in the state of West Bengal, is an old and famous administrative territory of India, populated by people from almost all provinces of India. The town was a military and administrative

> center under British rule, and was the scene of several acts of rebellion against Britain during the 19th century. It is a part of the area covered by Kolkata Metropolitan Development Authority. The name Barrackpore originates from the word the English word barracks. Barrackpore acquired the name as the site of the first major military base of the British East India Company. Prior to that time, Barrackpore was known as Chanak, and is mentioned by that name in the *Manasa Mangal*. ("Barrackpore").

[91] In *White Teeth* Joyce, an English woman, who works as a teacher suggests that relying on her experience in her school life, Muslim children are meek and silent, but according to her, Millat cannot be put into this category as he is brave and determined. She says, "…he doesn't seem at all like most Muslim children. I mean, I'm talking from personal experience, I go into a lot of schools with my gardening, working with kids of all ages. They're usually so silent, you know, terribly meek - but he's so full of…spunk!" (Smith 2000, 320). One may argue that here Zadie Smith is critical of the stereotypes about Muslim immigrants and deconstructs it through Millat.

[92] In the colonies, the importance of having a language of their own for the new settlers to express themselves is narrated below:

> …even before the development of a conscious de-colonizing stance, the experience of a new place, identifiably different in its physical characteristics, constrains, for instance, the new settlers to demand a language which will allow them to express their sense of 'Otherness'. Landscape, flora and fauna, seasons, climatic conditions are formally distinguished from the place of origin as home/colony, Europe/New World, Europe/Antipodes, metropolitan/provincial, and so on, although, of course, at this stage no effective models exist for expressing this sense of Otherness in a positive and creative way. (Ashcroft 11)

[93] "But the fact was Millat didn't need to go back home: he stood schizophrenic, one foot in Bengal and done in Willesden. In his mind he was as much there as he was here. He

did not require a passport to live in two places at once, he needed no visa to live his brother's life and his own (he was a twin after all)" (Smith 2000, 219).

[94] There is a nuance between Millat and Milad as the former means "community, religious community, specially the community of Islam" (Anisuzzaman 79), whereas the latter means "nativity, birth, discussions about the birth of Prophet Muhammad (Birthday celebration of the prophet is also known as Id-i-Mila-un-Nabi [sic])" (Anisuzzaman 79).

[95] In relation to the sense of being different and self realisation Ashcroft states:

> The study of national traditions is the first and most vital stage of the process of rejecting the claims of the centre to exclusivity. It is the beginning of what Nigerian writer Wole Soyinka has characterized as the 'process of self-apprehension' (Soyinka 1976: xi). Recent theories of a general post-colonial discourse question essentialist formulations which may lead to nationalist and racist orthodoxies, but they do not deny the great importance of maintaining each literature's sense of specific difference. It is this sense of difference which constitutes each national literature's mode of self-apprehension and its claim to be a self-constituting entity. However, nationalism, in which some partial truth or cliché is elevated to orthodoxy, is a danger implicit in such national conceptions of literary production. The impetus towards national self-realization in critical assessments of literature all too often fails to stop short of nationalist myth. (17)

[96] Maya Devi Gangulee expresses to Eleanor Rathbone that "[t]he women of all communities, Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs, Depressed Classes and Untouchables, have been working hand in hand in the nationalist movement without the least hint of communal disaffection" (qtd. in Sinha 634).

[97] Similarly, Krishnapur, a pseudo name in Farrell's novel, which stands for Lucknow (Binns 80), is in the North east as well.

[98] This point is underlined by Delgoda as well:

> …both the climate and the landscape of this vast country vary from region to region. India possesses almost every imaginable kind of variety and contrast. In the north there is the world's highest mountain region - the Himalayas. Extending east and west they form a barrier of hills and mountains which separate the Indian subcontinent from the rest of Asia. In the west there are the mountains of the Karakoram range and the Hindu Kush, in the east the Arakan range. The hills to the north-east are so steep and so densely forested that for generations they have served as an effective barrier to outsiders. (2)

[99] In *A Traveller's History of India* it is stated that,

> [i]n the north-west, however, there are several passes through the Hindu Kush which lead directly on to the plains of the subcontinent. For centuries this has been the gateway to India. It was by this route that generations of foreign invaders from the steppes of Central Asia have entered India, to leave their mark on the destiny of the subcontinent. (Delgoda 2)

[100] "Seldom is so much diversity and variety contained within the borders of one country" (Delgoda 12) as such is the case in India.

[101] In 1977 Paul Scott's *Staying On* (Gorra 24) comes onto the literary scene, in which he adopts an ambivalent attitude towards British *Raj*. In relation to his ambiguity, Benita Parry states: "Scott evinces a deeply ambigious attitude to the Raj, an uneasy mix of swinging criticism and admiration for an ideal and potential of service that was never realized" (qtd. in Morey 151).

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III. Çeviriler:

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[101] Afterwards, in 1977 Paul Scott's *Staying On* (Gorra 24) comes onto the literary scene, in which he adopts an ambivalent attitude towards British *Raj*. In relation to his ambiguity, Benita Parry states: "Scott evinces a deeply ambigious attitude to the Raj, an uneasy mix of swinging criticism and admiration for an ideal and potential of service that was never realized" (qtd. in Morey 151).