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THE NOVEL AS A TOOL OF DOMINION

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ABSTRACT

Edward Said analyses all the ideological apparatuses which helped in the maintenance and perpetuation of the hegemony of the imperial West over the rest of the world. It is not the novel form only but the entire 'cultural topography', as Said calls it, which includes all areas of humanistic discourse. In going through this cultural topography of the major metropolitan cultures, one comes across a distinct 'structure of attitude and reference', a term resonating with Raymond William's 'structures of feeling'. This structure of attitude and reference cuts across fields and disciplines as also ages. Said gives the example of the British culture where there is a consistency of concern in Spenser, Shakespeare, Defoe, Dickens and Austen, which places socially desirable, empowered space in the metropolitan center and connects it by design, motive and development to distant and peripheral worlds (Ireland, Venice, Jamaica) conceived of as desirable but subordinate. From these references come attitude - about rule, control, dominion, enhancement and suitability. These structures of attitude and reference are bound up with the formation and development of Britain's cultural identity, as that identity imagines itself in a geographically conceived world. Such 'structures of attitude and reference' are to be seen in French and American cultures too.

Keywords: *Edward Said, Novel, British, French, Cultural Domination, Hegemony, Empire*

Nearly everywhere in nineteenth - and early twentieth century British and French culture, we find allusions to the facts of empire. Taken together, these allusions constitute what Edward Said calls the structure of attitudes and reference. Yet cultural historians, and certainly all literary scholars have failed to remark the *geographical* notation, the theoretical mapping and charting of territory that underlies Western fiction, historical writing and philosophical discourse of the time'. [1] One only has to recall the works of political thinkers like James and John Stuart Mill, aesthetes like Ruskin and Carlyle, poets like Tennyson and novelists like Dickens, Austen, Conrad, to name only a few, to see with what regularity the idea of overseas domination features in their work. Of course, each had his/her own configuration of the bond/relationship between empire and periphery but each had a consistent concern in the working of empire. What Said painstakingly wants to establish is that these references to and allusions to the fact of empire were not isolated and eccentric instances but part of an entire cultural topography in the metropolitan centre which these references and allusions allude to.

Said is critical of all those critical theories and the novel and demystifying theoretical praxes like New-Historicism, and deconstruction and Marxism which have avoided the major, even determining political horizon of modern Western culture, namely imperialism. This massive avoidance has sustained a canonical inclusion and exclusion: you include the Rousseaus, the

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Neitzsches, the Wordsworths, the Dickenses, the Flauberts and so on, and at the same time you exclude their relationships with the protracted, complex and striated work of empire'. [2]

Said has been able to take culture out of the confines and enclosure of apolitical scholarship and place it instead, in the dynamic global environment created by imperialism. Said, in the process of establishing the relationship between culture and imperialism blasts the myth of the detached scholar working in a timeless vacuum without any affiliation to the world outside his scholarship. Said says that the history of such fields as comparative literature, English studies, cultural analysis, anthropology can be seen as affiliated with the empire and, even contributing to its methods for maintaining Western ascendancy over non-Western natives. According to Said, imperialism can be seen as a process occurring as part of the metropolitan culture which at times acknowledges, at other times obscures the sustained business of empire itself.

The important point is how the national British, French, American cultures maintained hegemony over the peripheries and how *within them* was consent gained and continuously consolidated for the distant rule of native people and territories. The maintenance of hegemony in the colonies has been dealt with in some detail in the earlier chapters, and now for the consent gained and constantly consolidated for the maintenance of that hegemony over the peripheries within imperial culture. Within the culture of the imperial centres, consent to rule and hegemonize the peripheral world was gained through the firm establishment of the hierarchy between the metropolis and periphery, between white and native. All fields of cultural activities contributed in the establishment of that hierarchy, that unequal relationship between the metropolis and periphery. Consider James Stuart Mill in his '*Principles of Political Economy*': 'These (colonized countries) are hardly to be looked upon as countries, carrying on an exchange of commodities with other countries, but more conveniently as outlying agricultural or manufacturing estates belonging to a larger community. Our West Indian colonies, for example, cannot be regarded as countries with a productive capital of their own ... [but are rather] the place where England finds it convenient to carry on the production of sugar, coffee and a few other tropical commodities. All the capital employed is English capital; almost all the industry is carried on for English uses; there is little production of anything except for staple commodities, and these are sent to England, not to be exchanged for things exported to the colony and consumed by its inhabitants, but to be sold in England for the benefit of the proprietors there. The trade with the West Indies is hardly to be considered an external trade but more resembles the traffic between town and country'.[3]

