

Imperial Infrastructure and Spatial Resistance in Colonial Literature
(1880-1930)

Dominic Davies
St Anne's College
University of Oxford

A thesis submitted for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
Hilary 2015

Dominic Davies, St Anne's College

Hilary, 2015

Abstract

Imperial Infrastructure and Spatial Resistance in Colonial Literature

Between 1880 and 1930, the British Empire's vast infrastructural developments facilitated the incorporation of large parts of the globe into what Immanuel Wallerstein and others have called the capitalist 'world-system'. Colonial literature written throughout this period, in recording this vast expansion, repeatedly cites imperial infrastructures to make sense of the various geographies in which it is set. Physical embodiments of empire proliferate in this writing. Railways and trains, telegraph wires and telegrams, roads and bridges, steamships and shipping lines, canals and other forms of irrigation, cantonments, the colonial bungalow and other kinds of colonial urban architecture—all of these infrastructural lines break up the landscape and give shape to the literature's depiction and production of colonial space.

In order to analyse these physical embodiments of empire in colonial literature, this thesis develops a methodological reading practice called *infrastructural reading*. Rooted in a dualistic, yet connected use of the word 'infrastructure', this reading strategy works as a critical tool for analysing a mutually sustaining relationship embedded within these literary narratives. It focuses on the infrastructures *in* the text, both physical and symbolic, in order to excavate the infrastructures *of* the text, be they geographic, social or economic—namely, the material conditions of the world-system that underpinned

Britain's imperial expansion. This methodology is applied to a number of colonial authors including H. Rider Haggard, Olive Schreiner, William Plomer and John Buchan in South Africa and Flora Annie Steel, E.M. Forster, Edmund Candler and Edward Thompson in India. The results show that the infrastructural networks that circulate through colonial fiction are *almost always* related to some form of anti-imperial resistance, manifestations that include ideological anxieties, limitations and silences, as well as more direct objections to and acts of violent defiance against imperial control and capitalist accumulation. In so doing, the thesis demonstrates how this literary-cultural terrain and the resistance embedded within it has been shaped by, and has in turn shaped, the infrastructure of the capitalist world-system.

Table of Contents

<u>Acknowledgements</u>	iii
<u>List of Figures</u>	iv
<u>Introduction: Infrastructure, Resistance, Literature</u>	1
Infrastructure and the Networked World-System.....	1
‘The Colonial Present’: Criticism as Resistance.....	11
Infrastructural Reading: Critiquing Cross-National Capital in Colonial Literature.....	19
Hobson, Luxemburg, Lenin: Why 1880 to 1930?.....	26
The Rise of Nationalism: Shaping the World-System.....	37
Spatial ‘Resistance’: The Politics of a Term.....	43
Colonial Literature: Why these texts?.....	51
<u>Chapter One: Mapping Humanitarianism: Flora Annie Steel and the Contradictions of Colonial Capitalism</u>	59
Introduction: From Contradiction to Resistance.....	59
The ‘Gaps’ of Colonial Capitalism in <i>On the Face of the Waters</i> (1896).....	65
Consolidating Ideology: Flags, Telegraphs and Governmental Reports.....	76
The Silences of Steel’s Short Fiction.....	90
Perspectival Shifts: Resisting Infra-structural Violence.....	102
<u>Chapter Two: Mapping Segregation: Literary Geographies of South Africa</u>	114
Introduction: Industrialisation, Urbanisation, Segregation.....	114
The Infrastructure of the Imperial Romance: <i>King Solomon’s Mines</i> (1885).....	122
Racial Segregation and the Cape to Cairo Railway.....	133
Grounding Meta-Narrative: Olive Schreiner’s Geographies of Resistance.....	150

Johannesburg: City of Exploitation, Segregation and Resistance.....	169
Rewriting the Imperial Romance: The ‘Revolutionary Trajectories’ of ‘Ula Masondo’ (1927).....	173
 <u>Chapter Three: Mapping Frontiers: John Buchan and the Topographies of Imperial Ideology</u>	186
Introduction: Frontiers and Borderlands.....	186
The Infrastructure of the Frontier.....	193
The Symbolic Cartographies of <i>Prester John</i> (1910).....	201
Encoding Narrative: Landscape and Ideology in <i>The Thirty-Nine Steps</i> (1915).....	211
‘Imaginative Geographies’: Buchan’s Creative Cartographic Vision.....	227
 <u>Chapter Four: Mapping Nationalism: Allegories of Uneven Development</u>	243
Introduction: Geographies of Division, Unity and Uneven Development.....	243
From Forster to Candler and Thompson: Biographical Symmetries.....	253
The Uneven Topographies of Nationalist Ideology.....	261
Meteorological Metaphors and Violent Resistance.....	279
‘Palliative Imperialism’: Producing Rural Space.....	293
Resistance in the Imperial Capital: Producing Urban Space.....	306
 <u>Conclusion: Towards An Infrastructural Reading of the Present</u>	320
 <u>Works Cited</u>	326
Archival Sources.....	326
Primary Texts.....	326
Secondary Texts.....	328

Acknowledgements

Thanks are due to many people, for many things.

To Elleke Boehmer, for being such a diligent, tireless and knowledgeable supervisor, and it is my privilege to say, colleague and friend.

To my parents, for their unwavering and ongoing support; to Mum, for listening to me ramble endlessly over the years and still proofing the entire thesis so thoroughly; to Dad, for purchasing a copy of, and reading, *Postcolonialism: A Very Short Introduction*.

To all of my friends in Oxford; especially to Asha Rogers, for sharing both experiences and homes; to Ed Still, for welcoming me into the Sunningwell mansion; to Maja Založnik, for not crying despite McQueen's best efforts; and to my sister, Ruth Davies, for her wisdom beyond our years.

To all of those friends outside of Oxford, for offering me refuge and distraction on innumerable occasions; to Dave Lawrence, Chris Williams and the Brighton Boys; to Joe Macmillan, Matt Loughran and all my amazing pals in London.

To the Arts and Humanities Research Council, for their generous funding; to the Vice-Chancellor's Fund, for making this last year so much easier; to St Anne's, for the two Domus Scholarships and their many travel grants; to Leverhulme, for supporting me in my role as Network Facilitator for the 'Planned Violence' Network.

List of Figures

0.1 <i>The Shippers' Guide to South and East Africa. With Coloured Railway Map</i> , compiled and edited by W.D.M. Cotts of Niven, Mitchell & Cotts, Johannesburg, Durban and Delagoa Bay (London: Simpkin, Marshall, Hamilton, Kent & Co., Limited, 1897). Ref: A.385 COT. National Library of South Africa.....	3
0.2 'The Coal Fields of India excluding those of Baluchistan, the Punjab and Rajputana, and Iron Ores of Bihar and Orissa, showing rivers and railways'. From the Imperial Mineral Resources Bureau, Review of the Mineral Industry of the British Empire: Coal etc. Part II 1913-19, published in 1922. Colonial Office, 1047/1054. National Archives, Kew.....	7
0.3 'An aerial view of Algiers in the 1930s: the French quarters on the left, the casbah on the right. Similarly stark urban divisions can be seen in other settler colonies. Aerial photos are a dramatic demonstration of how settler societies planned and built racial segregation'. 'Divided Cities'. <i>Society and Culture in Twentieth-century Africa</i> . November 2010. Web.....	14
0.4 'Imperial Institute Map of the Chief Sources of Metals in the British Empire with Diagrams of Production for 1918'. Colonial Office, 1047/1045. National Archives, Kew.....	28
0.5 Gandhi at Dandi, South Gujarat, picking up salt on the beach at the end of the Salt March in April 1930 (Rühe, 2001: p. 84).....	40
1.1 A series of maps detailing the expansion of the railway network across India throughout the latter half of the nineteenth century (Kerr, 2003: p. 290).....	70
1.2 'Anglo-Mediterranean Telegraph Company Limited. 1868. Sketch Map Showing the Existing and Proposed telegraph lines to India, Australia and China'. MPD 1/207, 1 item extracted from T 1/7150A. National Archives, Kew.....	79
1.3 'The Delhi Durbar or Imperial Assembly, 1877. In pencil, pen, black ink and watercolour, heightened with bodycolour and gold, watermark "J WHATMAN" and commissioned by Arthur Hobhouse (1819-1904)'	106
2.1 The map that prefaces the adventure narrative of <i>King Solomon's Mines</i> (2008: p. 21).....	124

2.2 Two maps, one of Africa in 1800, '[w]hen there were no Railways', and another in 1900, in which colonial borders and completed and prospective railway lines carve up the continent, is illustrative of the extent to which infrastructures were used to make sense of, break up, divide and access colonial space (Weinthal, 1922: pp.100, 104).....	141
2.3 Pre-Anglo-Boer War map of 'The Beira & Mashonaland and Rhodesia Railways' (Weinthal, 1922: inset between pp. 112-3).....	143
2.4 'The Iron Link across the Zambezi' (Weinthal, 1922: p. 90).....	144
2.5 The bronze statue of Cecil Rhodes at the centre of the University of Cape Town's campus, with Kipling's words inscribed in the stone beneath (Photo by the author).....	146
2.6 Pictures of the Kimberley Mine in the 1870s, accompanying an article entitled 'The Great Diamond Industry of South Africa', by Harold S. Harger, in <i>The South African Mining Journal: Twenty-first Anniversary Number</i> . In HUMPHREYS, James Charles Napoleon, 1902-1969 (Consulting Engineer, Director of Companies and Africana Collector), A1138, 1610. Wits Historical Papers, University of the Witwatersrand.....	154
2.7 Maps and plans of the 'Witwatersrand Gold Fields' and the 'Southern Transvaal', compiled by two mining engineers in 1895. Ref: A.Q.622.096822 HAT. National Library of South Africa.....	171
2.8 A photograph of 'Market Square, Johannesburg, 1905', by Miss Catherine Henderson. BRITISH ASSOCIATION OF SCIENCE, 1905, A17Fol. Wits, Historical Papers, University of the Witwatersrand.....	172
3.1 The accompanying image of Laputa in the first edition of <i>Prester John</i> , inset in its opening pages (Buchan, 1910).....	194
3.2 The frontispiece map included in the first edition of <i>Prester John</i> (Buchan, 1910).....	202
3.3 The frontispiece to William Booth's <i>In Darkest England and the Way Out</i> (1890).....	218
3.4 Image of a <i>castrol</i> . 'South Africa: Limpopo Province'. <i>Limpopo Tourism Agency</i> . Web.....	236

4.1 This map details the divisions of Eastern Bengal and Assam in 1905, published in the <i>Bengal Gazetteer (1907-9)</i> . ‘Partition of Bengal (1905)’. <i>New World Encyclopedia</i> . Web.....	244
4.2 Image of ‘English Women visiting caves near Bangalore (c.1880s)’, located on the cover of the Penguin edition of <i>A Passage to India</i> (2005).....	264
4.3 A map from the <i>Imperial Gazetteer Atlas of India</i> , first printed in 1909, showing the ‘Prevailing Religions’ of the ‘British Indian Empire’	298
4.4 Segment of a map from the Survey of India in 1922, which details the infrastructural layout of Calcutta. Colonial Office 1047/1094, National Archives, Kew.....	304
4.5 Segment of a map from the Survey of India in 1922, which details the infrastructural layout of Delhi. Colonial Office 1047/1094, National Archives, Kew.....	307

Introduction: Infrastructure, Resistance, Literature

Infrastructure and the Networked World-System

Month by month the Earth shrinks actually, and, what is more important, in imagination. We know it by the slide and crash of unstable material all around us. For the moment, but only for the moment, the new machines are outstripping mankind. We have cut down enormously—we shall cut down inconceivably—the world-conception of time and space, which is the big flywheel of the world's progress. What wonder that the great world-engine, which we call Civilisation, should race and heat a little; or that the onlookers who see it take charge should be a little excited, and, therefore, inclined to scold. [...] For the moment the machines are developing more power than has been required for their duties. But just as soon as humanity can get its breath, the machines' load will be increased and they will settle smoothly to their load and most marvellous output. (Kipling, 2010: p.241)

Speaking at the Royal Geographical Society in 1914, Rudyard Kipling imagined the British Empire as a networked world-system, fuelled by what he describes as 'the great world-engine' and facilitated by the expansion of its infrastructural technologies. The hyphen Kipling uses in his description of the 'world-engine' and his imagery of global tectonic shifts, slides and crashes is significant. Britain's 'world-empire', and the capitalist 'world-system' that underpinned it, is here conceived as a complex, networked web of uneven and unstable core-periphery relations. For Immanuel Wallerstein, it is crucial to 'note the hyphen in world-system and its two subcategories, world-economies and world-empires', because what is under analysis is not a 'social whole', but rather 'a spatial/temporal zone which cuts across many political and cultural units' (2004: pp. 16-17). Whilst Wallerstein's 'state-centric mappings of social spatiality' ('core, semiperiphery, and periphery' (1991: pp.223-4)) can 'limit our understanding' of the world-system, Neil Brenner argues that by focusing on the 'historically specific socio-geographical infrastructures' that facilitated 'the annihilation of space through time', a

more nuanced understanding of the ‘historically specific patterns of uneven development’ can unfold (Palumbo-Liu et al. eds., 2011: pp.103-6; Harvey, 1995: p. 205). This clarification stresses, as Kipling also perceived, that core-periphery relations occurred not only between homogenous nation-states or borders, but rather along and around those infrastructural routes that enabled the expansion of capitalist relations and imperial governance into pre- or non-capitalist sections of the globe.

This conceptual and physical map of the economic, social and cultural relations that gave shape to the British imperial project is, this thesis will show, embedded within and reproduced by the literary production of colonial space. A writer rightly credited with the ability to encapsulate the ideas of his age, the ‘bard of empire’ who roamed ‘its railways and sea-lanes’ stressed both the economic *and also* cultural capital that was invested in these vast networks of cross-national infrastructure (Bubb, 2013: pp. 391-394). They were, Kipling observes, as important, if not more so, ‘in imagination’, as they were in their physical and economic actuality (2010: p.241). Writing some years earlier, the ‘fifty thousand miles of railways laid down and ten thousand under survey’ allowed Kipling not only to ‘[i]magine an India fit for permanent habitation’ by its British rulers; these infrastructural circuitries enabled him to ‘dream’ of a networked world functioning on the principle of ‘free trade’ (Kipling, 1913: pp.233-5). His resulting fantasy—‘one great iron band girdling the earth’ (p.235)—emphasises the importance of infrastructural systems such as the railways in giving imaginative shape to this world-system.



Fig. 0.1 This coloured railway map demonstrates the way in which infrastructural routes were used in cartographic practice to make sense of colonial landscapes, emphasising how these in turn are linked to cross-national trading networks. It was inset in *The Shippers' Guide to South and East Africa. With Coloured Railway Map*, compiled and edited by W.D.M. Cotts of Niven, Mitchell & Cotts, Johannesburg, Durban and Delagoa Bay (London: Simpkin, Marshall, Hamilton, Kent & Co., Limited, 1897). Ref: A.385 COT. National Library of South Africa.

Kipling observed, described and authored a trope that recurs through much anglophone colonial literature of the British Empire. This tendency configured the imperial infrastructural base as a symbolic as well as physical network that brought the world-empire—and the economies of global capital underpinning it—into being. Imperial infrastructures are repeatedly used throughout a large body of colonial literature to make sense of the various geographies in which they are set. Physical embodiments of empire proliferate: railways and trains, telegraph wires and telegrams, roads and bridges,

steamships and shipping lines, canals and other forms of irrigation, cantonments, the colonial bungalow, and other kinds of colonial urban architecture—all of these infrastructural lines demarcate and break up the landscape to facilitate the literature's depiction and production of colonial space. Edward Thompson's India is divided into urban and rural zones linked together via 'a single railway' that cuts across the landscape (1931: p.17); Edmund Candler's characters meander through the segregated urban environment of New Delhi; and in *Prester John* (1910), John Buchan's protagonist Davie Crawford locates himself in the Southern African terrain by drawing on the spatial referent of 'the railroad' demarcated on his map (2008: pp.16-17).

As my time spent studying Colonial and Foreign Office archives has revealed, and as many critics have pointed out, cartography was a practice fundamental to the colonial enterprise (see fig. 0.1).¹ It allowed imperialists, from governmental administrators, surveyors and engineers to settler colonials and freelance capitalists, to 'conceptualise, codify and regulate' a 'vision of the land' (Huggan, 1994: p.xv). Not surprisingly, this is a trend registered by a number of colonial literary texts. Conrad's Marlow famously has

¹ In his essay, 'Geography and Some Explorers', published in *National Geographic* in March 1924, Joseph Conrad celebrated the period's enthusiasm for map-making. But whilst Conrad considered 'the honest maps of the nineteenth century' to be 'the most blameless of sciences' (1926: pp.10-14), a number of critics have pointed out that '[g]eography was linked overtly and covertly with imperial power' (Butlin, 2009: p.277). Jane Carruthers explains how 'cartography configured the "imagined community" of a nation and placed it before an international audience in a scientifically acceptable way', whilst 'some groups, particularly African communities, were wiped off the map' (Carruthers, 2003: p.956). David Harvey, amongst others, has argued that 'India, as a coherent geographical entity, was [...] very much a British imperial rather than indigenous conception' and that 'the fundamental moment in this definition was the mapping of the subcontinent by British surveyors' (Harvey, 2009: pp.47-9; see also Tickell, 2004). The work of Paul Carter is particularly concerned with mapping and its politics, identifying the implicit ideological systems inherent in colonial maps of Australia, South Africa, the United States and Canada (Carter, 2002: pp.150-152). Elsewhere, he has documented more specifically the way in which they continue to inform the infrastructural shape of these landscapes: 'we live in the maps that the colonial surveyors bequeathed us. Inside their cadastral enclosures we have settled down. The roads we drive, the prospects they open up, and the alignment of the walls inside which coming home we agree to reside and sleep are all the linear offspring of those rulers.' (2009: pp.17-19).

‘a passion for maps’ as he gazes upon ‘the many blank spaces on the earth’ (2006: pp. 7-8); Kipling’s Kim has ‘a great aptitude’ for ‘map-making’ (2002: p.139) and the novel is littered with ‘*kilta[s]* full of maps’ (p.200). As Graham Huggan argues, maps perform an important ‘function in literary texts’, building both ‘metaphors of guidance and transformation’ whilst also instigating ideologies of ‘coercion and containment’ (p.xv).²

This thesis is particularly concerned with the way in which these cartographies of colonial space so frequently depend on arterial infrastructural routes to make sense of the landscape. Colonial maps are structured around their depictions of these physical embodiments of empire. Indeed, whilst members of the Royal Geographical Society fuelled imperialism by providing ‘cartographic information and other knowledge for the organisation’, many individuals also contributed ‘capital through investment’ in a range ‘of roads, railways, telegraphs, and administration systems’ (Butlin, 2009: pp.277-8). It is perhaps not surprising that, like maps, the literary depiction of colonial space is also often preoccupied with, if not dependent on infrastructure in this way. After all, as Brett Fischman’s summary of some ‘[s]tandard definitions of infrastructure’ makes evident, these physical networks constitute ‘the underlying framework of a system’, ranging from ‘*transportation systems*’ and ‘*communication systems*’ to ‘*basic public services and governance systems*’ (2012: pp.3-4); they are ‘a system of substrates’ that form ‘part of the background for other kinds of work’ (Star, 1999: p.380). Furthermore, and as this thesis will argue throughout, these ‘complex material circuits of infrastructure’ are also crucial to facilitating the ‘processes of globalisation’ by functioning as ‘one of the most basic enabling institutions of capitalism’ (Rubenstein, 2010: p.4). As Stephen Graham

² Huggan’s ‘charting’ of the ‘ideological links between the physical maps of geography and the conceptual maps of literature’ is taken up in greater detail in chapters Two and Three of this thesis (1994: p.xv).

argues, infrastructural systems are ‘at the heart’ of ‘wealth creation and capital accumulation’ because they extend ‘control and appropriation of labour power and all sorts of resources over distant territories, people, and ecosystems’ (2010: p.4).

For the sake of time and scope, this project confines its analysis to literary depictions of parts of Southern Africa and the Indian subcontinent, but these tendencies recur across colonial literature set in other spaces that include, for example, the settler colonial landscapes of Canada and Australia with which Huggan is primarily concerned. Within the literary depiction of colonial space, infrastructures are repeatedly invested with a symbolic capital that make them cultural equivalents of what might be understood as the economic ‘core’ in world-systems analysis, in relation to the peripheral zones that they traverse. As Cara Murray argues, imperial ‘traffic’—the numerous trade flows and infrastructural routes that cut across borders and constitute the circuitry of the world-economy—is enabled by the technologies of empire: ‘roads, trains, telegraphs’, but also ‘novels’, all of which ‘give shape and form to landscapes’ (2008: pp.12-13). As we shall see, Flora Annie Steel’s character, Mr Gissing, ‘an excellent businessman, who had a knack for piling up the rupees’, celebrates ‘the facility of transport given by roads’ for enhancing his accumulation of capital (Cawasjee ed., 2005: p.54). Colonial literature is engaged in processes of export and import, both describing and itself enacting the investment of economic and cultural capital abroad, processes that occur most evidently in their depiction of physical infrastructures.

These infrastructural routes themselves take on a certain ‘coreness’, one that is inevitably linked to a set of ‘core-like production processes’ through the socioeconomic

integrated production structures brought together through a complex division of labour and extensive commercial exchange' (Robinson, 2011: p.5).³ Core zones are not national blocks here, but rather webs, networks or lines, what the social historian of technology and infrastructure, Daniel Headrick, describes titularly as *Tentacles of Progress* (1988). Conceived in this way, infrastructures operate as systems comprised of networks with edges, but also with huge gaps in between and beyond them, and with numerous other systems cutting across, beneath and into them.

This is akin to what Herman Wittenberg has defined as the 'paradoxical notion' of 'imperial spatiality'; a spatiality that is somehow 'unitary and global', but also, and simultaneously, 'divided and fragmented' (1997: p.130). Whilst integrating cultures and economies on a global scale, this process takes place in 'a fundamentally unequal way', though for Wittenberg this is still rooted in the 'hierarchical ordering of relations between the colonial periphery and the metropolitan centre, a structure of dispersed power which produces dominant and subordinated spaces' (p.130). Alan Lester deconstructs this simplistic 'binary and hierarchical division between metropolitan and colonial spaces, discourses and practices' (Blunt and McEwan eds., 2002: p.29). He argues that it is only by thinking 'about power and knowledge within extensive, trans-national or trans-imperial, frames—by thinking about the interconnected historical geographies of the sites studied—that the embedded connections that underpin contemporary power relations can be revealed' (pp.29-30). This thesis argues that when the analytical focus is shifted to the infrastructural networks that course through this

³ It is for this reason that I dispose of the term 'semiperiphery', drafted in by Wallerstein and others to explain the fact that 'some states are clearly "in-between" in the core-periphery structure', in that they 'house within their borders' both core and peripheral production processes (1982: p.47). However, by locating core-periphery relations at the level of uneven infrastructural development, the concept of a semi-peripheral state or zone is no longer necessary.

literary-cultural field, not only can simplistic geographical hierarchies can be undercut and complicated, but their fundamental imbrication with types of anti-imperial resistance can be excavated and brought to the fore.

Walter Mignolo, a theorist who self-confessedly ‘piggy-back[s]’ on world-systems analysis, brings its contributions to bear on a specifically cultural terrain in its networked or web-like conceptualisation,⁴ further clarifying his model by calling it ‘the modern/colonial world system’:

I conceive of the system in terms of internal and external borders rather than centres, semiperipheries, and peripheries. Internal and external borders are not discrete entities but rather moments of a continuum in colonial expansion and in changes of national imperial hegemonies. [...] I am not, therefore, setting a stage in which local histories are those of the colonised countries, of the Third World, and global designs are located in the coloniser countries of the First World. Global designs, in other words, are brewed, so to speak, in the local histories of metropolitan countries; they are implemented, exported, and enacted differently in particular places. (2012: pp.35, 65)

In *Local Histories/Global Designs*, Mignolo complicates the geographical binary of his title whilst retaining the combative dualities that inform the politics of his project. As with Mignolo’s oppositional terms, the two phrases that structure this thesis—‘imperial infrastructure’ and ‘spatial resistance’—are likewise configured spatially, though not in a simplistic geographical binary between colonising and colonised national territories. Rather, this oppositionality occurs in a variety of ways in ‘particular places’ that, in the colonial situation, are cut through with ‘internal and external borders’. My own effort to

⁴ There is, as Bruce Robbins has noted, a distinct lack of engagement from humanities scholars with Wallerstein’s work, in part because ‘while culture shows up from time to time’ (primarily as ‘geoculture’ (see Wallerstein, 1992)), ‘it never plays a significant role’ in world-systems analysis (Palumbo-Liu et al. eds., 2011: p.46). The exception, of course, is Franco Moretti, whose concept of ‘*Weitliteratur*’ is underpinned by world-systems theory, though this is a very different project to the one undertaken here (2000: pp.55-56).

politicise this body of fiction retranslates Mignolo's cultural conception of the modern/colonial world-system *back* into the physical and economic world *through* its discussion of a cultural terrain. It is predicated on the fact that, as Robert Young argues, this literary discourse 'is never a disembodied imaginative representation' but rather, like the infrastructures it represents, is always 'acting in and on the material world' (Young, 2002: p.408).

The thesis further shares Mignolo's concern that, as critics, we are still situated within 'a continuum in colonial expansion and in changes of national imperial hegemonies' (2012: p.35). Mignolo understands decolonisation not as a momentary historical event that has now passed, but rather as an ongoing process with which we must continually and self-consciously engage: 'While liberation framed the struggle of the oppressed in the "Third World" and the history of modern coloniality, decoloniality is an even larger project' (p.457). Therefore, though this thesis draws on several 'postcolonial' theorists to inform its analysis, I take this much-debated term to refer 'not so much [to] the postcolonial condition', but 'rather the postcolonial loci of enunciation as an emerging discursive formation, and as a form of articulation of subaltern rationality' (p.94). When these conceptual predicates are taken into account, it becomes clear that my own literary critical practice must be considered, in some sense, as itself a form of resistance.

‘The Colonial Present’: Criticism as Resistance

The reader is invited to use this introduction akin to the maps that are so often included as a frontispiece to a colonial literary text. It sets the broad methodological landscape within which the contrastingly specific historical and literary studies of each chapter are set. It may at points be useful to tack between the introduction and these studies so as to better understand the way in which *infrastructural reading* is being deployed. This methodological practice is specifically designed to excavate ideological anxieties, limitations and silences, as well as more direct objections to and violent defiances of imperial control and capitalist accumulation out of a series of colonial texts. In so doing, it avoids romanticising anticolonial movements by emphasising, as Frederick Cooper suggests, that ‘colonialism was as much threatened by fissures within its modes of action and representation’ (2005: p.32), whilst refusing to recount ‘cases of ambivalence’ by ‘emphasising historically specific acts of resistance’ and focusing on colonialism’s ‘historical-material reality’ (Sethi, 2011: p.8). The thesis thus re-evaluates the capacity of colonial literature to reveal the limits of imperial ideology and to enact resistance to it, as it analyses texts with both explicitly pro-imperial but also more self-consciously anti-imperial perspectives. The specifics of *infrastructural reading* as a methodology are explained in greater detail below, but it is important to stress here that the infrastructural networks that circulate through colonial fiction are *almost always* related to some form of anti-imperial resistance.

The thesis therefore has two central objectives. The first begins with the premise that whilst there is a range of cultural and political hierarchies necessarily embedded within this colonial literature—as many have shown since Edward Said’s foundational work

(1993, 2003)—there is an extent to which the subsequent avoidance of such texts may become defeatist. Carried to its logical conclusion, it might result in the dismissal of these literary works as nothing more than complicit with the imperial project, whilst engagement with them is seen as actually perpetuating their ideological frameworks of inequality, discrimination and oppression. But I argue that to relinquish this body of fiction to the unread archive is more dangerous: it risks ignoring the literature's rich stock of insight into and nuancing of those very frameworks, as well as the resistance to them that, I will show, so often remains latent within it. There is a political imperative for the present here. As Gail Low argues, 'the easy negation of such writing does not address the power of their myth-making' (1996: p.2). '[S]imply to point out the falsity' of these imaginative productions of space is to leave 'untouched the psychic investments which determine the formation of the fictions that sustain the world we [continue to] live and act within' (p.2). The thesis recovers a series of critically under-read literary texts and excavates, rather than perpetuates, their complex ideological dynamics, a project that benefits the study of, in some cases ongoing, colonialisms.

The second central objective of the thesis is to develop a critical reading practice that is self-consciously political and in many ways itself a form of anti-imperial resistance. As geographers such as Mike Davis have argued, 'what we today call the "third world"' is an 'outgrowth' of the inequalities that were shaped 'most decisively in the last quarter of the nineteenth century' (Davis, 2010: pp.15-16). The thesis' political work is self-confessedly motivated by the often violent and material implications of the expansion of the world-system under the remit of the British Empire, as well as by its post-imperial ramifications. The politics informing the development of its methodology are therefore affiliated with what Benita Parry describes as 'the writings of liberation movements that

had inaugurated the interrogation of colonialism and imperialism' (2004: p.6). As Timothy Brennan points out, 'links between the theoretical, not necessarily organisational, Marxisms of interwar Europe, and the anticolonial intellectuals who anticipated postcolonial studies as we now understand it, were [...] close and sustained' (Bartolovich and Lazarus eds., 2004: pp.197-8). The thesis thus responds to Parry's call to historicise British imperialism 'within the determining instance of capitalism's global trajectory' (2004: p.9). Whether focusing on H. Rider Haggard's 'King Solomon's road' or Flora Annie Steel's intermittent depiction of the telegraph, it shows how the literary texts under analysis are preoccupied with 'the construction of minimal and strategic infrastructure' designed to satiate 'capitalism's urge to inset the non- or incipiently capitalist zones into its world-system' (p.9).

I further adopt Parry's use of the work of Frantz Fanon 'to promote the construction of a politically conscious, unified revolutionary self, standing in unmitigated antagonism to the oppressor' and 'occupying a combative subject position' (p.15), a positionality also occupied, as has been noted, by Mignolo. In order to initiate this 'process of cultural resistance and cultural disruption, [which] participates in writing a text that can answer colonialism back', it is necessary, Parry argues, to embark upon 'a cartography of colonial ideology more extensive than its address in the colonialist space' (pp.27-8). If for Fanon the infrastructural layout of 'the segregated city' epitomises 'the entire colonial relationship' (King, 1976: pp.282-3), for this thesis the cartography of physical imperial infrastructure in colonial literature is the key to dismantling colonial ideology. It seems imperative that a project concerned with the politics of infrastructure in the fraught dynamics of the colonial environment recalls Fanon's words at its outset:



Fig. 0.3 'An aerial view of Algiers [a city with which Fanon himself had strong biographical ties] in the 1930s: the French quarters on the left, the casbah on the right. Similarly stark urban divisions can be seen in other settler colonies. Aerial photos are a dramatic demonstration of how settler societies planned and built racial segregation' ('Divided Cities'; see also Macey, 2012: p.6).

The colonial world is a world divided into compartments. [...] if we examine closely this system of compartments, we will at least be able to reveal the lines of force it implies. This approach to the colonial world, its ordering and its geographical layout will allow us to mark out the lines on which a decolonised society will be reorganised.

The colonial world is cut in two. The dividing line, the frontiers are shown by barracks and police stations. [...] The settler's town is a strongly-built town, all made of stone and steel [whilst the town of the colonised] is a world without spaciousness; men live there on top of each other, and their huts are built one on top of the other. (2001: p.29, see fig. 0.3).

The politics of resistance arising from literary depictions of specifically *urban* infrastructure are addressed more directly in the final section of Chapter Two and sporadically throughout Chapter Four. For now, it is necessary to understand that Fanon depicts the core and peripheral zones of the world-system occurring not at the macro-

level of nation-states, but rather between specific infrastructural routes, boundaries and borders. Explaining Fanon's thought within the terms of world-systems analysis, arterial infrastructures such as a railways or roads are invested with and facilitate the economic and cultural flows of the core. In turn, the surrounding area is relationally assimilated into the world-system as a peripheral zone; 'core-periphery is a relational concept, not a pair of terms that are reified, that is, have separate essential meanings' (Wallerstein, 2004: p.17). The resulting 'periphery is not a state but a process', for which 'we have the noun peripheralisation': 'the inclusion of a unit, or an area, which was not previously involved at all, into the functioning of the world-economy', or the intensification of this process 'in a more unequal direction' (Hopkins and Wallerstein, 1982: pp.98-9). Whilst the thesis can thus analyse what Mignolo calls 'underdeveloped societies' within the colonial literary field, it is important also to acknowledge the presence of 'silenced societies'—geohistorical locations where 'talking and writing take place but which are not heard in the planetary production of knowledge' (2002: p.71). In so doing, the thesis repeatedly refuses to subscribe to colonial literature's often self-consciously explicit claim to represent colonial landscapes and peoples in their entirety, whilst nevertheless arguing that it represents, or gives voice to, more than it realises. The modes of resistance recovered by this thesis frequently revolve around a gesture to those spaces of socioeconomic organisation that exist beyond the infrastructural tentacles of the world-system.

For Benedict Anderson, the novel as genre, form and material object is central to the way in which 'imagined communities' such as nations come into being (2006: pp. 24-26), operating 'as a technology that functions like a railway or canal' by giving 'shape or form to landscapes' (Murray, 2008: pp.12-3). Given this function, the uneven

mappings produced by colonial literature may have contributed to the production of certain imaginative and ideologically inflected infrastructural networks that find currency in early nationalist discourses. This specific ramification is explored at length in Chapter Four's discussion of the emergence of coherent Indian nationalisms within colonial literature. As Anderson notes, the infrastructural and governmental 'circuitry' of a colonising power can be damaging to the postcolonial government that inherits it, as it channels, facilitates and encourages certain modes of governance that were initially designed for the totalitarian rule of the coloniser (Anderson, 2006: pp.160-1). Colonial literature might be understood as initiating and intensifying damaging cultural imaginings of these postcolonial spaces, from geographies of communalism, tribalism and sectarianism to infrastructures of inequality, hierarchy and corruption. Whilst the thesis' main concern is to show how colonial literature monitors resistance to a capitalist imperialism, it should be remembered throughout that it was complicit with certain infrastructural imaginings that would, in many instances, have severe consequences for the world's postcolonial citizens.

Though a post-imperial analysis is beyond the scope of this thesis, these outgrowths and ongoing ramifications inform the project's political urgency. For Fanon, colonialism's infrastructural organisation of physical space provided the coordinates on which the 'decolonised society' was 'reorganised'. Anthony King has documented at length the way in which the infrastructures of segregation and uneven development, both distinctive features of the colonial city, actually encouraged and intensified spatial, social and economic inequalities in postcolonial nations (1976: pp.283-287). Following a number of 'politicians and scholars' who argue 'that the end of direct colonial rule has not meant the end of imperialism', Hopkins and Wallerstein 'view "informal empire"

and “colonialism” as cyclical alternatives in the form of imperialism’ (1982: pp.51-2). If “‘empire” factually need not imply “colonies” formally’ (p.28), there is a politics to this project and the critical practice that it develops, informed by what Derek Gregory identifies as ‘the continuities between the colonial past and the colonial present’ (2004: p.7). Fanon’s words thus resonate throughout the following chapters, highlighting the inscription of inequality, oppression and exploitation into the infrastructures that gave shape to the physical space of colonialism, whilst always emphasising a combative and self-consciously resistant positionality towards them.

It is for these reasons that the thesis subscribes to Fredric Jameson’s call to engage with ‘the political interpretation of literary texts’, not as ‘some supplementary method’ but ‘rather as the absolute horizon of all reading and interpretation’ (2002: p.1). Tony Bennett likewise argues that ‘the activity of criticism is itself a preeminently *political* exercise’ (2003: p.111). This thesis proceeds *not* from the question of ‘what literature’s political effects *are*’, but rather ‘what they might be *made to be*’ (p.111). ‘[C]riticism immediately dissents from the empiricist fallacy’, argues Pierre Macherey, instead aspiring ‘to indicate a possible alternative to the given’ (1986: p.15). Reading this colonial literature for that which ‘lurks, deceptively, *behind* its real meaning’ (p.22), the thesis seeks to ‘build macronarratives’ about the literary field through a series of highly focused and specific micro-analyses. The point of the ‘macronarrative’ that emerges from the thesis’ cumulative efforts is not ‘to tell the truth that colonial discourses did not tell’—not simply ‘to tell the truth over lies’, as Mignolo frames it—but rather ‘to think otherwise’ about colonial literature and the task of the literary critic reading it today; ‘to change the terms, not just the content of the conversation’ (2012: pp.69-70).

The tension between the thesis' broader macro efforts and the close textual analyses that form its constituent parts is contained by its theoretical and methodological strategies. Throughout, this thesis draws on a range of different, though related, materialist critics—from Macherey, Terry Eagleton and Mignolo to Harvey, Parry and James C. Scott, amongst others. These critics and the reading techniques they have developed are selected tactically at each stage in order to 'make' the particular text under analysis ““reveal” or “distance” the dominant ideological forms to which they are *made* to “allude””, thereby mobilising them ‘politically in stated directions’ (Bennett, 2003: pp. 114-115). This strategic use of different critical techniques across the four chapters hangs together within the broader world-systems framework, operating as alternate examples of the application of *infrastructural reading*. Each chapter is organised around a specific theme, refracting this over-arching methodology through four of the period's most dominant ideological paradigms: ‘humanitarianism’, ‘segregation’, ‘frontiers’ and ‘nationalism’. The chapters negotiate colonial literary texts that are mostly (though not strictly) arranged chronologically so that the thesis' broader methodological contribution builds cumulatively over the historical period as well as across these four themes. The trajectory of these historical and thematic developments inform the cumulative assembly of material that shapes the thesis' methodology, which I will now outline in detail.

The methodological practice that I call *infrastructural reading* is rooted in a dualistic, yet connected use of the word ‘infrastructure’ as a critical tool for opening up and comprehending a mutually sustaining relationship embedded within these literary narratives. The first is the use of infrastructure *in* the text, both physically and symbolically—what Sarah Nuttall would call the ‘literary infrastructures’, or ‘imaginary infrastructures that surface in fiction’ (Nuttall and Mbembe eds., 2008: pp.198-200): roads, railways, cantonments, the colonial bungalow and so on. This is, in many ways, the more conventional side of the infrastructural coin that informs this methodology, in that it means the occurrence of a certain type of infrastructure in the literary text. Olive Schreiner’s novel *Undine*, written during the 1870s, for example, depicts the infrastructural apparatuses of Kimberley’s diamond mining industry, whilst William Plomer’s short story, ‘Ula Masondo’ (1927), draws the urban infrastructural layout of walls, roads and compounds that were built in Johannesburg in the early twentieth century.

The second usage is the more complex notion of the infrastructure *of* the text, be this geographic, social or economic. By this I mean those materialist determinants that give shape to the historical raw material out of which the literature, as a specific crystallisation of cultural patterns and trends, is carved. Given the background in world-systems analysis that informs my approach, this tends to be the infrastructures *of* an expanding, cross-national capitalist economy during this period. As the close textual

⁵ The term ‘cross-national’ is used here according to Elleke Boehmer’s definition: whilst ‘transnational’ suggests the ‘transcendence’ of national units, the term cross-national ‘holds in tension the idea of separate locations maintaining a political integrity, *and yet* of these in some form of relationship with one another’ (1998: p.9).

readings throughout this thesis demonstrate, the infrastructures *in* the text and the infrastructures *of* the text are intimately intertwined. In the process of identifying and analysing colonial literature's narrative depiction of imperial infrastructures, I have consistently found that in those moments when they surface *in* the text, a gesture towards the economic and political infrastructures *of* imperialism (and the capitalist world-system more broadly) is made. This simultaneity of signification means that imperial ideologies (often inscribed into those lines of physical infrastructure) collide with the socioeconomic and political realities of imperialism (the processes of economic exploitation that those infrastructures historically enabled). The result is a productive clash, or conflictual friction, that results in the production of gaps from within which various forms of anti-imperial resistance can be seen to emerge.

Infrastructure is fundamental in the literary *production* of colonial space. My use of the word *production* is here drawn from the work of Henri Lefebvre in his landmark text, *La Production de L'Espace* (1974). Whilst Wallerstein has been critiqued for conceiving of the world-system within a 'morphologically static territorial matrix', combining his insights with Lefebvre allows for a more '*historical and dynamic*' conceptualisation 'of social space' (Palumbo-Lio et al. eds., 2011: p.102). Within this framework, colonial literature produces what Lefebvre calls 'representational spaces', 'space as directly *lived* through its associated images and symbols and hence the space of its "inhabitants" and "users", but also of some artists and [of those] who describe and aspire to do no more than describe': colonial literary texts should be conceived as cartographic productions that 'overlay physical space, making symbolic use of its objects' (1998: p.39). For the literary descriptions and surveys of the colonial landscape, the 'objects' most obviously to hand are those physical embodiments of the imperial presence: infrastructural routes

and demarcations that carve up the geographical terrain. These literary productions in turn perpetuate the use of infrastructures as spatial sense-making technologies, feeding back into the broader discursive project of colonialism and, in the implicitly cross-national economic functions of those infrastructures, imperialism. Colonial literature can be understood as an intervention into ‘the dialectical relationship that exists within the triad of the perceived, the conceived, and the lived’ that necessarily always ‘grasp[s]’, but also produces, ‘the concrete’—to reduce this dialectical relationship to nothing more than an ‘abstract “model”’ is, Lefebvre argues, to limit the process ‘to no more than that of one ideological mediation amongst others’ (pp.38-40).

Colonial literature has a material effect on the way in which infrastructures constituted spaces of domination and facilitated the expansion of the capitalist world system in the imperial geographic imagination. As Neil Smith argues in his discussion of Jameson’s use of spatial terminology, space must not be reduced ‘to metaphor’ with its ‘materiality still unrealised’; rather, it is imperative to understand ‘the mutuality of material and metaphorical space’ (Smith, 2008: p.223). Anthropologist Brian Larkin, in his summary discussion of recent academic studies of infrastructure, argues that it is by ‘being alive to the formal dimensions of infrastructures’ that an understanding of the ‘sort of semiotic objects they are’ and an analysis of ‘how they address and constitute subjects’ can be developed (2013: p.329). At its close textual levels, colonial literature offers a crystallised moment in which the ‘formal dimensions of infrastructures’ are expressed. By studying them as momentary pauses in the Lefebvrian dialectic, it is possible ‘to elucidate’, argues Nirvana Tanoukhi, ‘the diverse forms of entanglement between literary history and the history of the production of space’ (Palumbo-Liu et al. eds., 2011: pp.94-5).

Of course, the productions of space practised by these literatures are, despite their frequent professions to cartographic accuracy and their characters' constant recourse to maps and other spatially enabling technologies (such as compasses, field-glasses and so on), necessarily incomplete. As has been established, within the landscapes of colonial literature the space that is generated, read, mapped and understood repeatedly draws on the most immediately obvious symbolic structures available to it: infrastructures, operating both as the physical embodiments of empire and the historical determinants of a specific socioeconomic system. These infrastructural networks therefore run through the textual surface of, as well as giving social and economic shape to, this colonial literature. For example, Buchan's Davie Crawford uses the railroad as a spatial referent and symbolic object that allows him to navigate the South African landscape; but the reason he travels along that railroad in the first place is, after all, to 'open up new trade among the natives' (2008: p.15).

Literary texts thus 'map' the colonial spaces they depict, latching onto the infrastructural frameworks scattered across the landscape in order to represent, and to produce, its material terrain. This is not surprising. As Edward Said reminds us, '[t]he actual geographical possession of land is what empire in the final analysis is all about', and therefore it is to be expected that 'the culture associated with it affirms both the primacy of geography and an ideology about control of territory' (1993: p.93). For Said, the 'territories, lands, geographical domains, the actual geographic underpinnings of the imperial,' underlie 'social space' and the 'the cultural contest' (p.93). The two terrains remain detached or separate, the former somehow located 'beneath' or 'below' the other. By contrast, I want to consider the way in which the literary and cultural terrain is interacting with the fraught territorial contest between methods of imperial expansion,

exploitation and control and anti-imperial resistance. Infrastructure, as the physical, economic and symbolic scaffolding of empire, connects these multiple spheres, becoming, as my discussion will go on to show, the most fruitful point at which they can be seen to interconnect.

It is by intervening in the texts' mapping processes that the political and ideological nuances that coagulate around these infrastructural routes can be captured, isolated and analysed. Certainly, this literature 'functions as a form of mapping' by 'offering its readers descriptions of places, situating them in a kind of imaginary space, and providing points of reference by which they can orient themselves and understand the world' (Tally, 2013: p.2). But it is also mapping as Fredric Jameson understands it: the literature charts the contours not only of imperial geographies but also ideologies, revealing 'the limits of a specific ideological consciousness' and surveying 'the points beyond which that consciousness cannot go' (2002: p.32). The literature's varying genres, forms and plot-sequences register, to varying degrees in different cases, these ideologies and their limits. As Jameson's comments suggest, an infrastructural analysis of the literature reveals its geographical 'mapping' project to be far from politically neutral or 'objective', in any ideological sense. Rather, the texts produce a politically charged landscape that binds different ideologies unevenly, and often tactically, to different segments of the colonial landscape. Space becomes, as Edward Soja explains, 'predominantly related to the reproduction of the dominant system of social relations' (1989: p.91). It is for this reason that the four titular themes of each chapter are prefaced by the word 'mapping', indicating an analysis of both their infrastructural and ideological formations. For Edmund Candler, for example, nationalist resistance is restricted to the topographical feature of 'the cave', where it is spatially isolated and

contained, no longer a threat to the Raj's infrastructural enterprise. Haggard, too, positions Southern Africa's black population in a geographical zone separated from white settler society. By contrast, Plomer intertextually rewrites the imperial romance in order to subvert this segregationist ideology, thereby undermining 'the production of space, the territorial structure of exploitation and domination [and] the spatially controlled reproduction of the system as a whole' (Soja, 1989: p.92).