How conveniently Mill glosses over the inhuman methods employed in appropriating land belonging to less developed communities, the abuse of native inhabitants reducing them to slaves and worse. This passage bears testimony to the fact that the society of the imperial power supported the rapacious exploitation and was complicit in the inhuman subjection of the colonies.

The literature of the age of high Imperialism shows its complicity with Empire or at best is silent about the silencing of the native dissenting voice. Canonical writers like Jane Austen, Charles Dickens, Rudyard Kipling and Joseph Conrad acquiesce in the dehumanization of the colonial. The economic benefit accruing from maintenance of colonies and the resulting abundance is mentioned but the writers thankfully tend to shirk from mentioning the experiences of the colony. Perhaps it is

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embarrassing for the writer like Austen or Dickens who celebrate decency, propriety and good sense, to illuminate the readers about the indecent and inappropriate conduct of the colonizers or perhaps, as Said says, it is insignificant even for a mention in the literature of a civilized country.

Jane Austen's novels are treated as aesthetic masterpieces dealing with the select homely experiences of the rural upper middle class seen through the eyes of a detached, ironic, female author. A serious shortcoming of Austen's novels is pointed out to be their unconcern about the social and political happenings - a typical example pointed out is the non-mention of the Napoleonic wars. Austen is treated by the Western critical canon as an aesthete with her primary concern being the traditional culture and value system so adroitly represented in her novels. What the traditional Western critic overlooks is the antithesis of the same value system being implemented and supported in the colonies. Take for example the values of freedom, good sense, decency and all those well-meaning and well sounding words used for the metropolitan centre and its inhabitants and the exact anti thesis of these in slavery, oppression, excesses of every sort in the colonies. Of course, these anti-values are not to be seen and shown and so a measured silence in metropolitan culture about these embarrassing topics. Someone like John Stuart Mill has the cheek to say that these values are for the cultural west and not for the underdeveloped, uncultured, semi-barbaric races: 'The sacred duties which civilized nations owe to the independence and nationality of each other, are not binding towards those to whom nationality and independence are certain evil, or at best a questionable good'.[4]

Saids' reading of Austen gets her novels out of the sacred enclosure of the aesthetic realm and shows the relationship between her vision of the metropolitan life and the life in the colonies. Said's reading of *Mansfield Park* brings the colonized Antigua for a more important role than was hitherto ascribed to it. In fact, Said establishes that the prosperity and integrity of Mansfield Park is related directly to the management of slaves and plantations in the West Indies. Said is critical of Jane Austen as she gives only about half-a-dozen passing references of Antigua and the business of the Bertrams there. The importance of Antigua and other such colonial locales cannot be exaggerated but then how can we explain the reduction of the importance to only a few passing references? Said says that 'for the British writer "abroad" was felt vaguely and ineptly to be out there, or exotic and strange or in some way or other "ours" to control, trade in "freely", or suppress when the natives were energized into overt military or political resistance. The novel contributed significantly to these feelings, attitudes and references and became a main element in the consolidated vision, or departmental cultural view, of the globe'.[5]

Nearly everywhere in nineteenth and early twentieth century British and French culture, we find allusions to the facts of empire, but perhaps nowhere with more regularity and frequency than in the British novel. In Jane Austen's *Mansfield Park,* references to Sir Thomas Bertrams overseas possession are threaded through; they give him wealth, occasion his absences, fix his social status at home and abroad and make possible his values, to which Fanny Price finally subscribes. Thackeray's Joseph Sedley in *Vanity Fair* is a rambunctious Indian Nabob and Major Dobbin is seen at the end of the novel engaged serenely in writing a history of the Punjab. The good ship in Kingsley's *Westward Ho* wanders through the Caribbean and South America. In Dicken's *Great Expectations* Abel Magwitch is the convict transported to Australia whose wealth makes possible the great expectations

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Pip entertains. In many other novels of Dickens businessmen have connections with the Empire. However, in his new career as a colonial businessman, Pip is hardly an exceptional figure, since nearly all of Dickens businessmen, wayward relatives, and frightening outsiders have a fairly normal and secure connection with the Empire.

Said says that there is a split in our critical consciousness today, which allows us to spend a great deal of time elaborating, for example, Ruskin's and Carlyle's aesthetic theories, without giving attention to the authority that their theories gave to the subjugation of inferior peoples and colonial territories. 'To take another example, unless we can comprehend how the great European realistic novel accomplished one of its principal purposes - almost unnoticeably sustaining the society consent in overseas expansion, a consent that, in J.A. Hobson's words, "the selfish forces that direct Imperialism should utilize the protective colours of .... disinterested movements" such as philanthropy, religion, science, and art - we will misread both the cultures' importance and its resonances in the empire, then and now'. [6]

As argued earlier in the context of the failure of the revolution in Italy by Antonio Gramsci, Said says that the role of culture in shaping the events of our lives is much more important than what is accepted. In *Culture and Imperialism*, Said says that he wishes 'to examine how the processes of Imperialism occurred beyond the level of economic laws and political decisions, and - by predisposition, by the authority of recognizable cultural formations, by continuing consolidation within education, literature, and the visual and musical arts - which we have tended to sanitize as a realm of unchanging intellectual moments, free from the encumbrances of worldly affiliation'. [7]

A study of the novel, particularly, the British novel will reveal that the Empire is constantly and consistently present in all the circumstances where the British interest is involved in overseas territories. Said says that the British audience took for granted the presence of the Empire and its far flung territories so much so that 'as a reference, as a point of definition, as an easily assumed place of travel, wealth, and service, the Empire (and people from the colonies) functions for much of the European nineteenth century as a codified, if only marginally visible, presence in fiction, very much like the servants in grand households and in novels whose work is taken for granted but scarcely ever more than named, rarely studied, or given density'.[8] These are the 'people without History', (in the words of Eric Wolf), who are useful and essential for the *sustenance* of the economy and polity and are the equivalents of the 'natives' of the imperial territories whose reality has not historically or culturally required attention.

After the liberation of the former colonies in the aftermath of the Second World War, the hitherto marginalized resistance to the Empire and criticisms of the Empire became significant enough to draw critical attention. Still Said finds that the Empire is conspicuously absent from otherwise perceptive reading of critics. Said finds this quite remarkable that these lapses in critical consciousness, this schizophrenic consciousness, pervade all critical writings in the West. The imperial setting and imperial vision are pervasive and in cases central but the culture that engenders that vision is remarkably 'unconscious' about it. Said says that the major critical practitioners simply ignore imperialism. 'In recently reading Lionel Trilling's fine little book on E.M. Forster, for instance, I was struck that in his otherwise perceptive consideration of *Howards End* he does not once mention,

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which, in my reading of the book is hard to miss, much less ignore. After all Henry Wilcox and his family are colonial rubber growers: "They had the colonial spirit, and were always making for some spots where the white man might carry his burden unobserved".[9]

The theme of imperial expansion, domination and exploitation is peripheral to the central ideas of the major critical writers in the metropolitan West. It is hardly surprising that Western critics marginalize the imperial theme and setting. Someone from a colonial background who has been shaped in his consciousness by the experience of Empire will be more inclined to give the Empire a central place in criticism. 'An Indian or African scholar of English literature reads *Kim*, say, or *Heart of Darkness* with a critical urgency not felt in quite the same way by an American or British one'. [10]