The notion of the production of space means that the thesis' mapping of a cultural onto a geographic and socioeconomic terrain avoids a recourse to what John Tagg, in his discussion of a 'reductive and economistic Immanuel Wallerstein', calls 'the primitive architecture of the base and superstructure model of the social whole' (King ed., 2000: p.156). Though heeding this warning, the application of world-systems analysis to the dual, though deeply interconnected kinds of infrastructural networks—*in* and *of*—that run through this body of literature, allows an assessment of the impact of physical embodiments of empire on its cultural corollary and vice versa. It becomes possible to assess the impact that cultural terrains, littered with fissures, tears and fragments of resistance, might have upon the physical geographies and the socioeconomies of empire. As Gramsci argued, though 'material forces are the content and ideologies are the form', this 'distinction has purely indicative value, since the material forces would be inconceivable historically without form and the ideologies would be individual fancies without the material forces' (1988: p.200). The thesis here arrives at Raymond William's replacement of 'the formula of base and superstructure with the more active idea of a field of mutually if also unevenly determining forces' (2005: p.20).

This is not to suggest that the methodology reads a ‘total’ or complete account of the imperial situation out of the colonial literature. This would risk reproducing its ideological frameworks and assimilating anti-imperial resistance into its hegemonic apparatus. If the thesis wishes to initiate a resistance to, rather than a perpetuation of, these ideologies, it must both introduce the conceptual and political space which lies beyond its hegemonic contours, whilst finding ways to prevent the assimilation of this space into that same hegemony. For this reason, it looks for what Macherey would call ‘the inscription of an *otherness* in the work’ (1986: p.79). If, according to Wallerstein and others, ‘[o]pposition to oppression is coterminous with the existence of hierarchical social systems’, even when it remains ‘latent’ (Arrighi et al., 2011: p.29), literary representations of infrastructural networks should contain traces, at their sub-textual or marginal levels, of an ongoing ‘antisystemic’ resistance to them. Though ‘the work cannot speak of the more or less complex opposition which structures it’, the literary text, when read strategically, ‘*manifests*, uncovers, what it cannot say’ (Macherey, 1986: p.84). The presence of resistance, if not the fully-fledged articulation of it, becomes configured within colonial literatures’ mapping projects: the frontispiece map in the opening pages of *King Solomon’s Mines* may depict an apparently consolidated, infrastructural route, but in order to do so it must also produce the swathes of peripheral, unmapped landscape that surround it (Haggard, 2008: p.21). Spaces of ‘otherness’ are written into the various terrains of Britain’s world-empire as it is dialectically produced, destabilising its hegemonic supremacy and thereby creating space for the expression of anti-imperial resistance.

This methodology's assumption of the capitalist underpinnings of the British Empire and the processes of 'accumulation' that are taken to be the drivers of its expansion during this period can be grounded in theories of economic imperialism that were articulated by a number of contemporaneous anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist thinkers. Though the terminological and conceptual tools provided by world-systems analysis are essential for the methodological nuance practised here, it is important to follow Parry in stressing the connection between 'liberation movements' and anti-imperial critiques coterminous with British imperial hegemony and my own 'interrogation of colonialism and imperialism' (Parry, 2004: p.6). Indeed, though at the end of the nineteenth century 'every scale of life was being restructured to meet the urgent demands of capitalism in crisis'—a new spatiality that manifested in, as Soja argues, 'poetry and painting, in the writing of novels and literary criticism, in architecture and what then represented urban and regional planning'—within 'social science and scientific socialism, a persistent historicism tended to obscure this insidious spatialisation' (1989: p.34). The exceptions here were the 'writings of Lenin, Luxemburg, Bukharin, Trotsky, and Bauer, the key figures leading the early twentieth-century modernisation of Marxism'; between them, Soja continues, they laid a 'rich foundation for a Marxist theory of geographically (as well as historically) uneven development' (p.32), and it is to two of these theorists in particular that this section will turn.

However, it is important to begin with J.A. Hobson. Though not a Marxist as such, his influence on later Marxist writers and other anti-imperialist thinkers 'cannot be ignored' (Brewer, 2001: p.73). Not coincidentally, Hobson's critique is rooted in his experience

as a journalist in South Africa. There he witnessed the emergence of Johannesburg in 1899: ‘the golden city of Africa, with its eighty miles of streets’, ‘reaching out its tentacles on every side’ and connecting the urban centre to ‘its mining villages’ (Hobson, 1900: p.10). Vocal in his criticisms of the expansive ‘encroachments of Great Britain to the north’ and ‘the annexation of the Kimberley diamond fields’ (p. 130), Hobson highlighted the appetite for resource accumulation that drove the development of infrastructural networks such as the telegraph and railway northward. He shed light on the way in which Cecil Rhodes, along with a cartel of other cross-national capitalists, had in the 1890s ‘designed to use the money of the British taxpayer to obtain for himself and fellow-capitalists that political control of the Transvaal which was essential to his economical and political ambitions’ (pp.206-7). The Anglo-Boer War was, Hobson argued, ‘being waged in order to secure for the mines a cheap adequate supply of labour’ (p.231), an observation that resonates through Chapters Two and Three of this thesis.

The use of imperial rule to facilitate the expansion of global capital—in Wallerstein’s terms, the world-system expanding under the political, though ‘temporary hegemony’ of the British ‘imperium’ (Hopkins and Wallerstein, 1982: p.52)—underpinned Hobson’s more general and theoretical work, *Imperialism, A Study* (1902). There he defined imperialism as ‘the use of the machinery of government by private interests, mainly capitalists, to secure for them economic gains outside their country’ (1988: p.94). The metabolisms of profitable capitalist industries fuelled imperial expansion, inverting the popular political ‘dogma’ of the time ‘that “Trade follows the Flag”’ (p.33). There was a ‘great expenditure of public money upon ships, guns, military and naval equipment and stores’, one that fed ‘business and professional interests [...] in opposition to the

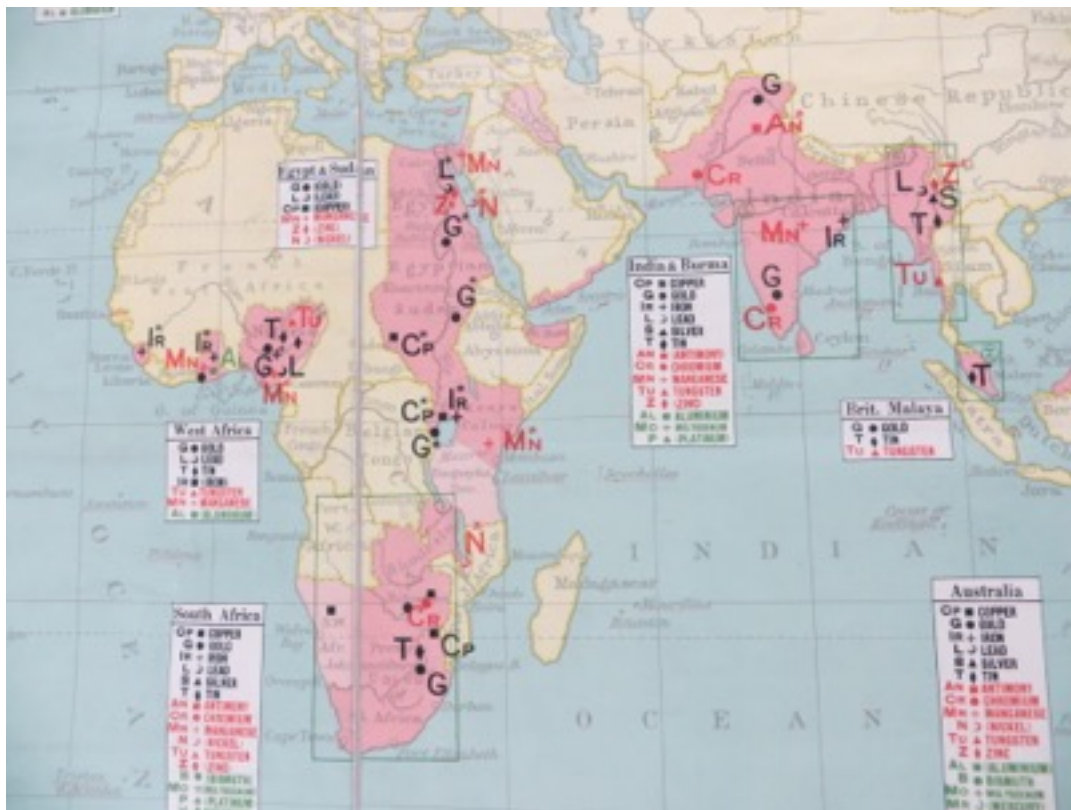


Fig. 0.4 This 'Imperial Institute Map of the Chief Sources of Metals in the British Empire with Diagrams of Production for 1918', published in 1921, is a peculiar amalgamation of a world map and the periodic table. It locates the various mineral resources available in different British colonial spaces, demonstrating that the extraction of them was of central concern to the imperial enterprise. Colonial Office, 1047/1045. National Archives, Kew.

common good' (p.48) and produced impoverished peripheral zones and peoples not only in colonial spaces, but also in metropolitan Britain. For Hobson, what world-systems analysis would call the economic 'core' is therefore better configured at the level of infrastructural development than at that of the nation-state. After all, capitalism survived, Hobson argued, by generating vast 'public debts' in the imperial centre and loaning these to 'colonies' and 'foreign countries that come under [Britain's] protectorate' in 'the shape of rails, engines, guns' and the 'making of railways, canals, and other public works'—namely, the imperial infrastructures that facilitated the expansion of the world-system (p.49).

Karl Marx had first theorised the notion of 'the accumulation of capital' in Part IV, Volume 1 of *Capital* in 1867 (1999: pp.315-362), and more specifically the idea of 'primitive accumulation' in Part V (pp.363-380). Though, as David McLellan points out, 'the phenomena of imperialism are largely absent from *Capital*' because 'the main colonial push came after its publication' (p.xxvi), Marx wrote many articles and letters that addressed imperialism's infiltration of the Indian subcontinent in the years leading up to the 1880s, building a 'critique' that 'was far broader than is usually supposed' (Anderson, 2010: p.237). The expansion of physical infrastructure lies at the centre of his analysis of these processes of capital accumulation. Writing in August 1853, he foresaw that:

the English millocracy intend to endow India with railways with the exclusive view of extracting at diminished expenses, the cotton and other raw materials for their manufactures. But when you have once introduced machinery into the locomotion of a country, which possesses iron and coals, you are unable to withhold it from its fabrication. You cannot maintain a net of railways over an immense country without introducing all those industrial processes necessary to meet the immediate and current wants of railway locomotion, and out of which there must grow the application of machinery to those branches of industry not immediately connected with the railways. The railway system will therefore become, in India, truly the forerunner of modern industry. (Marx, 2006: pp.48-9)

Marx theorised these insights a few years later in the *Grundrisse*, where he emphasised the importance of 'the physical conditions of exchange—of the means of communication and transport' to 'the annihilation of space by time', a process that facilitated capital's need to 'drive beyond every spatial barrier' (1993: p.524). However, whilst Marx anticipates the expansion of the world-system through the construction of a variety of infrastructural and industrial technologies, it is Rosa Luxemburg who, in *The Accumulation of Capital* (published in 1913, almost exactly midway through the half-

century analysed here), provides several key theoretical and historical cornerstones for this thesis' methodology. Luxemburg criticises Marx for failing to see that, as Iqbal Husain describes, 'surplus value in capitalist production could be "realised" by the capitalists only through the enforced system of commodity exchange with pre-capitalist (colonial and peasant) economies' (Marx, 2006: pp.xlvi-xlvii). For Luxemburg, the geographically expansive process of 'accumulation' was integral to 'feeding' a capitalist metabolism, a relationship that took place not within the capitalist system, but between that system and the pre- or non-capitalist societies that lay beyond it. The accumulation of capital, she wrote, 'corrodes and assimilates'; it depends upon the 'continuous and progressive disintegration of non-capitalist organisations' (2003: pp.397-8). It follows that capital depends on the continuous presence of non-capitalist organisations into which it can expand: 'Capital is an organism that cannot sustain itself without constantly looking beyond its boundaries, feeding off its external environment. Its outside is essential' (Hardt and Negri, 2001: p.224). This binary configuration of accumulation taking place 'between the ever-expanding domain of capital and the surrounding "medium and soil" of static, closed natural economies' is, as Anthony Brewer argues, 'surely too simple' (2001: p.68). Rather, Luxemburg's 'real contribution' was to see that these processes occurred 'at the margin where capitalist and pre-capitalist economic systems meet', a margin that 'exists within countries rather than between them' (p.72). This formulation again suggests the applicability of the networked conception of the world-system.

Luxemburg drew on the specific historical contexts of both South Africa and South Asia in order to develop her critique. Her analysis cut through the ideologies of humanitarianism—or what Pablo Mukherjee has called 'palliative imperialism' (2013:

p.18), tackled in Chapter One and Four of this thesis—to conclude that ‘British capital had no object in giving the Indian communities economic support or helping them to survive. Quite the reverse, it aimed to destroy them and deprive them of their productive forces’ (Luxemburg, 2013: p.356). Likewise, in South Africa after major the discoveries of diamonds and gold in 1867 and 1876 respectively, Luxemburg analysed the rise of ‘mining capital’ in the region: the Union of South Africa was a moment in which, with the formation of ‘a great modern state, as envisaged by Cecil Rhodes’ imperialist programme’, ‘capital officially took over the reins’ (p.396). For Luxemburg, infrastructure is again fundamental: she finds that the ‘forward thrusts of capital are approximately reflected in the development of the railway network’ (p.400). They became a way to export resources and import manufactures, whilst also proving a ‘well-trying measure for civilising and pacifying the natives’ (p.395). However, in Luxemburg’s account of capital accumulation, once these geographical spaces are assimilated into the world-system capitalism can no longer survive. ‘Since’, she argued, ‘the earth is finite and the acquisition of new markets must some time come to an end, the time will come when the question can no longer simply be adjourned’ (p.223). It is Vladimir Lenin’s concept of ‘*redivision*’ (1987: p.227), discussed below, that explains why capitalism did not come to an end at this historical moment.

Beginning roughly in the 1880s, capital ran out of what Neil Smith calls ‘absolute’ space into which it could expand (2008: p.134). It collided with the solidifying borders of the contemporary world map—borders brought politically into being by competing imperial powers and, I will argue, imagined by emerging anticolonial nationalisms.

The absolute expansion of nation states and of their colonies came to an end with the final partitioning of Africa in the 1880s. Certainly there were some internal islands of non-development, and indeed at the urban scale the process was not yet complete, but mopping these up would not on its own sustain the necessary economic expansion of capitalism. (Smith, 2008: pp.119-20)

Smith refers here to the ‘Scramble for Africa’, the moment in which ‘the African continent was partitioned between the European powers’ at the Berlin Conference hosted by the German Chancellor, Bismarck, in November 1884, and which would lead to the imposition of around 50,000 miles of colonial frontiers across the continent between 1885 and 1914 (Griffiths, 1995: p.34; see also Packenham, 2009). For the South Asian strand of this thesis’ concerns, consider the almost coterminous formation of the Indian National Congress in Bombay in 1885, an organisation that would become ‘the focus of the longest-lived nationalist movement in the modern colonial world’ and that became a ‘model for nationalist movements everywhere, above all, South Africa’ (Metcalf and Metcalf, 2002: p.136). On a global scale, in 1884 the world was demarcated into a system of time zones with the Greenwich Meridian at its centre, a process that cartographically positioned Britain at the heart of its world-empire—by 1913 this system spanned almost the entire face of the globe (Osterhammel and Petersson, 2003: pp.82-3).

Though for Wallerstein, writing a century later, ‘the pushing of outer boundaries of the world-economy to the limits of the earth’ were only just ‘being approached’ (1979: p. 278), there was clearly an intensification of the motions of global capital, and subsequently of the global imaginary for metropolitan subjects, during the 1880s. In 1883, John Seeley observed the ‘simple and obvious fact of the extension of the English name into other countries of the globe’ (1914: p.9); and as Hannah Arendt argues:

imperialism, which grew out of colonialism and was caused by the incongruity of the nation-state system with the economic and industrial developments in the last third of the nineteenth century, started its politics of expansion for expansion's sake no sooner than around 1884 [...]. (2004: p.159)

This 'new version of politics'—imperialism—is 'born', for Arendt as for Hobson, 'when the ruling class in capitalist production came up against national limitations to its economic expansion' (p.170). Arendt directly maps the 'process of never-ending accumulation of power' onto 'a never-ending accumulation of capital' (p.191). It is of course not a coincidence that, like Hobson and Luxemburg, Arendt develops these ideas out of her analysis of the historical example of South Africa at the turn of the twentieth century. As Howard Caygill has since pointed out, her 'sensitivity to the significance of the violence perpetrated at the colonial limit is part of Arendt's debt to the work of Rosa Luxemburg' (2013: p.153).

Raymond Williams, too, argues that '[f]rom about 1880 there was then this dramatic extension of landscape and social relations [and] a marked development of the idea of England as "home"' (1973: p.281). In this configuration, the developed and industrialised 'consuming capital' of London begins to be imagined in direct contrast to the 'rural' areas of colonial landscapes that were transformed 'by economic and political force [into] plantation economies, mining areas [and] single-crop markets' (p.284). For the first time, 'a model of city and country' moves beyond 'the boundaries of the nation-state, and is seen but also challenged as a model of the world' (p.279). Williams's analysis, like Arendt's, shares many of the insights made originally by Hobson. He likewise highlights the material underpinnings of 'political imperialism', arguing that it was 'preceded by economic and trading controls', whilst also stressing the networked

and uneven processes of core-peripheral developments as impoverished populations —‘[t]he unemployed man from the slums of the cities, the superfluous landless worker, the dispossessed peasant’—are produced within *both* the colonising *and* colonised countries (p.283).⁶ As Wallerstein concedes, core and periphery ‘are simply phrases to locate one crucial part of the system of surplus appropriation by the bourgeoisie’: if the ‘proletarian is located in a different country from this bourgeoisie’ this results ‘in patterns of “uneven development”’ (p.293).

It is because of this concept of ‘uneven development’, occurring in response to the significant shifts in the historical reach of global capital and imperial governance with which this period commences, that Smith redirects his discussion away from Luxemburg towards Lenin, and primarily his work, *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism* (1916). Rather than capitalism simply coming to an end at the stage in which it runs out of these ‘external’ spaces—what Marlow calls the ‘blank spaces on the earth’ (Conrad, 2006: pp.7-8)—as Luxemburg had predicted, it develops new and more complex ways of sustaining its accumulative metabolism. Lenin hypothesised that though ‘the colonial policy of the capitalist countries has *completed* the seizure of the unoccupied territories on our planet’ this does not mean that ‘*a new partition* is impossible—on the contrary, new partitions are possible and inevitable’:

For the first time the world is completely shared out, so that in the future only *redivision is possible*; territories can only pass from one ‘owner’ to another, instead of passing as unowned territory to an ‘owner’. (1987: p.227)

⁶ It should be noted that Williams also emphasises the post-imperial outgrowths of the ‘[m]assive investments’ in ‘economic and political infrastructure’ made during this period. For Williams, these processes continue in the form of ‘what is called “aid”, to the poor countries’, a set of global economic mechanisms that ‘with few exceptions [functions to accentuate] this process: the development of their economies towards metropolitan needs; the preservation of markets and spheres of influence; or the continuation of indirect political control’ (1973: p.284).

As Lenin observes, this occurred during ‘the period of the enormous expansion of colonial conquests [...] between 1860 and 1880, and it was also very considerable in the last twenty years of the nineteenth century’ (p.228). Smith reads this analytical shift as a way of understanding how capitalist development sustains itself ‘not through absolute expansion in a given space but through the internal differentiation of global space, that is through the production of differentiated spaces’ (2008: p.120). Lenin begins to theorise the notion of uneven development across and between nations, but also at the lower geographical scales of the networked world-system: ‘The uneven and spasmodic character of the development of individual enterprises, of individual branches of industry and individual countries, is inevitable under the capitalist system’ (1987: p. 215).

For Lenin, like Marx and Luxemburg before him, the physical infrastructures of imperial expansion were both the economic *and* symbolic expression of cross-national capitalism. He writes in the preface to the French and German editions of *Imperialism*, published slightly later in 1920:

Railways are the summation of the most important branches of capitalist industry, coal and iron; the summation and most striking indices of the development of the world trade and bourgeois-democratic civilisation. [...] The uneven distribution of the railways, their uneven development, are the summation of modern monopolist capitalism on a world scale. (1934: p.10)

Both Smith and Harvey, in their in-depth studies of capitalist geographies, likewise emphasise the centrality of infrastructure as enabling, expressing and reproducing these uneven processes of development. Infrastructure functions as a ‘spatio-temporal fix’ for capital in two senses: it becomes ‘fixed literally and physically in and on the land’, but

it also ‘metaphorically’ fixes the ‘crises of overaccumulation’ (Harvey, 2014: pp.151-2; 1999: pp.379-80). The ‘frantic geographical expansion’ of capital accumulation therefore ‘requires a continuous investment of capital in the creation of a built environment for production’: ‘Roads, railways, factories, fields, workshops, warehouses, wharves, sewers, canals, power stations’; all these infrastructures function as ‘the geographically immobilised forms of fixed capital, so central to the progress of accumulation’ (Smith, 2008: pp.159-60). The ‘concentrations of capital and labour’ that congregate in metropolitan areas inevitably takes place alongside ‘sprawling far-flung development’ in other, more rural regions, as ‘roads and railways litter a landscape that has been indelibly and irreversibly carved out according to the dictates of capitalism’ (Harvey, 1999: p.373): as Chapter Four will explore, Thompson’s production of rural India is cut through with ‘a single railway line’ which draws the narrative gaze towards ‘the dark industrial towns beyond’ (1931: p.17). At this historical juncture in the expansion of the world-system, as both contemporaneous and retrospective analysts have here conceived it, the production of space—physically and economically, but also ideologically in ways that are registered and produced in the literary-cultural terrain—becomes essential to the survival of capitalism. ‘External space’, those pre- or non-capitalist zones, are ‘internalised and produced *within and as part of the global geography of capitalism*’, a process that results in ‘the “development of underdevelopment”, which lies at the heart of uneven development’ (Smith, 2008: p. 187).

Citing Smith, Said argues that it is the ‘late nineteenth-century commercial geography’ of figures such as Halford Mackinder and George Chisholm, with its mapping of the imperial world as a set of ‘permanently differentiated zones, territories, climates, and

people’, that is the ‘cultural analogue’ of imperialism’s uneven development (1993: p. 272). What *infrastructural reading* as a methodology allows is the configuration of these processes at the level of cultural geography, reproduced here within the field of colonial literary fiction. Throughout this period colonial literature becomes obsessed with the production of spaces that have yet to be assimilated into the capitalist world-system. It produces cultural maps of uneven infrastructural development in order to resolve the ideological tensions that these new socioeconomic circumstances, arising to satiate the material appetites of capital, had generated. By focusing on representations of the expansion of the infrastructures that bring that system into being, it becomes possible to chart the way in which this literature both contributes to this uneven geographical development within the imperial imagination, whilst also confessing to imperialism’s complicity in the ‘development of underdevelopment’. As Harvey argues elsewhere, a ‘powerful centripetal force is felt as uneven geographical investments in transport systems feed further uneven geographical developments’ (2006: p.101), creating a hierarchical network of core-periphery relations that inform the literary field’s ideological contours.

The Rise of Nationalism: Shaping the World-System

Though Lenin concludes that imperialism ‘means the partition of the world’, in his discussion of resistance he adds the qualification that a more radical and, significantly, *unified* effort is required to challenge the emerging world-system—something that ‘the social-liberal Hobson is unable to perceive’ because of his, and others’, tendency ‘to substitute petty-bourgeois reformism for Marxism’ (1987: pp.249-50, 258). For Lenin, it is with the formation of cohesive nationalist identities and anti-imperial solidarities

through class-consciousness that resistance to imperialist world-economies can be conceived and effectively initiated.⁷ Though the thesis excavates sporadic and spontaneous manifestations of resistance, it emphasises throughout that as capital runs out of expansion into absolute space throughout this historical period, the geographic and territorial shape of the post-imperial nation begins to be imagined within these literary productions of space. As Hopkins and Wallerstein point out, ‘integrating production on a world-scale’ and the formation of ‘strong national-states’ are the world-system’s ‘two broad’, though ‘deeply contradictory’, ‘organising tendencies’ (1982: p. 43). This fundamental contradiction produces a central rift within the ideological fabric of these colonial literary texts.

The conception of both South Africa and India as independent national units no longer under the political domain of the British world-empire occurs *not only* in nationalist and other anticolonial writings, *but also* within colonial literary productions of space. As Anderson explains, the nation is ‘an imagined political community’ that comes into being as an ‘inherently limited and sovereign’ entity bound to a static geographical territory. The nation has to be ‘imagined as *limited* because even the largest of them, encompassing perhaps a billion living human beings, has finite, if elastic, boundaries, beyond which lie other nations’ (2006: pp.5-6). The frontiers of the imagined post-imperial nation are debated and shaped by contemporaneous anticolonial and nationalist movements throughout the final decades of the British Empire’s global hegemonic supremacy, a contest that is played out in the subtexts and infrastructural frameworks of much of this colonial literature.

⁷ Lenin discusses this specifically in *State and Revolution* (1917), in which he positions ‘the organisation of national unity’ as one of the central ingredients for his ideological vision that ‘totally rejects not only capitalism, but also all Western political forms and institutions’ (Lenin, 1987: pp.271, 308-10).

As the thesis will investigate, many of the texts written and published in the 1910s and 20s are already preoccupied with the disintegration of formal British rule, the emergence of newly independent nations and the infrastructural foundations and geographical perimeters that will shape them. It is for this reason—as well, of course, simply for issues of scope and focus—that the thesis ends in 1930, rather than extending its analysis right up until, say, the date of Indian independence in 1947. The latest text to be discussed is Thompson's *A Farewell to India* (1931), the title of which is itself indicative of the concerns circulating at this time. Historically speaking, this should not be that surprising. On 2 March 1930, then viceroy of India, Lord Irwin, 'received an ultimatum in the form of a polite letter from Gandhi' (Newsinger, 2010: p.141). Ten days later, Gandhi began his famous march to the sea with the intention of breaking the 'British enforced monopoly on the sale and production of salt', 'a masterpiece of political mobilisation' that targeted the exploitative economic world-system as much as the imperial administration (p.141, see fig. 0.5). As Dietmar Rothermund has argued, this event, and the Civil Disobedience campaign of 1930-2 to which it gave rise, 'recruited the younger generation of many groups who had not so far participated in nationalist politics' (1970: p.23), and it was in January 1930 that the Indian National Congress 'celebrated "Independence Day" for the first time' (Boehmer and Morton eds., 2010: p.172). These ideas had been in wide circulation since the first Non-Cooperation campaign of 1920-2, the first time that, according to Jim Masselos, 'grievances against the British had brought the country together in one movement under one leader' (Masselos, 2010: pp.168-9). Though these resistant activities would ebb away through the mid-1920s, their return towards the end of the decade justifies the choice of 1930 as a poignant year with which to conclude this study.



Fig. 0.5 Gandhi at Dandi, South Gujarat, picking up salt on the beach at the end of the Salt March in April 1930 (Rühe, 2001: p.84).

Though perhaps less directly applicable to South African history, 1930 should still be situated within the context of political unrest and anti-imperial resistance. 1910 is of more central concern to authors such as Buchan. When ‘Boer Generals and the British capitalists swore blood-brotherhood in the Union of 1910’, the event initiated the political rise of Afrikaner nationalism, the first meeting of the South African Natives National Congress (later the African National Congress) in 1912 and the gradual withdrawal of British imperial influence in the region (McClintock, 1995: pp.368-9). However, Shula Marks and Richard Rathbone justify their use of the dates 1870 to 1930 by arguing that these ‘formative years’ were ‘dominated by the imperatives of mining capital’, with ‘the thirties’ constituting a suitable ‘cut-off date’ (Marks and Rathbone

eds., 1982: pp.11-12). Thomas Karis and Gwendolen Carter likewise note the resistant trajectory that inform the final years of this period, as ‘African protest continued to express itself from 1920 to 1935’ in an attempt to challenge ‘their growing disadvantages within the system’ (1972: pp.148-9). These culminated in events such as ‘the National European-Bantu Conferences’ that were ‘called yearly from 1929’ and the Non-European Conferences, convened first in 1927 and then in 1930, 1931 and 1934, all with the aim of raising ‘nonwhite grievances’ and initiating direct political activities such as ‘the passage of numerous resolutions recording opposition to government policy’ (pp.151-2).⁸

Given the centrality of nationalism to this history, this section concludes with an explanation of how it is configured within my methodology. Partha Chatterjee helpfully observes that the ‘perception of uneven development creates the possibility for nationalism; it is born when the more and the less advanced populations can be easily distinguished in cultural terms’ (2011: p.4). If, as Wallerstein and others argue, ‘the patterning of imperium’ includes, ‘intrinsically, the opposition to it’ (1982: p.28), and if those ‘antisystemic movements have more and more taken on the clothing of “national-liberation movements”’ (2011: p.27), then it becomes possible to configure this resistance not simply as a product of, or response to uneven infrastructural expansion. Rather, nationalism in fact plays a role in the production of that resulting unevenness.

⁸ 1930 marks the beginning of the end of British imperial hegemony in a number of cross-national political and economic ways as well. At the Imperial Conference of 1926, the dominions were pronounced ‘autonomous communities within the British Empire, equal in status’, and five years later, in 1931, ‘the report was given legal status by the Statute of Westminster’ (Johnson: 2003: p.158). Economically speaking, the Great Depression which began in 1930 ‘forced Britain to abandon the gold standard in 1931 and free trade through the Import Duties Act in 1932’ (pp.166-8). In his discussion of the world-empires that laid many of the ‘cultural and spatial foundations of the world urban system’, King argues that 1931 was a landmark date for the height of British imperial economic hegemony, after which its supremacy began to dwindle (1991: pp.5-6).

This reconfiguration embeds the presence of resistance, albeit implicitly, within, between and beyond the infrastructural networks that run through colonial literature as a force that plays an active role in the shaping of them. The literature analysed here registers, on formal, thematic and symbolic levels, uneven and differentiated internal infrastructural development in the same moment that it negotiates the formation of the post-independent nations as distinct geographic and political entities. For example, in both *Siri Ram—Revolutionist* (1912) and *Abdication* (1922), Candler attempts to delegitimise the anti-imperial arguments of emerging nationalist movements whilst simultaneously producing the unevenly and unequally developed landscapes that justified those arguments in the first place. These are coterminous ideological projects that are inextricably woven together through Candler's uneven literary geographies.

For Anderson, the 'imagined community' of the post-imperial nation takes as its premise that, 'regardless of the actual inequality and exploitation that may prevail in each, the nation is always conceived as a deep, horizontal comradeship' (2006: p.7). However, reading nationalisms through colonial literature in this way reveals that, as Stephen Clingman has argued, the nation is 'gapped, divided, and incoherent in ways Anderson's model could not fully conceive' (2009: pp.4-5). By focusing on its depiction of infrastructures, colonial literature often disaggregates the traditional cartography of geopolitical borders and global hierarchies instituted by nineteenth-century imperialisms into a more complex, uneven geography. This understanding of the nation's terrain reframes what is, for Clingman, a 'fundamental question': we should not ask 'whether boundaries exist—because they do, they always do—but what kind of boundaries they are' (2009: pp.4-5). Analysing colonial literature's production of

geographies of division, segregation and partition thus also suggests how these might be transgressed, complicated and at times, undone.

Spatial 'Resistance': The Politics of a Term

Throughout its infrastructural readings, the thesis is concerned with how the 'inscription of an *otherness*' (Macherey, 1986: p.79) within the field of colonial literature can be quantified as a mode of resistance, or as actively *resistant*, as such. By outlining the 'antisystemic forces engendered by the functioning of the world accumulation process' (Wallerstein, 1992: p.140), I now demonstrate why I preface this 'resistance' with the qualificatory term 'spatial' in the thesis' title. Within my definition of resistance, I include the following:

1. Violent resistance, be it a coherent anti-imperial campaign (such as Zulu resistance to the British in South Africa in the 1870s and 80s) or a spontaneous outburst against imperial agents or infrastructures (isolated acts of peasant resistance).
2. Non-violent resistance, from passive blockades of imperial circuitries to active interventions into them (such as the *swadeshi* campaigns in India).
3. Emerging nationalist campaigns self-consciously mobilised against imperial rule with the ultimate aim of achieving independence from it (for example, Gandhi's nationalist movement).
4. Geographical space, colonised populations and indigenous social, cultural and economic organisations lying beyond infrastructural control, not yet assimilated into the world-system ('what Gramsci refers to as the "practical activities" of "the man in the mass"' and 'Lefebvre refers to as "everyday life"' (Harvey, 2009: p.238)).

Given the self-consciously pro-imperial agendas and historically racial, cultural and often economic privilege of so many of these colonial authors, the most frequent occurrence of the above modes of resistance is the fourth. Often, the anti-imperial resistance remains beyond that which the literary texts directly represent, instead residing in the implicit ‘beyond’ of the cultural and geographical terrain that they produce. Restricted to the uneven development of the physical and symbolic infrastructural networks upon which it relies, colonial literature necessarily acknowledges the limits of its representations and productions of colonial landscapes. Highlighting these spatial limits and listening for the silence that lies beyond them allows the mapping of numerous occasions of implicit subversion. When read cumulatively out of several texts from a range of different geohistorical locations, these momentary subversions coalesce into a cartography of resistance that is embedded within the literary terrain. This resistance is always spatial, in that it is in and through its dispersed, networked spatiality that imperialism—as a manifestation of global capitalism—is resisted.

Discussions of resistance repeatedly emphasise its ‘hiddenness’, or ‘evasiveness’, before developing specific techniques in order to make these hidden moments ‘speak’. Whether it is ‘Antonio Gramsci’s concept of counterhegemony, Karl Polanyi’s notion of countermovements, [or] James C. Scott’s idea of *infrapolitics*’, it is always necessary to ‘dig deep to excavate the everyday individual and collective activities that fall short of open opposition’ (Mittelman, 2000: p.166). As Scott comments, ‘[i]f the decoding of power relations depended on full access to the more or less clandestine discourse of subordinate groups, students of power—both historical and contemporary—would face

an impasse' (1990: p.xii). Fortunately, what Scott calls 'the hidden transcript'—'discourse that takes place "offstage", beyond direct observation by powerholders'—is usually available to the analyst, 'albeit in disguised form' (pp.xiii, 4-5). The task of the analyst, then, is to develop ways of decoding these forms so as to make them readable.

Many theorists of resistance take individual moments, gaps and ruptures in the archive of the dominant power as symptomatic of more coherent systems of resistance existing beyond its purview. As Louise Amoore argues, '[w]here we do see the instances of open collective protest or the loud headline-grabbing demonstrations, these are but ripples on the surface of a deeper and more diffuse pattern of struggles' (2005: p.8). These 'less visible practices of resistance' are not 'meaningfully separable from the overt expressions'—in fact, the opposite is often the case: it may be these day-to-day, invisible strategies that actually 'make the grand gestures possible' (p.8). In her discussion of the colonial archive, Ann Laura Stoler looks to the 'storied edges' where 'the faultlines of colonial ethnography may more fully reside, in the interstices of sanctioned formulae, in the descriptions of what it meant to say' (2002: pp.143-4); those 'ragged edges of protocol' that were produced by 'the administrative apparatus as it opened to a space that extended beyond it' (2009: pp.1-2). Likewise, the *Subaltern Studies* collective has sought to subject colonialism's 'hegemonic presumption to thoroughgoing critique', reading between the archival lines to show that 'there is nothing in the record of the Raj [...] to justify any pretension to a rule by consent' (Guha, 1998: p.xviii).

Hopkins and Wallerstein emphasise that tracing the ‘phasings of formal colonisation and informal empire [...] for the system as a whole’ allows for ‘the interrelations between these phasings and the presence or absence of various modes or forms of opposition —“primitive rebellion” (Hobsbawm), “wars of independence”, “wars of liberation”, “nationalist movements”, and the like—to be sketched’ (1982: p.29). For Hobsbawm, the conditions to which this resistance reacts ‘comes to [oppressed groups] from outside, insidiously by the operation of economic forces which they do not understand and over which they have no control, or brazenly by conquest’ (1959: p.30). However, this suggests that it is only with the arrival of imperial rule that resistance, as a response, can then be initiated. Resistance is thus framed as a subsequent backlash to the imposition of imperial infrastructures, occurring temporally *after* or *in response* to their arrival. Conceived in this way, resistance is put on the back foot, and the active agency giving shape to anti-imperial movements is limited. Instead, as Steve Pile and Michael Keith have argued, ‘resistance needs to be considered on its own terms, and not as simply the underside of domination’ (1997: p.xi).

Though of course anticolonial struggles could not take place until the various territories to which they were home had been colonised, the construction and imposition of imperial infrastructures often took place historically *in response* to different kinds of resistance. Howard Caygill, in a discussion of the criticisms levied against Michel Foucault for not including resistant agencies within his theory of discourse, quotes an interview with the French historian that shows how the biopolitical tactics of governmental rule are actually developed in response to the resistance they encounter:

if there was no resistance there would be no relations of power. Because everything would simply be a question of obedience. From the moment an individual is in the situation of not doing what they want, they must use relations of power. Resistance thus comes first, it remains above all the forces of the process, under its effect obliges relations of power to change. I thus consider the term ‘resistance’ to be the most important word, the key word of this dynamic. (Foucault, 2001: pp.1559-60; translated in Caygill, 2013: p.8)

By reframing resistance in this way, traces of anti-imperial defiance can actually be found, inscribed, into the literary depictions of infrastructural networks analysed here. The fiction’s ideological strategies that congregate around its depiction of imperial infrastructure are seen not to be occurring temporally prior to anti-imperial resistance. Rather, they emerge as a counter to the resistance that has already taken place and that is, in many cases, ongoing. As the thesis’ chapters will show, resistance actually, if not actively, shapes the colonial narratives propagated by these texts. If resistance contributes to the infrastructural shaping of an expanding capitalist world-system as it is read through this literary fiction, it necessarily has to be configured spatially.

A ‘spatial understanding of resistance necessitates a radical reinterpretation and reevaluation of the concept’ (Pile and Keith eds., 1997: p.xi): by conceiving of resistance as spatial, the analyst engaged in *infrastructural reading* shows how resistance inflects and gives shape to the infrastructures of the world-system whilst refusing to assimilate it into that system. This highlights what Caygill calls ‘[t]he resistance of resistance to analysis’ (2013: p.7). For Caygill, resistance ‘is rooted in practice and articulated in tactical statements and justifications addressing specific historical contexts’, with the consequence that ‘defining a concept of resistance’ becomes a tricky, if not impossible task (p.6). However, this is ‘not necessarily a disadvantage’, as to define resistance actually ‘risks making it predictable, open to

control and thus lowering its resistance' (p.6). In order to trace the contours of resistance it must be continually 'situated within a complex and dynamic spatio-temporal field' (p. 2). This allows the critic to build a 'consistency' across occurrences of resistance (thus revealing and emphasising the weight of their impact as a coherent political force), without 'imposing unity' on those resistant occurrences (thus defining, quantifying and limiting that same political impact) (p.7). As Jopi Nyman and John Stotedbury argue, 'resistance emerges as a context-bound phenomenon solved differently in different spaces; there is no single centre to be resisted but many' (1999: p.1). Similarly, Joanne Sharp and others 'talk about "entanglements" to indicate that the domination/resistance couplet is always played out in, across and through the many spaces of the world' (2005: p.1). This project's development of world-systems analysis allows it to trace, and subsequently analyse, a 'complex and dynamic spatio-temporal field' as it is mapped by colonial literature, attaining a level of cumulative 'consistency' across different geohistorical occurrences of resistance whilst avoiding the imposition of a limiting, or oppressive unity upon them.

Resistance therefore 'remains intangible: without it there is no power, but exactly what, when, where and how it is remains resistant to analysis' (Caygill, 2013: p.8); the spatiality of resistance ensures it remains active and alive within the colonial literary archive. Just as Lenin and Luxemburg are central to this thesis' conception of the accumulation of the capitalist world-system, their work likewise informs the different kinds of resistance that it excavates. Lenin's *What is to be Done?* (1902), as Slavoj Žižek and others point out, self-consciously adopts 'the unequivocal radical position from which it is only possible to intervene in such a way that our intervention changes the coordinates of the situation' (Budgen et al., 2007: p.3). This radical, antisystemic

politics infuses all of Lenin's writings, so that despite criticisms of *Imperialism* for primarily serving 'to popularise the theories of Hilferding and Bukharin, and to introduce ideas taken from Hobson' (Brewer, 2001: p.88), 'what Lenin showed more effectively than any other Marxist was the importance of theoretical analysis of capitalism in strategically situating political actors' (Budgen et al., 2007: p.36). However, because of these politics, for Lenin resistance always manifests 'in terms of the clash of solids' necessarily constituted, as Caygill explains, amongst a community of 'integrated and conscious class subjects' (2013: pp.46-7). As Lenin warns, '*spontaneous* development of the labour movement leads to its becoming subordinated to bourgeois ideology' because of its 'lack of consciousness' (1987: pp.82-4).

Though these broader, cohesive resistance movements are certainly registered by the colonial literature analysed here (Candler and Thompson, for example, are both preoccupied with Indian nationalist formations), Luxemburg's less rigid conception of resistance is more versatile and therefore more frequently mobilised within these texts. For Luxemburg, resistance does not need to 'fit into the kind of continuous logical and temporal narrative contrived by Lenin', instead operating 'as the movements of fluid forces made up of diverse currents moving at different velocities' (Caygill, 2013: p.47). This is conveyed explicitly in her account of the 1905 Revolution, when social unrest spread across the Russian Empire. There she emphasises the 'spontaneous' nature of the revolutionaries' 'shaking and tugging' on the 'chains of capitalism' (1970: p.171). These movements flow

like a broad billow over the whole kingdom, and now divides into a gigantic network of narrow streams; now it bubbles forth from under the ground like a fresh spring and now is completely lost under the earth [...] all these run

through one another, run side by side, cross one another, flow in and over one another—it is a ceaselessly moving, changing sea of phenomena [...]. (p.182)

By taking up Luxemburg's idea of resistance as this dispersed and spatial, rather than linear and chronological, phenomenon, the thesis is able to place a 'consistency or coherence on individual acts of resistance' that remain uneven in their trajectories, manifestations and tactics across the colonial literary field (Caygill, 2013: p.49). This is akin to Gramsci's notion of the 'war of manoeuvre', in which 'different strategic options' are mobilised to increase their effectiveness in different contexts (Gramsci, 1988: p.230; Caygill, 2013, p.141). As David Lloyd argues in his reading of Gramsci, by defining the subaltern as 'that which resists or cannot be represented [...] its "episodic and fragmentary" history can be read as the sign of another *mode* of narrative, rather than an incomplete one' (1993: p.127). Whilst a paradigm of uneven development forms the socioeconomic, physical and geographic infrastructures of colonial literary productions during this period, the scattering of uneven modes of resistance likewise, and just as importantly, shapes the world-system and the literary field's mapping of it.

Even pro-imperial literary texts might then be reconfigured as what Barbara Harlow has called 'resistance literature', even though, in many ways, the texts studied here do not directly 'challenge both the monolithic historiographical practices of domination and the unidimensional responses of dogma to them' (Harlow, 1987: p.30). Often, and especially at the levels of character and plot, colonial fiction actually struggles to maintain and perpetuate the various social and economic hierarchies that enabled imperial domination and capital accumulation. However, when the critical methodology of *infrastructural reading* is applied to them, these fictional narratives can provide

developed historical analyses of the circumstances of economic, political, and cultural domination and repression and through that analysis raises a systematic and concerted challenge to the imposed chronology of what Fredric Jameson has called ‘master narratives’, ideological paradigms which contain within their plots a predetermined ending. (Harlow, 1987: p.78; see also Jameson, 1991: p.xi)

By extending Harlow’s formulation of literary narrative as an intervention in the historical record to the critical reading of those literary texts as well, the thesis itself becomes resistant, advocating this political project through the methodology it develops.

Colonial Literature: Why These Texts?

Though Kipling is obsessed with technological developments, imperial forms of infrastructure and literary depictions of them, the project turns its critical gaze to a much broader cross-section of what mostly remains *under-analysed* colonial literature. I want to move away from much-studied ‘colonial’ novels such as *Kim* (1901) and *Heart of Darkness* (1899), as well as other overtly modernist-colonial work by writers such as James Joyce, Katherine Mansfield and W.B. Yeats.⁹ These texts do engage in the resistant strategies that I will go on to identify. Indeed, that they do so more explicitly than the colonial literature analysed here is evidenced by the proliferation of materialist

⁹ The conventionally (proto-)modernist-colonial authors that do appear in this thesis—namely, Olive Schreiner and E.M. Forster in the second and fourth chapters respectively—are used primarily as contemporaneous inter-texts that, when juxtaposed with more explicitly pro-imperial literature, actually enhance the methodological project of criticism as resistance.

and postcolonial readings of them in recent (and not so recent) years.¹⁰ Some of these studies have been concerned with the ‘spatiality’ of these texts, emphasising the genre’s preoccupation with ‘absences and gaps to grids and maps’ and their ‘numerous abstract tropes and topographical stereotypes’, many of which, this thesis will show, are characteristics of colonial literature more generally (Childs, 2007: p.84). Jameson himself identified an explicit connection between the spatiality of modernist form and the coterminous period of Britain’s accelerated expansionism in his essay ‘Modernism and Imperialism’ (1990). There he argues that when a ‘significant structural segment of the economic system’ is exported to an ‘unknown and unimaginable’ space ‘over the water’, the ‘new spatial language’ of ‘modernist style’ is produced, functioning as a formal ‘marker and substitute of the unrepresentable totality’ (Eagleton et al., 1990: pp. 51-58).

This attempt to accomplish ‘that recurrent Jamesonian task, the project of “mapping the totality”’, has been critiqued for ‘its rather worrying echoes of standard imperialist ideologies of the essential inscrutability or unknowability’ of the colonised (Booth and Rigby eds., 2000: pp.21-2). However, while Booth and Rigby consider Jameson’s theoretical work to be ‘highly problematic’, confined to a ‘knowing, simplifying framework’ (p.6), Patrick Williams is more ready to assess the political import of Jameson’s work. He does so by combining Jameson’s theories with Said’s. He acknowledges the former’s thesis that the ‘spatialising effect’ is a product of ‘the

¹⁰ Most famous in this regard is Edward Said’s landmark study, *Culture and Imperialism* (1993), where in the sub-chapter entitled ‘A Note on Modernism’ (pp.225-9) he distinguishes between the ‘narrative progression and triumphalism’ of texts such as Haggard’s *She* (1887) and the ‘extreme, unsettling anxiety’ in the work of Conrad, Forster, Malraux, T.E. Lawrence, T.S. Eliot, Proust, Mann and Yeats. More recently, there have been efforts to explore this connection (see Begam and Moses: 2007; and Esty, 2012). Begam and Moses revealingly link the two titular spheres of ‘modernism’ and ‘colonialism’ via the contemporaneous expansion in communication infrastructures, from the ‘single network of overland telegraph and submarine cables’ by the early twentieth century to the radio ‘airwaves’ of the 1920s (2007: p.2).

attempted mapping of the restructuring of the imperial world system' before turning to the latter's more resistant work, which emphasises the 'disturbing effect' that modernism's spatiality might bring to 'imperial ideology' (Booth and Rigby eds., 2000: pp.21-3; Said, 1993: p.226).

Clearly, this effort to assess the historical impact that moments of what seems, implicitly, to be called the 'spatial resistance' of modernist literature to imperial ideology is in line with this thesis' own critical task. Indeed, Williams argues that this is best analysed through a complication of Jameson's paradigm by applying a "combined and uneven development" perspective' to 'modernism and imperialism' (Booth and Rigby eds., 2000: p.32). This theoretical shift allows a more nuanced analysis of 'imperialism on a world scale' and, Williams argues, explains why 'modernity and modernist responses to it emerge and subside at very different moments' (p.32). Though I arrive at the critical application of uneven development to a literary-cultural field through a different methodological route, there are many fruitful overlaps here and this should be seen as a mutually constructive and, I would stress, political project. The thesis does, however, make a crucial departure from this work: it is my contention that the world-system historically underpinning the British Empire is registered formally and generically *not only* by modernist literature. When read *infrastructurally*, certain *colonial literatures* also reveal conflicts, tensions and fissures at the level of ideology as they respond to the hypocritical arguments of benevolent imperialisms, the expansive processes of capital accumulation and uneven development, and the presence of anti-imperial and nationalist resistance.

The colonial literature analysed throughout is almost always set in, or written from (or both), the socioeconomic and cultural context of the colonial environment.¹¹ The texts all share what Boehmer identifies as a tendency to ‘decipher unfamiliar spaces’, drawing on a set of ‘stock descriptions and authoritative symbols that lay to hand’ (1995: pp.13-14). In addition to its wide readership in Britain, this literature also circulated through the colonial spaces it depicts, ‘from company offices to the guest-rooms of government houses to the libraries of hill-stations’ (Boehmer, 1995: p.55), feeding into, shaping and perpetuating the imperial imagination of colonial space. It was also connected to a more interdisciplinary production of colonial space, as the literary text’s ‘verisimilitude was checked against other fabrications—the books, reports, surveys, army officers, missionaries, journalists, explorers and travellers’ (Parry, 2004: p.18); as Boehmer observes, there was an ‘overproduction under colonial administration of reams of documentation, ethnographic and scientific studies, journals, accounts, censuses, dispatches, laws, etc. To colonise something was to pile writing upon it’ (1995: p.97). This literature forms a disciplinary ‘territory’ that Parry identifies as ‘The Literature of Empire or The Colonial Fiction’ (2004: p.17). Though irreverently de-capitalising both the adjective and noun of this label throughout the thesis, Parry’s definitional criteria—that it is affiliated ‘to the hegemonic explanatory order and written within the same ideological code as the discourse of colonialism’ (p.17)—usefully groups the texts analysed here together.

¹¹ There is the occasional exception to this, most notably in the work of John Buchan. As Chapter Three shows, the tropes of the South African frontier continue to pervade the political unconscious of his First World War novels that are set not in South Africa, but Britain and Europe, a geographical fusion that emphasises the ‘prominent, if under-recognised, role’ that Southern Africa has played ‘in British self-imagining, or “worlding”’ (Chrisman, 2003: p.10).

This introduction now concludes with a brief outline of the authors addressed and the four ideological paradigms through which its infrastructural readings are refracted. Chapter One, ‘Mapping Humanitarianism’, is devoted to the work of Flora Annie Steel. It focuses first on her most widely read ‘Mutiny’ novel, *On the Face of the Waters* (1896), which takes as its subject matter an event of widespread anti-imperial resistance—the Great Rebellion of 1857—in India. Historically, this event sparked a significant increase in infrastructural expansion across the subcontinent and, as Steel’s novel shows, this act of collective violent resistance came to dominate imperial consciousness throughout the half-century covered by this thesis. The chapter then turns to a selection of Steel’s short stories written throughout the 1880s and 1890s to explore how notions of humanitarian development and famine relief, ideologies that justified infrastructural expansion, are actually subverted by Steel’s anxieties about the socioeconomic conditions that those infrastructures actually facilitated. Drawing on Macherey and others, this chapter focuses on the ‘silences’ in colonial literature to show the ideological limits of Steel’s texts, as they attempt, and fail, to justify the assimilation of non-capitalist zones of the Indian subcontinent into the networks of the world-system.

Chapter Two, ‘Mapping Segregation’, turns to Southern Africa to explore the way in which different narrative forms and genres are deployed to map a landscape that throws up the polarities of core and periphery in particularly stark infrastructural manifestations and racial segregations. It sets out to track the ways in which these narrative forms might themselves be resistant when their intertextual relations with one another are highlighted. Beginning with a study of the genre of the imperial romance through a reading of H. Rider Haggard’s *King Solomon’s Mines* (1885), the chapter first deconstructs that text by reading it topographically, excavating what James C. Scott

would call its ‘hidden transcript’ and arguing that it is in fact deeply preoccupied with the vast infrastructural expansion taking place in South Africa during this period. After a discussion of the arch-imperial infrastructural project, the Cape to Cairo railway, it then turns to the work of Olive Schreiner to show how her writings interrogate ideologies of segregation that had been generated by the specific context of the emerging mining industries. The chapter’s reading of *The Story of an African Farm* (1883) demonstrates how that novel’s mapping of a peripheral landscape enables the production of a meta-narrative that deconstructs the linear confidence of the imperial romance. This reading is supplemented with a turn to William Plomer’s depiction of South Africa’s specifically urban spaces in ‘Ula Masondo’ (1927). His short story directly resists the imperial imagining of South Africa’s literary geographies through its re-writing of the romance genre, whilst initiating through its resistant writing a range of what David Harvey would call ‘revolutionary trajectories’ (2012: p.xvii).

Developing this focus on South Africa and the imperial romance, Chapter Three, ‘Mapping Frontiers’, embarks upon a study of the early fiction of John Buchan in order to isolate and dissect a very specific strand of imperial ideology. The chapter calls this ‘frontier consciousness’ and proceeds by isolating its key features, as well as excavating some of its central contradictions, through a reading of Buchan’s first novel, *Prester John* (1910). A survey of the geographical and topographical space within and across which the novel’s action takes place reveals that it is inflected with—indeed, has inscribed into its multi-dimensional infrastructure—the hallmarks of settler colonial ideology. The chapter then moves away from South Africa to study Buchan’s two slightly later novels, *The Thirty-Nine Steps* (1915) and *Greenmantle* (1916), arguing that the frontier consciousness epitomised in *Prester John* is present in alternative

geographical spaces. By mapping the production of peripheral zones *within* metropolitan countries, this chapter highlights the importance of the conception of the networked world-system. It shows that these peripheral spaces are always linked in some way—most often through their topographical features and frontier-like attributes—to the South African spaces of *Prester John*.

The thesis' fourth and final chapter, 'Mapping Nationalism', returns to the Indian subcontinent, bringing the insights of the previous three chapters together to explore the way in which colonial literature interacts with emerging nationalist movements through the work of E.M. Forster, Edmund Candler and Edward Thompson. By using Forster's novel, *A Passage to India* (1924), as a subversive intertext, the chapter follows on from its study of Buchan to highlight the way in which the geographical spaces of core and periphery produced by Candler and Thompson are inflected with the hierarchies of colonial ideology. Whereas the colonial literature studied in the previous three chapters has yet to come to terms with the disintegration of Britain's Empire, Candler and Thompson explicitly acknowledge the imminence of Indian independence. The shift of this political anxiety from subtext to surface shows how these later texts are concerned both to delegitimise nationalist movements, whilst simultaneously imagining the infrastructural coordinates of the world-system that would linger after the formal dissolution of British rule. Despite these ideological efforts, the chapter argues, expressions of anti-imperial resistance can still be located in the contradictions and literary motifs that emerge.

Throughout these different studies, the axes of infrastructure and resistance, which come together to give shape to the methodology of infrastructural reading, are deployed

to activate a materialist critique of colonial literature. By highlighting the literature's complicity with the world-system and the physical infrastructures that facilitated its accumulative processes, a pattern of resistance emerges across the different studies that build cumulatively to produce an alternative map of this literary field. Though the focus of the thesis is the way in which colonial literature helped to build the infrastructure of the contemporary world-system, as Kipling observed, both 'actually, and, what is more important, in imagination' (2010: p.241), it shows how this system has always been riddled with locales, acts and expressions of anti-imperial resistance. The resulting survey charts not 'the high-glass print of history writ-large', but rather 'the space of its production, the darkroom negative'; following Stoler, it maps a set of 'historical negatives whose reverse-light traces disturbances in the colonial order of things, whose shadows trace the lineaments of potential dissent and current distress' (2009: pp.108-9). The conclusion will argue that if the world-system remains entrenched in increasingly uneven and unequal ways in our own post-imperial era, despite the dissolution of the British Empire's formal hegemony, infrastructural reading has much work left to do.

Chapter One: Mapping Humanitarianism: Flora Annie Steel and the Contradictions of Colonial Capitalism

Introduction: From Contradiction to Resistance

I accepted everything as a strange part of the Great Mystery of humanity and the world, though no child could have been more ignorant of natural happenings than I was. [...] my distaste to realities was overborne by a desire to understand. I think that even in those early years my mind was working along definite lines, which in later years were to crystallise into intense belief. (Steel, 1930: p.29)

Written more than sixty years after the occasion, Flora Annie Steel's autobiographical account of her first arrival in India in 1868 suggests her commitment to a pro-imperial ideology, whilst also hinting at the possible complexities underlying it. A number of critics have highlighted the apparent duality of Steel's political consciousness in relation to the subcontinent and its peoples. Throughout her life, Steel was proud of her accepting and open attitude, her 'desire to understand' colonised Indians and their problems. However, as the inconsistency of the above quotation evidences, her 'mind' could never fully relinquish the 'definite lines' of Anglo-India's racial hierarchies and condescending paternalisms, symptoms of a humanitarian ideology that also justified the infrastructural expansions and public works policies of the Government of India (G.O.I.) in the latter half of the nineteenth century.¹² As Parry argues, though Steel did not ruminate about India 'with curtains drawn', attempting to meet and befriend many

¹² David Archard has defined the concept of paternalism as 'an interference with another's freedom for the purpose of promoting that other's good; and for some the interference must be coercive' (1990: p.36). As Michael Barnett points out, '[h]umanitarianism and paternalism overlap in various ways', and 'nineteenth-century missionaries and liberal humanitarians were paternalistic, quite often unapologetically so, on the assumption that these childlike populations needed adults to civilise them' (2013: pp.33, 41). Daniel Bivona likewise identifies 'Mid-Victorian "humanitarianism"' as 'implicitly (and sometimes explicitly) expansionist', observing that this "'imperialism"' would become much more evident after 1850' (1998: pp.14-15).

Indians, 'she was unable to enter anything but a paternalistic relationship' with them (Parry, 1972: p.128). But Parry further acknowledges that despite the 'prejudice and social conformity' that 'shackled her imagination', the conflictual strains of Steel's thought enables the production, within her literary fiction at least, of 'provocative contradictions which place her apart' from many of her contemporary Anglo-Indian authors (p.129). As Jenny Sharpe observes, 'Steel, perhaps more than anyone else, embodies the memsahib in all of her contradictions' (1989: p.93).

Nancy L. Paxton has identified a further discrepancy between Steel's fictional and non-fictional works, the former showing 'more than usual insight into and sympathy with the lives of her Indian characters', the latter 'a self-importance inflated by the authority she claimed as a memsahib' (Strobel and Chaudhuri eds., 1992: p.163). Paxton traces the levels of what she calls 'complicity' and 'resistance' in Steel's writing. Though Steel is caught up in a cross-flow of ideological belief and factual and experiential detail, to conceive of these conflicts as uni-dimensional, operating only either for or against the imperial project at specific textual moments, seems a reductive reading that fails to realise the interpenetration of her ideology. This chapter demonstrates that Steel's ideological 'muddle', to borrow Parry's term (1972: p.129), produces what Alan Johnson has described as 'a discursive "fuzzy" space' (2011: p.70). Though retaining Johnson's spatial conceptualisation, I will trace Steel's literary ambivalence along more clearly delineated textual fractures and fragmentations, reading these as manifestations of the contradictions of colonial capitalism in India at this time. Carefully historicised readings of a number of Steel's literary works reveal the discrepancies between the humanitarian ideologies that underpinned the Raj's imperial project and the material geographies to which those ideologies gave shape. In so doing, it becomes possible to

map moments of resistance that reside within, and emerge through, the textual crevices of her fiction.

This effort follows Fredric Jameson's call to 'Always historicise!' This exclamation, which emphasises 'the priority of the political interpretation of literary texts' (Jameson, 2002: p.1), is 'an allegiance' that, as Parry points out, 'when brought to colonialism' is engaged in 'deconstructing an histrionic and hyperbolic rhetoric innovating representations addressed to both the native and the metropolitan subject' (2004: p.34). Young, too, offers the pertinent reminder that colonial productions of space are not 'disembodied imaginative representation[s]' but rather always 'acting in and on the material world', a methodological shift that understands 'colonialism' as fundamentally 'a political activity and organisation' involved in 'activities of domination and exploitation' (2002: p.408). By first focusing on the 'provocative contradictions' of Steel's literary texts, embedded within what Adam Roberts, in his reading of Jameson, calls the 'rifts and discontinuities' of narrative form (2000: p.81), this chapter connects these textual fault lines to 'the social and economic realities' produced by the British world-empire during its late nineteenth-century global hegemony. Tracing the symbolic, metaphorical and literal emergences of infrastructure through Steel's narratives allows the varying degrees to which they enable moments of anti-imperial resistance to be explored. These moments are excavated from a selection of Steel's texts by combining readings of the ideological limitations and borders that are written sub-textually into her narratives with her more outright criticisms of a profit-orientated imperial enterprise.

Daya Patwardhan has drawn attention to Steel's more outspoken critiques of empire in direct contrast to writers such as Kipling, who uses the 'weapons' of 'satire and even

cynicism [...] to lash Anglo-Indian society' (1963: p.70). Instead, Steel 'uses direct comments, especially in her stories of rural life', which, though 'spoil[ing] their artistry', highlight the polemic underpinnings of Steel's fiction (p.71). My discussion of Steel will conclude with a move toward these more 'direct' critiques that, as Patwardhan rightly claims, are located mostly within her short stories rather than her novels. In these stories, Steel's narratives lay the '*ideolegeme*' of what Pablo Mukherjee calls 'palliative imperialism'—'the idea of imperialism as an act of care' that in fact works to obscure and legitimise 'those structural inequities that produced the disaster events in the first place'—open to dissection (2013: p.18). As Shampa Roy argues, Steel brought into focus the 'contradictions and inadequacies in the Imperial reform projects and the assumptions of benevolent impact that underwrote them' (2010: p.72). Steel writes at a time when the notion of humanitarianism was becoming increasingly 'associated with compassion across boundaries': the creation of the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), 'the world's first official international humanitarian organisation', in 1863, just a few years before Steel arrived in India, serves as a useful 'tipping point' for charting the increasing virility of this ideology (Barnett, 2013: p.19).

Steel's humanitarian ethos is dogged throughout by her problematic paternalism—'an unsavoury legacy of the nineteenth century', argues Michael Barnett, 'that best captures the nature of power in the ethics of care' (2013: pp.12, 223). To be consistent with the materialist underpinnings of this thesis' analysis, humanitarianism might be read as a way of satiating 'capitalism's unquenchable drive to expand', legitimising the 'need to govern and integrate' those pre-capitalist societies that inhabit the world-system's 'borderlands' (p.24)—'an imagined geographical space where, in the eyes of many metropolitan actors and agencies, the characteristics of brutality, excess and breakdown

predominate' (Duffield, 2001: p.309). However, the ideological nuances played out in Steel's fiction reveal humanitarianism's contradictions and hypocrisies, especially as and when it focuses on the expansion of imperial infrastructures. Whilst these contradictions have been highlighted by several critics, by drawing a thread through a selection of moments this chapter recovers a consistent, if not coherent, counter-narrative of anti-imperial resistance. This counter-narrative registers the sorts of ongoing peasant uprisings that have been charted by the *Subaltern Studies* group whilst also, on occasion, looking forward to formations of a variety of Indian nationalisms. Steel's oeuvre, when read infrastructurally, demonstrates that 'insurgency' was 'the necessary antithesis of colonialism during the entire phase between its incipience and coming of age' (Guha, 1983: p.2).

This chapter begins with an analysis of her best known novel, *On the Face of the Waters* (1896), a fictional re-writing of an event that historian Richard Gott has described as 'the climactic moment of the first century of empire, an anti-British explosion that threatened the entire enterprise' (2012: p.448). The huge socioeconomic, infrastructural, political and cultural impact of the Great Rebellion in India on and across the networks of which Britain's world-empire was comprised, especially during the half-century this thesis takes as its focus, make this an apt event with which to begin the series of close analyses conducted here. Steel's literary account of this landmark moment of direct anti-imperial resistance and her self-conscious engagement with its 'social and historical raw material' gestures immediately towards the ideological politics of her narratives (Jameson, 2002: p.135). In his Habermasian reading of the novel, David Wayne Thomas offers a warning that informs this chapter as well as the thesis more broadly:

by crediting these writers with a critical consciousness concerning the empire, we might better avoid a failure of understanding on our part that would, ironically, echo one of imperialism's most well advertised faults. [...] we cannot account for the psychological and social dynamics by which the problem of empire could come to appear to the Victorians and their heirs as a problem of morality or justice at all. (Thomas, 1995: p.157)

It is, of course, important to acknowledge Thomas's first statement here: it is at no point my intention to give authorial credit where it is not due, nor to reproduce the cultural and political hierarchies that are embedded within Steel's texts. However, as discussed in the introduction, there is an extent to which this caution may become defeatist, relinquishing a body of colonial literature to the unread archive and thereby ignoring its stock of ideological insight and nuance, as well as the resistance that, I will show, so often remains latent within it. Proceeding cautiously with a sustained reading of Steel's 'Mutiny novel' and a selection of her short stories, the humanitarian 'justification' of empire with which Thomas rightly argues British Indian literature was 'inevitably' engaged can in fact be interrogated through Steel's literary crystallisation of these 'social dynamics'. 'To be sure', Thomas continues,

the empire in India would be near its actual end before mainstream British authors—for instance George Orwell in *Burmese Days* (1934)—would directly represent the status quo in India as illegitimate. But public discourse already in the late Victorian period prepared the way for such views. (p.168)

This anticipation of later, more sustained and direct critiques of British imperialism, can be retrospectively understood as a central preoccupation of Steel's *literary* negotiations. The emphasis on the word 'literary' here is self-conscious. I stress that a focus on colonial *literature*, as opposed to the 'reams of documentation' of the 'colonial administration' (governmental reports, travel narratives, imperial speeches etc.) (Boehmer, 1995: p.97), enables a shift of the historical time frame outlined by Thomas

to an earlier moment. Many of these fictional critiques emerge not only in the final years of the British world-empire, but also at the height of its global hegemony and at the historical moment in which some of its most outspoken—and still lingering—ideologies were forged. Steel's literary fiction preempts the surge in sustained non-fictional critiques of imperialism post-1900 such as Hobson's, Luxemburg's and Lenin's anti-imperial writings, which targeted the infrastructures of the expanding world-system.

The 'Gaps' of Colonial Capitalism in *On the Face of the Waters* (1896)

In her opening 'Author's Note' to *On the Face of the Waters*, Steel claims that her fictional account of 'the Indian Mutiny, or on the part which real men took in it, is scrupulously exact, even to the date, the hour, the scene, the very weather', as she confidently asserts that 'I have not allowed fiction to interfere with fact in the slightest degree' (Cowasjee ed., 2005: p.9). In her autobiography, *The Garden of Fidelity* (1930), Steel describes the efforts she made to ground her 'Mutiny novel', written almost forty years after the event, in historical fact:

I had asked the Panjab [*sic*] Government for leave, in view of the book I was writing about the Mutiny, to inspect certain confidential boxes of papers which I knew existed in the Delhi offices. The answer was long in coming, and when it did come I laughed, though it contained full licence to see everything and anything. For it was so exceedingly crafty. It began by expressing full reliance on my discretion, my judgement, my loyalty, my everything in short. So, having thus tied my hands, it proceeded to allow me everything! (1930: p.213)

Steel's ideological inconsistency leaks through her sentences as she simultaneously distances herself from the imperial regime whilst reaffirming her 'loyalty' to it—though

finding the G.O.I.'s 'crafty' censorship laughable, she concedes and submits to its demands. As Paxton argues, 'constrained by her role as the wife of a British civil servant under the Raj', Steel was forced 'into a position of complicity', the Government demanding that she 'define' herself as either 'loyal or disloyal to British civilisation' (Strobel and Chaudhuri eds., 1992: p.161). However, even the self-censorship that, she admits, shaped her composition of the novel, is obscured by the discursive currency that 'The Indian Mutiny of 1857', as a memorialised event, had accumulated by the 1890s in India, Britain and across the Empire. She failed to realise that her historical documents were all written by British soldiers, government officials and civil servants, thereby overlooking the fact that an Indian or subaltern voice is occluded from the outset. Furthermore, she claims that within the 'confidential boxes of papers' she 'found that corroboration of my fiction by facts' so that she 'had not to alter one single thing in my projected story of the Mutiny' (1930: p.214). Informed by a hegemonic memory of the 'Mutiny', Steel's narrative framework is already in place. Historical documents are then assimilated into this framework, bolstering rather than challenging the version of events accepted and propagated by colonial ideology.

Writing a few years before Steel's death, Edward Thompson, in his non-fictional polemic *The Other Side of the Medal* (1925), was the first Briton to identify and condemn 'the uncritical and incurious character of [the British] people's minds' and their general acceptance of 'the version of the Mutiny that was imposed upon us when it finished' (1930a: p.48). He continues: 'The raking up of the mud of atrocities committed by Indians has never ceased, as any English account of the Mutiny will show, while the Indian case is not known to our people' (p.84). The manipulation of this first sustained moment of Indian resistance to suit the interests of imperial ideology,

both in Britain and India, has been discussed by Patrick Brantlinger, who describes how ‘the racist pattern of blaming the victim’ was contemporaneously expressed ‘in terms of an absolute polarisation of good and evil, innocence and guilt, justice and injustice’ (1988: pp.199-200; see also Sharpe, 1989: pp.61-80). Taking George Otto Trevelyan’s *Cawnpore* (1865) as his primary textual example, Brantlinger notes that novel’s preoccupation with ‘the massacres at Cawnpore’ that subsequently became ‘the primary focus of all popular accounts’ (1988: p.202; see also Tickell, 2012: pp.95-134). Thompson himself, writing in the mid-1920s, understood that this focus on the violence committed by Indian Sepoys against Britons at Cawnpore ‘makes it possible for readers, who are ordinarily critical and wide-awake enough, to miss the way in which gaps are slurred over and inconvenient questions begged or burked’, arguing that ‘there is nothing in our history books more emphatically calling for revision than their accounts of the Mutiny’ (1930a: p.97).

Nevertheless, Brantlinger acknowledges that by ‘the end of the century a deeper critical perspective does almost emerge’, citing Steel’s *On the Face of the Waters* as an example. Her shift of perspective from the massacres at Cawnpore to the ongoing struggles that took place across the subcontinent, particularly in Delhi, suggests an attempt to construct a broader and more historically accurate account of the British suppression of Indian resistance than her predecessors. However, Brantlinger further notes that Steel’s ‘apparently balanced view leaves untouched the pervasive impression of the Mutineer’s barbarism, cruelty and irrationality’ (1988: pp.220-1). Developing this argument, Steel’s self-professed effort to present a ‘historically factual’ account of the Mutiny might actually be seen as itself an ideological tactic, one that attempts to disavow its own historical oversights and selective corroboration of factual accounts.

The ideological virility of the term ‘Indian Mutiny’—its evocation of injustice, its reduction of the resistance to a mutineering military class, its rejection of the participation of peasant activity and refusal to acknowledge any coherent national or political Indian consciousness—would not be fully corrected on a literary terrain until Utpal Dutt’s re-staging of the event in his *Mahavidroh*, or *The Great Rebellion* (1989). This renaming, as Nandi Bhatia has described, ‘invokes a conscious political effort and resistance on the part of those who participated’ in what was ‘a powerful moment of anticolonial resistance in Indian history’ (Bhatia, 1999: pp.171-2). It is for this reason that throughout this analysis of *On the Face of the Waters*, the term ‘Rebellion’ will be used to refer to the actual historical event, whilst the term ‘Mutiny’ is reserved for the ideologically infused narrative to which colonial accounts mostly subscribed.

In *Mahavidrah*, Dutt foregrounds ‘the exploitative context that provided the grounds for rebellion’ (Bhatia, 1999: pp.171-2), issues that, as Thompson describes, formed ‘gaps’ within early representations of the Mutiny (1930: p.97). These gaps operate as what Pierre Macherey has described as textual ‘silences’, absences in which ‘the presence of ideology can be most positively felt’ (Macherey, 1986: p.155; Eagleton, 2002: p.32). The point of this reading of Steel’s novel is not to ‘fill in’ these gaps. This can be left to literary authors such as Dutt and the historians of the *Subaltern Studies* group, amongst others. Rather, following Terry Eagleton’s interpretation of Macherey’s methodology, this chapter seeks to draw out the text’s ‘conflict of meanings’, thereby demonstrating how ‘this conflict is produced by the work’s relation to ideology’ (2002: p.33). Such a reading begins the process of writing resistance back into Steel’s text by uncovering the peripheral zones both located within its purview, but which remain beyond its direct narrativising processes. These peripheral spaces are located alongside, and emerge in

response to, both the infrastructures *in* and *of* the text, as the novel narrates the violent processes whereby the Indian subcontinent was enmeshed into the infrastructure of Britain's world-empire throughout the late nineteenth century.

There are brief criticisms of Britain's imperial policy in India that, to a limited degree within the ideological frameworks of the novel, acknowledge that the Rebellion as an historical event was justified. Articulated in *On the Face of the Waters*' opening pages, they sit in sharp contrast to the violent retribution and ideological resolution with which it closes, as the novel attempts to overshadow the issues it has unwittingly raised. Within the third and fourth paragraphs of the novel's first page, Steel gives voice, through an Anglo-Indian auctioneer, to the exploitation of the colonised by the coloniser: "'it's slave-drivin' to screw bids for beasts as eats hunderweights out of poor devils as 'aven't enough for themselves, or a notion of business as business'" (Cawasjee ed., 2005: p.13). This articulation is swiftly contextualised by an omniscient authorial voice which directly addresses the reader, a common tendency of Steel's fiction identified by Patwardhan (1963: p.70). The auctioneer's comment, Steel writes,

gave expression to a very common feeling which in the early [eighteen] fifties, when the commercial instincts of the West met the uncommercial ones of the East in open market for the first time, sharpened the antagonism of the [Indian] race immensely. (Cawasjee ed., 2005: pp.13-14)

Steel directly acknowledges the provocative nature of the infiltration of the capitalist world-system, under the aegis of the British world-empire, into what is portrayed as a pre-capitalist socioeconomic space. This intervention immediately undermines ideological justifications for the British humanitarian presence in the subcontinent. The conflict here raised by the novel is aggravated when it is considered that by the time of

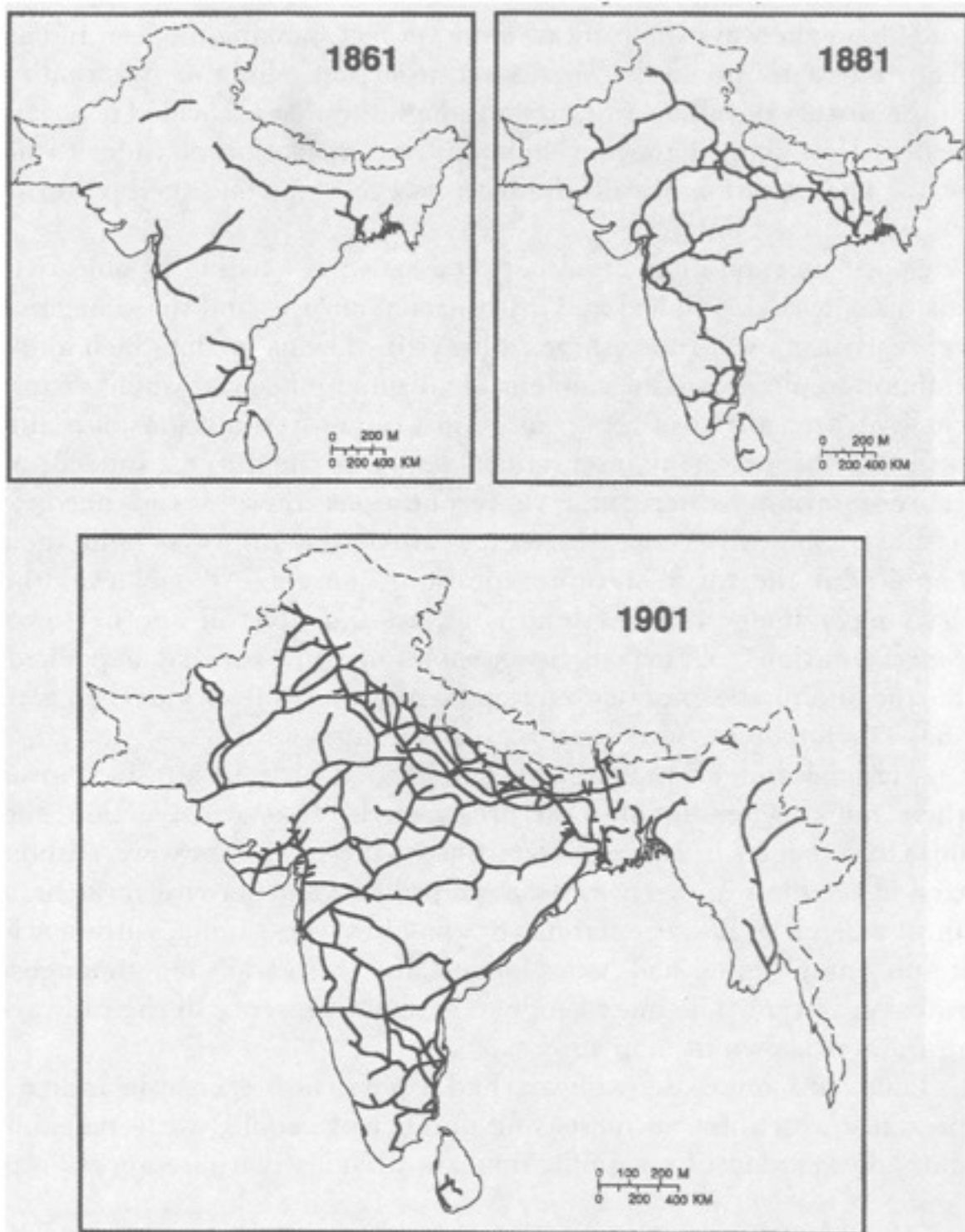


Fig. 1.1 A series of maps detailing the expansion of the railway network across India throughout the latter half of the nineteenth century (Kerr, 2003: p.290).

the novel's publication in 1896 the British had expanded and consolidated their economic and governmental security via investments in a vast range of transportation, communication, legal and administrative infrastructures, enmeshing large sections of the subcontinent into the world-system.

The construction of the railway network increased political unity and government security by allowing the swifter mobilisation of troops, as well as sparing them the long, tiring marches across vast stretches of the subcontinent's terrain. In the twenty-two years that Steel lived in India, from 1867 until 1889, there were huge infrastructural developments across these spaces, so that by 1890 'India had one of the world's top rail networks' (Headrick, 1988: p.56, see fig. 1.1). In 1850, there were no railways operating in India; by 1875 'an extensive network of trunk lines' had been established; and by 1900, 'trunk and branch lines extended over 25,000 miles of track' (Kerr, 1995: p.1). The telegraph was equally important in consolidating imperial security. In 1851 there were just a few miles of telegraph line; by 1856 there were over 4,250 miles; by 1865, 17,500 miles; and there were an astonishing 52,900 miles by the end of the nineteenth century (Arnold, 2000: p.113). This infrastructural expansion was, however, fuelled by the unequal trade relations of the world-system. India became 'Britain's best customer for iron and steel productions', a 'decision made in Britain at India's expense, for it diverted demand away from a potential Indian industry' (Headrick, 1988: pp.84, 282). The result, Headrick notes, was that India 'emerged from colonial rule with a "developed" rail network and an "underdeveloped" economy' (p.50).

In addition, the British Government worked to lay telegraph lines between Britain and India to allow for instantaneous communication with the Raj. A 4.5 per cent return was

guaranteed to encourage speculators to invest in the project, almost matching the 5 per cent guarantee on Indian railway investment first offered in the early 1850s, processes that exemplify what Harvey would describe as partially '[s]tate-funded infrastructural projects' designed 'to re-kindle economic growth' and provide capital with a 'spatio-temporal fix' (2014: p.151). When the intercontinental telegraph was successfully completed in 1866, the cable was laid using Isambard Kingdom Brunel's steamship, the *SS Great Eastern*, 'symbolically linking the pioneer of both railway and steamship with this new element of communications innovation' (Latham, 1978: p.32). This cross-national telegraph network likewise sped up the movements of global trade by carrying 'information about prices, quality and delivery dates' and allowing 'goods to be bought and sold long before they arrived in Europe or America [...] without having to be stockpiled in London first' (p.37). Though satiating British anxieties about the prospect of future political unrest in India by increasing governmental security, these infrastructures equally, if not primarily, served to facilitate and intensify the world-system's accumulative processes.

Steel's novel is concerned not only with the economic underpinnings of the expansion of these physical infrastructures, however. It also raises concerns about the imposition of colonial legal systems. The text perpetuates certain problematic ideological hierarchies whilst implicitly criticising the G.O.I.'s complicity with an exploitative capitalism: '[O]ne stroke of an English pen', Steel writes, deprives Lucknow, 'the most profligate town in India', of the '*raison-d'être* of its profligacy', as it is 'bidden to live as best it could in cleanly, court-less poverty' (p.15). The repetition of 'profligate', alongside the word 'cleanly', allude to Steel's racialised conception of a 'degenerate' Indian society, a set of 'moral, biological and sexual referents' that, as Stoler identifies,

were typical of the “colonial branch” of eugenics’ discourse (2002: pp.62-3). Indeed, Stoler continues, ‘European women were vital to the colonial enterprise and the solidification of racial boundaries’ (p.62), a theme identified in Steel’s fiction by both Johnson (1998: pp.507-513) and Mukherjee (2013: pp.193-5). But this imperial infiltration of the peripheral zone of Lucknow, which is reflected here in the city’s sparse, or underdeveloped physical infrastructure—‘the dome of a mosque or the minaret of a mausoleum told that the town of Lucknow, scattered yet coherent, lay among the groves’ (Cawasjee ed., 2005: p.15)—is also framed in terms of the ramifications of the world-system’s cross-national economies.

So, already, there were thousands of workmen in it, innocent enough panderers in the past to luxurious vice, who were feeling the pinch of hunger from lack of employment; and there were those past employers also, deprived now of pensions and offices, with a bankrupt future before them. (p.15)

Simply by beginning this paragraph with ‘[s]o, already,’ Steel emphasises the peripheralisation processes here impacting Lucknow that implicitly, and simplistically, produces the city as a pre-capitalist space into which the world-system can expand. The text narrates a key ‘trend of capitalism’ identified by Wallerstein, as Lucknow’s population of “quasi-federal” semiproletarians are here converted into fully-fledged ‘proletarian wage labour’ (1991: pp.278-9). That this results in a ‘lack of employment’ highlights the fact that this surplus labour has been assimilated into a cross-national system, whilst the legal structures serve the economic interests of the coloniser—or, to use Wallerstein’s terminology, ‘the process of appropriation’ is affected by ‘the manipulation of controlling flows over state boundaries’ (1991: p.293). As he continues, the result manifests in a pattern of ‘uneven development’ at the levels not only of social

and cultural relations, but also of physical infrastructural expansion, industrialisation and urbanisation, an issue to which this thesis will return in Chapter Four.

These textual allusions to systems of exploitation surface briefly some forty pages later before being silenced by the circumstances of the Mutiny with which the novel then quickly becomes preoccupied. Steel's omniscient narrator presents Mr Gissing, who is 'not a Government servant' but rather a colonial capitalist, as 'a vulgar creature, but an excellent businessman, with a knack of piling up the rupees which made minor native contractors, whose trade he was gradually absorbing, gnash their teeth in sheer envy' (Cawasjee ed., 2005: p.53). Gissing argues that 'the Western system of risking all to gain all was too much opposed to the Eastern one of risking all to gain little, for the hereditary merchants to adopt it at once'; the complaints of the 'native contractors' against his exploitative trading become nothing more than stories to be told at 'luncheon parties' (p.53). Though acknowledging and directly critiquing the exploitative tendencies of colonial capitalism, Steel uses her characterisation of Gissing to distinguish these forces from notions of a benevolent imperialism. This is symptomatic of Steel's thought on imperialism where, as Patwardhan observes, she generally 'blames the money-lender rather than the British Government whose policy of exploiting the poor people is really responsible for the poverty of the peasants' (1963: pp.143-4). Located outside of the paternalistic structure of the imperial government, money-lenders and traders such as Gissing enable a convenient 'fictive resolution' that allow Steel to maintain her faith in a beneficent, or 'palliative' imperialism, whilst also criticising the exploitative effects of an international economy upon its colonised peoples.

However, as Patwardhan argues, the Indian's 'enemy was not so much the money-lender as the foreign ruler' (p.144), a critique that emerges within Steel's text in relation to the imperial government's investment in infrastructure. Gissing turns to the 'facility of transport given by roads' constructed by the G.O.I. to legitimise his colonial presence. For Gissing, these investments in infrastructure justify

the right of Government to benefit—er—slightly—by these outlays. Commerce isn't a selfish thing, sir, by gad! If you don't consider your market a bit, you won't find one at all. So I stepped in, and made thousands; for the Commissariat, seeing the saving here, of course asked me to contract for other places. It serves the idiot uncommon well right; but it will benefit them in the end. If [the Indians are] to face Western nations they must learn—er—the—the morality of speculation. (Cawasjee ed., 2005: p.54)

As Mukherjee argues, the novel as a whole acknowledges that the '[i]mperial extraction of wealth' is 'criminal (an Englishman is bound to rob a native)' whilst framing it as 'historically inevitable (the Indians misread as robbery what is actually the cutting-edge development in the world economic system)' (2013: p.197). But the uneasy 'gaps' and hesitations with which Gissing's monologue is interspersed introduce conspicuous 'silences' into the ideological conviction that it is a humanitarian ethos of beneficent 'civilisation' that drives the infrastructural expansion he cites here. These silences write the economic exploitation that such expansion had in fact facilitated, and from which Gissing has 'made thousands', into the ideological fabric of the text. He alludes to the ongoing expansions and accumulation of capital in 'other places', a cross-national commerce that is once again 'contracted' by the Raj. The text thereby reveals the ideological complicity of humanitarian notions of imperialism with an exploitative colonial capitalism, despite Steel's efforts to separate them from one another. Written at the end of the nineteenth century, the subtextual motions of the text confess to the

ideological hypocrisies later identified by Mike Davis, as ‘newly constructed railroads, lauded as institutional safeguards against famine, were instead used by merchants to ship grain inventories from outlying drought-stricken districts to central depots’ (Davis, 2010: p.26). But at this point the novel swiftly leaves the ‘morality of speculation or gambling’ behind, turning to its account of ‘the Indian Mutiny’ as the narrative works to suture these tears in its ideological fabric back together.

Consolidating Ideology: Flags, Telegraphs and Governmental Reports

Steel’s narrative effort is underpinned by a symbol that recurs sporadically throughout the novel, and around which, like the victorious British soldiers who retake Delhi in its closing scenes, her most ideologically consolidated narrative moments collect: ‘the English flag’ (Cawasjee ed., 2005: p.367). This symbolic manifestation of imperial power echoes Alfred Lord Tennyson’s patriotic tribute to the British troops who fought in the Mutiny, ‘The Siege of Lucknow’ (1880), its opening lines emphasising the enduring nature of Britain’s imperial presence: ‘Banner of England, not for a season, O banner of Britain, hast thou / Floated in conquering battle or flapt to the battle-cry!’ This refrain is echoed at the climax of each of the poem’s seven sections as ‘ever upon the topmost roof our banner of England blew’ (Boehmer ed., 1998: pp.59-63). The flag became an important symbol of power in British India, forming the centrepiece of the Imperial Assemblages and Durbars—displays of power that plotted, spatially, a range of social and political hierarchies through their temporary infrastructures of wooden stands and camps—as well as becoming an important literary trope during the period (see Cohn, 2009: pp.636-79).

Steel strategically employs this culturally significant symbol throughout the novel, enabling a systematic regulation and recurrent reassertion of imperial ideology that counteracts the repeated moments of resistance it documents. At first, the ‘English flag drooped *lazily* in *calm* floods of yellow light’ (Cawasjee ed., 2005: p.15); five months after the outbreak of violence at Lucknow, ‘the English flag [...] floated there now, *serenely, securely*, with an air of finality in its folds’ (p.79); ‘in front of the big mess-tent the English flag drooped from its mast in the *still* night air’ (p.119); ‘any risk was needless when, to a certainty, the English flag would be flying over the city’ (p.255; emphases all mine). The systematic recourse to this symbol produces, to use Macherey’s terminology, ‘an imagined order, projected onto disorder, the fictive resolution of ideological conflicts’—a ‘resolution’ that remains, however, ‘so precarious that it is obvious in the very letter of the text where incoherence and incompleteness burst forth’ (1986: p.155). The ‘fictive resolution’ enabled by Steel’s use of the flag can, when juxtaposed with other moments in the novel, be unpicked, enabling the excavation of the ideological conflict that the text itself seeks to conceal. This can be seen in the most ideologically saturated moment of the flag’s final mention, when the British soldiers have successfully recaptured Delhi and the Rebellion has been suppressed:

It was the English flag.

The men, forgetting everything else, cheered themselves hoarse—cheered again when an orderly rode past waving a slip of paper sent back to the General with the laconic report:

‘Blown open the gates! Got the palace!’ (Cawasjee ed., 2005: p.367)

In its evocation of patriotic hype, Steel’s narrative asks the reader to forget ‘everything else’, including the injustices of colonial rule to which the text itself drew attention in its opening pages. But the detail of colonial capitalism’s economic exploitation remains

present and cannot be forgotten, situated within ‘the very letter of the text’ that now attempts to erase it: the ‘fictive’ nature of the novel’s ‘resolution’ is intensified by the ‘absence’ of these earlier concerns in this climactic scene. It is the revelation of the ‘imagined’ nature of this ‘order’, the ‘incompleteness’ of the text undermining the professed ‘completeness’ that this moment attempts to instate, that ‘enables us to identify the active presence of a conflict at its borders’ (Macherey, 1986: p.155).

This climactic scene points not only to the British victory over the Indian rebels, but to another crucial thematic vein that runs through *On the Face of the Waters*: the *communication* of that victory. As Thomas has demonstrated, ‘the opening of Steel’s novel situates the crisis of the Sepoy rebellion within a framework of what we might call communicative inaction’ (2009: p.177). This ‘theme of imperial communication and its impediments’, Thomas argues, is developed throughout the novel ‘at several textual levels, including word choices, formal patterns in plotting and structure, and narrative incidents’ (p.177). The telegraph, a new innovation in communications technology introduced into India in the mid-nineteenth century, had already expanded from just a few miles of line in 1851 to over 4,250 miles by 1856 (Arnold, 2000: p.113, see fig. 1.2). For Steel’s novel, it functions as an infrastructural manifestation of this theme of communication, surfacing intermittently throughout narrative.