Any work of art, draws support from ideas, concepts, experiences floating in a culture of which it forms a part. 'Conrad's Africa, for example, comes from a huge library of *Africanism*, so to speak, as well as from Conrad's personal experiences. There is no such thing as a *direct* experience, or reflection of the world in the language of a text. Conrad's impression of Africa were inevitably influenced by lore and writing about Africa, which he alludes to in *A Personal Record*; what he supplies in Heart of Darkness is the result of his impressions of those texts interacting creatively, together with the requirement and conventions of narrative and his own special genius and history'.[11] This is to say with Michel Foucault that one cannot just say something one wishes to say because there is something called discourse which controls what one says and within the economy of which one has relative freedom to exert ones genius. This is to say with Said that writing is an interaction between the enunciative possibilities in a discourse and the individual agency. Conrad could exert his genius in the "field" of *Africanist* discourse, which had its own premises, rules and possibilities.

In the *Heart of Darkness*, Conrad has used overtly colonial imperialist setting in the heart of Africa. Most readings of Conrad call attention to Conrad's skepticism about the colonial enterprise. Reading these two statements proposes the question as to whether Conrad could have written anything other than what he has written about Africa. What Conrad does in the *Heart of Darkness* is to use his own genius in the already complex discourse of Africanism which had considerable proportions and which could not be ignored. True, Conrad was critical of Belgian colonialism and his text is fraught with irony, technical self-consciousness and skepticism but still what *Heart of Darkness* does is to place Africa in the discourse of the colonial civilizing mission. Said remarks that Conrad's protagonist Marlow, in telling the story of his African journey, confirms Kurtz's action: restoring Africa to European hegemony by historicizing and narrating its strangeness.

Even his most vociferous critics like Aijaz Ahmed admit that Said is a master critic when he is reading an individual text. His analysis of *Mansfield Park* and *Heart of Darkness* are exceptional in the insight that he offers, which are altogether novel and irresistible in their logic. Ahmed says in his *In Theory:* 'One can actually say with fair certainty that with the exception of those two exceptional opening chapters in *The Question of Palestine*, where Said has handled extremely broad and complex issues altogether superbly, he still tends to be at his best when he is reading (closely) an individual canonical author, interpreting a particular canonical book, or at most preparing a focused critique of determinate issues in a particular academic discipline...'[12] 'when he exercises this skill at

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his best, few living critics can match him, for he learned this skill of close reading in the pedagogical laboratory of "New Criticism"; has applied it in the wider and even more exacting field of comparatism; and now exercises it with wit, erudition, persuasive prose style, and liberal leanings'[13].

Consider Conrad's *Heart of Darkness*. In an illuminating reading of the text of Conrad, Said looks into areas hitherto overlooked by Western critics. He reads the text deconstructively and points out that there are two world-views counterpoised. One the one hand are the "savages" of the dark continent with their savage customs and life and one the other hand is European colonialism and imperialism, equally savage, if not more, reflected in the life and custom followed and adhered to by Kurtz, the man entrusted with the colonial civilizing mission. Kurtz's own savagery in hanging the heads of rebels on poles and making the tribesmen crawl to him was worse than the primitive and ignorant savagery of the inhabitants of the "dark continent".

The young Russian admirer of Kurtz, who attended him through his illness speaks about the ceremonies used when approaching Kurtz: 'They would not stir till Mr. Kurtz gave the word. His ascendancy was extra-ordinary. The camps of the people surrounded the place and the chiefs came every day to see him. They would crawl...'[14].

Marlow could not hear any more of the savagery and interrupted the young Russian. It seemed to him that he could not hear of the savage ceremonies when approaching Mr. Kurtz any more than he could bear to see the heads of rebels drying on the stakes. He says:

After all that was only savage sight, while I seemed at one bound to have been transported into some lightless region of subtle horrors, where pure uncomplicated savagery was a positive relief, being something that has a right to exist obviously in the sunshine'[15].