The telegraph also performs another important infrastructural function for the text. By tracing the network of textual references to the telegraph within the novel, it becomes evident that the context of these emergences reflect the broader ideological motions of Steel’s plot. The novel’s early references to the telegraph stress its importance in communicating ‘news’ to the broader ‘Empire’. The telegraph’s role is, at first, not so



Fig. 1.2 A map showing the existing and proposed telegraph lines to India, Australia and China in 1868. Its route highlights the historical significance of the Suez Canal that, when it opened in 1869, brought India ‘some 4,000 miles closer to Europe’ in a triumph of infrastructural and technological expansion (Latham, 1978: p.27; see also Headrick, 2009: p.111). MPD 1/207, 1 item extracted from T 1/7150A. National Archives, Kew.

much to enable communication within India, but rather to alert the broader imperial world, and the imperial centre in London, to the outbreak of Rebellion. However, as Don Randall points out, even the telegraph’s ‘electric speed’ was, at this historical juncture, ‘retarded by intercontinental relays’, taking ‘at least six weeks’ to reach Britain (Randall, 2003: p.4). This ‘lag’ in the communication allowed, Randall argues, the ‘disparities between discourse and event’ to blossom (p.6), a process which was ‘clearly [...] a crucial aspect’ in the making ‘of those events known as the “Mutiny”’ (p.15). Steel highlights this potential for the production of ‘tales’ in the novel’s first reference to the telegraph:

there were so many tales nowadays. Of news flashed faster by wires than any, even the Gods themselves, could flash it; of carriages, fire-fed, bringing God knows what grain from God knows where! Could a body eat of it and not be polluted? Could the children read the school books and not be apostate? Burning questions these, not to be answered lightly. (Cawasjee ed., 2005: p.21)

One infrastructure references another here, as Steel moves from telegraph to steam train, revolving, through repeated emphasis on their God-like nature, on the supernatural speed they facilitate. But Steel's narrative is tinged with sarcasm here, as the narrative suggests the mis- or overuse of these new communications technologies in a subtle critique of Anglo-Indian society. There is also an implicit register of the historical function played by these new communications and transport infrastructures in the facilitation of what Dadabhai Naoroji, in 1876, had called 'drain theory'. Naoroji argued that the Indian economy was 'being steadily drained by exports', a process of impoverishment that could only be solved 'once the British presence was removed' (Masselos, 2010: pp.72-3; Naoroji, 1901). This analysis was reaffirmed a few years after the publication of Steel's novel by Romesh Chunder Dutt in his *Open Letters to Lord Curzon on Famines and Land Assessment in India* (1900) and his slightly later *Economic History of India in the Victorian Age* (1904). There he argued

that the manufacturers lost their industries; that the cultivators were ground down by a heavy and variable taxation which precluded any saving; that the revenues of the country were to a large extent diverted to England; and that recurring and desolating famines swept away millions of the population. (1950: pp.xviii-xix)

Steel's narrative highlights the fact that this 'grain' comes from a peripheral zone —'God knows where!'—beyond the circuitries of global capital, whilst also demonstrating the fundamental role that infrastructures such as the railway played in suturing these peripheral spaces into the expanding world-system. As M.L. Dantwala

explains, '[r]ailways and even irrigation development were oriented towards facilitating the drain' by exporting 'raw materials needed by British manufactures' and importing 'British goods' (1973: p.14), as 'India was forced-marched into the world market' (Davis, 2010: pp.298-9). Though it took the more direct polemic work of Naoroji and Dutt to give full voice to the devastating ramifications of this process, in this moment the infrastructure *in* Steel's text registers the infrastructures *of* the text—the socioeconomic dynamics of the expanding world-system, as it shapes and informs the narrative's ideological work.

However, like the other criticisms of colonialism's exploitative practices scattered through the novel's opening pages, this is overshadowed by the events of the Mutiny within which the next textual reference to the telegraph is embedded: 'the strangest telegram that ever came as sole warning to an Empire that its very foundation was attacked' (Cawasjee ed., 2005: p.160). Only pages later, as the Mutiny takes hold, Steel reveals that 'the telegraph wires had been cut' (p.172), resulting in 'a new world without posts or telegraphs, laws or order; time itself turned back hundreds of years and all power of progress vested absolutely in [...] the Great Moghul!' (p.243). This temporal disjunction, a 'new' world that is yet 'hundreds of years' in the past, disrupts the progress of Western development, adhering to what Dipesh Chakrabarty has identified as the 'homogenising narrative of transition from a medieval period to modernity' with its repeated characterisation of the Indian as 'a figure of lack' (2008: p.32). As Anthony King documents, the ideological formulation that "'modernisation'" was necessarily "'Westernisation'" became a synonymy that intensified inequalities into the post-colonial era (1976: pp.34-40).

Despite the novel's perpetuation of ideological hierarchies around these various infrastructural developments, the failure of these communication technologies at the novel's midway point results in the narrative's concession that

to all intents and purposes, the English were annihilated, during that short month of peace between the 11th of May and the 8th of June 1857; for Delhi knew nothing of the vain striving, the ceaseless efforts of the master to find tents and carriages, horses, ammunition, medicine, everything save, thank Heaven once more! courage, and the determination to be master still. (Cawasjee ed., 2005: p.244)

In this passage, Steel's narrative admits the fragility of the imperial project before beginning once again to restore, like the military reassembly it describes, a confidence in the ideological superiority of the English 'master'. This tension, 'a conflict at the level of ideology', cannot, as Macherey would argue, 'be isolated from the movement at the economic level: not because it is a different conflict, a different form of the conflict, but because it is the conflict of this conflict' (1986: p.93). The contradiction embedded in the minutiae of the text highlights the 'fictive' and 'imagined' nature of the 'order' that, at the time of its publication in 1896, the G.O.I. had been attempting to reinstate via the web of infrastructures with which it had criss-crossed the subcontinent. Within the discourse of the 'Mutiny', Steel's narrative can be understood as a 'socially symbolic act', providing an apparent 'comprehensiveness' in its climactic ideological victory, whilst remaining unable to reduce the text in its entirety 'to static or idealised elements' (Jameson, 2002: p.5; Roberts, 2000: p.81). Steel's syntactical struggle to move from the annihilation of the English to their reassumption of a position of dominance is signified by the panic of the exclamation mark's odd positioning, occurring prematurely before the end of the sentence. Following Jameson's description of 'narrative as a socially symbolic act', this 'wrenching use' of punctuation suggests

anxieties that are ‘buried’ within its infrastructural determinants. The shifting socioeconomic realities and political tensions that haunted post-Rebellion India in the latter half of the nineteenth century warp the narrative at this close textual level, just as these ideological fault lines in turn feed back into, and disrupt, the narrative’s political and economic foundations. As Johnson comments of the novel more broadly, *On the Face of the Waters* ‘shows how memory of the Mutiny is double-edged: it provides both the traumatic origin for the consolidation of Imperial power, but also the origin of national identity that will lead to the overthrow of that power’ (1998: p.512).

Pursuing Steel’s textual reference to the telegraph, the move from the communication network’s trivial misuse to its sabotage and subsequent ineffectiveness begins now, from this central moment onwards, increasingly to enable and enact the reclamation and consolidation of British supremacy. This reflects, in condensed narrative and historical time, the telegraphic expansions that were constructed by the GOI in post-Rebellion India: some 17,500 miles by 1865, a huge 52,900 miles by the end of the century, and an intercontinental telegraph directly linking India to Britain completed in 1866 (Arnold, 2000: p.113; Latham, 1978: p.32). As the ‘unchecked conflagration of mutiny’ spreads ‘swiftly’ through Steel’s novel, ‘men elsewhere telegraphed the same question’: a call for a siege of Delhi, the final military move towards which the narrative leans (Cowasjee ed., 2005: p.263). The multiplicity and speed of the communication of this demand causes ‘the General, finally’ to give ‘a grudging assent’: in a final electric surge before this last extended military engagement, ‘the telegrams, the letters—almost the orders’ come ‘pouring in to take Delhi—to take it at once!’ (p.276). Returning again to the novel’s climactic scene, the General’s ‘laconic report’ (p.367), though not specifically a telegraph, a message that will most likely become one (it is short enough),

functions as a textual moment that isolates and condenses the imperial victory. It produces a 'fictive resolution' that, echoing the succinct symbolic and ideological power of the 'English Flag', writes an 'imagined order' across the acts of disorderly rebellion documented by the novel, apparently consolidating British authority and imperial domination. The technological networks of the telegraph that run through Steel's narrative undercut and control the spreading sites of resistance, enabling the production of a novel that, despite the 'gaps' and 'silences' that can be retrospectively understood to convey 'a conflict and contradiction of meanings' (Eagleton, 2002: p.32), was not deemed in need of further censorship by the G.O.I. when it appeared in 1896.

Steel's novel finishes with an appendix consisting of copies of a Governmental Report on the Mutiny written by 'A. Dashe, *Coll. and Magte*', who appears briefly as a fictional character earlier in the plot, and which operates as a sort of metafictional addendum to the novel's closing scene. The date, recipient and signature's allusion to Dashe's high governmental positions suggest an official document that draws attention to the fictionality of the preceding novel. Though consistent with Steel's self-professed attempt to root her novel in 'historical facts', the inclusion of this appendix counteracts her claim in the opening author's note that she 'has not allowed fiction to interfere with fact in the slightest degree' (Cawasjee ed., 2005: p.9). By drawing attention to the 'imagined' nature of the sequential (if not selective) ordering that the novel has produced, this final document highlights the ideological work embedded within the very construction of its narrative. Steel requires an 'original' document to draw her account of the 'Mutiny' to an 'official' close, one that decisively consolidates the text's overarching ideological goals: the establishment of what Francis Hutchins calls 'the illusion of permanence' needed at a time when, 'at the turn of the [twentieth] century

[...] the Empire itself was becoming no longer viable' (1967: p.196). Dashe's narrative follows on directly from, and decisively ends, Steel's own, as he claims that after the 'fall of Delhi', the 'mutinous fugitives [...] literally melted away, and the public mind seemed to become aware that the contest was over, and that the struggle to subvert British rule had ignominiously failed' (Cawasjee ed., 2005: pp.385-6).

The recourse to the direct quotation of Governmental Reports doubtless grows out of Steel's own autobiographical experience of British rule in post-Rebellion India, where she lived from 1867 to 1889 as the wife of a Civil Servant, Henry William Steel, and during which she herself wrote a number of Governmental Reports. As Rebecca Sutcliffe argues, 'Steel's reputation was built largely on her experiences as one of the first female officials of the British Government' in India, as she contributed to the massive increase in written documentation that, collected and reprinted in Foreign Office or Colonial Office Blue Books 'depending on the formality of the contact', worked to 'tighten the centre's control over what happened in the periphery by constructing systematic, regularised ways of communicating activity' (Sutcliffe, 1998: pp.157-9). This surge in the production of bureaucratic documentation was combined with massive infrastructural expansions: the telegraph, already noted above; the railway, which, as shall become evident in a discussion of her short stories, becomes a key symbolic and physical structure for Steel; and a vast web of legal, administrative and economic systems, the incompatibility of which, though touched upon in *On the Face of the Waters*, come under greater scrutiny in Steel's shorter fiction.

In *The Rise and Expansion of the British Dominion in India* (1907), historian Alfred Lyall encapsulated the ideological significance that the 'Indian Mutiny of 1857' played

for the justification of British rule and the infrastructural development that sustained it. 'In suppressing the wild fanatic outbreak of 1857', he wrote, the 'supremacy' of the G.O.I. 'now stands uncontested' (1907: pp.323-4):

The sepoy-mutiny of 1857 was reactionary in its causes and revolutionary in its effects; it shook for a moment the empire's foundations, but it cleared the area for reconstruction and improvement. [...] With the complete pacification of the country came leisure for organisation, for placing the executive authority of the various local governments on a definite footing, and substituting laws properly framed for unmethodical procedure and discretionary ordinances. (pp.368-9)

Despite his pro-imperial agendas, Lyall is correct in that, as Ira Klein has since documented, 'Western dominion in late nineteenth-century India was perhaps never more actively, optimistically involved in India's improvement than in the decade following the Mutiny' (2000: p.566). During this period, the government 'constructed and commissioned' railways, roads and canals, and distributed 'small loans to agriculturalists' and 'funds for the upkeep of irrigation' (p.566). These infrastructural developments, as Klein and others have argued, were part of a conscious effort 'to implement the Free Trade idea of development through increased agricultural production and international commerce' (p.566; see also Davis, 2010: p.31; and Singh, 1996: pp.22-3). Karl Marx, writing in the late 1850s half a century before Lyall, had already seen through the ideological structures of the 'Mutiny' that had arisen in response to the Rebellion, as well as diagnosing the role that the developments in infrastructure would play in the consolidation of imperial power and the facilitation of economic exploitation. 'Political "unity", imposed by the British sword', Marx wrote, would 'now be strengthened and perpetuated by the electric telegraph': the 'day is not far distant when, by a combination of railways and steam vessels,' the travel and communication time between England and India would be drastically reduced so that

‘that once fabulous country will thus be annexed to the Western World’ (Marx, 2006: p. 47). As Brantlinger notes in his discussion of Marx’s early reactions to the Rebellion of 1857:

[Marx] emphasised economic exploitation and interpreted the Mutiny as at least foreshadowing a full-scale nationalist revolution. But he also rightly predicted that the British would crush the rebellion and assume a more repressive dominion afterward. (1988: p.202)

Though Marx ‘never rejected the idea that colonialism was essential for bringing capitalism to Asia’, after the events of 1857 he began, argues Pranav Jani, ‘to see colonised Indians as agents in their own history, who, as in the classic model of the bourgeois-proletarian relation, needed to struggle *against* the colonisers to win their liberation’ (Bartolovich and Lazarus eds., 2004: p.83). If he shared Lyall’s view about the ‘progressive role of colonialism’ he did so only in the sense that he also saw the ‘progressive role of capitalism’: as Ahmad comments, any attempt ‘to portray Marx as an enthusiast of colonialism would logically have to portray him as an admirer of capitalism as well’ (2008: p.225-6). Turning back to Steel, it is crucial to recognise her readiness to criticise, as seen in the opening pages of her ‘Mutiny’ novel, the exploitative economics of imperialism identified by Marx and to acknowledge the anti-imperial resistance that such forcible assimilation into the world-system would necessarily provoke. However, this is complicated by her adamant refusal to relinquish a general ideological affiliation to the supremacy of the imperial government. By unearthing this conflict within Steel’s literary writings it becomes possible, drawing on Jameson, to understand how their inconsistencies and anxieties reflect the broader socioeconomic agendas—or the infrastructures *of* her texts—that pervaded British India in the latter half of the nineteenth century. By levering open the ideological fissure

between notions of humanitarian infrastructural work and the socioeconomic realities of an expanding world-system, a gap, or space can be cleared within the text so that the moments of anti-imperial resistance scattered throughout Steel's narratives can be heard.

Despite the justification of 'reconstruction and improvement' cited by Lyall for these expansions of imperial infrastructure, the prospect of a profitable international economy underlay their construction. The Peninsular & Oriental Steam Navigation Company (P&O), it was observed, would make 'enormous savings' if, instead of 'stripping bunker coal from British coalfields', the infrastructure could be developed that would allow it to 'tap into Indian coalfields' (Wilding and West, 2009: p.2). The first railway lines laid in India facilitated these processes, reflecting the Raj's 'need to provide transport for her exports': the very first line of just 21 miles opened in 1853 and linked the cotton fields of the Deccan to the port of Bombay, whilst the second linked Calcutta to the coalfields in the northwest (Latham, 1978: p.17). As has been noted, the telegraph was equally conducive to the development of global economic transactions, allowing the easy transmission of prices, orders and market information. Economic incentives and capitalist lobbies drove early railway expansion, whilst historical circumstances also intensified capital accumulation in India: the failure of the American cotton crop in 1846 forced British cotton mill owners to look elsewhere for a 'new source of raw material' and the American Civil War ensured that these lobbies intensified throughout the 1860s (Harnetty, 1972: pp.46-7).

Citing 'our Empire in India' as a 'crucial example', Hobson argued in the 1938 preface to his *Imperialism: A Study* that though a belief that 'trade follows the flag' underpinned

late nineteenth-century imperial ideologies, in fact ‘economic motives of trade and the exploitation of natural resources have been the dominant urges’, with the expansion of colonial territories actually following the ‘expanding importance of trade’ (1988: pp. 47-8). A memorandum drawn up in 1862 by the Manchester Chamber of Commerce argued that government subsidisation of transport links within India, such as roads, canals and railways would not only ‘ensure new supplies from India’, but would be of advantage to the subcontinent as a beneficial system of public works, ‘whether or not they were remunerative of separate enterprises’ (Harnetty, 1972: p.49). This historical document bears an ideological sentiment strikingly similar to Steel’s character Gissing, of whom her literary writing is deeply critical.

Sutcliffe draws attention to the multiple agendas of these infrastructural expansions in her analysis of the Governmental Reports that accompanied them: ‘someone writing a report on the building of a canal through hostile territory could be said to be practising military, technical, diplomatic, or business writing’ (1998: p.158). Steel’s own reports, first published as an appendix to the report of the Director of Public Instruction as part of the June 1884 volume of *Proceedings of the Government of the Punjab*, exhibit a similarly ambiguous writing style. They move not between ‘military’ or ‘business’ writing, but rather between a ‘rigid systematisation of record-keeping’ and what Sutcliffe describes as ‘figurative, inflammatory language, creating an emotional tone of outrage’ (1998: pp.163, 167). Though Sutcliffe argues that this ‘language reduces the effectiveness of Steel’s call for accuracy and objectivity’ within her Governmental Reports, the transposition of her knowledge and experience into her short fiction, the first of which was also published in 1884, enables her to put together momentary, and on occasion sustained, literary critiques of an exploitative international economy and

violent imperialism. Through this combination of prose form and her more polemic, ‘direct comments’, there is embedded within her narratives an implicit register of anti-imperial resistance and, on occasion, an anticipation of more coherent nationalist movements.

The Silences of Steel’s Short Fiction

The title of Steel’s story, ‘In the Permanent Way’ (1897), puns on a dual meaning. It enunciates an infrastructural security or ‘permanence’, whilst also evoking the ‘permanent’ presence of Indian resistance to the imperial enterprise. The phrase is reiterated throughout the narrative, with increasingly severe consequences, by the ‘overseer’ of the construction party that is laying the railway: ‘Craddock, a big yellow-headed Saxon’ (Steel, 1971: p.146). Ian Kerr has documented in detail the processes involved in ‘the formation of the line’, beginning with the mapping and planning of the route, the ‘ballasting and laying of the permanent way’, and the subsequent expansion of signalling devices, telegraphs, water towers and roads that were constructed around the arterial route (1995: p.130). These networks were accompanied by an ‘emerging web of capitalist relations’ for the construction processes increasingly involved, as the nineteenth century progressed, ‘the more intensive intrusion of the practices of capitalism, with tight contracts, specifications, expectations of performance and notions of legally enforceable responsibilities’ (pp.67-8). The physical demarcations of infrastructural routes, invested with and introducing both an economic and symbolic ‘coreness’, suture colonial space into the global world-system. Through this relationality these spaces become peripheral zones as capitalist socioeconomic relations expand into them, those terms—‘coreness-peripherality’—coming ‘in fact to reflect the

geographical structure of the economic flows' (Wallerstein, 2011: pp.31-2). These threads of the webbed, or networked world-system, manifested historically in these physical infrastructural routes, can be seen, when traced through Steel's short stories, to map a similar geography comprised of core-periphery relations on a cultural terrain.

Kerr has estimated that somewhere 'between 126 and 155 [Indian] workers were employed per construction mile' from the period 1850 to 1900, predominantly for unskilled jobs such as digging and moving earth and rock for the permanent way. Although 'most of the manual work was done by Indians', however, the overwhelming majority of skilled positions were given to the British (1995: p.42)—indeed, as Kerr notes elsewhere, the 'Indianisation of employment on the railways' became 'a major goal of Indian nationalists' in the 1920s (2003: p.308). In a reluctant assertion, and with an acknowledgement of the work undertaken by *Subaltern Studies*, Kerr concedes that the '[n]ineteenth-century construction workers will always be mute: people spoken of, who left no first-hand accounts of their own' (1995: p.14). Perhaps unsurprisingly, the silence of these workers is largely reiterated throughout Steel's short story. This is not to say that there are no recorded moments of resistance to railway construction: strikes and violence were often catalysed by 'subtle and pervasive' oppression and 'exploitation' that was a 'feature of the wage relationship', irresponsible employers, and unreliable hiring based on short-term contracts and a disposable workforce (p.168). For example, the Santhal uprising of 1856 that took place just one year before the Indian Mutiny was in part a retaliation against the 'bullying' of Santhal labourers and the 'disgracing' of Santhal women by 'European railway builders in the Rajmahal hills'—the uprising was 'brutally suppressed' by the British military 'as the death toll of some 20,000 Santhals attested' (p.35). However, the Indian character at the heart of Steel's 'In the Permanent

Way', whilst inhabiting the peripheral space into which the railroad infiltrates, exhibits a form of resistance markedly different from the violent outbursts of the labouring classes assimilated into the lowest rungs of the capitalist economy. Rather, he passively, though adamantly, refuses to be assimilated into an infrastructural and socioeconomic network that is in turn explicitly portrayed as a cross-national project, one emblematic of the global relations of the world-system.

Steel's fictional narrator 'heard this story in a rail-trolley on the Pind-Dadur line, so I always think of it with a running accompaniment, a rhythmic whirl of wheels' (1971: p. 142). Travelling along the 'permanent way', 'you could almost fancy yourself sitting on a stationary engine, engaged in winding up an endless ribbon' (p.142.), as the expansion of the infrastructural route appears literally to feed what Luxemburg would call capitalism's 'metabolism'—the processes of accumulation that 'corrodes and assimilates' (2003: p.397). The narrative marks the expansive rhythm of capital accumulation with the 'wheels that spin like bobbins', introducing an extended metaphor also employed by Kipling in his poems 'The Exile's Line' (1890) and 'The Song of the English' (1893). In these verses, Kipling conceptualises the British Empire's networks of shipping lines as a vast 'web' spanning the face of the globe, the ships that transport goods between colony and metropole flying back and forth like 'shuttles' on a 'loom' (Kipling, 2006: pp.129-131). As Boehmer observes of Kipling's later poem, 'Britain had built for itself an industrial loom spanning the globe, in which the shuttles flying to and fro were the ships of the British merchant marine' (1995: p.37). This metaphor alludes to the movement of cotton manufacturers between Britain and India, a process of extracting raw materials from India for Manchester and Lancashire cotton mills whose manufactures were then resold for profit back to the subcontinent, one of

the most obvious mechanisms of economic exploitation in British India (see Harnetty, 1972: pp.58, 124; and Latham, 1978: p.77). As Davis points out, ‘in the age of Kipling, that “glorious imperial half century” from 1872 to 1921, the life expectancy of ordinary Indians fell by a staggering 20 percent’—‘[w]here were the fruits of modernisation, of the thousands of miles of railroad track and canal?’ (2010: p.312).

The central Indian character of Steel’s ‘In the Permanent Way’ anticipates the methods of non-violent resistance, or *satyagraha*, outlined and employed by Gandhi, in a direct obstruction of the railway under construction (see Gandhi, 2007: pp.291-2). Gandhi combined these methods of *satyagraha* with other non-violent forms of resistance, specifically that of ‘Khadi’, which promoted the Indian production of its own cotton manufactures so as to undermine the economic profitability of British imperial policy (p.168). Steel’s Indian character embodies a religious simplicity that prefigures Gandhi’s own self-constructed nationalist identity:

It was a man. For further description I should say it was a thin man. There is nothing more to be said. [...] The only thing I know for *certain* is that he was thin. The *khalassies* said he was some kind of a Hindu saint, and they fell at his feet promptly. (Steel, 1971: p.144)

This ambiguous figure, who retains this sense of symbolic anonymity throughout the story—he is described simply as a ‘bronze image’—meditates peacefully on a patch of land that lies directly in the path of the permanent way. He does not respond to the imperial attempt to ‘annex the only atom of things earthly to which he still clung’, nor does he retaliate when Craddock ‘just lifted him right up, gently, as if he had been a child, and set him down about four feet to the left’ (pp.146-7). However, despite portraying him as a passive ‘child’, Craddock finds that the ‘next day he was in the old

place', and though never retaliating violently, the Indian figure repeatedly returns to his inconveniencing position. 'It was no use arguing with him', so the construction team simply resort to moving 'him out of the way when we wanted' (p.147). Within this narrative context, Steel's title, 'In the Permanent Way', becomes invested with dual meaning, signifying both infrastructural expansion but also an obstruction of it, or resistance to it. Taken at face value, this is a reiteration of a structural line that 'permanently' marks the colonial landscape and, in that adverb, contributes to the Raj's 'illusion of permanence' (Hutchins, 1967). However, the 'bronze image' is himself 'permanently' in the 'way' of this construction process, 'the narrowing red ribbon' of the infrastructural route 'barred by that bronze image' (p.149). As Craddock repeatedly puns, reiterating the title throughout the text: 'Look here, sonny, [...] you're in the way—in the permanent way' (p.147).

Though this textual conflict might retrospectively be understood as an anticipation of Gandhian *satyagraha*, methods of non-violent resistance were already commonplace in post-1857 India, as Sumit Sarkar has documented. In Bengal, for example, peasants had deployed these methods during the great indigo struggle of 1859-60, the Pabna rent strike of 1873, and Bholantha Chandra's call for "non-consumption" of foreign goods' was 'followed by a boycott pledge taken by some Dacca youths in 1876' (Sarkar, 1985: p.50). The 'buried', 'unconscious anxiety' about anti-imperial and, in light of these historical examples, antisystemic resistance, can be excavated out of the contours of Steel's plot structure and levered out of 'the very letter of the work' (Macherey, 1986: p. 155). Like the construction of the railway her story documents, the narrative's propagation of imperial ideology is 'unmade even in its making' (p.155).

Steel's story takes on a grim physical reality at its climax, a violence that builds through layers of imagery that cumulate and overlay one another as the narrative progresses:

The whistle rang shrill over the desert of sand, which lay empty of all save that streak of red with the dark stain upon it; but the stain never moved, never stirred, though the snorting demon from the west came racing up to it at full speed. (1971: p.151)

The 'streak of red' and the 'dark stain' conjure up images of blood, in sharp contrast to the previously clean, 'tinsel edge' of the 'steel railway', thereby drawing attention to what Anupama Rao and Steven Pierce would call the 'corporeality' of the colonised subject. As they write, it was this 'temporal coexistence of corporeal and disciplinary modes' that 'fuelled humanitarian criticism of colonial corporeal technologies' (2006: p. 17). In this passage, 'the west' and its infrastructural invasion of the Indian landscape is literally demonised. The dangers of the permanent way are compounded in the final moments of the story when the train kills not only the 'bronze image', but also Craddock, as the construction worker attempts to save the life of Steel's persistently resistant Indian character. Returning to Roy's more general observation of Steel's short stories, 'the contradictions and inadequacies in the Imperial reform projects and the assumptions of benevolent impact that underwrote them' are here brought sharply 'into focus' (Roy, 2010: p.55).

'In the Permanent Way' offers one further insight into the nuances of imperial ideology and its response to the expansion of infrastructure. Steel's fictional narrator concludes:

When a whole train goes over two men who are locked in each other's arms it is hard—hard to tell—well, which is *Shivers-Martha Davy*, and which is *Wishnyou Lucksmi*. It was right out in the desert in the hot weather, no parsons or people to object; so I buried them there in the permanent way. (1971: p.158)

The story gives literal shape to the way in which infrastructural expansion, itself justified by the 'humanitarian' ethos of a supposedly 'palliative' imperialism, in fact produces a vivid and corporeal violence. Pierce and Rao describe this as a 'troubled dialectic between violation and protection, between governance and atrocity' (2006: p. 3). In an effort to craft a 'fictive resolution' to this conflict, both coloniser and colonised are 'locked' together and destroyed, quite literally 'buried' within, and by, the text. Nevertheless, the monument constructed to mark the place of their death, like the story that commemorates them, remains, pointing to the 'absence' where the inconsistencies of the 'ideology can be most positively felt' (Eagleton, 2002: p.32). Gesturing to the monument in the story's final paragraphs, the narrator's companion claims, 'You see it does for both of them' (Steel, 1971: p.159). Whilst apparently narrating, meta-textually, its own efforts to repress this conflict in its ideology, it further acknowledges its inability to do so as the narrator concludes in the story's final sentence: 'The jar of the points prevented me from replying' (p.159).

Craddock, the colonial hero of 'In the Permanent Way', is resuscitated and brought into another story that revolves around a railway, whilst the passively resistant figure is left 'buried' within the text. 'A Danger Signal' (1897) is, however, told directly from the perspective of two Indians (Steel, 1971: p.160). This perspectival shift reduces the 'funny white people'—Anglo-Indians—to 'stuffed dolls', and 'old Dhunnu and his granddaughter', Dhunni, are empowered by the colonial regime through the redeployment of what has already been identified as a significant symbol in Steel's

writing: the ‘flag’, ‘green’ for ‘line clear’, ‘red’ for the ‘Danger Signal’ of the story’s title (p.164). Located at ‘level crossing number 57’, an infrastructural intersection where the road is ‘not visible to the passing eye’ (p.160), Dhunnu and Dhunni have the power to halt ‘the great caterpillar with red and green eyes’ (p.162). The locomotive becomes a metonym for ‘the passing of civilisation’ (p.165), as the story takes up the symbolic currency of Steel’s other writings to identify the infrastructural line with the expansive motions of the world-system. In contrast to the train that speeds past them, Dhunni and Dhunnu are described as ‘two motionless figures’ (p.160), signifying a peripheral zone that is static in relation to the dynamics of global capitalism but that is still invested with the capacity to interrupt its accumulative progress.

However, Dhunnu refuses to allow his granddaughter to act on this implicitly political power with a metaphor that further indicates the narrative’s allegorical work: ‘that will never be,’ he tells her, ‘since east and west is there no cause sufficient to check progress; and as *that* is by order the green flag, so the green flag it will be’ (p.162). As the metonymic weight of the train as a signifier of Western infrastructural and economic development accumulates, the conflict between Dhunnu’s refusal and Dhunni’s desire to intervene—to resist giving “‘line clear”, as it were, to a whole world, of which she knew nothing’ (p.164)—is located within their generation gap. Across the three generations that cover the time frame within which her story is set (c.1860 to 1890), Steel’s narrative gestures, albeit sub-textually, towards the evolution of an anti-imperial agency—historically crystallised, as shall be shown in greater detail in Chapter Four, in emerging nationalist movements. It is when Dhunnu is on one occasion absent that Dhunni begins to question the infrastructural line and, finally, asserts an agency that quite literally stops the steam engine’s progress in its tracks.

She was on her feet in an instant, listening, waiting. Ah! this was new, certainly. This she had never seen before. An engine with a single carriage coming full speed out of the golden West. Was she to give 'line clear' to this? or— (pp.168-9)

Operating at the metonymic level that the story itself has implied, Dhunni's 'listening, waiting', gives shape to an anti-imperial agency, silent but present within the narrative's ideological scaffolding. In the textual moment that Dhunni actually intervenes in the train's progress, which is here once again framed as synonymous with the 'golden West', Steel's narrative breaks down into a hyphenated silence. The borders of the ideological material out of which Steel carves her narrative can be mapped at this close formal level, as the text 'resorts to an eloquent silence' (Macherey, 1986: p.79). By intervening in Steel's story with this critical reading, it becomes possible, as outlined in the introduction, to 'deliver the text from its own silences by coaxing it into giving up its true, latent or hidden meaning' (Bennett, 2003: p.86). This silence gestures towards what Macherey calls 'the inscription of an *otherness* in the work' (1986: p.79) that when historicised can be configured, I argue, as the ongoing anti-imperial resistance to the Raj's exploitative economic enterprise.

There is a further dimension to Steel's story that emerges in its plot structure, one that complicates a simple dualistic opposition between coloniser and colonised, or socioeconomic one between core and periphery, instead highlighting the extent to which they are intimately involved with one another. Ironically, Dhunni's spontaneous decision to raise the 'scarlet veil' actually prevents the destruction of the train by the 'narrowest escape' (p.173).

no one had thought it could possibly be done—that the warning could possibly be given in time. It was the veriest piece of luck. Briefly, just after the mail had passed, a big culvert had given not two miles farther down the line. They had telegraphed both ways of course, though, as no train was due for hours, there was plenty of time for repairs. Then had come the return wire, telling of the boy's start to overtake the mail on urgent business. Everyone had said it was too late; and, after all, it had been a matter of five minutes or less. The veriest luck indeed! If they had been five minutes earlier...! (p.174)

After the failure of two forms of infrastructure, both the railway and the telegraph, Dhunni's action actually prevents a train crash by undercutting these infrastructural networks, intervening in the temporal and physical space they have left unregulated. But her intervention goes largely unrecognised, the avoidance of catastrophe ascribed instead to the 'veriest luck'. The more hesitant disintegration of this paragraph—an ellipses rather than a hyphen—again suggests an ideological fragmentation, or fault line, beyond which resides an assertion of Indian agency. In the story's final sentences, the narrative once again stumbles, at this close syntactical level, as it attempts, and fails, to resolve anxieties around infrastructural failure and imminent anti-imperialist resistance. Dhunni stands 'gazing after the red and green lights with a dazed look on her face. The danger signal had come into her life—the train had stopped, and then—and—?' (p.176). Unable to contemplate an alternative to the world-system allegorised by the train—the infrastructures *of* the text manifesting as the infrastructure *in* the text—the narrative falters, stutters, and falls, once again, into silence.

In his book-length analysis of what he describes as the indirect 'murder' of millions of Indians by the 'sacred' *laissez-faire* 'principles of Smith, Bentham and Mill' in British India, Davis gives rich historical texture to these underlying inconsistencies, anxieties and hypocrisies. In so doing, he sheds light on the damaging effects and violent ramifications of 'palliative imperialism' (Davis, 2010: p.9; Mukherjee, 2013: p.18).

Reflecting on his own retrospective condemnation of these policies and their consequences, Davis asks:

how do we weigh smug claims about the life-saving benefits of steam transportation and modern grain markets when so many millions, especially in British India, died alongside railroad tracks or on the steps of grain depots? (2010: p.9)

Davis' impassioned language is symptomatic of his explicit acknowledgement of his political responsibilities as a critic and historian of empire. This chapter shows that an infrastructural reading of Steel's short fiction allows a clearer delineation of the ideological complexities born out of the fraught historical circumstances described by Davis, and of which he is so vocal in his condemnation. The combination of her fragmented narrative form and the more direct criticisms that her stories articulate gesture towards the socioeconomic realities of a violent colonial system, functioning, I argue, as a political critique of the imperial government's complicity with the expansion of the capitalist world-system. Her story, 'Surâbhi, A Famine Tale' (1903), identifies the incompatibilities of pre-existing Indian cultural and economic systems with imposed imperial ones, whilst simultaneously condemning 'the official neglect' that limited the potentially beneficial impact of infrastructures such as the 'British railroad and canal construction', 'local irrigation' and famine relief (Davis, 2010: p.290). This acknowledgment of acts of 'atrocities' by a government priding itself on its 'protection' of its subject peoples produces a 'troubled dialectic', the tension between which manifests yet again as a final, evocative narrative 'silence' (Pierce and Rao eds., 2006: p.3; Steel, 1971: p.46).

The dilemma at the heart of 'Surâbhi' is the G.O.I.'s infrastructural policy that 'when cattle starve it is not a famine' (Steel, 1971: p.27), with the result that its protagonist, Gopâl Das, not only falls outside of imperialism's networks of humanitarian relief, but his suffering is actually exacerbated by them. Das's only 'cow' was 'all things, wife and child, earth and heaven' to him (p.23), and he therefore feeds the animal his ration of 'famine bread' rather than eating it himself. Furthermore, the system in place requires him to contribute the cow's milk back to the centralised relief effort, rather than allowing him to drink it himself. He therefore becomes 'appreciably more lank, more skeleton-like' (p.28) until, 'like any child', he falls 'forward insensible with outstretched, petitioning hands' (p.35).

[The] last calf had long since become an ox, and drifted away from the village to fill a gap in the great company of ploughers and martyrs who give the coffer of the Empire all its gold and die in thousands—long before famine touches humanity—without a penny piece from that coffer being spent to save them from starvation. (p.26)

This surprisingly severe critique of a capitalised 'Empire'—signifying not just money-lenders such as Gissing, but the cross-border cultural and economic world-empire as a whole—informs the story's overtly political, if not anti-imperial, context. As Roy argues, Steel here draws 'attention to the confused aspirations and frustrated desires, despair and even death that the poorly visualised, inefficiently administered reform projects cause' (2010: pp.40-1). However, the description of Gopâl as 'only a baby himself' indicates that the story's ideological scaffolding is not entirely subverted, but is rather stretched to accommodate its critique. Whilst, as Mukherjee notes, the story 'alert[s] us to the unease [...] about the oppressive nature of imperial benevolence' (2013: p.193), Steel is unable to acknowledge that it is the presence of the 'foreign

ruler' that is, in the end, the 'enemy' of the peasant (Patwardhan, 1963: p.144). This inability to consider a broader structural overthrow is generally representative of her autobiographical thought. As late as 1929, when ideas of Indian nationalism and independence were circulating widely (to be addressed at greater length in Chapter Four), she writes:

there is no Eastern language which contains the equivalent of 'national'. *Swaraj*, of which we have so much nowadays, is simply 'self-government' and would apply equally well to a caste or race; but not to a nation. In fact, the national idea is foreign to the Indian. He has learnt it, doubtless, but it is alien. (Steel, 1930: p.190)

By contrasting the two extended quotations above, the first from the short story, the second from the autobiography, the contradictions of Steel's ideological framework can be thrown into relief. Despite her often astute criticisms of the imperial enterprise, the concept of an independent, post-imperial India is unintelligible to Steel. Nevertheless, on a textual level, the story reveals the presence of an '*otherness*', as the narrative's culminating sentence seeks to resolve these anxieties whilst confessing its own inability to do so: 'Then there was silence' (Steel, 1971: p.36). The text points to its own 'eloquent silence', highlighting the 'measure of difference' inscribed within its cultural map of the Raj's ideological terrain (Macherey, 1986: p.79).

Perspectival Shifts: Resisting Infra-Structural Violence

Crucial to the critical purchase of Steel's short fiction is their tendency to initiate a perspectival shift from the narrative gaze of the coloniser to that of the colonised. Though the narratives are still shaped by an implicitly hierarchical paternalistic

ideology, this shift enables Steel's short fiction to analyse the Raj's infrastructural machine from those peripheral zones that lie beyond its core networks, in both a cultural and economic sense. They begin in, and emerge from, what Lefebvre would call the 'blank or marginal spaces', the "holes in the net" that lie beyond and between the 'pathways' and 'networks' of the structured landscape (1998: p.132). This infrastructural re-shaping of the subcontinent was dramatic throughout this period: as David Arnold argues, by the end of the nineteenth century these massive developments furnished the British with 'proof of their material superiority' and drew 'almost every part of India' into the railway's 'spider web of steel' (Arnold, 2000: pp.109-10). Though justified by ideologies of palliative imperialism, these infrastructural routes facilitated capitalism's accumulation of pre-capitalist space by linking, according to Bipan Chandra, both the landscape and its peoples 'with the growing world market', setting them 'on the path of capitalist development' and slowly integrating the sub-continents 'non-European peasantries' into the 'world economy' (Srinivasan et al. eds., 2006: p. 77).

By repeatedly adopting and approaching these infrastructures from the perspective of the colonised, Steel situates her narratives within the peripheral zones of the world-system. She thereby produces literary geographies that both directly and sub-textually criticise the G.O.I.'s failings by registering the expansion of capital that, her narratives detail, the imperial 'reform' projects and 'newly constructed railroads' were complicit in facilitating (Davis, 2010: p.26). These spaces implicitly acknowledge an ongoing and forthcoming Indian resistance, a political concern that is embedded within the syntactical structure of Steel's 'socially symbolic acts' (Jameson, 2002: p.5). In a final comparative reading of two more of Steel's short stories, this chapter will conclude by

demonstrating the way in which the anti-imperial resistance registered by the ‘silences’ and ‘absences’ that cut through her attempts at ‘fictive resolution’ are, on occasion, given more explicit and direct vocalisation within their narrative content (Macherey, 1986: p.155).

The protagonists of both ‘The Great Durbar’ (1897) and ‘Harvest’ (1894) are Indian peasants—Nânuk and Jaimul respectively—and at the outset of each story, both are situated ‘beyond’ the imperial networks of technological communication, infrastructure and the cross-national circuitries of the world-system. For Nânuk, ‘fate’ has ‘decreed that in his old age the peasant farmer should have neither furrows nor water-wheel of his own. How this had come about needs a whole statute-book of Western laws to understand’ (Steel, 1971: p.352). The text suggests that its reference to ‘fate’ is an implicit metaphor for the inadequate famine relief and misplaced reforms that have dealt Nânuk out of the tools he requires to sustain himself. For Jaimul, the ‘empire’ lies ‘far from his simple imaginings; and yet he, the old peasant with his steady hand of patient control, held the reins of government over how many million square miles? That is the province of the Blue Book, and Jaimul’s blue book was the sky’ (pp.374-5). As the satirical tone of these sentences implies, Steel’s short fiction works to disrupt the ‘assumptions’ of the ‘benevolent impact’ that ‘underwrote’ the imperial reform projects by revealing the limitations and contradictions underpinning humanitarian ideology (Roy, 2010: p.55). However, what sets these stories apart from the short fiction already analysed is the active intent, or agency, of both Nânuk and Jaimul to seek out ‘justice’ from, if not directly to resist, the infrastructural and bureaucratic web of the imperial government. The stories not only critique the hypocritical contours of this ideology, but

describe an active intervention into the expanding motions of the capitalist world-system.

In his extended historical documentation of peasant resistance, David Hardiman has argued that though the continuing outbreaks did not ‘pose a direct threat to British rule between 1858 and 1914’, they did provide ‘a continual rebuttal to the claims made by colonial officials that India had become a more prosperous and stable society under the British’ (1992: pp.1-2). But despite these continuing movements, little ‘understanding or sympathy was shown for the peasants’ motives, nor analysis undertaken’ (p.2). Within the historic and economic context in which these stories are set—from around ‘the 1870s onwards’—there was, as Hardiman goes on to document, ‘a slump in agricultural prices due to the opening up of huge areas of virgin farmland’ across the British Empire in Australia and Canada and beyond it, in North and South America and Russia (p.5). Because of Britain’s refusal ‘to impose tariffs’ and thereby ‘protect small agriculturalists from the influx of cheap grain’, the expansion of ‘communication and market networks’—facilitated by the expansion of infrastructures such as the railway and telegraph—actually ‘prevented rather than encouraged the emergence of a class of peasants able to benefit from commercial agriculture’ (p.5). In its literary production of a repeated ‘analysis’ and critique of the G.O.I.’s reform policies, and in one case, an actual account of peasant violence, Steel’s short fiction configures the constant presence of resistance to the Raj’s rule.

Both Nānuk and Jaimul know ‘nothing of Statutes of Limitation or judgments of the Chief Court’ (Steel, 1971: p.378), but they nevertheless address their assertions of agency to symbolic manifestations of British imperialism. Nānuk travels, by foot, to the



Fig. 1.3 ‘The Delhi Durbar or Imperial Assembly, 1877. In pencil, pen, black ink and watercolour, heightened with bodycolour and gold, watermark “J WHATMAN” and commissioned by Arthur Hobhouse (1819-1904)’.

material and symbolic heart of the Indian empire, ‘The Great Durbar’ (pp.352-3), Steel’s fictional recreation of Lord Lytton’s Imperial Assemblage held in Delhi between December 1876 and January 1877 in order ‘to announce, enhance and glorify British authority’ (Cohn, 2009: p.662, see fig. 1.3). Anthony King has documented the extensive infrastructural development of the ‘cantonment road system and the road network’ that linked the geographical area cleared for the Imperial Assemblage with the ‘Civil Lines’ and the main city: ‘40 miles of new roads were constructed within a 25-square mile area’ along with ‘26.5 miles of broad gauge and 9 miles of narrow gauge railways’ (1976: pp.224-8). Stumbling upon these massive infrastructural manifestations, Nānuk walks past a ‘mountain of wheat cumbering the railway platforms all along the line’, a sight that provokes

wonder in his slow brain how it could be that the increased demand for wheat and its enhanced price should have gone hand-in-hand with the financial ruin of the grower.

To say sooth, however, such problems as these flitted through the old man's thought. (p.361)

Though there is little more than a glimpse of insight into the economic inequalities produced by the Raj's policies and its infrastructural development, the narrative still implies that these infrastructures facilitate the world-system's perpetuation and intensification of disparities between core and peripheral zones. The attention drawn to the slowness of Nânuk's brain, and the fact that his observation is 'half forgotten' a few sentences later, demonstrate the narrative's ideological belittlement of the colonised's sustained political consciousness whilst, lest predictably, itself articulating a critique that resists the Raj's economic policies. The year of the Imperial Assemblage, 1876, was also the first year of the Madras famine. By drawing on a number of contemporaneous and retrospective sources, Davis has estimated that during 'the great drought of 1876-79' somewhere between 6.1 and 10.3 million people died (2010: pp.6-7). He also cites an English journalist who 'later estimated that 100,000 of the Queen-Empress's subjects starved to death in Madras and Mysore in the course of Lytton's spectacular *darbar*' alone (p.28). Cohn has also drawn attention to this 'example of the callousness on the part of imperial rulers who spent large sums of public money at a time of famine' (2009: p.676), and Steel's story expresses similar concerns about the violent ramifications of imperial rule.

Nânuk works his way towards the Viceroy's dais, the central symbolic manifestation in an event 'created to express and make manifest and compelling the British construction of their authority over India' (Cohn, 2009: p.677). He finds himself:

beneath what had been the goal of all his hopes [...] the flagstaff whereon the Standard of England hung dank and heavy [...] So far so good. This was the '*Standard of Sovereignty*' no doubt [...] the guide by day and night to faithful subjects seeking justice. (Steel, 1971: p.367)

In a re-writing of the ideological symbol that runs through *On the Face of the Waters*, the satirical dryness of Steel's narrative voice finds literary embodiment in the English Flag which, no longer floating 'serenely, securely', has become 'dank and heavy'. The text's discordant parody of the ideological symbol is reinforced by the soldier who encounters Nânuk: Private Smith 'was drunk enough to be intensely patriotic', his 'little lilt' keeping time 'to the stave of "God Save our Gracious Queen"' which he was whistling horribly out of tune' (p.368). The Private's aggression towards Nânuk—'you won't drink 'er 'elth, you mutineering nigger?'—warps the adamant patriotism that pervades Steel's Mutiny novel into an explicit racism that the narrative works to condemn (p.370). This scene ends with 'the first gun of the hundred and one which are fired at daybreak on the anniversary of her Most Gracious Majesty's assumption of the title [Empress of India] boomed out across the fog' (p.371)—the capitalisation of 'Most Gracious Majesty' and the word 'assumption' again highlight the sharp, satirical undertones of Steel's prose. Importantly, however, Nânuk does 'not hear' this symbolic expression of imperial dominance. Weary with fatigue and lack of food, he 'had stumbled to his feet and fallen sideways to the ground', in a textual juxtaposition that allegorically writes the peripheral, famine-stricken areas of rural India into the very centre of the Imperial Assemblage, suggestively undermining the Raj's benevolent, protectorate and authoritative claims with the violent realities of its economic policies (p.371). Steel's story acknowledges the violent hypocrisies of the paternalistic strand of humanitarianism subsequently identified by Barnett: 'Thanks in part to a new ideology

of humanitarianism, the early British colonial state was partly built on the skeletal remains of the Indians' (2013: p.64).

In 'Harvest', Jaimul, another impoverished peasant, takes his case to the 'District Court' where 'the long, carefully-woven tissue of fraud and cunning blinded even the eyes of a justice biassed in his favour' (p.385). This description of this textual fabric—the 'records of Indian law-courts' that 'teem with such cases', the 'long array of seals' and 'the strands which formed the net' (p.386)—critiques the dense bureaucratic machinery and Governmental Reports that Steel would later condemn in her autobiography for being 'too legal, too systematised, for the ignorance with which it had to deal' (Steel, 1930: p.249). Though the autobiographical comment is again symptomatic of Steel's paternalistic ideology, the literary representation of the Indian's negotiation of the Raj's bureaucratic system throws the broader contours of the structural violence that it perpetuates into sharp relief. This is 'structural violence' as Johan Galtung would later define it, with its distinctions between personal or direct violence—where there is an actor that commits the violence—and structural or indirect violence, where there is no such actor (see Galtung, 1969: 170-1).

James Gillingham and, following him, Slavoj Žižek, develop Galtung's definition of structural violence to show how it is often woven into societal fabric so intricately that it is 'normally invisible' (Gillingham, 1996: p.192). Not only is this form of violence distinct from acts of direct or 'behavioural violence', such as homicide, but it is in fact 'the main cause of behavioural violence on a socially [...] significant scale' (p.196). For Žižek, too, visible and invisible forms of violence are socially distinct, the one being direct and obvious, the other pervasive and insidious. Though neither Galtung nor Žižek

discuss the diagnostic effects of the literary, their focus on a perspectival ‘stepping back’ from the moment of direct violence that, say, the position of a social victim such as Jaimul allows, can be compared to the work undertaken by Steel’s narrative. By adopting Jaimul’s perspective, the text performs this stepping back, allowing readers ‘to disentangle’ themselves ‘from the fascinating lure of this directly visible’ violence, ‘performed by a clearly identifiable agent’, so that the broader structural conditions, and the forms of indirect violence that give rise to it, are thrown into relief (Žižek, 2008: pp. 1-4).

In the final pages of the story, Jaimul turns to violence in his search for justice. But because the subject of Steel’s critique is the systemic inequalities perpetuated by the Raj’s economic policies, the narrative is never actually condemnatory of the peasant’s outburst of violence. Rather, it shows how Jaimul’s act of ‘behavioural violence’ is a product of those structural inequities.¹³ The scene is scattered with references to ‘[t]he land! [...] hardened by many a dry year of famine’, and the ‘good ground’, the ‘Good soil!’ (pp.388-9). By emphasising the physical terrain upon which Jaimul’s act of violent resistance—the murder of the headman, a ‘white figure on a white horse’ (p.388)—takes place, the narrative places the politics of colonial rule, understood as a set of ‘activities of domination and exploitation’ that are ‘acting in and on the material world’ (Young, 2008: p.408), centre stage. Though the ‘face’ of the British headman is ‘beaten to jelly’, described a few sentences later as ‘formless’ and ‘the horror’ (1971: p.389), Steel’s

¹³ The plot of this story is strikingly similar to Leonard Woolf’s slightly later novel, *The Village in the Jungle* (1913). In that novel, the structural violence instigated by the imperial government’s dense and unevenly developed legal systems drive a Sri Lankan peasant, Silindu, like Jaimaul, to commit an act of violence against his headman. Furthermore, and as I have written elsewhere, Woolf’s novel is narrated, like Steel’s short story, from the perspective of the colonised, thereby throwing the contours of imperialism’s structural violence into relief (see Woolf, 2008; and Davies, 2014).

perspectival shift to that of the peasant reveals the structural conditions that have induced Jaimul's violent act:

he was not sorry, or ashamed, or frightened—only dazed at the hurry of his own act. Such things had to be done sometimes when folk were unjust. They would hang him for it, of course, but he had at least made his protest, and done his deed as good men and true should do when the time came. (pp.389-90)

Furthermore, despite the constant ideological citation of the violence committed against Britons during 'The Indian Mutiny' as a justification for violent governmental retaliation—a move to which Steel herself resorts in *On the Face of the Waters*—the final paragraph of 'Harvest' draws on that ideology to intensify, rather than nullify, its critique of the exploitative nature of British imperialism in India:

The usurer's boys, it is true, forced the utmost from the land, and sent all save bare sustenance across the seas [...] Perhaps the yellow English gold which came into the country in return for the red Indian wheat more than paid for these trivial losses. Perhaps it did not. That is a question which the next Mutiny must settle. (p.392)

In this final sentence, Steel at last shifts the 'significant silences' with which this chapter has been concerned to an open acknowledgement of the inevitability of anti-imperialist resistance. Retaining the use of the term 'Mutiny', its textual positioning suggests that by invoking the 'wild tales of horror' that proved 'remarkably durable' within the British and Anglo-Indian imagination (Randall, 2003: p.5), Steel warns her readers of forthcoming violence. By ending, like 'The Great Durbar', with a provocative textual juxtaposition, the narrative compares the violence of the Mutiny with the violence of the Raj's exploitative economic and infrastructural policies. The global dynamics of these policies, emphasised here in Steel's concluding paragraph, reflect imperialism's

subservience to the infiltration of the capitalist world-system as it forces the colonised populations of the subcontinent into an increasingly economically and culturally peripheral condition. This is a socioeconomic violence enabled, as has been shown, by the infrastructural and technological developments that were themselves justified by ideologies of humanitarianism. It is this fundamental contradiction that Steel is, within her fiction, acutely aware, an ideological inconsistency that, at these close syntactical and infrastructural levels, increasingly make space for, and even on occasion justify, anti-imperial resistance.

The thesis' infrastructural approach allows it to show how these narratological configurations of anti-imperial resistance are not simply anticolonial or antigovernmental, but in fact constitute what Wallerstein and others have called 'antisystemic movements' (Arrighi et al., 2011: p.1). Because Steel is aligned, both biographically and ideologically, with the Raj's imperial governance, the 'peripheralisation processes' of the world-system—the extraction of resources, the international division of labour (Hopkins and Wallerstein, 1982: pp.98-9)—remain implicit, concealed within the frameworks of her humanitarian ideology. In the case of South Africa, British governance was historically not so concerned with humanitarian intervention. There, as the next chapter will show, infrastructures were not justified by palliative ideologies but took on a more obviously systemic role, rendering the region's mineral resources accessible and creating complex segregationist spaces in order to maintain a compliant and regular workforce. Whilst Steel anti-imperial resistance is thus rooted in her criticisms of the G.O.I. for its colonial capitalist tendencies, the fiction of Haggard, Schreiner and Plomer, all of which are set in industrialising South Africa, are more explicitly engaged with the conception of infrastructure as a symbolic demarcator

of the expansion of capitalist processes. Nevertheless, because of the historical and political context to which Steel's literature responds, and the cross-national core-periphery networks that can be traced through its production of space, the contradictions manifested in her fiction should still, I argue, be configured as interventions into and disruptions of the mechanics of the capitalist world-system as a whole.

Chapter Two: Mapping Segregation: Literary Geographies of South Africa

Introduction: Industrialisation, Urbanisation, Segregation

Industrial revolution is one thing when it is the natural movement of internal forces, making along the lines of the self-interests of a nation and proceeding *pari passu* with advancing popular self-government; another thing when it is imposed by foreign conquerors looking primarily to present gains for themselves, and neglectful of the deeper interests of the people of the country. (Hobson, 1988: p.292)

So Hobson wrote in 1902, midway through the half-century that completely transformed South Africa's socioeconomic organisation. The region's industrial revolution, sparked by the discoveries of diamonds in Kimberley in 1867 and of gold on the Witwatersrand in 1886, occurred at a furious pace, tearing apart 'the fabric of African life' so that where, prior to 1870, 'the majority of Africans in southern Africa lived in independent chiefdoms', by the 1920s South Africa was home to huge urban centres with large black populations (Karis and Gwendolen eds., 1972: p.4; Marks and Rathbone eds., 1982: pp.1, 272). Whilst in India infrastructural expansion was certainly shaped by the prospect of resource extraction (primarily from the subcontinent's coalfields), as shown in the previous chapter, the infrastructural infiltration of South Africa and its subsequent industrialisation and urbanisation were more obviously dictated by 'the imperatives of mining capital' (1982: p.12). Railway lines were not justified by humanitarian ideologies to the same extent, if at all, and were largely constructed simply to export resources, import manufactures and move labour forces to the new industrialising centres. This industrialisation was not only 'neglectful of the deeper interests of the people of the country', as Hobson observed, but was central to the assimilation 'of the colonised peoples primarily as an urban working class' via a

‘bewildering array of discriminatory laws and practices’ that kept ‘workers cheap and pliable’ (Clark and Worger, pp.8, 14-15). These manifest in colonial literature primarily, as this chapter will show, in increasingly complex infrastructural and ideological systems of segregation.

For Wallerstein, ‘racism’ is ‘a cultural pillar of historical capitalism’ (2011: p.80). It enables ‘the stratification of the work-force inside the historical system’ so as ‘to keep the oppressed groups inside the system’ rather than ‘expel them’ (p.103). As Southern Africa was sutured into the world-system, a complex geography of segregation was required to encrust the racial ‘boundaries’ that facilitated ‘the hierarchisation of the work-force and its highly unequal distributions of reward’ (p.78). Whilst facilitating capital flows in and out of the region, physical infrastructures also played a central role in maintaining these boundaries in both actual and imagined space. This reorganisation of the landscape laid the foundations for the phenomenon that would overshadow South Africa for much of the remainder of the twentieth century: apartheid (see Ferro, 1997: pp.144-5). Johannesburg, a city constructed out of the settlements that had arisen around the gold mines of the Witwatersrand, lies at the heart of these historical processes. As with New Delhi in India, to be addressed in Chapter Four, the historical sedimentations of Johannesburg’s physical and infrastructural arrangements tell the story of ‘the rise, fall and reconstruction of the segregated city’ (Nuttall and Mbembe eds., 2008: p.10). Literary representations of South African geographies, like those of India, have been both complicit with, and resistant to, the production of this deeply racialised and segregated space.

By the time of the Berlin Conference on African Affairs and ‘the Scramble for Africa’ in the 1880s, South Africa had been ‘transformed from a service station en route to India to a global centre of industrial production’ (Chrisman, 2000: pp.23-4), and literary texts such as Haggard’s *King Solomon’s Mines* (1885) brought ‘the “Dark Continent” into vibrant colour’ for the imperial imagination (Pocock, 1993: pp.62-3). However, it was not until 1910 that, as Luxemburg wrote, a ‘million white exploiters of both nations sealed their touching fraternal alliance within the Union with the civil and political disenfranchisement of five million coloured workers’ (2003: p.396). The unification of four former British colonies, rich in natural resources and exhibiting ‘enormous potential for economic development’, was, Luxemburg argued, a seminal moment in the consolidation of white power and the disenfranchisement of blacks in South Africa (see Griffiths, 1995: p.71). Reflecting on the political situation in 1896, Olive Schreiner and her husband Samuel Cronwright-Schreiner already observed that ‘the Native Question’ was in fact ‘only the Labour Question complicated by a difference of race and colour’ (1896: p.109). For Schreiner, the creation of an impoverished black proletariat in South Africa’s new urban environments by ‘the foreign Speculator, Capitalist, and Shareholding class’ was ‘the very core within the core, and the kernel within the kernel, of the South African problem’ (1923: pp.315-6). This is a preoccupation that, as this chapter will show, is made manifest by the infrastructures not only of, but also *in* her literary texts.

The systematic infrastructural regulation of a constant supply of black labour was reinforced via a number of legal measures during the years that led up to the publication of Plomer’s ‘Ula Masondo’, which appeared in his first collection of short stories, *I Speak of Africa*, in 1927, and with which this chapter’s analysis will conclude. The

Natives Land Act, passed in 1913, legalised ‘the principle of territorial segregation’ and prohibited Africans from lawfully acquiring land outside of ‘native reserves’ (Meredith, 2008: pp.522-3). As Sol Plaatje would write in his polemic condemnation of the Act, ‘the South African found himself, not actually a slave, but a pariah in the land of his birth’:

the locations form but one-eighteenth of the total area of the Union. Theoretically, then, the 4,500,000 natives may ‘buy’ land in only one-eighteenth part of the Union, leaving the remaining seventeen parts for the one million whites. (2011: pp.186-8)

The law forced black populations into the cities to work in the mines on short term contracts as they failed to feed themselves—never mind pay taxes imposed by the new government—from the small portions of land available to them. In the years immediately prior to the publication of Plomer’s short story, a string of further acts were passed that restricted the black population even further, this time specifically within the urban environment into which so many had been forced: the Native Urban Areas Act (1923), the Industrial Conciliation Act (1924), the Wages Act (1925) and the Mines and Works Amendments Act (1926). Finally, in 1927, the Native Administration Act was passed, ‘giving the Department of Native Affairs control over all matters pertaining to Africans’ and restricting them to large reserves, whilst retaining them as a labour supply for the mining districts of the cities (Clark and Worger, 2011: p.23).

In his book-length study of the architecture of occupation and segregation in Israel/Palestine, Eyal Weizman has emphasised the role of infrastructure in embodying and instituting legal apparatuses, noting the ‘almost palindromic linguistic structure of law/wall’ that, as Steel’s literary interrogations of the Raj’s railway and legal infrastructure

also showed, is indicative of ‘an interdependency that equates built and legal fabric’ (Weizman, 2012: p.210). Like Steel, the three authors addressed here are preoccupied with the complex infrastructural and legal arrangements required not only to defeat and contain anti-imperial resistance, but also to assimilate that subdued population into the industrialising centres as its fundamental economic powerhouse. In her reading of Luxemburg and her reflections on the long-term effects of the invasion of capital into South Africa, Arendt argues that ‘the permanent attraction of South Africa, the permanent resource that tempted permanent settlement, was not the gold but this human raw material’ (2005, p.258). Peripheral zones and populations had to be architecturally incorporated *into* South Africa’s core industrial spaces. But whilst the increasing complexity of these geographies of segregation become evermore central to the literature’s concerns, there also emerges an increased capacity to resist these ‘law/walls’. As Weizman writes: ‘The un-walling of the wall invariably becomes the undoing of the law’ (2012: p.210).

Mapping the region’s rich mineral resources became a central preoccupation of one literary genre in particular: the imperial romance. Its ideological agendas are written into the contours of its narrative structures, with the industrialising landscapes of settlements and cities such as Kimberley and Johannesburg conspicuous in their absence. As many critics have observed, ‘champions of [the] romance’ offered ‘imperial adventure as an antidote to the effete world of high capitalism’ (Reid, 2011: pp.152-78), producing narratives that ‘justify seizing the spoils of conquest’ (Macdonald, 1994: p. 213) and that accommodated ‘the politics of imperialism, the didacticism being implicit in the form’ (Katz, 1987: p.50). As Bill Schwarz argues, they were central in transmitting ‘stories of empire’ to the population in imperial Britain, producing a

‘strange compound of knowledge and ignorance’ that enabled the colonised—and specifically South African—landscape to serve as a ‘pure counterpoint to the decay, degradation, and dirt of domestic England’ (2011: pp.22, 79). Taking up this observation, Chapter Three’s exploration of ‘frontier consciousness’ will show through its readings of John Buchan’s novels that these processes can be mapped, in turn, onto the expansive motions of capital accumulation.

For the purposes of this chapter, however, it is necessary to begin with Rider Haggard’s imperial romance, *King Solomon’s Mines*, in order to isolate and analyse these processes in a text that, as Laura Chrisman argues, ‘established the prototype’ for this extraordinarily popular genre (Attwell and Attridge eds., 2012: p.226). She is not alone in asserting the genre-defining nature of Haggard’s text: as Norman Etherington observes, ‘*King Solomon’s Mines* [is] the first and still more widely read of the romances’ (1978: p.74), whilst Wendy Katz emphasises that the ‘most striking by-product’ of Haggard’s time in South Africa was ‘the development of romance literature’ (1987: p.4). This analysis traces the romance’s simplistic production of segregated space, arguing that it reflects and reproduces a wider currency of reductively linear infrastructural imaginings that were circulating in contemporaneous ideas about a Cape to Cairo railway. It will be shown how this infrastructure of linearity is underpinned by a central ‘contradiction’ in imperial ideology that arises in response to the processes of industrialisation and subsequent urbanisation in South Africa. This contradiction is rooted in ‘the intrinsically paradoxical nature of segregationist politics’:

The very concept of urban segregation, after all, is self-contradictory. Cities are places where many different people come together, congregate, and create great agglomerations—where geographical distances between people are diminished, not increased. For whites who dominate multiracial cities, this contradiction often translates into a real political dilemma. (Nightingale, 2012: p.10).

As Alan Lester observes, this ‘contradiction’ was ‘central to South Africa’s subsequent social, economic and political development’, hinging on a tension ‘between large-scale African labour requirements, inclining social structures towards racial integration, and ideologies and administrative systems of spatial separation’ (1998: p.55).

This contradiction produces a series of more complex geographical imaginations that are complicit with the foundation of an infrastructure of discrimination, separation and segregation—‘the practical application’ of these ‘spatial forms [...] provided the structures which the apartheid ideologues would seek to consolidate’ (Lester, 1998: p. 83). These begin to surface in some critically under-read segments of Schreiner’s fictional and non-fictional writings as she begins to focus on South Africa’s industrialising and urbanising centres. Turning to the only novel that Schreiner published during her lifetime, *The Story of an African Farm* (1883), the chapter explores the way in which it shifts the perspectival and geographical focus of the imperial romance so as to originate in, and emerge from, a peripheral zone within the capitalist world-system. This spatial orientation allows Schreiner’s novel to produce a subversive meta-narrative that deconstructs, if not actually resists, the imperial narrative of the romance.

The chapter concludes with William Plomer’s short story, ‘Ula Masondo’, which not only continues Schreiner’s ideological work by laying the thematic and formal

groundwork for a radical turn to the production of South Africa's urban space, but does so through its engagement with, and illumination of, the implicit politics of the romance genre. It is for this reason that I draw on James C. Scott's terminologies of 'hidden' and 'public transcripts'—the former used 'to characterise a discourse that takes place "offstage", beyond direct observation by powerholders', the latter as 'a shorthand way of describing the open interaction between subordinates and those who dominate' (1990: pp.2-5). The expansion of the world-system through the accumulation of natural resources and the assimilation of colonised populations into the cross-national labour force are inscribed into what Scott would call the 'infrapolitics' of the imperial romance, an 'unobtrusive realm of political struggle' that is 'beyond the visible end of the spectrum' (p.183).

By focusing on the infrastructures that give shape to the romance's literary geography *in* the text, the extent to which these infrapolitical structures inform 'the cultural and structural underpinning of the more visible political action' that occurs in the work of Schreiner and Plomer can be demonstrated (p.183). The sorts of resistance embedded within and initiated by the texts of these latter two writers is by no means direct, complete or unproblematic, and these complexities will be explored. However, they gain much of their political gravity through their inter-textual, if not inter-geographical and inter-infrastructural relationship with the romance, because they throw the 'discrepancy *between* the hidden transcript and the public transcript' into relief. This spatial dislocation works to make visible the romance's ideological limits with the result that, as Scott writes, 'we may begin to judge the impact of domination on public discourse' (p.5). Indeed, Plomer's radical re-writing of the romance might be considered

a ‘public declaration of the hidden transcript’, the ‘mobilising capacity’ of which, Scott argues, ‘as a symbolic act is potentially awesome’ (p.227).

The Infrastructure of the Imperial Romance: *King Solomon’s Mines*

Recalling his role in Britain’s first attempt to annex the Transvaal on 12 April 1877, a peaceful and anti-climactic affair that took place in the empty Market Square of Pretoria, Rider Haggard felt that ‘for the moment I was the representative of England’ (Haggard, 1926: p.105; Packenham, 2009: pp.40-1). Through his extensive journalistic and fictional writings, Haggard would go on to contribute to the structural formation of a ‘recognisable’ imperialist ideology (Katz, 1987: p.29). The importance of Haggard’s romance writing in the production of South African geography for the metropolitan imagination is evident from contemporaneous reviews of *King Solomon’s Mines*, many of which praised the supposed verisimilitude of its descriptions: ‘Haggard is so correct in his descriptive touches and pictures of African life’, wrote one, while another commended ‘the writer’s acquaintance with African scenery and manners’ for giving ‘reality and vigour to his pages’ (Haggard, 2002: pp.246, 251). Haggard’s ‘social and historical raw material’—British South Africa—was inextricably linked to the ‘generic model’ that he pioneered: as another reviewer commented, Haggard had ‘shown the old distinction between the novel and the romance’ (p.249). This interrelationship between the infrastructure *of* the text and the formal and generic structures of its narrative are conceived here according to Jameson’s understanding. This relationship is not directly ‘causal’, but should rather be seen ‘as one of a limiting situation: the historical moment is here understood to block off or shut down a certain number of formal possibilities available before, and to open up determinate new

ones' (2002: pp.134-5). The aim is not to enumerate 'the "causes" of a given text or form, but rather [to map] out its objective, a priori conditions of possibility, which is quite a different matter' (p.135).

Haggard left South Africa on 1st September 1881 after just a few years in the colony, never to return. This geographical shift enables the narrative to adhere to, and in turn produce, the generic structures of the imperial romance. As Thomas Pocock observes, the colonial landscape could continue to exist 'in his imagination' whilst he enjoyed 'the oaks and elms of the Norfolk countryside' (1993: p.53). Nevertheless, on returning to England, Haggard was considered an authority on South African affairs, writing articles for *The South African* magazine and letters to *The Standard* and *St James Gazette* newspapers, and purchasing the Government's Blue Book reports on the colony in order to supplement his knowledge (pp.56-7). His departure from what Mary Louise Pratt would define as a 'contact zone'—the space in which 'peoples geographically and historically separated come into contact with each other and establish ongoing relations' (2003: p.8)—enabled him to write South Africa's physical realities and indigenous populations out of his text. However, by analysing the infrastructural traces *in* the text it is still possible to access the infrastructures *of* it, thereby excavating its ideological strategies and surveying their limits.

The plot of *King Solomon's Mines* is inscribed into the map that introduces the quest on which his characters will embark in the text's opening pages (Haggard, 2008: p.21, see fig. 2.1). This map has received much critical attention, predominantly for its 'explicitly sexualised' representation of the South African landscape (Stott, 1989: pp.77-79; McClintock, 1995: pp.1-4). But for the purposes of this chapter, it is necessary to

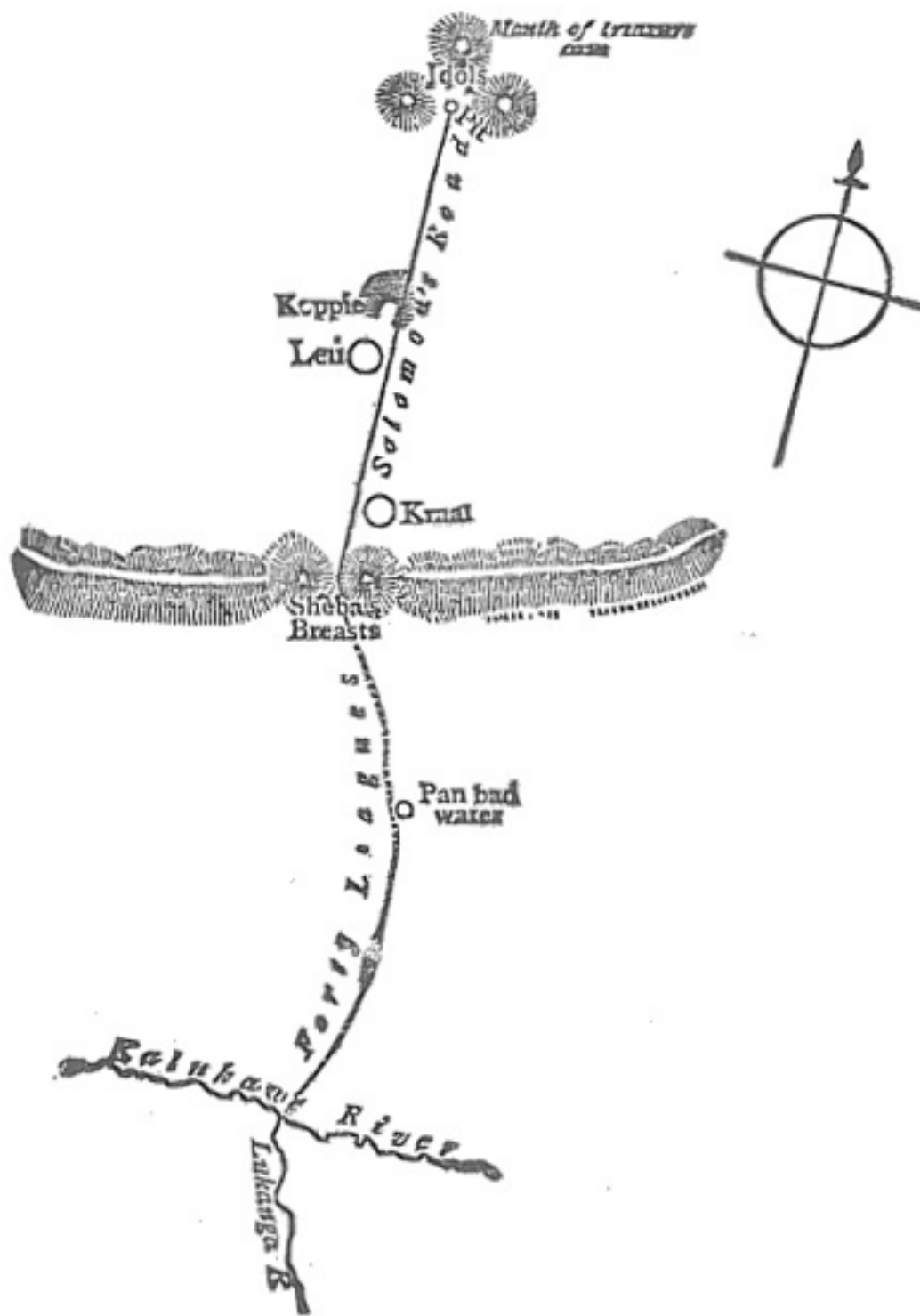


Fig. 2.1 The map that prefaces the adventure narrative of *King Solomon's Mines* (2008: p.21).

reinterpret this revealing and, despite its apparent simplicity, deeply layered document. When set within its historical context, the map functions not only to ‘open up’ the landscape to the ‘landscanning European eye’, though it certainly does this (Pratt, 2003: p.60). The plot narrates the retrieval of the natural resources located in the ‘treasure cave’ whilst also concluding with a final segregationist geography that divides the novel’s white and black populations via the mountain range that cuts the map in half. These ideological predicates are (quite literally) written into, and can be read out of, the map’s contours. The South African landscape is divided here into core and peripheral zones—but not between the northern and southern segments of landscape that are located either side of Sheba’s Breasts. Rather, like Steel’s literary depiction of the ‘Permanent Way’ in India, Solomon’s Road should be read here as the ‘core’, with the large vacant expanses to its east and west functioning as relationally peripheral zones. The infrastructural route along which Haggard’s protagonists move enables the assimilation of the landscape’s mineral resources—the ‘treasures’—into the world-economy at the end of the novel: Good and Quartermain return with such wealth that they have to ‘sell by degrees for fear we should flood the market’ (2008: p.198).

The infrastructural line of Solomon’s Road functions as a Lefebvrian ‘symbolic object’ that allows the novel’s protagonists both to make sense of the African landscape and to reap its material rewards (Lefebvre, 1998: p.39). By invoking this ‘skeletal landscape’, the map offers a framework that keeps the novel ‘on track’, a literary infrastructure that the narrative can then flesh out (Chang, 1998: pp.43-4). As Robert Tally explains, just as the ‘plot’ of a narrative ‘is also a plan, which is to say, a map’, this map is simultaneously the plot, ‘understood as establishing a setting, setting a course’ (2013: p. 49). Quartermain, Haggard’s fictional narrator, prefaces his narrative with the assurance

that ‘the best plan would be to tell the story in a plain, straightforward manner, and leave [other] matters to be dealt with subsequently in whatever way may ultimately appear to be desirable’ (2008: pp.7-8). The ‘plan’ is indeed, ‘straightforward’; straight and forward along the line so clearly demarcated on the map. Quartermain’s reference to the subsequent dealings of other matters, such as contrasts between ‘Zulu and Kukuana dialects’ and the ‘magnificent system of military organisation in force in that country’ (p.7), alludes to the potential that this text might itself become a map upon which future representations of Southern Africa may draw. The text predicts its own entry into the creation of ‘a field of textual genres’ that creates ‘ways of seeing’ the colonised landscape (Chang, 1998: p.57).

However, implicit in the invasive confidence of its linearity—or as Quartermain describes it, his ‘blunt way of writing’ (Haggard, 2008: p.47)—is an acknowledgement of the limitations of the narrative’s geographical scope, one that reveals its ‘mapping project’ to be ‘incomplete, provisional, and tentative’ (Tally, 2013: p.53). Returning to Macherey, the imperial romance’s generic ‘linear simplicity’ can be understood as the text’s ‘most superficial aspect’ (1986: p.39). By providing the ‘answers’ to his novel so early on in the narrative—the inevitable culminations of the plot (resource extraction and racial segregation) as inscribed on the map—the ‘question which gave rise’ to this goal is ‘ignored’: as Macherey explains, ‘concealed under the answers, the question is rapidly forgotten’ (pp.8-9). This occurs on two levels within the text of *King Solomon’s Mines*: not only is the quest to seek out Sir Henry’s brother quickly forgotten (and, of course, this aspect of the narrative is not depicted on the map). The historical tensions that shaped Haggard’s experience of South Africa also remain largely absent from the geographical space that the novel produces. These absences are primarily orientated

around, first, infrastructural expansion, introduced in order to facilitate mineral resource extraction and the industrialisation of new mining centres; and second, the prevalence of violent resistance from African tribes that posed a dangerous threat to the British throughout Haggard's time in South Africa.

It is not a historical coincidence that the line that runs through the centre of Haggard's map—'Solomon's Road'—is a physical infrastructure embedded within the landscape, leading directly to a mine in which diamonds and gold lie buried. After its appearance on the map, Solomon's 'great white road' recurs with systematic regularity throughout the text as Haggard's protagonists progress along it (Haggard, 2008: p.47). It reorientates the material and economic focus of the imperialist quest by providing the invading characters with a linear direction that moves towards their ultimate goal. As Paul Carter observes, the 'straight line' presupposes the possession of a 'goal' (2002: p. 39). This goal allows Haggard's imperialists always to locate or relocate themselves in relation to the '*somewhere*'—in this case, Solomon's mine—at which they are bound to 'arrive'. Indeed, the 'white ribbon of Solomon's great road', like the novel's plot, finds its 'terminus' in a chapter entitled 'The Place of Death'; death being the final culmination of the narrative's progression, the 'goal' to which, from the introduction of the map at its very start, it has been ceaselessly moving towards (2008: p.158).

Of course, the mythological road has not actually been built by British imperialists, but it is described by Quatermain within the terms of imperial infrastructural practice. 'As for the road itself, I never saw such an engineering work', he comments, concluding that '[n]o difficulty had been too great for the Old World engineer who designed it' (p.69). There is no topographical feature that this infrastructural route cannot traverse: in places

it is ‘cut in zigzags out of the side of a precipice five hundred feet deep’, whilst in others it ‘tunnelled right through the base of an intervening ridge a space of thirty yards or more’ (p.69). Sir Henry compares it to ‘the great road over the St. Gothard [*sic*] in Switzerland’, an engineering project that built a ‘carriage road’ between Switzerland and Italy in the 1820s and tunnelled through the mountains in the 1870s (pp.69, 207). This comparison with what was, at the time, one of Europe’s most impressive infrastructural feats, the fact that it is eventually attributed to an ancient white civilisation, and even the very colour of the road itself—‘white’ (pp.47, 161)—alludes to the historically contemporaneous expansion of imperial infrastructure whilst, as Etherington notes, discounting ‘African ability’ (1978: p.75).

However, as Chrisman observes, whilst the text functions ‘as an outlet for fears of African resistance’ in this way, there is also inscribed, within the infrastructure of the now abandoned, racially white empire of King Solomon, ‘a reversal of imperial practice’ (2000: p.38). After all, besides its infrastructural remains, the Phoenician civilisation has disappeared and only black Africans remain. By focusing on the infrastructure in this way, the text postulates the idea that ‘Africans have erased imperialist history’ (p.38). Following the text’s own obsession with the ‘mine’ that forms the novel’s ‘goal’, the anti-imperial resistance that the text rediscovers through its encounter with the ancient infrastructure is refracted specifically through the labour relations introduced by the mining industry. As Chrisman continues, the ‘threat to the Zimbabwean mines of the past was from African slave labour and/or marauding “Bantu” peoples’ (2000: p.46), and the novel is thus ‘uneasy’ in the set of ‘ideological connections’ that it establishes between the ancient ‘practice of mining and that of present South Africa’ (p.34).

These 'ideological connections' are historically unsurprising. In 1881, during Haggard's final months in South Africa, the formation of a host of joint-stock companies saw the era of independent diggers come to an end. As Martin Meredith has observed, the 'rush to invest in joint-stock companies was as hectic as the original diamond rush of the 1870s' (2008: p.107). By 1885, the year of *King Solomon's Mines*' publication, the first railways were extending some 1000 kilometres inland from the Cape colony to reach Kimberley, opening up the South African interior for the first time and operating as the 'vehicle for imperial expansionism' (Griffiths, 1995: p.35). These new infrastructures, combined with the reinvigorated interest in the extraction of diamonds from the Kimberley mines, permeate Haggard's text despite its attempts to produce a romanticised South African geography devoid of the historical realities of industrialisation. His questing trio are, after all, 'independent' diggers, detached from any over-arching organisation, be it governmental or corporate. Haggard's text attempts to write 'the activity of trade', its 'association with urbanism' and 'profiteering' and its implications of 'industrial and financial capitalism' out of its production of South African space (Chrisman, 2000: p.49).

However, the thematic infrastructural vein that runs through the literary landscape of *King Solomon's Mines*, when set within its historical context, alludes to the infiltration of the world-system, via the capitalist socioeconomic organisation of the mining industry, into South Africa. This line becomes an ideological border upon which the project of geographical romanticisation hinges, gesturing towards the 'political unconscious' of the text (Jameson, 2002: p.32). Contemporaneous maps demonstrate that infrastructural lines—and railways in particular—were central to the configuration

of both South African and Indian space, promoting the culture of profitable resource extraction that *King Solomon's Mines* both drew on and perpetuated. These lines of transport and communication run between the colonial ports and the mining centres of Kimberley and the Witwatersrand, through what is depicted as an otherwise empty landscape. Haggard's romance writes these industrialising centres out of its textual production of South African space, attempting to produce a pre-capitalist landscape necessary to sustain the accumulation of capital. That the novel's imperial protagonists leave Kukuanialand behind, detached from, rather than assimilated into, the world-system—as Quartermain writes, 'I need hardly state that we never again penetrated into Solomon's treasure chamber' (2008: p.187)—indicates the need for capitalism to retain a geographical, social and economic space 'outside' of it. As Luxemburg observes, 'the earth is finite and the acquisition of new markets must some time come to an end' (2003: p.223), material anxieties that manifest in Haggard's literary production of the region's geography. But despite the ideological work of the text's conclusion, the historical realities of infrastructural expansion remain embedded, albeit mythologically, within the novel's underlying cartographic project and the narrative's political unconscious.

It is the appearance of ancient imperial infrastructure *in* the text that enables these glimpses into the infrastructures *of* it. The mine to which the road leads is repeatedly compared to those found in Kimberley: 'the formation is the same', observes Quartermain, as he superimposes his prior experience as a trader in Kimberley's 'Diamond Fields' onto 'Solomon's Diamond Mine' (Haggard, 2008: pp.11, 156, 160). However, it is not only 'diamonds' that, at least initially, Solomon's mines yield:

On the opposite side of the chamber were about a score of wooden boxes, something like Martini-Henry ammunition boxes, only rather larger, and painted red. [...] Pushing my hand through the hole in the lid I drew it out full, not of diamonds, but of gold pieces. (pp.171-2)

The earliest discoveries of gold on the Witwatersrand dated back to the 1850s, with the discovery of the ‘first significant gold deposits in a reef formation’ being ‘uncovered in the Barberton district in 1884’ (Beavon, 2004: p.20). These ongoing discoveries had begun to produce ‘speculation about the likelihood that even richer gold deposits would be found’ (Meredith, 2008: p.207). Given the extensive coverage of early discoveries through the 1870s by the colonial press and ‘Blue Books’, it is likely Haggard was aware of these developments in the Transvaal—indeed, Quartermain himself mentions that settlers ‘in what is now the Lydenburg district of the Transvaal’ have ‘again lately been prospecting for gold’ (Haggard, 2008: p.17). *King Solomon’s Mines* would itself play a central role in popularising these speculations when formal discoveries were made in 1886, just a year after the novel’s publication. This is evidenced by the prolific publication history with at least one—in some cases more—republications appearing almost every year between 1885 and 1926.

The historical increase in the preoccupation with mineral extraction is further alluded to on a textual level by the amendments Haggard made to the Revised New Illustrated Edition, first published in 1905. Whereas in the 1885 edition Quartermain only takes ‘a couple of handfuls’ of diamonds (2008: p.181), in the 1905 edition he also picks up Foulata’s empty basket and fills that ‘with great quantities of the stones’ as well (p.212). Haggard’s protagonist thereby enacts the increased ambition for, and actual extraction of, the material wealth embedded within the South African landscape. Quartermain even exhibits a heightened materialism in the 1905 edition, as he lays ‘down the basket,

wishing to be rid of its weight, but on second thoughts took it up again. One might as well die rich as poor, I reflected' (p.212). An accumulative capitalist ideology can be seen to infiltrate more fully the social relations of the novel's characters, reflecting the culture of finance capitalism and speculation that arose around the gold mines on the Witwatersrand in the two decades that intervened between the publication of the first and revised editions.

King Solomon's Mines includes within it a further fictional allegory of the processes of capital accumulation as configured by Luxemburg, embodied in what she calls 'force':

Force is the only solution open to capital; the accumulation of capital, seen as an historical process, employs force as a permanent weapon [...] The method of violence, then, is the immediate consequence of the clash between capitalism and the organisations of a natural economy which would restrict accumulation. [...] This method is the most profitable and gets the quickest results [and] it is invariably accompanied by a growing militarism. (2003: p.351)

Significantly, the boxes in which King Solomon's gold is concealed are compared to 'Martini-Henry ammunition boxes' (Haggard, 2008: p.171). The role of weaponry and arms in the trio's successful accumulation of the wealth of Solomon's mines is essential in both obvious and subtle ways, and can be read as an allegorical manifestation of what Luxemburg describes as 'force'. It is, after all, the power of the 'magic tube' that allows the imperial trio to establish their technological superiority over the Kukuanas in their first encounter (p.75). They are crucial in the battle scenes when Captain Good is portrayed 'industriously "browning" the dense mass before him with a Winchester repeater' (p.128), a horrendous image that conflates slaughter, racism and technological development, and that would be rewritten and critiqued by Schreiner in her fictional account of the massacres in Mashonaland in the 1890s (see Schreiner, 2009: p.10). As

Griffiths observes, ‘the period of scramble is littered with the carnage of “little wars” of colonial subjugation all over Africa [...] It was not for want of resolve to resist that almost all were won by Europe. It was the superior technology of rifle, field-gun, Gatlin and Maxim machine-guns against assegai and obsolete muzzle-loaders’ (1995: p.44).

These weapons not only enabled the infiltration of the world-system into South Africa through force, but also functioned as commodities that were circulated within it. The gun trade that had exploded in South Africa, with somewhere between 6.3 and 17.8 percent of all British gun exports making their way to Africa from 1845 to 1889, had grown on the use of guns as a powerful trading card (Headrick, 1981: p.106). The trading of modern weaponry proved to be one of the most efficient ways that ‘mine operators’ could ‘best recruit black labourers’ (p.109). This is subtly woven into Haggard’s narrative when Quartermain, reluctant to leave the vast quantities of Solomon’s diamonds behind, fills ‘all the available pockets’ of nothing other than his ‘old shooting coat’ (Haggard, 2008: p.181): the ammunition that these pockets once held is here swapped for a share of South Africa’s mineral wealth.

Racial Segregation and the Cape to Cairo Railway

Embedded within *King Solomon’s Mines* there is a trace of the mineral wealth that transformed the physical and social geography of South Africa in such explosive and violent ways. The significance of the gold buried in King Solomon’s mine, when extracted from the bare geology of the text and situated in a richer historical topography, comes to the fore. Indeed, it is this gold that became the economic foundation for twentieth-century South Africa’s most spatially constrictive and politically contested

urban space: Johannesburg. But for Haggard, as his novel suggests, resource extraction and the assimilation of South Africa into the expanding world-system had to go hand in hand with the proliferation of different modes of segregation, primarily along racial lines. Despite its apparent historical sparsity, a cartography of segregation lurks within the infrastructure, both *in* and *of*, *King Solomon's Mines*, one that proliferates especially when the novel is analysed through the lens of African resistance to imperialism.

Dennis Butts has charted the geography of *King Solomon's Mines* in relation to the map that accompanied the first publication of Fred Selous's *A Hunter's Wanderings in South Africa* (1881), a contemporaneous figure on whom, it has been suggested, Quartermain's character may be based (Haggard, 2008: pp.200-2). The prevalence of British cartography 'burgeoned' from the 1850s onwards, operating in much the same way as Haggard's fictional map by legitimising 'European penetration of Africa' and displaying it in a visual manner that rendered its material wealth both accessible and retrievable (Carruthers, 2003: p.990). By the 1870s, however, the Transvaal government, in an attempt to seek out 'precious minerals and mining leases', began 'encouraging its own cartographical reconnaissance' (p.968). Freidrich Jeppe, a young German cartographer whose political allegiances were ambiguous, but who was certainly not opposed to the British annexation of the Transvaal, led this cartographic exercise. His 1877 map of the Transvaal, which first appeared in the *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society*, was a comprehensive depiction of the region, including insets of street plans of Pretoria and Delagoa Bay and illustrations of Great Zimbabwe—the latter inspiring, it has been argued, Haggard's own fictional ancient infrastructures (Etherington, 1978: p.74). Its success was such that it was subsequently used in the

1877 Blue Book, entitled *Correspondence Respecting the War between the Transvaal Republic and Neighbouring Native Tribes* (Carruthers, 2003: pp.970-1).

That Haggard ever saw this document is quite likely, but even if not, the title of the 1877 Blue Book reflects the ongoing nature of historical acts of anti-imperial resistance and the ideological anxieties to which they gave rise. In his autobiography, written in 1926, whilst recalling his 'leisurely progress over the plains, the mountains, and the vast rolling high veld of the Transvaal territory', Haggard also notes the 'great danger with which the Transvaal was threatened in 1877': a 'Zulu attack' (Haggard, 1926: pp.76, 80). The memories of his time in Africa, recorded in *The Days of My Life*, are littered with acts of deadly Zulu resistance, culminating in the 'disaster at Isandhlwana' (1926: p.145), when the Zulus responded to British troops marching into Zululand with an attack on Lord Chelmsford's column, killing 858 white men and 471 blacks (see Afigbo et al., 1986a: pp.278-9; and Packenham, 2009: p.70). These acts of anti-imperial violence clearly left a strong impression upon Haggard:

One of the last things that happened before I left South Africa was the slaying of the Prince Imperial by a Zulu outpost. Well can I remember the thrill of horror, and, I may add, of shame, that this news sent through all the land. [...] Nothing is more terrible than a sudden rush of savages on a little party that does not suspect their presence, especially when the attacking force may perhaps be numbered by the hundreds. (1926: p.145)

Against this historical backdrop, the geographical positioning of black Africans in Haggard's *King Solomon's Mines*, who inhabit only the peripheral zones of the novel's literary geography, is significant. Blank spaces dominate Haggard's map, operating as what Lefebvre would call the 'holes in the net' that exist between those places that are 'marked, noted, named' (1998: p.118). These 'marginal spaces' allude to the

‘indeterminate social struggles’ with which, as Harvey argues, ‘the production of space and place is shot through’ (2009: p.194). Haggard’s text explicitly evacuates the landscape of the Transvaal, from where the trio’s quest commences, of all native presence, and certainly of any of the violent uprisings that were so pervasive during his time there. Quartermain does recall that he ‘had been one of Lord Chelmsford’s guides in the unlucky Zulu War, and had had the good fortune to leave the camp in charge of some waggons the day before the battle’ (Haggard, 2008: p.33). But by the time of their fictional quest, the landscape is deserted. In the second paragraph of an early chapter, entitled ‘Our March into the Desert’, the trio pass

a scattered native settlement with a few stone cattle kraals and some cultivated lands down by the water, where these savages grew their scanty supply of grain, and beyond it great tracts of waving ‘veldt’ covered with tall grass, over which herds of the smaller game were wandering. To the left was the vast desert. This spot appeared to be the outpost of the fertile country. (2008: p.44)

At this ‘outpost of the fertile country’, the border of the Transvaal, there is an extended description of a black African presence, their crops and herds peacefully inhabiting the landscape. There is, however, not a single mention of a human being: as Gail Low observes, ‘[a]ll the Kaffir kraals are merely part of the beautiful wilderness’ (1996: p. 76), whilst the physical existence of an indigenous population is carefully written out of the landscape. Haggard’s novel is conspicuously silent ‘about the place of the back man in the pastoral idyll’; as J.M. Coetzee observes of white South African writing more generally, ‘its truth lies in what it dare not say for the sake of its own safety’ (1980: p. 81).