Rajnath says that Kurtz's wild savagery makes the simple uncomplicated savagery of the Africans "a positive relief" Kurtz's savagery is infernal (belonging to "some lightless region of subtle horrors") whereas the pure savagery of the Africans belongs to this world[16].

Marlow's attitude, the narrator in *The Heart of Darkness*, can be taken as the attitude of Conrad as regards colonialism. While Marlow disapproves of the methods and customs employed by Kurtz, he still considers Kurtz as a remarkable man. Marlow's ambivalent attitude towards Kurtz shows Conrad's ambivalence regarding colonialism. Conrad was a man of his times and as such could not go beyond the wisdom of the age which consisted in thinking positively about the mission of colonialism. Still, he had doubts regarding its methods and customs. Conrad was ahead of his times in some ways and a creature of his times in others. Said observes in *Culture and Imperialism*: 'Conrad's genius allowed him to realize that the ever-present darkness could be colonized or illuminated – Heart of Darkness is full of references to *mission civilisatrice,* to benevolent as well as cruel schemes to bring light to the dark places of and peoples of this world by acts of will and deployments of power – but that it had also to be acknowledged as independent. Kurtz and Marlow acknowledge the darkness, the former as he is dying, the latter as he reflects retrospectively on the

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meaning of Kurtz's final words. They (and of course Conrad) are ahead of their time in understanding that what they call "the darkness" has an autonomy of its own, and can re-invade and reclaim what imperialism had taken for its own. But Marlow and Kurtz (and presumably also Conrad) are also creatures of their own time and cannot take the next step forward, which would be to recognize that what they saw, disablingly and disparagingly, as a non-European "darkness" was in fact a non-European world resisting imperialism so as one day to regain sovereignty and independence'[17].

Because of the ambivalent attitude of Conrad towards colonialism, the text of *Heart of Darkness* has two sides of colonialism evenly balanced against each other. London is "the monstrous town" at one place while at another it is "the great city". The Africans are savages as their life and customs appear primitive and barbaric but at the same time Conrad shows the barbaric and savage practices of Kurtz, the representative of *mission Civilistrice*. The darkness of Africa is counterpoised by the setting of the sun and engulfing, all-embracing darkness overtaking the metropolitan city of London. Thus, Said brings to light the ambivalence of Conrad regarding colonialism through a deconstructive reading of *Heart of Darkness*. Rajnath says: Said's analysis of *Heart of Darkness* is a master piece of practical criticism. He finds that the novel, unlike *Kim*, is not a straightforward colonial product. That it has a colonial content, albeit complicated by Conrad's ambivalent attitude towards colonialism, is also beyond doubt. There is a kind of deconstructive aporia at work in the novel making it difficult to ascertain whether Conrad is pro-colonial or anti-colonial. The deconstructive aporia in the text is evident from the fact that two leading African writers have expressed diametrically opposed views on its colonial content. Whereas Chinua Achebe finds the novel a prop to colonialism, Ngugi Wa Thiongo looks upon it as an attack on colonialism'[18].

Orientalism, Africanist and Americanist discourses developed and pervaded every field of metropolitan culture - literature, historical writing, painting, music and popular culture. Conrad, Kipling, T.E. Lawrence, Malraux are among its narrators; its ancestors and curators include Clive, Hastings, Dupleix, Bugeaud, Brooke, Eyre, Palmerston, Jules Ferry, Lyautey, Rhodes ... and is ideologically proposed by such names as Seeley, Dilke, Fronde, Leroy - Beaulieu, Harmand among others. 'The images of Western imperial authority remain - haunting, strangely attractive, compelling: Gordon at Khartoum, fiercely staring down at Sudanese dervishes in G.W Joy's famous painting, armed only with revolver and sheathed sword; Conrad's Kurtz in the centre of Africa, brilliant, crazed, doomed, brave, rapacious, eloquent; Lawrence of Africa, at the head of his Arab warriors, living the romance of the desert, inventing guerilla warfare, hobnobbing with princes and statesmen, translating Homer, and trying to hold on to Britain's 'Brown Dominion'; Cecil Rhodes, establishing countries, estates, funds as easily as other men might have children or start businesses; Bugeaud, bringing Abdel Qader's forces to heel, making Algeria French; the concubines, dancing girls, obelisques of Gerome, Delacroix's Sardanapalus, Matisse's North Africa, Saint-Saens's *Samson and Delilah*. The list is long and its treasures massive'.[19]