A black population is eventually encountered, but not until the party have successfully traversed an almost impassable geographical boundary. As Chrisman notes in her close textual comparison between the Zulus and Haggard's fictional Kukuana tribes—a comparison that is, after all, invited by Quartermain himself (Haggard, 2008: p.7)—the 'key to their difference is geography. [...] where the Zulu are connected to white South Africa, the Kukuana are isolated from it' (2000: pp.68-9). Inscribed into the novel's production of space, Chrisman argues, is 'an ideology of separatism: segregation of African and white society' (p.70). Haggard further naturalises this demarcation through the tactical repositioning of the region's distinctive topography. Low reads the demands made of Ignosi, who at the text's conclusion is the black African installed as the ruler of Kukuana land, 'to rule justly, to respect the law, and to put none to death without cause' (Haggard, 2008: p.189), as 'comparable with the changes brought about by the formations of Locations in contemporary Southern Africa' (1996: p.83).

But despite the text's concluding geography of segregation, a closer look at the landscape within which the action of *King Solomon's Mines* takes place shows that it is not only incomplete, but that it actually highlights this incompleteness self-reflexively at a textual level. The text's ideological limits can be read out of this partial geographical knowledge as it maps the contours of imperial consciousness. As early as Chapter V, Quartermain is forced to acknowledge that their party's 'future' is 'completely unknown' (2008: p.50). A page later, Captain Good whistles a popular British marching song that originated during the Napoleonic Wars (with its symbolically imperial connotations), but that, in this landscape, fails to reignite his imperial zeal: his patriotic 'notes' begin to sound 'lugubrious in that vast place, and he gave it up' (p.51). It becomes 'evident that no great faith could be put in the map' (p.56) and, as

Quartermain surveys the landscape, he admits that ‘language seems to fail me. I am impotent even before its memory’ (p.57). In a revealing use of spatial terminology, the geographical space becomes increasingly ‘beyond’ Quartermain’s ‘power to explain’ (p. 61).

In this way, the consolidated and controlled geography envisioned by the map in the novel’s opening pages is, as Macherey would describe it, ‘merely an imagined order’, a ‘fictive resolution of ideological conflicts’ that is ‘so precarious that it is obvious in the very letter of the text’ (1986: p.155). As Huggan observes, the ‘map as icon is usually situated at the frontispiece of the text, directing the reader’s attention towards the importance of geographical location in the text that follows, but also supplying the reader with a referential guide to the text’ (1994: p.21). However, as Huggan continues, the juxtaposition of two mediums—the visual and the written—actually invites the reader to consider, if not interrogate, ‘the duplicating procedures of mimetic representation’: the result is to throw the ideological inflections embedded within each medium into relief (pp.21-2). It is through the discrepancies between map and narrative—one professing clarity of vision, the other confessing its limitations—that it becomes possible to draw forth the ‘infrapolitics’ of Haggard’s literary geography, to return to Scott’s term (1990: p.183). The text’s implicit ideological strategies crystallise in the moments in which the narrative not only fails to produce the more peripheral zones of that which it surveys, but admits to this failure. Indeed, the Zulu threat was nowhere more explicit than in, or rather on, the novel’s first edition, published by Cassell & Company in 1885. On the cover of this original publication was imprinted not only the title and author’s name, but also a design of a Zulu shield, weapons and elephant tusk (Monsman, 2002: pp.11-2). The text that sought to write the threat of violent Zulu

resistance out of the South African landscape was itself shrouded in the symbolic presence of that polity.

Though Chrisman is correct to assert that the novel's concluding racial geography is invested with 'an ideology of separatism' (p.70), it is in many senses a simplistic geographical division that fails to negotiate the realities of the world-system which, as Wallerstein points out, needed 'to keep the oppressed groups inside the system' as its stratified labour force, 'not expel them' (2011: p.103). Friedrich Jeppe's cartographic career, whilst reflecting Haggard's concerns in the late 1870s and early 1880s, exemplifies the increasing complexity of the spatial politics of segregation required by the historical realities of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Between 1871 and 1875 there were already some 50,000 'natives from the interior' arriving in Kimberley each year. The gold mines on the Witwatersrand employed only 15,000 Africans in 1890, but this would increase to 105,027 in 1907 and to 189,253 by 1912 (Marks and Rathbone eds., 1982: pp.47, 83). Where Jeppe had, like Haggard, written the African presence out of his early depictions of South African space, his last map of the region, produced in 1899, demarcated distinct African reserves to which, as noted earlier, repeated legislations would confine the black population throughout the early years of the twentieth century (Carruthers, 2003: p.974).

By the end of the nineteenth century, the geography of segregation that Haggard had mapped out in *King Solomon's Mines*—white settlers colonising the southern peninsula and coastlines, black Africans exiled and isolated in the northern interior—was no longer adequate. The racial geography of Southern Africa had become a much more complex patchwork of assimilation and integration, organised by a proliferation of

contested political boundaries and unevenly developed economic zones. It was not only that the industrialising centres of Kimberley and the Witwatersrand were now home to thousands of black migrant labourers from the north. In the 1890s, white settlers, under the guidance of Cecil Rhodes and his Charter Company, headed towards the interior from the south, following Haggard's fictional 'roadway, which headed steadily in a north-westerly direction' (Haggard, 2008: p.78). By trading '1,000 Martini-Henry breech-loading rifles, 100,000 rounds of ammunition and a gunboat on the Zambezi' for a concession to mining rights with the Ndebele king, Lobengula, Rhodes got a foothold and, after a bloody war won with the Maxim gun in 1893, Southern Rhodesia was established (Packenham, 2009: p.384). Lobengula, who Quartermain describes at one point in *King Solomon's Mines* as 'a great scoundrel' (Haggard, 2008: p.36), 'fled to die in exile', leaving the new country to consolidate itself as 'a northwards extension of the South African system of white domination' (Afigbo et al., 1986b: pp.233-4).

At this historical moment, perhaps the most powerfully symbolic infrastructural line of the period was imagined, mapped and propagated: a railroad, conceived by Rhodes, that spanned the entire African continent to connect its southern tip in Cape Town to Cairo in Egypt (see fig. 2.2). For Rhodes, railways were the 'girders of empire, weapons used to revitalise imperial hegemony' (Davis and Wilburn, 1991: p.28). This conceptual mapping of an infrastructural line that would span some 9,600 kilometres, cutting through and linking up all 'territories coloured red on the map', became a significant configuration within the British imperial imagination (Griffiths, 1995: p.38). Rhodes sought speculative investments for 'my railway to Egypt, my telegraph to Egypt' (Ledger and Luckhurst eds., 2000: pp.143-4), giving speeches that conflated

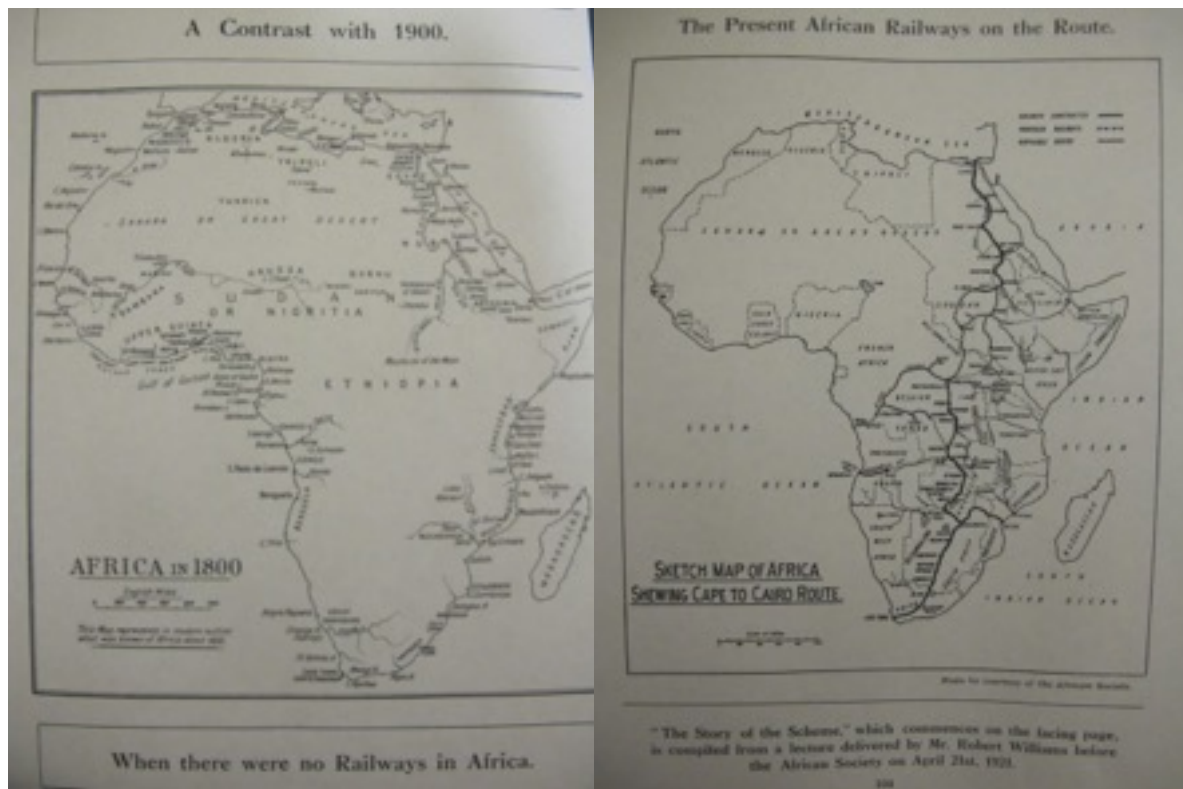


Fig. 2.2 This provocative juxtaposition of two maps, one of Africa in 1800, ‘[w]hen there were no Railways’ (as Conrad’s Marlow would describe it, one of the ‘blank spaces on the earth’ (2006: pp.7-8)), and another in 1900, in which colonial borders and completed and prospective railway lines carve up the continent, is illustrative of the extent to which infrastructures were used to make sense of, break up, divide and access colonial space (Weinthal, 1922: pp.100, 104). The contrasting blank map of 1800 highlights the ideologies of ‘development’, ‘modernisation’ and ‘civilisation’ with which infrastructural expansion was invested in the colonial imagination. However, the later map indicates the unevenness of this development, as infrastructure expands strategically to link coastal ports with mining districts and to secure political borders with competing imperial powers, rather than to benefit the colonised populations. As Walter Rodney observes, the ‘combination of being oppressed, being exploited, and being disregarded is best illustrated by the pattern of economic infrastructure of African colonies: notably, their roads and railways’ (2012: p.209).

metaphorically the infrastructural expansion taking place in Africa’s northern and southern regions:

I look upon this Bechuanaland territory as the Suez Canal of the trade of this country, the key of its road to the interior. [...] The question before us really is this, whether this Colony is to be confined to its present borders, or whether it is to become the dominant state in South Africa—whether, in fact, it is to spread its civilisation over the interior. [...] What did we build railways for? To secure the trade of the interior. Suppose we lie down oppressed with present

difficulties, and say, ‘We will not extend our railways any further; our liabilities are too great, and we will do no more.’ [...] I claim the development of the interior as the birthright of this Colony. (Rhodes, 1900: pp.62-7)

Rhodes references that other avenue of trade, the Suez Canal, located at the northernmost tip of the Cape to Cairo project, to justify economically the imperial infrastructural expansion northward beyond the South African colony’s borders. With its ‘severe straight lines and high banks’ the Canal was depicted as cut off from the ‘more fluidly rendered desert through which it cuts’, propagating ‘the idea that technology itself was Western, even before technology became a fully-fledged concept’ (Murray, 2008: p.1). Drawing on this ideology of infrastructural supremacy and familiar notions of ‘civilisation’, Rhodes himself alluded to the material infrastructures *of* his imperial ambitions in the same speech. As he comments: ‘We know that all sorts of “fuel” are said to be in the country, and Imperial interference in Bechuanaland would be one source of fuel’ (1900: p.66). This fuel, recorded here in suggestive inverted commas, is indicative of the black labour that Rhodes hoped to secure to supply the thriving mining industries with their workforce, creating an economic motor upon which the new South African nation would be founded. In this vision, the economic centres of mining capital would drive the nation’s prosperity and geographical expansion as it enmeshed the continent—through infrastructural and communication routes such as the Cape to Cairo railway and its accompanying telegraph—into the global capitalist world-system from the South upwards.

One of the central archival memories of this project, located in the National Library of South Africa in Pretoria, is a colossal five-volume tribute to Rhodes entitled *The Story of the Cape to Cairo Railway and River Route, 1886-1922*, edited and compiled by Leo



Fig. 2.3 The pre-Anglo-Boer War map reproduced here (Weinthal, 1922: inset between pp.112-3) shows the extension of the railway system into Rhodesia, extending from Cape Town into the North whilst strategically bypassing the political borders of the then Dutch-ruled Orange Free State and Transvaal. The infrastructural line becomes not ‘merely a reflection of [a] political vision’, to use Weizman’s words; rather, ‘the folds, deformations, stretches, wrinkles and bends in the route’ actually plot ‘the influences’ of different political and economic interests (2012: p.162). Other lines on the map include projected railways and telegraphs alongside a patchwork of political borders and their respective sovereignties, showing how ‘through a complex web of mines, railways, and land developments, the [British South Africa] Company maintained its economic hegemony over both Northern and Southern Rhodesia’ (Davis and Wilburn, 1991: p.52).

Weinthal (also then the Chief Editor of the journal, *The African World*) in 1922. For this project, a total of forty-five literary and journalistic writers for the first volume alone were contacted and asked to contribute. The result is an astonishing, thick-volumed project that draws together a whole host of maps, poems, extracts from prose literature, newspaper articles, specially written articles and photographs that document the narrative of the Cape to Cairo railway as though it were, even in the 1920s, still a

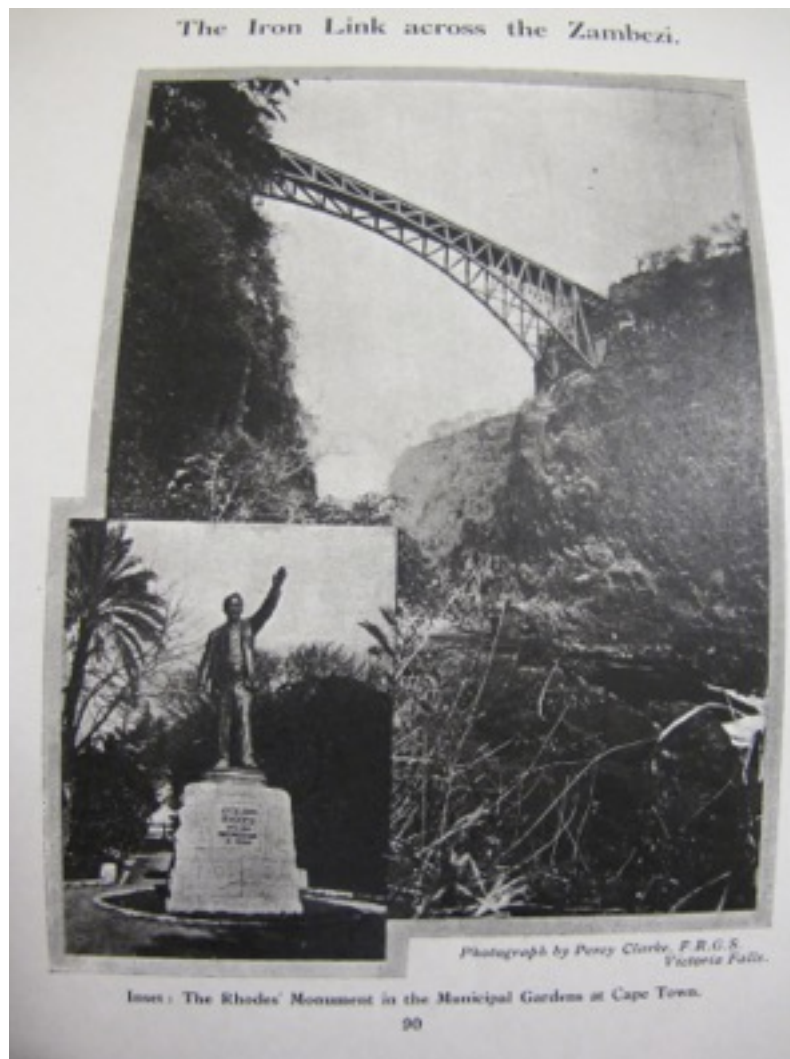


Fig. 2.4 Just as King Solomon's Road is able to climb the mountainous divide because of its engineering prowess, *The Story of the Cape to Cairo Railway and River Route, 1886-1922* likewise suggests that Britain's technological and infrastructural developments are now able to cut through the most hostile topographies. Like the Indian railways, large sections of the 'Iron Link', or 'Victoria Falls Bridge' as it has come to be known, were constructed in Britain and exported to Southern Africa, whilst on the ground skilled jobs were given to white colonials and black Africans were drafted in for manual labour. (Weinthal, 1922: p.90; see also, Winchester ed., 1937: pp. 411-419).

realisable project. As Peter Merrington observes, the 'timing of this huge prospectus is bizarre' as, even though the British had just occupied German East Africa, their imperial and political purchase in South Africa was already waning (2001: p.353).

The tribute moves geographically through the African landscape, with photographs of and literary tributes to key infrastructures when and where they had been achieved. It

builds a narrative of historical and geographical continuity around landmark infrastructural projects, such as the ‘Iron Link’, the great bridge over the Zambezi river (see fig. 2.4). The narrative’s clustering around these infrastructural achievements root the text physically in an explicitly ‘conquered’ terrain. The realities of pre-existing African socioeconomic and political organisations are conspicuous by their almost complete absence, and maps of the continent consolidate and demarcate the ideological borders of the self-designated ‘Story’ book.

Though, as Merrington argues, Weinthal’s project is ‘a postwar nostalgic fantasy’ that ‘constantly if unintentionally’ pronounces the ‘artificiality’ of the Cape to Cairo idea (2001: p.353), these expansive imperial ambitions remain fossilised today in the centrepiece of the University of Cape Town’s campus. A pondering bronze statue of Cecil Rhodes gazes out across the Cape Flats, the colonial gaze of the 1880s and 90s surveying its ‘Empire to the northward’—words that, belonging to Kipling, are quite literally inscribed into the foundation stones of the university (see fig. 2.5).

Hail! snatched and bartered oft from hand to hand.
I dream my dream, by rock and heath and pine,
Of Empire to the northward. Aye, one land
From Lion’s Head to Line! (2006: pp.139-140)

The words come from Kipling’s ‘The Song of the Cities’, a poem that celebrates the emerging international network of imperial hubs by offering four-line impressions of each one, encapsulating an emerging, infrastructurally interconnected world-empire in a few succinct lines of rhyme. In this verse, Kipling’s lines look north from ‘Lion’s Head’, the distinctive cone-shaped peak that stands beside Table Mountain, up into the African continent to the equatorial ‘Line’, envisioning Rhodes’s dream of ‘one land’

stretched out in between—the architectural layout of the statue and verse suggest that the ‘I’ is indeed Rhodes himself.



Fig. 2.5 The bronze statue of Cecil Rhodes at the centre of the University of Cape Town’s campus, with Kipling’s words inscribed in the stone beneath (Photo by the author).

Nevertheless, despite the cultural currency of this infrastructural imaginary, Merrington has noted how difficult it is ‘to trace any literature on the topic of the Cape-to-Cairo that is not strictly firsthand travel narrative’ (Merrington: 2001: p.327). As a perusal of contemporaneous South African newspapers demonstrates, this is surprising considering the central role this symbolic and alliterative infrastructural route was to have in the colonial geographical imagination of both South Africa and the continent as a whole. Plomer, with whom this chapter will conclude, wrote a satirical biography of Rhodes in which he quoted the journalist, W.T. Stead, who wrote in 1899:

If the Cape and Cairo had possessed different initials, the suggestion of a through continental line might never have suggested itself to Mr Rhodes. But the notion of linking the two places, each of which commenced with the same capital letter, 'caught on', and the gigantic enterprise is already making progress from the realm of the imagination into the domain of accomplished fact. (Plomer, 1984b: p.142)

The Cape to Cairo railway, sections of which were realised as 'accomplished fact' whilst others existed only in the imperial 'imagination', served as one of the most potent 'symbolic objects' of the period. The assimilation of such huge swathes of the continent's landscapes into one linear infrastructural route was transfigured into a site of embeddedness that worked as a reference point on the ground, or in the landscape, for the production of colonial space. Of course, the idea of a Cape to Cairo railway was not pursued or given such prominent cultural currency—at least initially—simply because of, as Stead observes, the coincidence of the alliteration. Rather, the slogan served to signify a massive and complex project of capitalist exploitation across huge geographical and diverse topographical spaces, disregarding pre-existing social formations and indigenous populations as well as bracketing the entire continent as a British possession during a time of intense imperial rivalry.

Haggard's ancient 'white road' may well have inspired Rhodes's infrastructural ambitions, albeit mediated through the verbal circuitries of Kipling's verse. However, though Haggard's geography of racial segregation, with its entrenched topographical boundaries and simplistic binary divisions, may have performed the ideological function of assuaging fears of Zulu uprisings during the 1880s and 90s, it did not take into account the country's need for what Rhodes bluntly called 'fuel' (Rhodes, 1900: p.66). Rhodes, by contrast, was far from unaware of the complex social and political geography of South Africa in the 1890s. He was convinced of the need to unify the

various British protectorates and Boer States before he could embark upon his arch-imperial infrastructural project: ‘if you were to go up in a balloon,’ he would say in 1899, on the eve of the Anglo-Boer War, ‘how ridiculous it would appear to you to see all these divided States, divided tariffs, divided peoples [...] you can draw imaginary lines but we are all one’ (Ledger and Luckhurst eds., 2000: pp.143-4). Yet, surveyed at the level of the macro-geography of a potentially unified state, Rhodes had no intention of smoothing over the chequered, divided landscape within it. The politics of his infrastructural endeavours were made manifest by their physical layout, serving the economic interests of a few cross-national capitalists rather than British imperial hegemony or the peaceful unification of the South African region. Hobson, reflecting on this history in 1900, saw through the economic underpinnings of Rhodes’s project. He argued that Rhodes had ‘designed to use the money of the British taxpayer to obtain for himself and his fellow-capitalists that political control of the Transvaal which was essential to his economical and political ambitions’, with the Anglo-Boer War ‘being waged in order to secure for the mines a cheap adequate supply of labour’ (1900: pp. 206-7, 231). As Kenneth Wilburn comments, with hindsight: ‘[u]nder Rhodes’, the ‘Cape railways became more instruments’ of imperialist expansion rather than infrastructural foundations designed to hold ‘the Cape’s established imperial system together’ (Davis and Wilburn eds., 1991: p.38).

Though calling for the eradication of political ‘borders’, Rhodes was certainly not interested in deconstructing ‘barriers’. As Weizman reflects, ‘[b]arriers are indeed different to borders: they do not separate the “inside” of a sovereign, political or legal system from a foreign “outside”, but act as contingent structures to prevent movement across territory’ (2012: p.172). Rhodes’s diamond ‘cartel’, De Beers—a monopoly

formation that, for Lenin, had ‘at the end of the nineteenth century [...] become one of the foundations of the whole of economic life’ under cross-national capitalism (1987: p. 183)—created an array of border mechanisms that enhanced their systems of spatial control. The company ‘set precedents not only for the industrial pass system, but for the housing and treatment of the migrant labourers subjected to that system’ in its Kimberley diamond mines (Lester et al., 2000: p.105). In an effort to control the theft of diamonds by African labourers, De Beers transferred the infrastructural techniques it had used ‘to supervise convicts’ to the labour population more generally, constructing a series of ‘compounds’ in which to house their workers (p.105). These compounds were economically profitable, allowing De Beers and other mining monopolies to control diamond theft and enable cheaper provision for migrant labourers, whilst the ‘closed space of the compound’ also made it easier to suppress strikes and other forms of resistance, distancing the black migrant labourers from the whites ‘who lived permanently in the town’ (pp.105-6).

The assimilation of black labour into the world-system demanded these more complex spatial and infrastructural frameworks as part of a racialised policy of ‘influx control’ (Nightingale, 2012: pp.252-4). It required fluid political borders (to allow for the influx of migrant labour) whilst crystallising and solidifying barriers at a local level (to maintain racial and class hierarchies, spatially, within the new city spaces). As Graham points out, ‘the construction of spaces of mobility and flow for some always involves the construction of barriers for others’ (2010: p.12). The Cape to Cairo imaginary can therefore be read as emblematic of the reductive portrayal of infrastructural development to a symbolic and physical manifestation of ‘a linear march of progress’, one that presumes ‘to deterministically reorganise economies, societies,

cultures, and geographies in increasingly urban ways' whilst disguising the 'social biases' inscribed into these 'systems' (Graham, 2010: pp.4, 13). This is an appropriate point to turn to Schreiner's fictional interrogation of these infrastructural formations, focusing on her literary production of South African spaces and geographical imaginings to show how they resist, through their political and formal energies, some of the central tenets of this imperial-capitalist ideology.

Grounding Meta-Narrative: Olive Schreiner's Geographies of Resistance

Olive Schreiner, born in 1855 and living in South Africa until her death in 1920 (apart from some years in London and Europe in the 1880s), witnessed firsthand the tumultuous processes of industrialisation taking place throughout this period. Politically engaged and experimental in literary form, her writing often interrogates these linear infrastructural imaginaries, the racial ideologies informing them and the dangers and discriminations of the increasingly segregationist policies that were introduced during her lifetime. In 1901, she reflected on the region's demography by attempting to draw 'a racial map of South Africa', a project that, as this lengthy but revealing quotation shows, she considered futile:

no possible line which can be drawn across it will separate the colours one from another, or even combine their darker shades. [...] should we wish to make our map truly representative of the complexities of the South African problem, it will be necessary to go further, and across this intermingled mass of colours to draw at intervals, at all angles, and in all directions, lines of ink, which shall cut up the surfaces into squares and spaces of different sizes. If these lines be truly drawn they will be found to bear no relation to the proportions of the colours beneath them; they will run straight through masses of colour, cutting them into parts; and except in the case of some of the smallest divisions, where the dark predominates, it will be impossible to trace

the slightest connection between the lines and the colouring. (Schreiner, 1923: p.52)

Schreiner could here be speaking of the African continent as a whole, commenting on its arbitrary partition in 1884-5 that, as argued in the introduction, initiated a shift in the potency of imperial ideology and colonial literature's production of space. Focusing specifically on South Africa, however, she draws on her experience of its demographic, social and physical landscape to emphasise the disjunction between imperial productions of space and the political realities they attempted to contain. By highlighting the interrelations between different kinds of spatial production—the written sentence, the drawn map and the indelible spatial markings of political boundaries and infrastructural routes—Schreiner is able to isolate and deconstruct the ideological contours embedded within them. As I shall argue, it is because of her *situatedness* in the peripheral economic zones of South Africa that she is able to produce a self-consciously spatial meta-narratological style in her literary writing. By locating herself *beyond* the infrastructural routes of the socioeconomic and cultural core, she deconstructs the linearity of the ideological investment in them—as Patricia Murphy argues, this spatial dimension to her literary narratives allows her to expand 'the hermeneutic possibilities that the realist novel' sought to 'foreclose' (1998: p.82).

From Man to Man (first published posthumously in 1926) was, as Paul Foot observes, 'quite literally, her life's work' (Schreiner, 1982: p.xii). She worked on the manuscript sporadically from the age of eighteen, when she first visited the diamond fields at Kimberley, until her death forty-seven years later. Andrew van de Vlies has uncovered archival material that suggests Schreiner attempted to publish an early version of it—under the alternative title, 'Saints and Sinners'—in 1881, but that it was rejected (2007:

p.23). The result is a text shaped through multiple layers of ‘revising and rewriting’, as Schreiner ‘grafted on the thoughts and experiences of her later life’ (Schreiner, 1982: p.xiii), and it speaks specifically to this chapter’s interrogation of infrastructure, segregation and resistance. Though the narrative is infused with what might be framed as political ‘propaganda at the expense of the novel’ (p.xiv), this is perhaps symptomatic of the trajectory of Schreiner’s writing career, as she shifted slowly from writing literary texts to polemic pamphlets in which, as McClintock observes, ‘Schreiner was unusual in her anti-racism’ and activism on behalf of the rights of native Africans (1995: p.268).

Talking to her children, Schreiner’s protagonist, Rebekah, infuses the imagined community of the South African nation with a multi-racial demography that, through its spatiality, highlights the limits, if not the impossibility, of a segregationist ideology. Recalling her beliefs as ‘a little girl’, the now adult Rebekah remembers that back then ‘I could not bear black or brown people. I thought they were ugly and dirty and stupid [...] I felt I was so clever and they were so stupid; I could not bear them’ (Schreiner, 1982: p.435). The simplicity of the narrative tone emphasises that these were her childhood beliefs, conflating this racism with a childlike naivety. This tactic intensifies as Rebekah recalls her own childhood imagining of a simplistic infrastructural demarcation, her racial ideology manifesting in geographical segregation:

‘I always played that I was Queen Victoria and that all Africa belonged to me, and I could do whatever I liked. It always puzzled me when I walked up and down thinking what I should do with the black people; I did not like to kill them, because I could not hurt anything, and yet I could not have them near me. At last I made a plan. I made believe that I built a high wall right across Africa and put all the black people on the other side, and I said, “Stay there, and, the day you put one foot over, your heads will be cut off.”

‘I was very pleased when I made this plan. I used to walk up and down and make believe there were no black people in South Africa; I had it all to myself.’ (1982: p.435)

Rebekah’s childlike imagining of a linear infrastructural barrier both recalls Haggard’s geography of racial segregation whilst also satirising the simplicity of its ideology. That Rebekah is ‘playing’ at being ‘Queen Victoria’ levels a belittling textual critique at British imperial policies of segregation in Africa that can be no more than ‘make believe’. By portraying ideologies of racial segregation as naive and simplistic, the text excavates the gap between the ideological conceptions and physical realities of South Africa in order to deconstruct them. As Rebekah continues, a few pages later:

[A]s I grew older and older I got to see that it wasn’t the colour or the shape of the jaw or the cleverness that mattered; that if men and women could love very much and feel such great pain that their hearts broke, and if when they thought they were wronged they were glad to die, and that for others they could face death without a fear [...] then they were mine and I was theirs, and the wall I had built across Africa had slowly to fall down. (1982: pp.437-8)

For Carolyn Burdett, ‘[m]othering here is expressly set against the violence of a colonial imagination, exemplified in the wall which has to fall down as Rebekah recognises human kinship through suffering’ (2001: p.107). But there is also a historical temporality, marked by Rebekah’s age—as she grows ‘older and older’—which, perhaps proleptically if not prophetically, imagines both the implementation of a system of racial segregation as well as, beyond that, its disintegration.¹⁴

¹⁴ Rebekah’s ‘wall’, which Burdett describes as the ‘fantasy of apartheid avant la lettre’ (2001: p.105), resonates with twenty-first-century geographies of segregation; as Weizman observes in his discussion of the ‘separation barrier’, or ‘Wall’, that currently cuts through East Jerusalem and divides the West Bank from Israel, the notion of a dividing wall has ‘become particularly associated with the word “apartheid”, although even at the height of its barbarity the South African regime never erected such a barrier’ (2012: p.171).



Fig. 2.6 Pictures of the Kimberley Mine in the 1870s, accompanying an article entitled 'The Great Diamond Industry of South Africa', by Harold S. Harger, in *The South African Mining Journal: Twenty-first Anniversary Number*. In HUMPHREYS, James Charles Napoleon, 1902-1969 (Consulting Engineer, Director of Companies and Africana Collector), A1138, 1610. Wits Historical Papers, University of the Witwatersrand.

Yet, even taking into account the critical forcefulness of these paragraphs, it is *The Story of An African Farm* that sets up the most consistent and effective resistance to imperial ideology. The novel ‘rigorously’ confines itself ‘to a colonial reality’ (Burdett, 2001: p. 30), located in a peripheral section of the African ‘veld’ that, when Schreiner was writing in the 1870s, was situated in the second development ‘belt’ around what was then the ‘only major regional “core”’—Cape Town. However, by the time the novel was published in 1883, two new ‘resource frontiers’ and subsequent regional core zones were emerging in Kimberley and on the Rand (Lester, 1998: p.47). The conspicuousness of Kimberley’s absence from the text is emphasised by another of Schreiner’s novels, which she worked on coterminously but probably finished before *African Farm* appeared in its final form: *Undine*, published posthumously by her husband, S.C. Cronwright-Schreiner, in 1928. As he estimates in his preface to the novel, it is likely that *Undine* ‘was completed in South Africa before she left for England in 1881’ (Schreiner, 1928: p.ix), as opposed to *African Farm* which was first published in 1883, two years after Schreiner had been in London. Perhaps significantly, the ‘first mention of *Undine* appears in [Schreiner’s] New Rush journal’: the diamond fields were known as ‘New Rush’ before the settlement was renamed Kimberley in 1873, and Schreiner had travelled there in 1872 (pp.ix-x; also see Cronwright-Schreiner’s footnote on p.246 and fig. 2.6).

The emergence of vibrant economic activity, infrastructural expansion and labour exploitation that was taking place in these early years of Kimberley’s development, and which Schreiner experienced first-hand, are placed centre-stage in *Undine*’s second half, as the narrative moves geographically from a peripheral African farm to London and then back to New Rush. *African Farm*, too, has a similar bipartite structure. However,

this structure is not shaped, as is *Undine*'s, around a geographical journey towards regional and global cores. Rather, it remains resolutely within the peripheral zone of the veld, barely straying even toward lines of networked infrastructure—core zones such as railways and intermediary towns and urban enclaves—that were, by the 1880s, slowly creeping across South Africa. Its dual structure comes instead from its formal experimentation: as this analysis will show, whilst *African Farm*'s first section confines itself to a linear narrative, the second firmly embeds itself within the peripheral landscape through a series of formally experimental chapters that deconstruct the ideological underpinnings of texts such as Haggard's *King Solomon's Mines*.

Contrasting *African Farm*'s geographical movements with *Undine*'s, as well as the latter's preoccupation with the emergence of the mining industry at Kimberley, is illuminating. The first half of both *Undine* and *African Farm* is strikingly similar: their narratives are constructed around their female protagonists—Undine and Lyndall respectively—who both live in an 'old Dutch farmhouse'. In the opening pages, the narrative's linear temporality is measured by the protagonists' obsession with the passing of time, manifested in the 'tick, tick, tick' of the 'inexorable old clock' (Schreiner, 1928: p.5) ('Tick—tick—tick—tick! One, two, three, four! (2003: p. 49)). The protagonists of each text are even both accompanied by a friendly dog, similarly described in both novels (1928, p.23; 2003: p.110). The contrast between the geography and content of the two novels, as they at first align with and then depart from one another, highlights the importance of the peripheral landscape for the development of *African Farm*'s anti-imperial meta-narrative. The geographical spaces situated *beyond* the webs and zones of infrastructural and economic development are, I will show, fundamental to the novel's anti-imperial project.

After returning to South Africa from Britain at more or less the novel's midway point, Undine is 'attracted, like all others who were near enough to feel its influence, by the great magnet that draws to itself all who are good-for-nothing vagabonds, wanderers, or homeless—the Diamond Fields' (Schreiner, 1928: p.244). Significantly, the text indicates the historical moment in which it is set by highlighting that there is, as of yet, no railway to transport Undine from Port Elizabeth to Kimberley—a distance, a footnote informs the reader, of '485 miles' (p.244). Instead, she must travel on a 'great buck waggon, with its long span of red oxen and heavy freight of wires and buckets [...] along the sandy road' (p.249), a mode of transport that recalls Quatermain's extensive travels across South Africa with a 'wagon-load of goods' (Haggard, 2008: p.14). This is not the only intertextual resonance between *Undine* and *King Solomon's Mines*. Of particular interest are the similarities between each text's description of the infrastructure of their respective mines—Kimberley for the former, King Solomon's mine for the latter. Through this intertextual reading, *Undine* vocalises the 'hidden transcript' of Haggard's romance narrative by detailing the close co-existence of different racial groups that was a product of South Africa's industrialising centres.

Standing on the 'edge' of the 'vast hole' of King Solomon's mine, Quatermain looks out at 'the pit marked on the old Don's map, [where] the great road branched in two and circumvented it' (p.160). The physical geography of this landscape, in which Haggard's central infrastructural demarcation splits and circles the mouth of the mine, resonates with Schreiner's description of 'the Circus', 'the poorest and most wretched part of the camp' in Kimberley that is described as a 'wilderness of canvas': 'round tents, square tents, torn tents, and whole tents [...] canvas houses and wooden houses and iron

houses, and non-descripts' (1928: pp.282-3). This 'Circular Road' encompasses the 'Kop', or central diamond mine. Significantly, 'the glare of the sun on the *white* road was almost blinding' (p.291, my emphasis), recalling the whiteness of Solomon's road. As Undine walks through this industrial settlement, she observes 'troops of niggers going to work at the Kop, and sharp little diamond-buyers going to look for the worm' (p.287), emphasising, the racist language aside, the co-mingling of different racial groups along this central infrastructural route.

What is perhaps most revealing is Undine's response to the 'crater' of the diamond mine which, as Cronwright-Schreiner observes in a footnote in 1928, was an 'immense circular hole [that] is now claimed to be the largest hole ever sunk into the earth by man' (p.298). Looking 'down into the crater', Undine actually begins to mythologise, if not romanticise, this infrastructural feat:

The thousand wires that crossed it, glistening in the moonlight, formed a weird, sheeny, mistlike veil over the black depths beneath. Very dark, very deep it lay all round the edge, but, high towering into the bright moonlight, rose the unworked centre. She crouched down at the foot of the staging and sat looking at it. In the magic of the moonlight it was a giant castle, a castle of the olden knightly days; you might swear, as you gazed on it, that you saw the shadows of its castellated battlements, and the endless turrets that overcrowned it: a giant castle, lulled to sleep and bound in silence for a thousand years by the word of some enchanter. (p.298)

Undine narrates the process in which a literary imagination might transform Kimberley's modern infrastructures, which are physically drawing the region into the capitalist world-system, into a romanticised infrastructural edifice that is thousands of years old; a King Solomon's mine, of sorts. The description of the physical apparatus of the mining industry, when read alongside Haggard's imperial romance, can therefore

demonstrate the way in which a specific set of ideological agendas can warp colonial literature's production of space. Reading Haggard's romanticised landscapes through the lens of *Undine*'s spatial productions, the ideology inscribed into the contours of the former's literary mappings can be excavated, their limitations and obscurations identified, and their implicit politics drawn out.

Turning to a final intertextual friction, it's worth recalling that the inner cave of King Solomon's mines, and the title of the chapter in which it is described, is called 'The Place of Death' (Haggard, 2008: p.169). But despite this titular proclamation, Haggard's protagonists escape from the mine unscathed and significantly wealthier than they had entered it. For Undine, however, the Kimberley diamond mine quite literally becomes her 'place of death'. Alone and unable to get sufficient work to provide herself with food and accommodation,¹⁵ Undine is exposed to the elements and, in the novel's final hallucinatory paragraphs, she collapses and dies on the edge of the mine.

Presently the moon rose and looked over the ridge of the tent into the little yard among the gravel-heaps. The glowing stump [of the candle] had burnt out and gone to ashes between the great round stones.

Before them, in her little purple print, with her feet crossed and her head resting on one arm, lay Undine. [...]

There was nothing else to be seen in the little yard. (p.374)

The calm moonlight of this scene anticipates the stillness of *African Farm*'s opening paragraph, to be analysed later. However, shortly before Undine's death she actually

¹⁵ Burdett has comprehensively explored the 'symbolic resonance' of 'food and hunger' throughout Schreiner's *oeuvre*, one that conflates 'the land-hunger of imperial greed' with 'starving Africans' (2001: pp.126-8). As Chrisman has likewise argued, Schreiner's preoccupation with food emphasises how colonialism 'cannot replicate domestic pastoralism. The colonial setting necessarily reverses the dynamics: from producing food for others to producing others for food' (2000: p.136).

remembers, with distinct nostalgia, ‘the thatched roofs and stone walls of the old farm on the Karoo’ (p.370). Reading *Undine* and *African Farm* alongside one another, there is a sense in which Undine herself wishes to undo the geographical trajectory of that novel’s narrative, remaining resolutely in the peripheral space of the farm rather than heading to the region’s emerging economic core. *African Farm* might be read intertextually as a fictional second chance for Schreiner, one that adamantly refuses to enter or engage with South Africa’s expanding industrial zones. Indeed, when Lyndall does eventually leave the farm in the novel’s closing pages, she too, like Undine, quickly becomes weak and dies. But despite this recurrent pattern that maps the movement of periphery to core onto the relational binaries of life and death, *African Farm* is still able to mobilise its geographical distance from South Africa’s capitalist development in order to produce a political critique of it.

In his discussion of *African Farm*, Jed Esty brackets ‘the question of political intention’, arguing that the novel’s ‘remarkable force stems [...] not from Schreiner’s avowed views—hopelessly mixed and impossible to correlate definitively to the book we have—but from its systematic assimilation of an uneven and markedly colonial temporality into its plot structure, characterisation, and figurative language’ (2007: p.408). The novel’s ‘awkward temporal scheme’ is, as he has written elsewhere, the product of ‘a colonial thematics of backwardness, anachronism, and uneven development’ (Begam and Moses eds., 2007: p.77). This ‘temporal scheme’ in turn ‘challenges the formal dictates of the Goethean *bildungsroman* (with that genre’s conventional sense of teleological and masculinist destiny)’ (Esty, 2007: p.408). If, as Franco Moretti has argued, the *bildungsroman* is ‘the symbolic form that more than any other has portrayed and promoted modern socialisation’ (2000: p.10), then the fact that Undine’s and Lyndall’s

deaths are consequent upon their varyingly brief encounters with the world-system suggests a failure to be assimilated into it, if not a direct resistance to that assimilation.

For Esty, that *African Farm* is situated in an ‘underdeveloped zone’ similar to the settings of Conrad’s *Lord Jim* (1900), Woolf’s *The Voyage Out* (1915) and Joyce’s *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* (1916), is significant (2007: p.411). The ‘geographical frame’ of these texts produces an experimental narrative form that resists ‘the “tyranny of the plot”’ (2007: p.411). This is akin to the connection between ‘Modernism and Imperialism’ established by Jameson, in which the economics of an expanding world-system shape the ‘new spatial language’ of ‘modernist style’ (Eagleton et al., 1990: pp.51-58). Schreiner’s modernist tendencies have been discussed by a number of critics (McClintock, 1995: pp.280-1; Burdett, 2001: p.9), and Esty’s study responds to Patrick Williams’s call for the application of a “‘combined and uneven development”’ perspective’ to ‘modernism and imperialism’ (Booth & Rigby eds., 2000: p.32). As Esty argues, the spatiality of Schreiner’s text configures the ‘structuring contradiction between the progressive imperial ethos of worldwide modernisation and the stubborn facts of uneven or under-development in the colonial periphery’ (2007: p. 423).

Building on Esty’s insights, this reading follows Williams’s return to the work of Said to emphasise the ‘disturbing effect’ that the text’s spatiality might bring to ‘imperial ideology’ (Booth & Rigby eds., 2000: pp.21-3; Said, 1993: p.226). For me, this is achieved by positioning *African Farm* in relation to the critical work on *King Solomon’s Mines* that this chapter has already undertaken. Whilst Esty dismisses Schreiner’s ‘political intention’ (2007: p.408), I argue that the novel’s inconsistent ideological

engagement actually informs the narrative's political work as it undoes the rigid ideological contours of texts such as Haggard's. Its textual silences, the 'gaps and absences' that emerge from within the Southern African landscape of its geographical setting, are made explicit by Schreiner's meticulous meta-narratological construction, operating as narrative spaces in which, to recall Macherey and Eagleton, 'the presence of ideology can be most positively felt' (Macherey, 1986: p.84; Eagleton, 2002: p.32).

Coetzee maps the 'silences' scattered through the twentieth-century 'South African farm novel', arguing that the genre's 'truth' is found 'in what it does not know about itself: in its silences' (1980: p.81). It is significant that, as the founding novel of this genre, Schreiner's *African Farm* employs a series of meta-narratological techniques to draw her reader's attention to these silences, transforming the implicit into the explicit. These meta-narratives are repeatedly and textually embedded within the landscape she produces, as South Africa's mineral-based industrial revolution remains beyond the novel's geographical setting.¹⁶ The self-conscious aspects of her narrative style, combined with its intertextual evocations of literary genres such as the romance, highlight its own fragility and unsuitability so that its productions of South African space, rather than opening up the region to the 'landscanning European eye' (Pratt, 2003: p.60), actually render the landscape 'alien, impenetrable,' without a 'language [...] in which to win it, speak it [or] represent it' (Coetzee, 1980: p.7).

In the 'Preface to the Second Edition' of her novel, Schreiner acknowledges 'a kind critic' of *African Farm*, who says 'that he would better have liked the little book if it had

¹⁶ There are nevertheless occasional traces of the mining industry: Burdett notes that Lyndall dreams of 'wearing diamonds in her hair' (2001: p.42) and the pseudonym under which Schreiner first published the novel, 'Ralph Iron', as Gerald Monsman argues, alludes to the iron that is embedded within the 'ironstones of the kopjes' (1991: p.79).

been a history of wild adventure; [...] “of encounters with ravening lions, and hairbreadth escapes”” (Schreiner, 2003: p.41). This critic, an anonymous reviewer in the *Saturday Review*, clearly refers here to the imperial romance. Schreiner’s response to the criticism is revealing, rooted in her conception of how the local, peripheral geography of her African farm fits into the emerging cross-national networks of the world-system: ‘[s]uch works are best written in Piccadilly or in the Strand’, she argues, where ‘the gifts of the creative imagination, untrammelled by contact with any fact, may spread their wings’ (p.41). Schreiner emphasises that it is her direct experience of South African geography and the material realities of the expanding world-system that make the imperial romance an unsuitable genre in which to ‘paint the scenes’, she tell us, ‘in which’ she ‘has grown’ (p.42). She highlights the gap between an imperial ‘imagination’ and ‘any fact’ to throw the ideological contours of the romance’s geography into relief.

This rejection of the romance’s linearity is played out at the levels of *African Farm*’s form and content. In the novel’s climactic scene, Lyndall, on her deathbed, rejects a book with a linear narrative:

‘Will you open the window,’ she said, almost querulously, ‘and throw this book out? It is so utterly foolish. I thought it was a valuable book; but the words are merely strung together, they make no sense.’ (p.262)

Lyndall exhibits a meta-narratological awareness, reflecting on the way in which linear narratives are constructed, before literally throwing the book out of the window. This meta-textual image recalls the beginning of the novel when Lyndall, sitting ‘on the floor threading beads’, is asked by her cousin, Em, why her beads never fall off her needle; she replies, ‘I try [...] That is why’ (p.50). She engages with a metaphor that alludes to

the ‘thread’ of the novel’s narrative which, if an eye is not kept on its ‘sequential ordering’, can be lost. As narratologist Mieke Bal explains, the very effort to ‘thread’ a narrative’s sequences together ‘forces one to reflect [...] on other elements and aspects’—it is ‘literary narrative’s way of achieving a density that is akin to the simultaneity often claimed for visual images as distinct from literature’ (1997: p.82). The self-referential web of Schreiner’s text, which cuts across the novel’s multi-layered imagery and into its Preface, deconstructs the linearity of its own narrative. In so doing, it points to the ideology of a ‘progressive imperial ethos’ embedded within linear—and often infrastructural—productions of space (Esty, 2007: p.423).

Further meta-textual threads are inscribed into the broader motions of the plot. *African Farm*’s opening section adheres to a conventionally linear narrative form as it charts the early life of its child protagonists. Here, the farm is invaded by a darkly comic villain called ‘Bonaparte Blenkins’, whose name references a broader imperial and historical context and whose Britishness makes his allegorical signification of the hegemonic world-empire explicit. Lyndall’s earlier discussion and admiration of Napoleon Bonaparte draws these imperial undertones to the fore (p.58). In the novel’s second section, this narrative style fragments. After two philosophical chapters which focus on the landscape, the novel returns to a plot that becomes disjointed and anti-chronological. Invoking the narrative style of the *bildungsroman*, which details the process of ‘world socialisation’ through the ‘*interiorisation of contradiction*’, the formal shifts of Schreiner’s novel resist these ideological processes by highlighting those contradictions—her young protagonists refuse to ‘learn to live with it’ (Moretti, 2000: p.10). This resistance to socialisation is expanded to, and rooted in, the text’s geo-historical allusion

to the violent ramifications of an expanding capitalist world-system and its oppression and dispossession of native Africans.

Schreiner's mobilisation of the peripheral landscape as a space of resistance begins in the novel's opening paragraph: 'The full African moon poured down its light from the blue sky into the wide, lonely plain' (2003: p.47). The reader's attention is drawn by the light of the moon to the broad landscape: the 'solemn monotony of the plain', flat and two dimensional, is 'broken' by the three dimensional 'stunted "karoo" bushes, the low hills [...] the milk-bushes [and] the small solitary "kopje"' (p.47). The moonlight, like the narrative, lays bare the scene, framing these objects in an 'oppressive beauty' that meta-textually highlights the oppressive nature of its representational processes. The narrative's attempt to register the expansive space of the undeveloped veld results in the production of a text that gestures towards socioeconomic formations that are yet to be assimilated into the world-system, spaces that in turn work to challenge it directly.

Schreiner is aware that, for the coloniser, narrative functions as a way of 'mastering, looking from above, dividing up and controlling' geographical space, a process that 'ignores [...] the density of its lived-in quality'; in this case, the native Africans who 'lived in' the land prior to colonial occupation (Bal, 1997: p.147). As Bal argues, it is by 'providing a landscape with a history' that memory is spatialised, a process that 'undoes the killing of space as lived' (pp.147-8). Schreiner gives the landscape this history early in the novel in the form of 'some Bushmen-paintings', the 'red and black pigments' of which 'been preserved through long years' (2003: p.55). Deborah Shapple has pointed out that these paintings allude to 'a suppressed precolonial history', though simultaneously denying 'their creators or ancestral interpreters [...] access to the present

narrative moment' (2004: p.113). However, though the native Bushmen are themselves silent, Schreiner's male protagonist, Waldo, gives voice to them in a speech-act that, significantly, interrupts Lyndall's reflections on Napoleon Bonaparte's imperial ambitions. Whereas for Lyndall, Napoleon, acting here as a metonym for imperial expansion, is 'the greatest man who ever lived', Waldo is more interested in the 'Physical geography' of the kopje on which they sit, and interrupts her: 'If *they* could talk, if *they* could tell us now!' he says, moving his hand over the surrounding rocks (pp. 58, 60). Schreiner's narrative symbolically dislodges Lyndall's account of Napoleonic imperialism by introducing a segment of geographical space upon which the voiceless histories of the dispossessed are inscribed. As Bart Moore-Gilbert argues, Waldo's reading of the peripheral geographical zone is comparable to subaltern histories, as he searches for 'signs of the increasingly occluded "Bushman" histories' inscribed within its contours (2003: p.96).

Moving deeper into the novel, the spatiality that runs throughout is repeatedly mobilised to resist the ideological frameworks of a specifically British imperial enterprise. The text's two central chapters, 'Times and Seasons' and 'Waldo's Stranger', which initiate the shift away from the teleological development of the plot, root this spatial rupture in the physical geography of the peripheral South African landscape as they alter the generic structure of the narrative (Schreiner, 2003: pp.137-170). Schreiner's male protagonist, Waldo, as Burdett has noted, is 'frequently represented as lying or squatting close to the ground' (2001: p.41), and 'Times and Seasons' begins with him lying 'on his stomach on the sand' (Schreiner, 2003: p.137). The linear narrative is broken up into short, chronologically numbered segments that begin with juddering temporal statements: 'And then a new time rises' (p.139), 'Then a new time comes' (p.140),

‘Then a new time’ (p.145), ‘Then at last a new time’ (p.148). This constant ‘starting again’ disrupts the novel’s teleological development—all that has gone before is erased with the arrival of each new narrative section. This chapter ends with the following sentence:

And so, it comes to pass at last, that whereas the sky was at first a small blue rag stretched out over us, and so low that our hands might touch it, pressing down on us, it raises itself into an immeasurable blue arch over our heads, and we begin to live again. (p.154)

The narrative emphasises its own ability to convey, through the spatial dislocations of its form, a more accurate depiction of the South African landscape, each of which are implicitly infused with an expression of anti-imperial resistance. The imperial ideological frameworks that confine narratives such as the romance to their generic linearity—‘pressing down on us’—are first evoked and then resisted. After the disruption of this teleological progression, the landscape is now seen as ‘immeasurable’, beyond the romance’s regulatory narrative structures. The text produces a new ideological terrain that is inflected into the colonial landscape, and from within which an anti-imperial and distinctly spatial resistance can be seen to emerge.

For Coetzee, Schreiner’s portrayal of the ‘idleness of life on her late nineteenth-century farm’ actually ‘underscores the centrality of the question of labour in the South African pastoral’ (1980: p.4), a genre that, as Nicole Devarenne has argued, ‘would develop, by the 1930s, into an ideologically important genre justifying colonial subjugation and white supremacist claims to Afrikaner ownership of the land’ (2009: p.627). The ‘chief labour’ of the few native Africans represented in the novel ‘is to perform boundary work. They stand at thresholds, windows and walls, opening and shutting

doors' (McClintock, 1995: p.268).¹⁷ In Chapter VIII, entitled 'The Kopje'—a naming that again reinforces the text's geographical coordinates—Lyndall draws the attention of the 'new man, Gregory Rose', another invading Englishman, to 'a Kaffir' (Schreiner, 2003: p.219). As Lyndall turns to converse with him she closes 'her book' and folds 'her hands on it' (p.219), once again enacting Schreiner's own resistance to linear narratives. By drawing Gregory's attention to the 'Kaffir' who is, she claims, 'the most interesting and intelligent thing I can see just now', she demonstrates her affinity with a subjected native African population (p.219).

Certainly, the novel's critique is compromised by Lyndall's inability to extricate herself entirely from contemporaneous racist ideologies: 'Doss', Lyndall's dog, is, she considers, more intelligent than both the 'Kaffir' and Gregory, and though the native African is acknowledged here, at no point throughout the novel are these 'boundary' figures given an explicit agency or voice. But these traces of racism are complicated by Lyndall's anti-imperialism, one that is further conflated with her critique of the native African's own male-dominated social structures: 'he is going to fetch his rations, and I suppose to kick his wife with his beautiful legs when he gets home. He has a right to; he bought her for two oxen' (p.219). Lyndall's sarcasm indicates her ideological rejection of a British imperialist narrative as she sides, if only by default, with the absent female native African. Lyndall confounds her white male interlocutor who, 'not quite sure how to take these remarks [...] half laughed and half not, to be on the safe side' (p.220). Significantly, Gregory's 'one tiny room' is 'profusely covered with prints cut from the

¹⁷ In her later novella, *Trooper Peter Halket of Mashonaland* (1897), though 'the land' is 'as bare of black men' as Haggard's depiction of the Transvaal, this absence is more explicitly ascribed to imperial violence: 'all native habitations had been destroyed within a radius of thirty miles' by the 'Colonial Englishmen'; 'forty miles off kraals had been destroyed and two hundred black carcasses were lying in the sun' (2009: p.36).

Illustrated London News' (p.171), as he attempts, quite literally, to 'wall' out South Africa's geographical realities. His uncertainty in the face of the landscape and its black inhabitants reveals the limits of his ideology. Lyndall subverts his belief in the ability of the imperial romances written 'in Piccadilly or in the Strand' to represent accurately South Africa's peripheral socioeconomic, geographic and cultural zones. The resistance embedded within Schreiner's meta-textual strategies is mobilised through this emphasis on the specifically peripheral location from which they originate, beyond the infrastructural and economic circuitries of the world-system.

Johannesburg: City of Exploitation, Segregation and Resistance

Whilst Schreiner mobilises literary depictions of the peripheral landscape into a form that deconstructs and resists imperial ideology, this chapter concludes by turning to the literary production of South Africa's urban space, and specifically Johannesburg, as it began to dominate increasingly the region's physical and imagined geographies. Literary interrogations of, and resistance to, Johannesburg's segregated urban geography appeared throughout the twentieth century. They shift from critiques of the exploitation of black labour in the gold mines, such as Peter Abrahams' *Mine Boy* (1946, suggestively described by the *African Writers Series* as 'The First Modern Novel of Black South Africa' (Abrahams, 1963: front cover)) to interrogations of the corrupting power of the metropolis in texts such as Alan Paton's *Cry, the Beloved Country* (1948). But it was in 1927 that Plomer published his short story, 'Ula Masondo', in which he began to depict the 'literary infrastructures' of Johannesburg's urban space. As Craig Mackenzie has observed, Plomer's story set the thematic and generic coordinates for 'the "Jim comes to Jo'burg" mould' (Attwell and Attridge eds.,

2012: p.371). Therefore, though focusing on the story's intertextual and subversive rewriting of the imperial romance, this section also shows how Plomer's 'Ula Masondo' took up Schreiner's project and looked forward to the work of Abrahams, Paton and others, initiating future representations both of segregation as well as resistance to it, at the levels of both content and form. It is in this sense that 'Ula Masondo' can be said to enact what Loren Kruger calls 'performative archaeology': it 'includes not only the excavation of buried structures, but the reconstruction of performances that inhabited, shaped, and contested those structures', thereby imagining 'future alternatives' (Kruger, 2013: pp.11-12).

In 1911, William Plomer's father, Charles, moved to Johannesburg to work in the central pass office at the Department of Native Affairs. Charles Plomer's job was, as the head of a complex system of clerks, interpreters and police, to administer increasingly restrictive policies to black Africans working in the gold mines (Alexander, 1989: p.16). As he recalled in his autobiography, Plomer observed 'the unskilled black migrants of many tribes' who 'came as strangers, uneducated and bewildered, to the white man's new, urban, industrial world', experiencing the complex 'pass system' and other methods of segregation firsthand (1975: p.94). It is perhaps due to these early experiences that Plomer came to develop an outspoken anticolonial perspective, albeit articulated from a position of both economic and racial privilege. In addition, whilst in 1924 'there was no law forbidding miscegenation in South Africa', there were 'laws (modelled on those of Britain)' that made 'homosexuality a crime', thus further alienating Plomer, who was himself gay, from the legal system (Alexander, 1989: p.81).

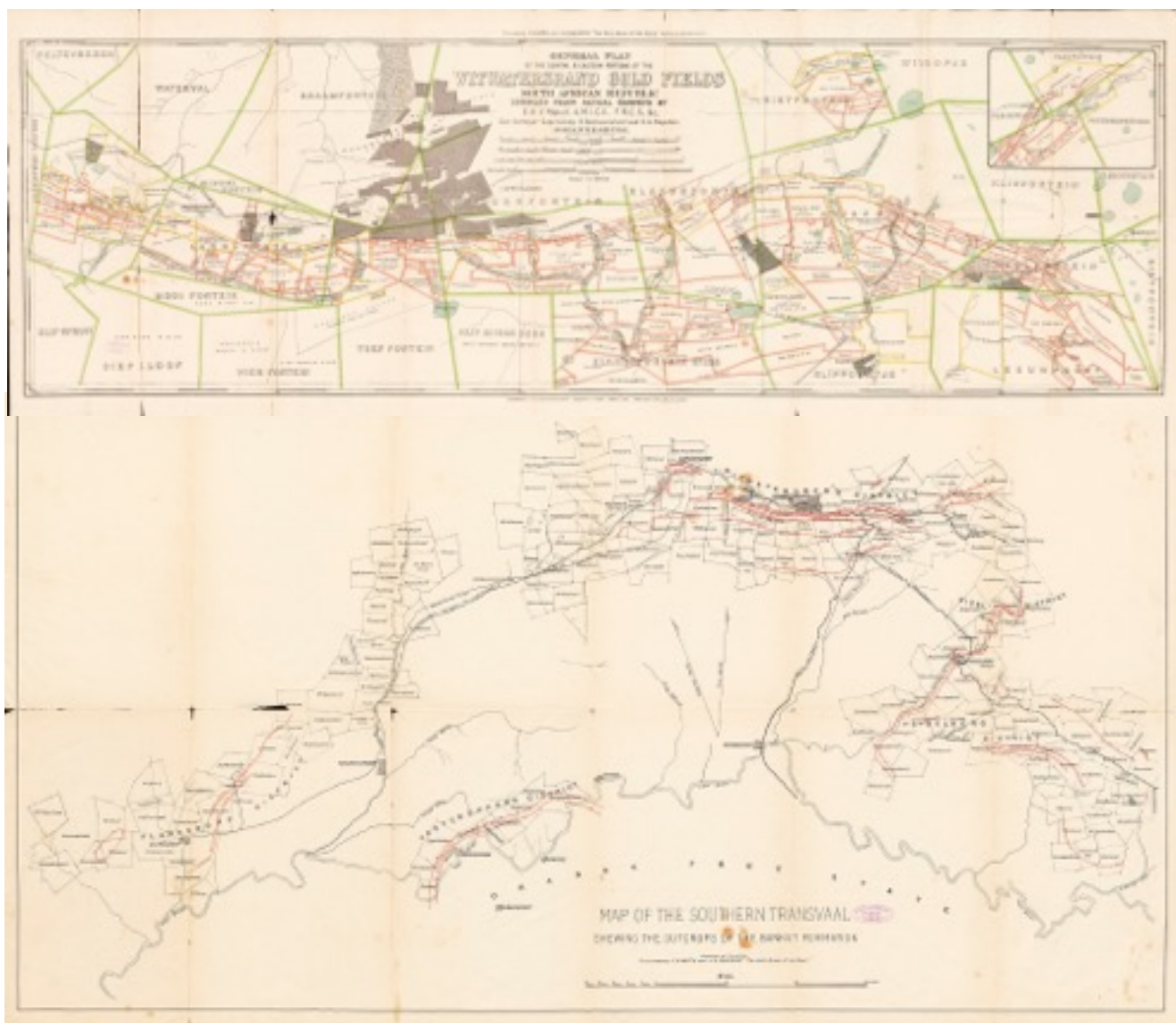


Fig. 2.7 These maps and plans of the ‘Witwatersrand Gold Fields’ and the ‘Southern Transvaal’, compiled by two mining engineers in 1895, reveal how Johannesburg’s complex imperial and segregationist history is inscribed into its unevenly developed city spaces. Ref: A.Q.622.096822 HAT. National Library of South Africa. In the early twentieth century, the British spent a colossal £3.5 million on the development of urban infrastructure—‘sanitation, sewerage, roads, stormwater drainage, water supply, electric tramways’—but ‘almost exclusively in areas occupied by white people’ (Beavon, 2004: pp.71-2). After the first formal establishment of the city’s municipal boundary in 1901, the surrounding ‘townships’ in fact became suburbs, but this descriptive term for a segment of urban space remained, used colloquially ‘to refer exclusively to the “black areas” and particularly those initially called “Locations”’ (p.75). The city’s racial demography quite literally shaped, and was in turn shaped by, its internal uneven development. Kruger describes Johannesburg’s ‘unevenly developed districts’ and ‘unevenly joined parcels of real estate’ as an ‘edgy city’, a label that the proliferation of borders on the above city plan appears to justify (2013: pp.3-5).



Fig. 2.8 A photograph of ‘Market Square, Johannesburg, 1905’, by Miss Catherine Henderson, a large empty space in the middle of the city primarily used for trading goods, but where a number of miners’ strikes also took place in the early twentieth century. BRITISH ASSOCIATION OF SCIENCE, 1905, A17Fol. Wits, Historical Papers, University of the Witwatersrand.

During the years in which Plomer was writing ‘Ula Masondo’ before its publication in 1927, a number of legal mechanisms ensured that only Africans who ‘served white needs’ were permitted access to the city (Meredith, 2008: p.523). This segregationist ‘legal fabric’ was manifested in Johannesburg’s ‘built’ environment, embodying Weizman’s analysis of the mutually sustaining ‘law/wall’ formula (2012: p.210) and maintaining ‘the hierarchisation of the work-force and its highly unequal distributions of reward’ (Wallerstein, 2011: p.78). The white population’s contradictory need to have black labour “‘on site” from early dawn until after sunset’, whilst also restricting them to ‘segregated and areally confined Locations well away from “white space”’, led to a patchwork of unevenly developed ‘inner-urban slumyards’ and white residential areas within the city’s municipal boundaries (Beavon, 2004: p.80). Johannesburg was built around a framework of core infrastructural networks and routes that were nevertheless riddled, internally, with peripheral zones, spaces of economic impoverishment that

existed outside of the legal parameters of the city's governmental administration. These ideologies of racial segregation and white control were imposed through the construction of internal boundary lines and borders that had been conceptually crystallised in the earlier geographies of the imperial romance. However, 'Ula Masondo's' production of urban space demonstrates ways in which these boundaries were transgressed and resisted from the outset.

Rewriting the Imperial Romance: The 'Revolutionary Trajectories' of 'Ula Masondo'

'Ula Masondo' appeared as one of the longer stories in Plomer's first collection, confidently entitled *I Speak of Africa* (1927). As Stephen Gray notes, this 'bold claim' implies both 'an outright declaration of content (Africa) and of intention (plain talk, straight from the shoulder)' (Gray, 1986: p.53). Unlike Haggard but in line with Schreiner, Plomer wrote the stories of which this collection is comprised not after a period of spatio-temporal distance from the geographical area of South Africa, but rather from within the immediacy of the 'contact zone' (Pratt, 2003: p.8). The result is that rather than writing the infrastructural lines that had held the ideological, racial and geographical borders of imperial romance narratives together as contained and secure, Plomer instead explores their permeability and their susceptibility to appropriation, exploring how they might themselves initiate certain 'revolutionary trajectories' (Harvey, 2012: p.xvii). Crucially, however, these political shifts are constructed through an explicit rewriting of the imperial romance, inverting and subverting several of the genre's tropes and thematic concerns.

Plomer's narrative is still framed by the subjectivity of a 'white storekeeper' whose ambition is to open up trade with a rural native population, setting up 'a second Harrods here in Lembuland' (Plomer, 1984a: pp.51-2). Lembuland, a fictional location that is also the setting of Plomer's first novel, *Turbott Wolfe*, published two years earlier in 1925, is a railway journey of about 'two days and two nights' north of Johannesburg, and thus positioned in a geographical location towards the African interior where Haggard's text is also set (today South Africa's Limpopo province). In so doing, Plomer de-mythologises the romance's geography, satirically introducing the socioeconomic realities—'Harrods'—of colonial capitalism into King Solomon's realm. After the first few paragraphs have introduced this white, profit-orientated perspective, the one-dimensional narrative breaks down and its progression falters. Though only thirty pages long, 'Ula Masondo' is fragmented into nineteen short chapters or sections, each of which exhibit sharp perspectival and geographical shifts, formally deconstructing the linear movement mapped by Haggard's imperial romance narratives. At the beginning of section two, the narrative shifts from the perspective of the white trader to a black African, the titular Ula Masondo; section three shifts yet again to the perspective of Ula's father; and section four, one page later, throws the reader straight into a 'crowded' train as Ula makes his way from the rural northern territory down to the mining centre of Johannesburg (pp.52-5). The decision 'to break the linear narrative into fragments' results in the creation of a 'simultaneity or spatiality', as the narrative engages in a new form of literary 'mapping' that produces a different, more complex, South African geography (Tally, 2013: p.36).

However, 'Ula Masondo' exhibits several of the imperial romance's key generic traits. It narrates Ula's journey into a bewildering and dangerous landscape in search of the

wealth buried within it. It contains detailed descriptions of the environment into which it moves, presenting them as new and alien to an implied reader through Ula's perspective: 'the air was full of foreign newness' (1984a: p.56). Ula becomes part of a small group unified in its confrontation of a series of socioeconomic difficulties ('financial adversity kept them together' (p.64)). Entering the gold mine, Ula becomes trapped in a 'cave' when there is a 'fall of rock' that leaves him 'cut off from the world' (p.69). Finally, after escaping the mine's 'entombing rock' (p.70), Ula realises his fortune and returns to his homeland wealthier than he left it, laden with symbols of his newfound materialism.

However, Plomer's adventuring protagonist is not a white imperialist but a black African who, rather than travelling from the south to the north, instead moves in the opposite direction, down from the rural north to the industrialising centre in the south. This landscape is not empty, penetrated by only one linear infrastructural route. 'The thin brown grass of the veld' gives way to the 'mine dumps, sticking up beyond the horizon like the summits of snow-mountains'—recall Quartermain's description of 'Sheba's snowy Breasts' (Haggard, 2008: p.67)—and 'the great Reef Road' that runs 'parallel' to the train leads past 'bitter citadels of unreasoning industry' to the heart of Johannesburg (p.55). This road is bustling with 'an incessant traffic of cars, bicycles and pedestrians' and the cityscape becomes increasingly saturated with 'streets', 'shacks of corrugated iron', 'trams, buildings, shops [and] many voices' (pp.55-6). The train, in an inversion of the 'Place of Death' that was the final destination of Haggard's infrastructural line (2008: p.158), here stops 'in the great terminus like a cavern, like a nightmare, like a dread' (Plomer, 1984a: p.56). It is a landscape not of redemptive, romanticised space, where, as Schwarz argues, the 'prescriptive ideal of the figure of the

white man' is at its most 'absolute' (Schwarz, 2011: p.118). Instead, it is littered with barracks, compounds and mines, and instils in Ula a taste for the materialism of the metropole: 'the wearing of clothes', 'methyated spirit at the price of French brandy' and 'cigarettes' (Plomer, 1984a: pp.57, 60, 62).

Working as a labourer in the gold mines, Ula becomes trapped after a 'fall of rock' blocks his exit: the 'entombing rock' is not a mythologised King Solomon's mine located beyond the reaches of global capital, but is instead deep in the economic heart of South Africa's newly industrialised urban centre. Whilst trapped in the mine, Ula has a peculiar dream-like hallucination when he slips out of consciousness due to the claustrophobia of the conditions: 'he found himself confined in a small space without light, or air, or any sound save that of his blood singing thickly in his ears' and 'his lungs seem to be full of earth' (p.69). It is at this point, as Ula's hallucination begins, that the prose form of Plomer's narrative transforms into a set of poetic verses of uneven and differing length:

The cavern can keep
Its secrets in stillness,
In darkness, enfolded
In the wild fig trees,
Whose sinews are moulded
To the curves of the stone,
And whose roots are thrust
In a crevice of dust,
Clinging tightly within
To the nerves of the quartz [...]
Far down, far down,
Where are the savage
Cities of the future? [...]
What are you doing,
Ula Masondo?
Do you follow the Bushmen?
Do you travel to the valley
This side of the city? (pp.71-4)

This poetic intervention grapples with the *topographical*, or multi-dimensional geology of the landscape, tracing ‘the curves of the stone’ and ‘the nerves of the quartz’, as well as ‘[t]he cave-paintings of the Bushmen’ that are daubed onto its surface, recalling *African Farm*’s depiction of the ‘Bushmen paintings’ (2003: p.55). Plomer’s form unpicks the romance’s linear infrastructure, challenging its ideological project to map the South African landscape and its resources as open and accessible. Whereas Haggard flattens the ‘landscape’ out ‘before us like a map’ (Haggard, 2008: p.68), Plomer’s narrative, like Schreiner’s, achieves ‘a density that is akin to the simultaneity often claimed for visual images as distinct from literature’ (Bal, 1997: p.82). This density is infused with a politics that emphasises the historical effects of imperialism. As the poetic formal interlude ends and the regular prose returns, Ula has a prophetic premonition of ‘valleys’ that do not resemble the ‘promised land’, ‘like Paradise’, of *King Solomon’s Mines* (Haggard, 2008: p.70). Rather, they are ‘threaded with the smoke of occasional trains, with telegraph wires’, with ‘the houses of men of property’, and ‘humming motor-cars, shining and powerful’ (Plomer, 1984a: pp.75-6)—he envisions a landscape infrastructurally sutured in to the world-system of industrial capitalism.

After surviving the rock fall, Ula decides to leave the mines: he ‘received his wages’, ‘paid his debts’ and—just as Quartermain and his companions opt to leave Kukuanialand—decides to return to Lembuland (p.78). Even Ula’s newfound material wealth parodies the huge financial wealth that the romance’s imperialists are able to extract. He carries ‘a suitcase of plum-coloured cardboard embossed to look like leather [...] in a hand resplendent with cheap rings’ and wears swinging ‘ear-rings’ and ‘streamers of pink wool’ on his wrists (pp.78-80). In a final parodic enactment of the romance’s racist ideology, when he returns from the city Ula dismisses his mother as a ‘bloody heathen’,

in reaction to which she commits suicide (pp.80-1). This depiction of the way in which migrant movements between rural and city spaces channelled ‘new, urban behaviour patterns back to the reserves’, thereby challenging ‘traditional African structures’ (Lester, 1998: p.87), might suggest a tone of nostalgia for, or romanticisation of, a pre-capitalist, pre-industrial African society. However, in the story’s closing frame narrative, which returns to the perspective of the white trader in conversation with his wife, the narrative retargets its satirical focus back at this tendency toward romanticisation. In so doing, it questions ‘capital’s attempts to acquire labour power from colonised, yet “traditionally” oriented, or, as they were called by whites, “raw” Africans’ (Lester et al., 2000: p.108):

‘[...] By jove, there’s an example for you, of a boy going away all right, and coming back with all this Christian dandy business that I can’t stand at any price. Give me the raw nigger any day, is what I have always maintained.’
‘Oh, go on, Fred, you’re the one that’s always talking about increasing their wants, and getting the trade built up for little Freddy—’
‘Yes, that’s all very well, but if that Ula Masondo ever comes here again, won’t I give him a piece of my mind!’ (p.81)

In this closing interchange, a paradoxical tension emerges as the white colonial traders *lament* the creation of a black urban proletariat that engages with the consumer society imposed upon it, whilst simultaneously facilitating that expansive process themselves. The romanticisation of the rural landscape and the image of the ‘noble savage’—a trope that, as Chrisman argues, was commonly used in imperial romance narratives to ‘articulate and then resolve anxieties’ created by black resistance to white rule (Attwell and Attridge eds., 2012: p.237)—cannot be reconciled with the simultaneous incorporation of both the geographical space and its indigenous peoples into the capitalist world-system; a process that was nevertheless necessary to render its mineral

wealth accessible. Plomer illuminates a fundamental contradiction underpinning capital accumulation, a recursive pattern that is taken up and explored more thoroughly in the next chapter's discussion of John Buchan's 'frontier consciousness'. Even as Fred's wife begins to point out this tension, gesturing towards the economic function of the colonies as a new market for capitalist production, she is cut short by her husband, reducing this fundamental contradiction to a Machereyan 'silence' or 'absence', a faltering that marks the text's ideological contour (1986: p.79). But the argument remains 'in the very letter of the text' (p.151), the white trader making it even more conspicuous by his explosive interruption.

By parodying the imperial romance's key features in this way, Plomer's narrative brings, to use Scott's terminology, that genre's 'hidden transcript' into the 'public discourse' (1990: p.5). It draws attention to the 'discrepancies' between its own narrative and the conventions of the romance genre, exposing and interrogating, before finally rupturing that genre's ideological borders. The imperial romance attempted to construct, as Jameson might remark, 'imaginary or formal "solutions" to unresolvable social contradictions' by producing a South African space conspicuously evacuated of both industrialising cityscapes and black subjectivities (2002: p.64). In his rewriting of the imperial romance Plomer foregrounds those tensions, otherwise located in the genre's ideological, formal and cartographic borderlands, to produce a South African geography that is dominated by vast infrastructural webs and emerging urban environments. This chapter will conclude, however, by showing the way in which 'Ula Masondo' also explores the various forms of resistance that these spatial configurations and their segregationist underpinnings both provoked and enabled.

Michael Wade, in his 'preliminary investigation' into the relationship between 'the historical processes of industrialisation and urbanisation in South Africa' and 'their literary inscriptions', identifies the railway as one of its most potent and 'multivalent symbols' (Boehmer et al. eds., 1994: p.76). Wade argues that whilst configured as 'the symbol of penetration', the railway's power is in fact 'necessarily dualistic' (p.78). The train 'brings together' only to 'set apart': it becomes a 'mediating environment' that both 'symbolically and actually brings white and black groups together', whilst maintaining the spatial inscriptions of racial segregation that gave shape to urban Johannesburg (pp.78-84). Indeed, within the duration of the short story's narrative, Ula actually appropriates, to use Wade's words, 'the representative symbol of the industrial-political power of the South African state' (p.90). On Ula's journey from the rural province of Lembuland to Johannesburg, the train 'window' reveals to them its 'bitter citadels of unreasoning industry', leaving among Ula and his 'compatriots in the train' the 'silence of apprehension' (Plomer, 1984a: p.55). However, by the end of the narrative, after Ula's inauguration into the metropolis and his assimilation into the world-system, the carriage is no longer a location of uneasy revelation. Instead, as 'the rushing train' returns Ula to Lembuland in the story's penultimate section, the infrastructural line is not the 'white' road of King Solomon, but is rather described, significantly, as 'black' (p.80). Ula is comfortable in the crowded station amongst the 'many moving forms of noisy and emerging humanity' and his refusal to recognise his mother reinforces the shift in his social and spatial affiliations from tribal to urban socioeconomic structures (p.80).

The appropriation of this arterial transport infrastructure is matched by Ula's familiarity with, and ability to move within and between, the city's segregated urban space.

Immediately after his arrival in Johannesburg, Ula is at first restricted to the regulatory structures, both spatial and temporal, that are in place: ‘he suffered and never forgot the routine of work and rest at the Simeon and Steck Amalgamated’, moving past only ‘the engine-house on his way to the compound’ (p.56). Historically, however, compound managers did offer ‘the discretionary issue of “special passes”’ to workers, allowing them ‘to move about the Witwatersrand, particularly on weekends’ (Marks and Rathbone eds., 1982: p.260). Sure enough, as Ula soon discovers, on ‘Sunday afternoons life improved’ (Plomer, 1984a: p.57). In these small temporal segments of freedom, Ula begins to drink, gamble and befriend a small group of other black workers. After the group’s gambling habits land them ‘several pounds in debt’, they begin to devise ways of increasing their acquisition of material wealth:

Stefan suggested that they should join his friends, who knew a good way of making money, their custom being to station themselves on a lonely road behind the kopjes near the Simeon and Steck, and to lie in wait for cyclists and pedestrians, on whom they would rush out with a volley of sticks and stones. After the assault there was robbery, and after the robbery there was flight. The scene of these operations had lately been changed, so there was little danger of arrest. (p. 61)

Ula, Stefan and their friends locate themselves in a geographical space that is within the infrastructural web of the urban landscape, yet simultaneously beyond its regulatory apparatuses: both police and compound managers, though nearby, are evaded. They situate themselves in what David Harvey, in a discussion of Lefebvre, calls ‘liminal social spaces’, where ““something different” is not only possible, but foundational for the defining of revolutionary trajectories’ (Harvey, 2012: p.xvii).¹⁸ It becomes ‘the

¹⁸ Indeed, Peter Richardson and Jean Jacques Van-Helten read the ‘progressive growth of urban crime’ in early twentieth-century Johannesburg as ‘evidence of African resistance to the control imposed by the mining industry’ (Marks and Rathbone eds., 1982: p.92).

custom' of Ula's gang 'to meet in a thicket of [...] bushes on an unfrequented part of the kopje near the mine', where they are, significantly, 'unseen by the rest of the world', despite being located deep within the networks of global capital (Plomer, 1984a: p.62). The 'something different' they enact begins to arise, as Harvey would argue, not necessarily as part 'of a conscious plan, but more simply out of what people do, feel, sense, and come to articulate as they seek meaning in their daily lives' (2012: p.xvii). Plomer's story narrates this process as Ula and his fellow workers, ground down by their heavy labour, seek hedonistic indulgence to make their life bearable, in turn resorting to crime to fund this lifestyle. The spatially segregated areas within which the white population is situated are transfigured, in Plomer's text, into the source of wealth that improves Ula's material condition. The urban environment enables a form of resistance that was unrealisable in the rural geographies of the romance. As one member of Ula's gang comments, 'There is no money in Lembuland [...] All the white people there are policemen or missionaries. How can you get money in such a place?' (p.68)

The revolutionary trajectory to which the gang's spontaneous actions give rise becomes increasingly coordinated as they seek increased financial reward by stealing from their 'masters' (p.65). Their plan is sophisticated, with each individual playing a different, pre-designated role in the robbery, and is premised on the gang's ability both to cross over the boundary wall that surrounds the white master's home and to penetrate the building's entrances and exits. Ula is able, quite easily, to 'peep' over the wall, and does so 'just in time to see Emma leaping out of the back door with a jingle of jewellery' in an act that empowers her—a black African woman—to remove these embodiments of material wealth from the home of a white man (p.65). With this distraction in place,

Stefan is able to ‘dart’ into the house, and after stealing the ‘box’ in which the money is kept, ‘hurdles’ over the wall (p.66).

This transgression of physical boundary lines—infrastructures of segregation inserted to maintain both racial and class divisions—results in a successful act of resistance, the possibility of which is itself created by the geography and spatial planning of the urban environment. ‘If the walls attempt to harness the natural entropy of the urban’, argues Weizman, ‘breaking it would liberate new social and political forms’ (2012: p.210). Plomer’s protagonists render ‘the wall’—symbolic of the barriers of the segregated city—to be ‘no longer physically or conceptually solid’ or, within the ‘law/wall’ paradigm, ‘legally impenetrable’: ‘the functional spatial syntax that [the wall] created collapses’ (Weizman, 2012: p.210). Here, it is Plomer’s textual syntax that deconstructs the order implemented by Johannesburg’s rigid infrastructural segmentations. ‘Ula Masondo’ engages in the process of ‘performative archaeology’, an excavation of social and physical urban space that not only contests its structures but, as Kruger argues, ‘imagine[s] future alternatives’ (2013: pp.11-12).

This urban environment, which attempts to contain black Africans as a reliable but subdued labour force, here becomes the location of a disruptive, if not revolutionary, black proletariat that threatens that environment’s stability. This transformation results in the functioning of the city, to return to Harvey, ‘as an important site of political action and revolt’, the ‘physical and social re-engineering and territorial organisation’ that has been central to the industrialising process becoming ‘a weapon in political struggles’ (2012: pp.117-8). As Gray argues, during this period Plomer was engaged in a project of ‘demystifying and de-exoticizing what before him had been the vast romantic

emptiness of the non-Eurocentric world' (1986: p.60). Fundamental to this process was the representation of urban environments that, as sites of socio-political contestation, were repeatedly written out of the South African geographies produced by the imperial romance. Plomer's 'Ula Masondo', in Scott's terminology, produces a 'public declaration' of these 'hidden transcripts' by re-orientating its perspective and producing a hitherto unmapped area of South African space (1990: p.5). The effect of Plomer's literary intervention is to expose the limits of the romance's spatial productions, revealing the socio-ideological and geographical borders of the genre's cartographic project.

'Ula Masondo' looks forward to the conceptualisation of Johannesburg not only as a city of segregation and domination, but as an arena of narrative possibility that initiates resistance to, and transgressions of, its spatial structures. However, though in the half-century following *King Solomon's Mines*' publication South Africa was relentlessly woven into the capitalist world-system, imperial romances continued to be published and circulated widely. The genre's literary geographies were modified and adapted in response to the region's infrastructural and urban shifts—aspects of the genre would even shape literary texts responding to India's deeply uneven infrastructural development in the 1920s and 30s, as the fourth chapter will show. In the next chapter, I therefore return to the imperial romance in its slightly later incarnation, documented here in the work of John Buchan. Though both Schreiner's and Plomer's literary writings throw the 'infrapolitics' of Haggard's romance into relief, Buchan's texts produce more nuanced literary geographies that cannot be so easily resisted through the intertextual connections that I have analysed so far. By assessing what I will call Buchan's 'frontier consciousness', the next chapter will show how despite producing a

more complex, topographical production of the South African landscape than Haggard could have imagined, Buchan's literary texts continue to be complicit with the processes of capitalist accumulation. In the spirit of this thesis, however, this chapter will also continue its search for the ideological contradictions and tensions that manifest in these texts, showing how they can be most clearly delineated by focusing on the infrastructures *in* and *of* Buchan's writing.

Chapter Three: Mapping Frontiers: John Buchan and the Topographies of Imperial Ideology

Introduction: Frontiers and Borderlands

If the fiction of writers such as Schreiner and Plomer was becoming increasingly preoccupied with South Africa's industrialising urban centres, John Buchan was more interested in a very different segment of the region's geography: the South African 'highveld'. For Buchan, this distinctive topography performed an ideological function that is inscribed into his literary productions of space. It operated as a redemptive antidote not only to South Africa's social and economic urban tensions, but also those of metropolitan centres in Britain. As he reflected in 1903:

its vast spaces [...] are built on a scale other than ours; man's labour has in the last resort no power to change them. [...] It is England, richer, softer, kindlier, a vast demesne laid out as no landscape gardener could ever contrive, waiting for a human life worthy of such an environment. (1903: p.126)

This chapter will show that the South African highveld recurs throughout Buchan's writing. As Jeremy Foster explains, its topographical 'depth', its 'absence of points of purchase for the eye' and its 'lack of strategic frames of geographical reference, such as roads, towns and the accurate measures of distance' made it a 'landscape that lacked enclosure, orientation and articulation' (1998: pp.333-34). For Buchan, it was a 'frontier', a geographical area that marks 'the boundary between civilised settlement and untamed nature, and between the colonial settlers and the various non-white, mainly but not exclusively indigenous peoples' (Schwarz, 2011: pp.111-2). The 'colonial frontier' is almost always synonymous with what Mary Louise Pratt calls the 'contact

zone', a phrase used in the previous chapter. Pratt's tactical renaming 'shifts the centre of gravity and the point of view' away from its implicit Eurocentrism, as the idea of the frontier 'is grounded within a European expansionist perspective (the frontier is a frontier only with respect to Europe)' (2003: pp.6-7). Whilst writing with the same political and historical agendas that inform Pratt's terminological clarification, in this chapter I retain the term 'frontier', using it not to re-entrench a Eurocentric world geography but rather to isolate and then analyse a specific strand of imperial ideology in Buchan's colonial literature.

When he was invited to give the annual 'Romanes Lecture' at the University of Oxford in 1907, Lord George Curzon, Viceroy of India from 1899 to 1905, chose to speak on 'the subject of frontiers' (1907: p.3). Contrasting 'the boundaries of the British Empire in Asia' with the recent political border negotiations in 'every part of Africa', he observed that '[o]utside of the English Universities no school of character exists to compare with the Frontier' (p.56). The frontier was a pressure valve for the various class and racial conflicts that were foregrounded in urban environments, as Plomer's 'Ula Masondo' made clear. This release was not only ideological, but also social and economic. Ashis Nandy observes that 'by opening up alternative channels of social mobility in the colonies and by underwriting nationalist sentiments through colonial wars of expansion', colonial frontiers 'blurred the lines of social divisions' and 'shunted off to the colonies certain indirect expressions of cultural criticism: social deviants unhappy with the social order and buffeted by the stress within it' (1983: p.33). In the early twentieth-century, however, these redemptive frontier spaces were becoming increasingly rare and contested: 'As the vacant spaces of the earth are filled up, the competition for the residue is temporarily more keen', Curzon observed (1907: p.7). By

1924, Joseph Conrad would write nostalgically of ‘the geography of open spaces and wide horizons, built up on men’s devoted work in the open air’, lamenting ‘its approaching end with the death of the last great explorer’ (1926: p.14).

In a speech delivered on 24th October 1907, as he was working on the short segments of romance fiction that would eventually become *Prester John* in 1910, Buchan himself discussed this ideology of the frontier, or what I will call ‘frontier consciousness’. He combined the economic benefits of emigration to the colonies with the frontier rhetoric of the imperial romance, as Haggard himself had propagated it:

These new countries give a man a horizon and an ideal which he may not be able to find at home. He has his chance, and the look-out ahead for him is not a lifetime spent in working at small wages, for others. [...] The emigrant has romance in his life, for he knows there is the chance of the unforeseen, and this chance puts enterprise and ambition into men [...] It is as the residuary remedy for social disorders that we must advocate it, and it is a remedy which must be increasingly used if both the Mother Country and the outlying Empire are to remain in social *and* economic health. (1940b: pp.127-8, my emphasis)

I emphasise the conjunction here to highlight how, for Buchan, the romance of the frontier served the interests of *both* the economic *and* ideological metabolisms of an expanding world-system. Beginning with *Prester John* (1910) and moving through two of Buchan’s ‘Hannay’ novels—*The Thirty-Nine Steps* (1915) and *Greenmantle* (1916)—this chapter will demonstrate how Buchan’s fiction sets out more fully the paradox that was identified in the concluding scene of Plomer’s short story, in which his white characters lament the industrialisation of South Africa whilst themselves facilitating capital’s expansive processes. The spatial dynamics of this paradox are complex, so it is necessary to outline them now.

Buchan's literary writings show that frontier consciousness always needs to move outwards, driven by the need to expand into a pre-capitalist terrain. But the processes of mapping and narrating that enable this expansion result in the assimilation of these frontier spaces into the world-system. The frontier therefore has to be produced, assimilated and then *reproduced* again; as Schwarz describes, 'the frontier itself proliferates' (2011: p.259). Even as Buchan's fiction realises this self-defeating ambition, it immediately resumes the same struggle to expand outwards. These motions are best excavated out of the infrastructural coordinates of Buchan's novels by focusing, as I will show, on his use of infrastructure *in* the text. Buchan's physical infrastructures open up new frontiers by transporting his protagonists into pre-capitalist spaces, whilst simultaneously facilitating the incorporation of those pre-capitalist zones into the world-system—what Hopkins and Wallerstein would call the processes of 'peripheralisation' (1982: p.99). The paradox is that this peripheralisation process intensifies the need to produce more space 'beyond' in order that capital's accumulative processes can continue. In Buchan's 'imaginative geography', to use Derek Gregory's adaptation of Edward Said's term (2004: p.17), it is the 'vast spaces' of the South African highveld that are able to absorb the infrastructural expansions underpinning the world-system without its frontier geography ever being entirely assimilated into them.

However, like Haggard, Buchan spent a remarkably short time in South Africa. Arriving in 1901 and leaving in 1903, he returned only once to Cape Town in May 1905. But the experience gripped his imagination: 'Those were wonderful years for me, years of bodily and mental activity, of zeal and hope not yet dashed by failure', he recalled in his autobiography, written in the year of his death, noting that 'it is the land itself which holds my memory' (1940a: pp.110-11, 115). Buchan was at the centre of an intense,

though short-lived, British imperial project. Appointed to the Land Settlement Department in Pretoria, he was a member of the ‘so-called “kindergarten”’, a group of young men with ‘nearly unfettered power’ led by Alfred Milner, the new High Commissioner of South Africa (Kruse, 1989: pp.43-4). Milner was an ‘imperial zealot’ who, in the aftermath of the Anglo-Boer War, was determined to transform the Transvaal into a ‘thoroughly British’ domain (Meredith, 2010: pp.365-7, 482). The British infrastructural development of Johannesburg, documented in the previous chapter, was accompanied by a cultural imperial project that encouraged British immigration and settlement, and introduced British education systems to promote anglicisation and ‘denationalise’ Dutch-speakers. By the time Milner was recalled to Britain in April 1905, however, it was evident that these strategies had failed. British immigration never reached the levels he had hoped for and his anti-Dutch policies served only to antagonise and reinforce an emerging Afrikaner nationalism (see Afigbo et al., 1986b: pp.165-7; Johnson, 2003: p.72).