Said shows that every field of culture was permeated by the discourses of Western dominance over the East intellectually and morally. This motif of the Western culture is present in

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the novel form from its very inception - from Daniel Defoe in Robinson Crusoe to the present day through Jane Austen, Dickens, Thackeray, Conrad and Kipling.

Consider Carlyle in 'The Nigger Question': No: the gods wish besides pumpkins [the particular plant favoured by Carlyle's 'niggers], that spices and valuable products be grown in their West Indies; this much they have declared in so making the West Indies: - infinitely more they wish, that industrious men occupy their West India, not indolent two-legged cattle however 'happy' over their abundant pumpkins! Both these things, we may be assured, the immortal gods have decided upon, passed their eternal act of Parliament for: and both of them, though all terrestrial parliaments and entities oppose it to the death, shall be done. Quashee, if he will not help in bringing-out the spices will get himself made a slave again (which state will be a little less ugly than his present one), and with beneficent whip, since other methods avail not, will be compelled to work.[20]

Carlyle speaks a language of total generality, anchored in unshakable certainties about the essence of races, peoples, cultures, all of which need little elucidation because they are familiar to his audience. He speaks a *lingua franca* for metropolitan Britain: global, comprehensive and with so vast a social authority as to be accessible to anyone speaking to and about the nation. This *lingua franca* locates Britain as the focal point of a world also presided over by its power, illuminated by its ideas and culture, kept productive by the attitudes of its moral teachers, artists, legislators.

The lesser species are offered nothing to speak of, while England is expanding tremendously, its culture changing to one based upon industrialization at home and protected free trade abroad. The status of the Black is decreed by 'eternal act of Parliament', so there is no real opportunity for self-help, upward mobility, or even something better than outright slavery. The question is whether Carlyle's logic and attitudes are entirely his own (and therefore eccentric) or whether they articulate, in an extreme and distinctive way, essential attitudes that are not so very different from Austen's a few decades before or John Stuart Mill's a decade later.

The similarities are remarkable, and the differences between the individuals equally great, for the whole weight of culture made it hard to be otherwise. Neither Austen nor Mill offers a non-white Caribbean any status imaginatively, discursively, aesthetically, geographically, economically other than that of sugar producer in a permanently subordinate position to the English. This, of course, is the concrete meaning of domination whose other side is *productivity*. Carlyle's Quashee is like Sir Thomas's Antiguan possessions: designed to produce wealth intended for British use.

One hears similar accents in Macaulay in 1830's and then again four decades later, largely unchanged, in Ruskin, whose 1870 Slade Lectures at Oxford begin with a solemn invocation to England's destiny. This lecture frames nearly everything in Ruskin's copious writings on art. The authoritative Cook and Wedderburn edition of Ruskin's work includes a footnote to this passage underscoring its importance for him; he regarded it as "the most pregnant and essential of all his teaching". We quote a few lines from his lecture underscoring the connection between culture and Empire:

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'*Vexilla regis Prodeunt*'. Yes, but of which king? There are the two oriflammes; which shall we plant on the farthest inland, the one that floats in heavenly fire, or that hangs heavy with foul tissue of terrestrial gold? There is indeed a course of beneficent glory open to us, such as never was yet offered to any poor group of mortal souls. But it must be - it is with us, now, 'Reign or Die'. And it shall be said of this country, '*Fece per viltate, it gran rifituo*', that refusal to the crown will be of all yet recorded in history, the shamefullest and most untimely. And this is what she must either do or perish: she must found colonies as fast and as far as she is able, formed of her most energetic and worthiest men; - seizing every piece of fruitful waste ground she can set her foot on, and there teaching these her colonists that their chief virtue is to be fidelity to their country, and their first aim is to be to advance the power of England by land and sea: and that, though they live off a distant plot of ground, they are no more to consider themselves disfranchised from their native land, than the sailors of her fleet do, because they float on distant lands. So that literally, these colonies must be fastened fleets; and every man of them must be under authority of captains and officers, whose better command is to be over fields and streets instead of ships of the line; and England, in these her motionless navies (or, in the true and mightiest sense, motionless *Churches*, ruled by pilots in the Galilean lake of all the world), is to 'expect every man to do his duty'; recognizing that duty is indeed possible no less in peace than war; and that if we can get men, for little pay, to cast themselves against cannon-mouths for love of England, we can find men also who will plough and sow for her, who will behave kindly and righteously for her, and who will gladden themselves in the brightness of her glory, more than in all the light of the tropic skies. But that they may be able to do this, she must make her own majesty stainless; she must give them thoughts of their home of which they can be proud. the England who is to be mistress of half the earth, cannot remain herself a heap of cinders, trampled by contending and miserable crowds; she must yet again become the England she was once, and in all beautiful ways, more: so happy, so secluded, so pure, that in her sky - polluted by no unholy clouds - she may be able to spell rightly of every star that heaven doth show; and in her fields, ordered and wide and fair, of every herb that sips the dew; and under the green avenues of her enchanted gardens, a sacred Circe, true daughter of the Sun, she must guide the human arts, and gather the divine knowledge, of distant nations, transformed from savageness to manhood, and redeemed from despairing into peace.[21]

Most discussions of Ruskin avoid this passage. Yet, like Carlyle, Ruskin speaks plainly; his meaning while draped in allusions and tropes, is unmistakable. England is to rule the world because it is the best; power is to be used; its imperial competitors are unworthy; its colonies are to increase, prosper, remain tied to it. What is compelling in Ruskin's hortatory tones is that he not only fervently believes in what he is advocating but also connects his political ideas about British world domination to his aesthetic and moral philosophy. In so far as he believes passionately in the one, he also believes passionately in the other, the political and the imperial aspect enfolding and in a sense guaranteeing the aesthetic and moral one. Because England is to be 'King' of the globe, 'a sceptered isle, for all the world a source of light', its youth are to be colonists whose first aim is to advance the power of England by land and sea; because England must do that 'or perish', its art and culture depend, in Ruskin's view, on an enforced imperialism.

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No area of experience was spared the unrelenting application of these hierarchies. In the system of education designed for India, students were taught not only English literature but also the inherent superiority of the English race. Contributors to the emerging science of ethnographic observation in Africa, Asia, and Australia, carried with them scrupulous tools of analysis and also an array of images, notions, quasi-scientific concepts about barbarism, primitivism, and civilization; in the nascent discipline of anthropology, Darwinism, Christianity, utilitarianism, idealism, racial theory, legal history, linguistics, and the lore of intrepid travelers mingled in bewildering combination, none of which wavered, however, when it came to affirming the superlative values of white civilization. The more one reads in this matter, and the more one reads the modern scholars on it, the more impressive is its fundamental insistence and repetitiveness when it came to 'others'.

Cultural representations of what lay beyond insular or metropolitan boundaries came, almost from the start, to *confirm* European power. There is an impressive circularity here: we are dominant because we have the power (industrial, technological, military, moral), and they don't because of which they are not dominant, they are inferior, we are superior, ... and so on and on. One sees this tautology holding with a particular tenacity in British views of Ireland and the Irish as early as the sixteenth century; it will operate during the eighteenth century with opinions about white colonists in Australia and the Americas (Australians remained an inferior race well into the twentieth century); it gradually extends its sway to include the whole world beyond the British shores. A comparable repetitive and inclusive tautology about what is overseas beyond France's frontiers emerges in French culture. At the margins of Western society, all the non-European regions, whose inhabitants, societies, histories, and beings represented a non-European essence, were made subservient to Europe, which in turn demonstrably continued to control what was not Europe, and represented the non-European in such a way as to sustain control.

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