If the failure of this political project cracked the veneer of his imperial ideology, Buchan’s nostalgic preoccupation with the South African landscape was more deeply rooted in his personal experience of it. Working as ‘Milner’s “fixer”’, Buchan dealt with ‘difficult operations characterised by political sensitivity bordering on constitutional impropriety’ (Macdonald ed., 2009: p.68). This included pursuing ‘on Milner’s behalf a policy of taking back for use by incoming British settlers land in the former republics which had already been leased by their governments to Boer farmers’ (p.69). Buchan was therefore responsible for implementing the most invasive aspects of Britain’s imperial policy in South Africa, actively engaged in dispossession through land repossession. If his subsequent obsession with the South African landscape and,

particularly, the frontier, are explained by this experience, it was surely further intensified when, after ‘a weighty complaint reached Milner from a local land company about the government’s land policy’, Buchan became the scapegoat. Accused of costing ‘the government over £1,000,000’ and receiving much venomous ‘public criticism’, Buchan decided to leave South Africa before completing the two years for which he had originally been contracted (pp.70-1).

For Buchan, writing and landscape were deeply intertwined, as his productions of frontier geography, and particularly the South African highveld, became a space in which he could work out frontier consciousness’s central paradox: ‘A hundred Johannesburgs would not change the country’s character. It seems not to take the impress of man’ (1940a: pp.116-17). Historically and geographically distant from South Africa, Buchan was able to portray the country as a ‘Borderland’ (p.116), a space capable of ‘giving to the congested masses at home [in Britain] open country instead of blind alley’ (p.125). Buchan’s momentary metaphoric use of urban infrastructure conveys the ideological work that the frontier landscape performs for him. His conviction that the region can absorb ‘a hundred Johannesburgs’ without running out of ‘open country’ positions his literary productions of the frontier as themselves an attempt to resolve the contemporaneous crisis of expanding capital. Buchan’s imagination of South Africa as infinite rather than, as Luxemburg had argued, ‘finite’, solves the dilemma faced by capital as ‘the new acquisition of new markets’ comes ‘to an end’ (2013: p.223). It is this paradox that gives shape to Buchan’s fiction, one that, as this chapter will show, revolves around its obsession with the infrastructural routes that cut through the frontier landscapes his words depict.

Buchan's own use of the term 'Borderland' is infused with a retrospective politics. As Gloria Anzaldúa argues, whilst borders function 'to distinguish *us* from *them*', a 'borderland is a vague and undetermined place' that is in a 'constant state of transition'; it is a zone of restless, constant movement, and '[t]ension grips the inhabitants of the borderland like a virus' (1987: p.3). For Arif Dirlik, borderlands are spaces that 'are essential not as cultural metaphors but as the locations for actual production and exchange relations' (1995: pp.230-1), a configuration that emphasises not only the infrastructures *in* the literary productions of space, but also the infrastructures *of* them. The fraught socioeconomic relations that develop at the frontiers of an expanding capitalist world-system are inscribed into, and can be viewed through, the tumultuous ideological anxieties, fissures and limitations of Buchan's literary texts. As his romance narratives respond to the processes of South Africa's industrialisation and urbanisation mapped in the previous chapter, they become shaped by a restless and ongoing process of 'transition'. Throughout his novels, Buchan's characters cannot sit still: they get 'stiff with doing nothing', fearful of a 'beastly stagnation' that is resolved through its production of South African space (Buchan, 2010: p.264).

The resulting spatial movements and arrangements of Buchan's fiction work, this chapter will argue, to produce new 'metageographical categories'. Through the close readings conducted here, I will show how these three novels are engaged in the production of what Martin Lewis and Kären Wigen call 'creative cartographic visions'; that is, new ways 'to visualise discontinuous "regions"' and 'socio-spatial aggregations' that 'cannot be mapped as single, bounded territories' (1997: p.200). Though Lewis and Wigen warn against the 'temptation to map cultural centrality directly onto economic centrality' (p.140), the networked conception of the world-system that informs the

methodology of this thesis avoids such a simplification. Buchan's 'performances of space' and 'imaginative geographies' still, like Haggard's, attempt to 'fold difference into distance, simultaneously conjuring up and holding at bay the strange, the unnatural, the monstrous' (Gregory, 2004: p.249). However, because of their obsession with the frontier spaces of the expanding world-system, Buchan's literary writings might be said to incorporate a kind of 'border thinking', one that introduces 'cracks' into the 'the imaginary of the world system' (Mignolo, 2012: p.22). It is from within these cracks that, as this chapter will now argue, different kinds of anti-imperial and distinctly spatial resistances can be seen to emerge.

The Infrastructure of the Frontier

Set in the Scottish highlands, *Prester John*'s opening pages are littered with references which align the eleven-year-old Davie's first adventure, both geographically and ideologically, with the frontier. Though beginning in Scotland, Davie is soon sent to South Africa to make his 'fortune', where the majority of the novel is set. Even in this first scene, however, Davie's 'tracking' skills and his identification of 'spoor' (Buchan, 2008: p.4) align him with a scouting ideology that had been propagated in relation to the imperial frontier by another, slightly earlier but widely read text with which Buchan would almost certainly have been acquainted: Robert Baden-Powell's *Scouting for Boys* (1908). Baden-Powell linked Britain's rise as a global power with the the expansionist ideology of the frontier: 'The History of the Empire', he wrote, 'has been made by British adventurers and explorers, the scouts of the nation, for hundreds of years past up to the present time' (2004: p.13).

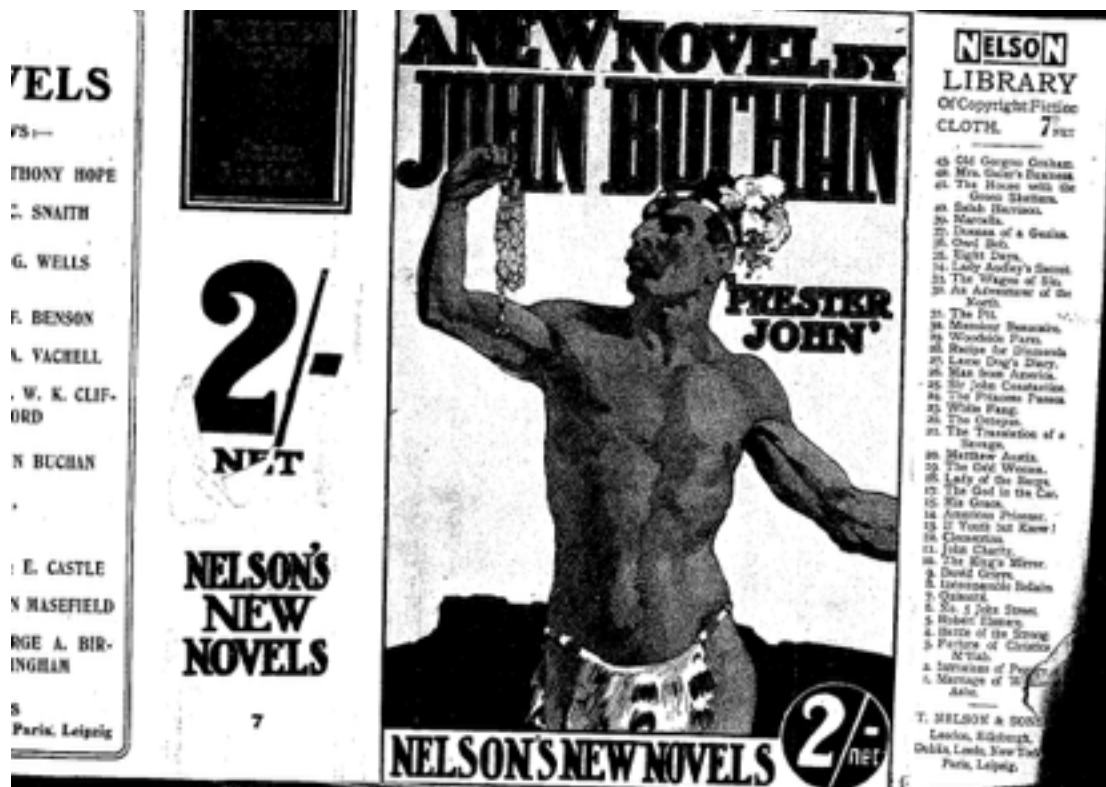


Fig. 3.1 The first edition's accompanying image of Laputa, *Prester John*'s rebellious black priest, inset in its opening pages (Buchan, 1910). As with this picture, Laputa is deeply racialised throughout Buchan's narrative, described as 'the black minister', with 'the whites of eyes and the red of his gums' repeatedly emphasised (2008: pp.7-10).

Tam, one of Davie's friends, is 'deputed to go round the edge of the cliff from which the shore was visible, and report if the coast was clear' (Buchan, 2008: p.5). As the boys are cautiously approaching the geographical edge of the British Isles, that turn of phrase —'the coast is clear'—takes on a literal meaning. It transpires that it is, in fact, *not* clear. Laputa, the 'black minister', is situated on the very edge of the landmass of Britain, down on the 'Dyve Burn sands' (p.6). The novel's geography is inflected with frontier ideology as Davie, narrating retrospectively, asks the rhetorical question: 'What kind of errand had brought this interloper into our territory?' (p.6). This ideological inflection takes on a further topographical dimension, as the novel's politics are translated into the three-dimensional landscape of Britain's political and geographical boundary. The beach, where Laputa stands, is located *below* the 'cliffs', whilst the boys,

above, have ‘an excellent vantage-ground’ (p.7). The implicit hierarchies which define this confrontational borderland, invested with the racialised terminologies of ‘civilisation’ and ‘savagery’, are reflected and reiterated by the topographical levels at which the representatives of each are located.

Infrastructures begin to shape this geography as soon as Davie and his friends flee *back*, away from Laputa and the frontier topography, into and towards ‘human habitation’ (p. 11), which is in turn metonymic of ‘civilisation’ with its significations of safety and shelter. Thus far, the novel has produced the geographical and ideological paradigm unproblematically. However, in this transitional moment, the infrastructural network that spans the landscape through which the boys now move generates a peculiar anxiety: ‘We did not dare take the road by the links, but made for the nearest human habitation’, Davie reports (p.11). When the threat of the frontier is removed just a sentence or so later, however, they strike ‘the highroad and trotted back at our best pace to Kirkcapple’ (p.11). This shift in the description of the infrastructural route’s utility demonstrates a contingent use of it, one that is dependent upon Buchan’s protagonists’ geographical proximity to the frontier and that plays out consistently throughout the novel. When deep within the imperial and economic circuitries of the world-system, these infrastructures are configured as secure and are therefore used. The boys, who shortly before ‘scrambled and leaped’ away from Laputa back up the cliff and on to the hierarchal topography of Britain’s mainland, once removed from this frontier scenario are now able to ‘trot’ back home along the highroad (pp.10-11). Whilst navigating the tension of the frontier, however, a peculiarly anxious relationship with infrastructure emerges. Though the infrastructural route must always remain in sight of Buchan’s protagonists, operating as a spatial reference point, they don’t travel directly along or

upon that route. It leaves Buchan's characters vulnerable to various forms of danger and therefore they often seek to avoid it.

This attitude towards infrastructural routes recurs throughout *Prester John*. Like Haggard's imperial protagonists, Davie often remains in sight of them, using them to map and chart his progress through and across the landscape. However, unlike Haggard's protagonists, he repeatedly concludes that to travel *along* these routes themselves is *too* dangerous. This danger is attributed to a number of factors, such as the vulnerability of being subject to surveillance, or being tracked or traced, a trope that is repeated throughout *The Thirty-Nine Steps*, as this chapter will show.¹⁹ Davie's geographical location throughout *Prester John*, so often in sight of, but never actually deep within, the infrastructural networks that constitute Britain's world-empire in South Africa, itself enacts the complex ideological nexus of the frontier. Davie needs to have access to the symbolic objects of imperial infrastructure at all times. But he also always needs to be able to move beyond them, to be one of the 'scouts of the nation', to use Baden-Powell's terminology (2005: p.13), who will expand these networks and facilitate the world-system's accumulative processes. This spatial dichotomy—a constant desire to move outwards that pulls against a conflictual need to return, or look back, to that which is expanded beyond—generates a tension that underpins the contradictions of Davie's frontier consciousness.

¹⁹ For example, Davie writes that 'I would suddenly be conscious, as I walked on the road, that I was being watched' (Buchan, 2008: p.34); 'I must get off the road. [...] it was only wise to leave the track which I would be assumed to have taken' (pp.127-8). Nathan Waddell's psychoanalytic reading of the Freudian paranoia exhibited by Buchan's protagonists constructs an 'architectonics' that resembles the dynamics of the frontier excavated here: 'The paranoiac, burdened with feeling of smallness or insignificance, "projects" these feelings onto his environment to create an external persecuting agency that only he can detect and defeat.' (2009: pp.126-29).

This tension is not static, but rather oscillates as the narrative progresses, throwing Davie back and forth as his attitude shifts in relation to his geographical location. During his initial travel away from Britain to South Africa, Davie suffers acutely from ‘the loneliness of an exile’ (2008: p.15); when he reaches his ‘final landing in Africa’ he has ‘lost every remnant of homesickness’ (p.23); but then, located in his frontier trading station and suspicious of some sort of anti-imperial activity in the region, he longs ‘miserably for the places where white men were thronged together in dorps and cities’ (p.60), tying his emotional response not only to a racial and cultural familiarity but *also* to an infrastructural one. Later in the novel, after escaping Laputa’s imprisonment with the exclamation ‘[a]t last I was free’, rather than retreating to the safety of the British imperial military lines he does ‘the craziest thing of all. [...] I started running back [along] the road we had come’ (pp.125-6). The plot oscillates geographically, a movement that both dictates, and is in turn dictated by, Davie’s frontier consciousness. He perpetually shifts back and forth between an ideological commitment to the extension of empire by traversing, if not moving beyond, its frontiers, and an overwhelming desire to be relocated *back* within the safety of its infrastructural networks. Davie acknowledges this inconsistency himself, as he comments, ahead of the narrative’s climactic scene, ‘I was now as eager to get back into danger as I had been to get into safety’ (p.167).

Davie is trapped on a relational slope that teeters back and forth depending upon his proximity to the infrastructural networks that have both brought him into contact with, removed him from, and positioned him within the borderland of the frontier. By oscillating between what the thesis’ conception of the networked world-system would call its infrastructural cores and the peripheries beyond them, the novel reveals that the

two socioeconomic and cultural arenas require each other's presence to come into being; or rather, they come into being through their relationship with one another. After all, Davie locates his frontier destination, Blaauwildenesstefontein, through the spatial referent of the 'railroad' located on the 'map', from which it is 'not above ninety miles'; this locates the frontier in relation to an infrastructural demarcation, whilst also placing it, as Mr Wardlaw, Davie's companion, explains, 'in the heart of native reserves', somewhere that 'sounds like a place for adventure' (Buchan, 2008: pp.16-17).

For *Prester John*, core and periphery are identified by both economic and cultural activity, as the novel's ideological fabric weaves these two contrasting motors of imperial expansion together to create 'a field of mutually if also unevenly determining forces' (Williams, 2005: p.20). Unlike *King Solomon's Mines*, *Prester John* makes no effort to conceal the socioeconomic determinants that justified the creation and expansion of infrastructural networks. Instead, the text makes quite clear that it is the economies of the world-system that bring Davie to the frontier in the first place. Mr Wardlaw's comments on Blaauwildebeestefontein are revealing: 'It sounds like a place for adventure, Mr Crawford. You'll exploit the pockets of the black men and I'll see what I can do with their minds' (2008: p.17). Wardlaw makes the division between these two dimensions of imperial expansion: the transmission of a 'civilising' imperial culture and the enmeshing of pre-capitalist economies into the network of Britain's world-empire. But the text of *Prester John* encompasses them both as a whole, consolidating them into one imperial project as mutually sustaining enterprises. Davie's job is, his uncle tells him, at the very beginning of Chapter Two (indicatively entitled, 'Furth! Fortune!'), 'to be assistant storekeeper' for 'one of the biggest trading and shipping concerns in the world'; 'It lies with you [Davie] to open up new trade among

the natives' (pp.13-15). Davie arrives at the frontier as a representative of, and outermost link to, a global infrastructural network that is sustained by a capitalist world-system. On his arrival, he immediately sets about his work as a trader, the result of which is to enmesh the local populations and socioeconomic systems into a global system of core and peripheral modes of production: there are new markets that he is keen to tap into (the 'countryside was crawling with natives') and numerous products 'which I foresaw', Davie notes, 'could be worked up into a profitable export' (p.30).

Davie's identity as a representative of global capital is vocalised not only through figures within the world-system, but also by those beyond it—primarily, in fact, by Laputa himself, the rebellious black priest who brings the frontier into being and, as already noted, is so often located at its boundary. Laputa repeatedly calls Davie not by his name, but by the role he is playing as a representative of this broader economy: 'It is the storekeeper', says Laputa, at the very moment when it becomes apparent that Davie is far more than that; that he is, in fact, an intruder attempting to spy on Laputa's rebellious schemes (p.110). Laputa continues to refer to Davie as 'Mr Storekeeper', right up until a narrative moment in which a transaction passes between them and Davie eventually lives up to the title Laputa has bestowed upon him. Paradoxically, Laputa thus helps to bring Davie, as a trader and representative of the capitalist world-system, into being. The relational axis of periphery and core, spreading as the world-system expands and assimilates spaces into it, occurs through the novel even at this level of characterisation. The scene of this transaction is especially illuminating:

‘Now see here, Mr Laputa,’ I said. ‘I am going to talk business. Before you started this rising, you were a civilised man with a good education. [...] I am going to make you a fair and square business proposition. [...] I offer to trade with you. Give me my life, and I will take you to the place and put the jewels in your hand. Otherwise you may kill me, but you will never see the collar of John again.’

I still think that was a pretty bold speech for a man to make in a predicament like mine. But it had its effect. Laputa ceased to be the barbarian king, and talked like a civilised man. (p.152)

Here the narrative encompasses economic and cultural motors of empire, revealing that these two stratas are in fact symbiotic, each one facilitating the other. At no other point in the text is the contrast between ‘barbarian’ and ‘civilised man’ made so explicitly, pared right down to these reductive, allegorical binaries. In the moment that Laputa is drawn into the world-system his ‘barbarian’ attributes are quelled and he becomes ‘civilised’. This occurs as Davie himself reaches the epitome of his metonymic representation of global capitalism: his own life becomes commodified, taking on a valuation that he is then able to trade.

However, as soon as Laputa receives his end of the deal—‘the jewels’—he ‘once more’ becomes ‘the savage transported in the presence of his fetich [*sic*]’ (p.162). For the narrative duration of the contract, the novel momentarily resolves the tension between core and peripheral zones, and the violent oscillations between them come to a momentary standstill. As soon as the contract is broken, however, the relational economy fails and the oscillatory motion resumes. In this way, Laputa seals his own fate. If Buchan’s narrative is to realise the ideological resolution that it seeks—the ultimate conquering of the threat of the frontier and, as Robert MacDonald argues, the assimilation of the black population into the world-system as an industrial labour force (1994: p.212)—Laputa, the only black African in the whole novel who will not, it

transpires, accept his position on the lowest rungs of the infiltrating capitalist economy, must be sealed far beyond the infrastructural networks that bring that very economy into being: ‘Far from human *quest* he sleeps his last sleep’ (Buchan, 2008: p.190, my emphasis).

The Symbolic Cartographies of *Prester John*

The landscape of *Prester John* is far more than simply a setting in which the novel’s action takes place. It performs ideological work, and it is by shifting the focus of this analysis to these infrastructural contours that this work can be excavated. Reading the novel’s mix of real and fictional locations as a set of spatial clues, T.J. Couzens has plotted out the novel’s geography onto, and against, a historical map of South Africa. Drawing on all the names mentioned throughout the text, as well as the map that was included as a frontispiece to the first edition of the novel (see fig. 3.2),²⁰ Couzens works out that the novel’s action takes place, broadly speaking, within a semicircular segment of mountain range; or as Couzens describes it, a ‘whole rough U turned on its side’ that ‘marks the division between the highveld to the west and the bushveld (or lowveld) to the east’ (1981: pp.2-3).²¹ Buchan himself described this South African topography in his autobiography, many years later:

²⁰ Though this map was the first thing the reader would have encountered, as a frontispiece, in the first edition of the novel in 1910, most subsequent editions don’t include this map. Certainly all current editions—those that are still in print—have removed it from the text.

²¹ It is worth noting that whilst the novel uses a combination of real and fictional locations to construct a specifically identifiable geographical area, this is in sharp contrast to the way in which, as Craig Smith shows, the novel constructs ‘a no-time, an imaginary moment compounding invented and actual times’, one that it is impossible for the reader to link to a specific year in South African history. As Smith points out, ‘the story is “set” in 1870, in 1878, in 1899, in 1906, and in 1909-10’, all years with their own significant and distinctive historical events, but that exist coterminously within the time frame of the novel (Smith, 1995: p.181).

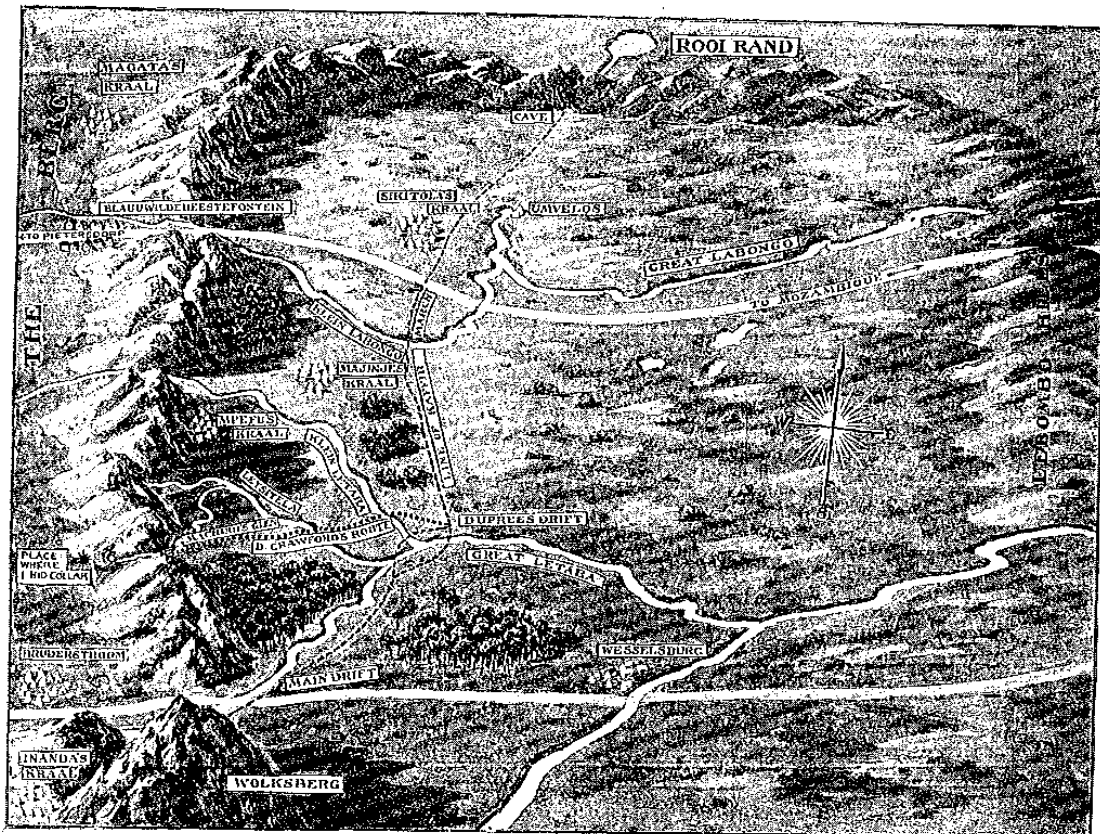


Fig. 3.2 The frontispiece map included in the first edition of *Prester John* (Buchan, 1910).

The country is like an inverted pie-dish, a high tableland sloping steeply into the ocean on the south and east, less steeply to the Zambesi in the north. [...] The pie-dish contains every variety of landscape. [...] there are a thousand hidden nooks which recall to every traveller his own home, for it is the most versatile of lands. Yet there is a certain subtle unity in the landscape, something indefinable which we know to be South African. (1940a: p.117)

These excerpts from Buchan's extensive description of the 'inverted pie-dish' evidence his intimate knowledge of not only the geography, but also the topography of the South African Transvaal. The novel's map likewise emphasises the specific topography of its U-shaped landscape. It is not a conventional two-dimensional depiction from above and angled from south to north. Instead, it is drawn from a sideways slant that enables the visualisation of the landscape's physical depth.

Unlike the map that charts the linear narrative trajectory of *King Solomon's Mines*, *Prester John's* map offers a three-dimensional representation of the novel's landscape, an increased verisimilitude that stresses the text's grounding in the physical South African terrain. Huggan distinguishes maps from 'landscapes' that are more like 'cultural images', and which function in literary texts most often as part of a process of 'symbolic identification' (1994: p.40). This is suggested by *Prester John's* frontispiece—operating here as a 'cultural image' or 'landscape' rather than a conventional map—and is reiterated throughout the text as the landscape performs its ideological function. As has already been noted, the novel's opening depiction of the topography of the Scottish coastline is far from neutral in its construction and representation, and similar ideological agendas are embedded in the novel's production of South African space. The narrative itself invites this reading:

It was a very bad map, for there had been no surveying east of the Berg, and most of the names were mere guesses. But I found the word 'Rooirand' marking an eastern continuation of the northern wall, and probably set down from some hunter's report. I had better explain here the chief features of the country, for they bulk largely in my story. (Buchan, 2008: p.40)

Davie then goes on to give a rough sketch of the geography depicted in the novel's frontispiece. But there is a peculiar self-reflexivity in his narrative here, as the 'mere guesses' become translated into fictional locations and the 'chief features' of the landscape take on a topographical depth within it. Of course, they 'bulk largely' in terms of their physical presence and as part of the verisimilitude of the novel's representation of the landscape. Additionally, they are a prominent feature in the plot, providing an important background for the novel's action. For example, the Rooirand, mentioned here for the first time by Davie, is the cave from which he will have to escape in the

novel's climactic scene, as he literally grapples with its physical contours (pp.191-200). But there is another reading of the novel's landscape invited by the text: this topography can be understood as actually performing, at this infrastructural level, the broader ideological resolutions and agendas that the narrative is more obviously driving towards.

At the beginning of the novel the 'grand country up there'—the highveld that lies inland and to the west, away from the coastline—is described only as 'a grand opportunity for the [white] man who can take it'; 'there are few white men near', warns Mr Colles, Davie's employer (p.21). Just two chapters later, however, this geography has shifted, with the 'unknown', unchartered country now being located to the east, along the coastline. As Davie himself observes, the frontier, at this stage in the narrative, now lies 'east of the Berg' (p.40). But it is in the following chapter that this slow transposition of racial hierarchies onto topographical levels is completed and the ramifications of this shift begin to determine the novel's plot. Mr Wardlaw's fear of 'underrating the capacity of the native' takes the geographical location of the novel's black population as a central point of concern:

they lived round the rim of the high-veld plateau, and if they combined could cut off the white man from the sea. I [Davie] pointed out to him that it would only be a matter of time before we opened the road again. 'Ay', he [Mr Wardlaw] said, 'but think of what would happen before then. Think of the lonely farms and the little dorps wiped out of the map. It would be a second and bloodier Indian Mutiny.' (p.52)

Almost a half-century after the historical event, persistent anxieties induced by the 'Indian Mutiny', as analysed in Chapter One's discussion of Steel's *On the Face of the Waters* (1896), emerge. This fear of violent resistance is partly rooted in being too far

from, or beyond the networks of, the infrastructures of transport and communication that had enmeshed the Indian subcontinent into Britain's imperial and economic networks in the years following 1857—a process initiated partly in response to the military and governmental security deemed necessary after the rebellion. This is suggested by Davie's metaphoric use of the word 'road', as he draws on the symbolic cartographies enabled by infrastructural objects to locate himself, geographically and conceptually, on the frontier.

Interestingly, however, the population distribution that underlies this cartography has become an inversion of the traditional colonising narrative. 'White civilisation' is now located towards the interior, on the elevated plains of the highveld, afraid of being colonised by the unruly native population that is located on 'the long, unwatched coast' to the east (p.52). From this point in the narrative, these compass orientations and topographical affiliations are reinforced: Davie repeatedly refers to 'our kindred in the West' (p.64), 'the white road from the west' (p.65) (with its reference both to *Undine's* description of Kimberley's diamond road and Haggard's King Solomon's Road), and by Chapter Fourteen he comments, as he traverses the landscape: 'The Berg must be my goal. Once on the plateau I would be inside the white man's lines. Down here in the plains I was in the country of my enemies' (p.128). By mapping these movements onto the real geographical location and overlaying them with the racial and topographical segregations that Buchan's narrative repeats over and over again, the ideological complicity of the novel's landscape becomes clear. Buchan's production of South African space is directly shaped by the ideologies of the frontier and the colonial-historical narratives that the text itself is attempting to navigate, propagate and reinstate.

The lowveld is, then, configured as the locale of black resistance, the highveld becoming, by about the novel's midway point, the 'white man's land'. This geopolitical configuration means that Mr Wardlaw's fears are in fact valid. The resistant black population has the 'white man's land' cornered in this geographical arena—'if they combined [they] could cut off the white man from the sea' (p.52). This results in the production of three frontiers, all of which defend the interior of Africa: the rotated U-shape of the mountain ridge points, bottom-first, outwards towards the sea like a barracks, whilst the black resistance originates from, and inhabits, the lower veld that lies between the mountains and the coastline. Now that these geographical specificities are established, it's possible to draw out two critical insights. Firstly, it transpires that it is the white population that are defending the *interior* of Africa from an invasion from the *exterior*, or from the outside. Geographically, the project of colonisation, in which the coloniser arrives at the African coast and moves inland, is turned on its head in a complete, and ideologically significant, inversion of historical reality. This is a process that has just been enacted by Davie's own geographical arrival in South Africa at the beginning of the novel, during which he circles the entire coastline of the Cape Colony, visiting all the key ports—Cape Town, Port Elizabeth, East London and beyond to Durban—as though patrolling it. He only disembarks when he has travelled right round the southern end of the continent, heading back up and into Portuguese South East Africa, at Lorenzo Marques.

The process of white colonisation moving inland was itself a very recent historical event for Buchan, only taking place to any significant and infrastructural degree in the preceding quarter century or so, since the commencement of the 'scramble for Africa' and the Berlin conference of 1884 (Griffiths, 1995: p.34). Nevertheless, it reflects the

immediate history of South Africa's economic geography. Whilst prior to the discovery of diamonds and gold the region's economic activity had been located primarily on the 'coastal areas of the Cape and Natal', the result of the growing mining industries and the 'expanding network of trade, finance, communication and transport' that followed, 'quickly tilted the region's economic core [...] into the interior' (Lester et al., 2000: p. 97). As discussed in the previous chapter, '[t]his shift in economic geography was manifested most obviously in the extension of a railway network centred on the mineral rinds' (p.97). Buchan's fictional geography positions black resistance as the invading, colonising threat, whilst simultaneously indigenising 'white civilisation' in the land it has occupied. This shift in the ideology of its topography is intimately linked to the economic and infrastructural forces that were facilitating the expansion of the world-system into the region and drastically altering South Africa's physical geography.

J. Hillis Miller's etymology of the term 'topography' illuminates the politics of this process. Constituted from the Greek words 'topos' and 'graphein', or 'place' and 'to write' respectively, topography originally meant 'the writing of a place', or the 'creation of a metaphorical equivalent in words of a landscape' (Miller, 1995: p.3). The word gradually evolved to mean the representation of a landscape 'according to the conventional signs of some system of mapping' before, in a final metamorphosis, 'the name of the map was carried over to name what was mapped' (p.4). The etymology of the word topography therefore traces the mechanics by which a landscape might be inflected with, if not actually shaped by, ideology. A landscape can become invested with features apparently inherent to it but that are, in fact, superimposed through the ideologically refracted description of that landscape in words. 'The power of the conventions of mapping and of the projection of place names on the place are so great',

argues Miller, ‘that we see the landscape as though it were already a map, complete with place names and the names of geographical features’ (p.4). *Prester John* both participates in, and narrates, this process. It reiterates Buchan’s belief that the South African highveld ‘is a white man’s country by nature’ (1940b: p.121), saturating the landscape with the racial entitlement that has since led some critics, understandably, to read the novel as a ‘blueprint for the perfect apartheid colony’ (Smith, 1995: p.175).

Prester John shows that geography and literature are not, as Mike Chang argues, ‘two different orders of knowledge (one imaginative and one factual)’, but rather operate ‘as a field of textual genres’, or surfaces waiting to be excavated and interpreted (1998: pp. 57-8). Plot and landscape are engaged in a mutually reinforcing relationship as the novel produces South African space, one that adheres to a specifically colonial narrative. Consider the general motions of the plot: Davie, who at the beginning of the novel has never travelled to South Africa before, arrives there somewhat arbitrarily to serve the economic needs of a cross-national trading company. By the end of the narrative he has become comfortably resident in the landscape, subduing the political and military resistance of its indigenous inhabitants, extracting its various mineral resources, and even democratically splitting the profits made from these between world-empire and world-economy; or between the imperial government and his own private interests respectively (he sells much of the plunder to De Beers in order to avoid upsetting ‘the delicate equipoise of diamond values’ on the global market (Buchan, 2008: p.211)).

Davie allegorically enacts, in a short narrative space, two larger processes. Firstly, the plot configures the process of *settler* colonialism that Buchan believed ‘must be

increasingly used if both the Mother Country and the outlying Empire [were] to remain in social and economic health' (1940b: pp.127-8). But the trajectory of the plot, with Davie as its central linchpin, maps the processes of capital expansion and accumulation as critiqued by Hobson, Lenin and Luxemburg, and discussed in the thesis' introduction. Davie remains on the edges of—indeed, oscillates away from and back towards—the infrastructural networks of empire that, the text makes clear, are connected to a global capitalist economy. At the novel's conclusion, however, Davie eventually conquers his fear of the frontier and is able to reside there without feeling 'cut off' from his own racial and cultural networks.²² In turn, the resistant black population is pacified and converted into a labour force that produces a range of products for export into the world-economy.²³ The pre-capitalist zone of 'Blaudewildebeestefontein' has, by the end of the novel, been assimilated into the world-system as one of its new, peripheral zones. The novel itself maps a correlation between the expansive ideology of the frontier and capitalism's innate appetite for accumulation that drives it outwards, albeit unevenly and sporadically, across the face of the globe.

There is, however, a political anxiety here, one that introduces a fissure, or 'crack', to use Mignolo's term (2012: p.22), into the novel's ideologically shaped geography of the world-system. Buchan's passionate belief in the importance of emigration from the

²² In the novel's climactic scene in Chapter Twenty, when Davie makes his final return to the borderland of the frontier, the narrative now repeatedly stresses his confidence, his lack of homesickness, his 'at homeness'—his ideological restlessness that has, until this point in the narrative, condemned him to oscillate back and forth, towards and away from the frontier, is now resolved. As he comments: 'My nerves had suddenly become things of stolid, untempered iron' (p.182); 'now I had conquered all terror and seen the other side of fear' (p.184); 'I did not really fear anything' (p.185); 'I had no fear' (p.186); 'I had quite forgotten the meaning of the fear of death' (p.188).

²³ 'There you will find every kind of technical workshop, and the finest experimental farms, where the blacks are taught modern agriculture. [...] They have created a huge export trade in tobacco and fruit; the cotton promises well; and there is talk of a new fibre which will do wonders. Also along the river bottoms the India-rubber business is prospering' (Buchan, 2008: p.213).

metropole to settler colonies across the Empire is compromised by a rift between his ideology and Britain's historical relations with South Africa. Written by a self-professed and politically active imperial federationist,²⁴ fears of the disintegration of a centralised British Empire are also implicit in the text of *Prester John*. Even as it encourages emigration and settler colonialism, the novel is also already in a process of lamentation. It anticipates the loss of the cross-national network it is simultaneously seeking to forge. As it attempts to imagine a cross-border economic, social and cultural network—held together beneath the loosely theorised political structure of British imperial federation—it also predicts the process by which settler colonies would come to negotiate their own national independence and subsequent withdrawal from the imperial network. The historical context of *Prester John*'s production, through 1909 before its publication in 1910 (see Blanchard, 1981: pp.21-2), illuminates these anxieties. Despite the British victory in the Anglo-Boer War and the efforts of Milner's 'kindergarten', the project to establish a new, culturally consolidated British colony in the region had collapsed, a failure that Buchan himself experienced firsthand. The Union of South Africa in 1910 was made on terms not only 'acceptable to' but in fact 'largely suggested by the Boer Generals' who had lost the war just a few years earlier (Griffiths, 1995: p.59). Britain was entering a phase of political withdrawal from Southern Africa and Buchan's novels of this period, as the following readings of *The Thirty-Nine Steps* and *Greenmantle* will show, navigate the coordinates of this early stage of Britain's slow decline as a world-empire.

²⁴ As Juanita Kruse documents: 'After he returned to Britain, he used his pen to educate the public about South Africa and to spread his imperial ideal. [...] Buchan's argument for a South African federation preserving the unique features of the various states [...] foreshadowed his later justification of close imperial cooperation if not imperial federation. [...] The basic idea of preserving national integrity within larger units remained an essential feature of Buchan's imperialism throughout his life' (1989: pp.46-7).

The title of John Buchan's first 'Richard Hannay' novel, *The Thirty-Nine Steps*, which appeared serially in *The All Story Weekly* and *Blackwood's Magazine* during the summer of 1915, itself encapsulates the multidimensional interrelationship between writing, landscape and ideology that preoccupies Buchan's fiction. The titular 'Thirty-Nine Steps', within the novel itself, is a textual code. It gestures towards some deeper meaning that for much of the novel is hidden away or concealed from view, and even when first accessed, proves to be undecipherable: 'one queer phrase which occurred half a dozen times inside brackets: "(Thirty-nine steps)" was the phrase [...]. I could make nothing of that' (Buchan, 2010: p.37). This encoded text holds a paradox in stasis by simultaneously signifying the presence of a deeper meaning, whilst refusing to relinquish the details of that which it conceals. The title, itself a code, thus *encodes* a figuration of frontier consciousness within it—the known and the unknown, the mapped and the unmapped—that drives Hannay's geographical movements and the subsequent plot forward. The phrase is not decoded until the novel's closing pages when, of course, the narrative itself comes to an abrupt end.

Geography is once again imperative here. When the code, 'the Thirty-Nine Steps', is at last deciphered, it transpires that it represents a geographical location: as Hannay realises, it is a '[p]lace where there are several sets of stairs; one that matters distinguished by having thirty-nine steps' (2010: p.84). This location is also situated on Britain's geographical frontier—not the Scottish coastline of *Prester John's* opening scene, but an even more historically and geopolitically contested border, given the onset of the First World War: 'somewhere on the East Coast between Cromer and Dover' (p.

84). Buchan's fiction returns once again to a self-conscious interrogation of the capacity of narrative to describe the topographies of physical space, those 'steps' suggesting not simply the flat representation of a two-dimensional map, but an area with multiple jagged and protruding dimensions.

The relationship between frontier consciousness and geography, as it is encoded into textual narrative, is encapsulated by 'Scudder's little black pocketbook' (p.27). This text within the text both contains, and is contained within, the plot through which it moves. Hannay quickly realises, as he ponders the pocketbook's apparently random and nonsensical script ('jottings, chiefly figures'), that 'there was a cypher in all this' (p.27). Significantly, he reaches this conclusion as he travels *away* from metropolitan London, along an arterial infrastructural route (a railroad) that carves its way up through Britain into a new borderland that is, yet again, invested with the redemptive capacities of the frontier: 'I asked myself why, when I was still a free man, I had stayed in London and not got the good of this heavenly country' (p.27). This symbiotic relationship between geographical movement and textual decoding is rooted, by the novel's narrative, within the quite literal common *ground* of South Africa; a terrain not only geographical this time, but also historical. Hannay's conviction that the notebook contains a cypher is based on his previous experience of the South African frontier. As he recalls:

I did a bit at it myself once as intelligence-officer at Delagoa Bay during the Boer War. I have a head for things like chess and puzzles, and I used to reckon myself pretty good at finding out cyphers. This one looked like the numerical kind where sets of figures correspond to the letters of the alphabet [...] any fairly shrewd man can find the clue to that sort after an hour or two's work. (pp.27-28)

However, despite this skill—a thematic trope of the frontier novel that occurs on several occasions in *Prester John* as well²⁵—Hannay is not yet *in* the geographical zone of the frontier. He tries ‘for hours’ to decipher the code, but it is only after he leaves the infrastructural route and embarks, by foot, across the borderland of the Scottish highlands that he begins to elucidate meaning from the notebook. This frontier landscape is again compared to South Africa, as the narrative engages in a project of geographic superimposition. As Hannay walks through the ‘honest-smelling hill country’, each of these ‘hills’ shows ‘as clear as a cut amethyst’ (p.28)—as in Schreiner’s *African Farm*, this crisp topographical carving alludes, albeit implicitly, to one of South Africa’s primary mineral resources: diamonds. The view reminds Hannay of a specific feature of the colonial landscape, one that was, for Buchan in both *Prester John* and his non-fictional writings, as has been shown, an important borderland: ‘I felt just as I used to feel when I was starting for a big trek on a frosty morning *on the high veld*’ (p.28, my emphasis).

Hannay’s movements, from this narrative point and in both temporal and geographical terms, resemble Davie’s contradictory traversal of the frontier. Hannay, like Davie, never strays too far from the infrastructural networks that run through the Scottish landscape and that have brought him from, and will return him to, the metropolitan centre. He repeatedly locates himself in relation to them, drawing on their cartographical impress as a reference point to position himself within an otherwise empty landscape. There ‘was nothing in the landscape’, he observes, before noting the ‘sun glint[ing] on the metals of the [railway] line’ (p.32). But though using

²⁵ For example, Arcoll sends an encoded message of support to Davie, ‘*The Blesbok are changing ground*’, that is able, because of its encodedness, to ‘pierce the wall’ separating Davie from the British military lines (Buchan, 2008: pp.62-65); Mr Wardlaw, too, writes a message ‘in Latin, which was not a bad cipher’ (p.117).

infrastructure in this way, like Davie, Hannay often considers the routes to be too dangerous to travel *on* or *along*; to do so renders him vulnerable to surveillance and pursuit. Hannay must oscillate between core and peripheral infrastructural zones. In the textual moments when he attains a certain geographical proximity—not too far from the infrastructural routes, but not too close to them either—he significantly concedes that it is the ‘most peaceful sight in the world’ (p.32). Located within this borderland, he is temporally secure and enjoys a ‘vantage-ground’ from which he is able to ‘scan the whole moor right away to the railway line’ (p.32). However, this peace, and the static dynamic that momentarily underlies these passages, cannot be sustained by the relentless and restless movement of frontier consciousness. A moment later Hannay finds himself on ‘a white ribbon of road’, exposed to ‘espionage from the air’—an ‘aeroplane [that] was looking for me’ flies overhead—and therefore concludes that he ‘must find a different kind of sanctuary’ (p.32).

As the dynamic movement of the frontier intensifies, Hannay’s ability to decipher the code increases correspondingly. The narrative overlays the notion of textual interpretation onto the novel’s geography and Hannay’s ever-shifting movement through it. Through an ‘elaborate system of experiments’ that the narrative never details, Hannay is able to find ‘the key word’, and within ‘half an hour’ he is ‘reading with a whitish face and fingers that drummer on the table’ (p.35). Like the map that draws the ‘skeletal landscape’ of *King Solomon’s Mines* (Chang, 1998: pp.43-4), the plot of *The Thirty-Nine Steps* is apparently encoded, in its entirety, into Scudder’s notebook.

The whole story was in the notes—with gaps, you understand, which he would have filled up from his memory. [...] The bare bones of the tale were all that was in the book—these, and one queer phrase which occurred half a dozen times inside brackets. ‘(Thirty-nine steps)’ was the phrase; and at its last time of use it ran—‘(Thirty-nine steps, I counted them—high tide 10.17pm)’. (p.37)

Hannay here enacts a process of interpretation, or decoding, in which he fleshes out the narrative’s skeletal infrastructure with his previous South African experience. Meta-textually, however, Hannay might himself be enacting the process in which ideology is inscribed into a frontier landscape *by*, or *through*, textual narrative. The passage that describes Hannay’s interpretive attempts is *itself* littered with ‘gaps’: dashes, pauses and hesitations all draw attention, as Macherey would argue, to ‘the disorder of ideology’, a set of conflicts that ‘cannot be isolated from the movement at the economic level’ (1986: pp.93, 155). After all, with Buchan’s personal loss of historical access to the South African frontier, alongside the gradual erosion of Britain’s cultural if not political power in the colony, a new peripheral space had to be produced so as to assuage both Buchan’s frontier consciousness and also, I argue, the expansive motions of capital accumulation. In this way, *The Thirty-Nine Steps* itself emphasises the ideological and economic determinants that shape its literary production of space.

Drawing on core infrastructural routes as key reference points, Hannay repeatedly combines these with his cultural and historical memory of the peripheral space of South Africa in order to produce the Scottish highlands as a new frontier. The more the highlands are reconfigured as a borderland, the greater Hannay’s capacity to decode and make sense of the pocket-book’s narrative becomes. For Hannay, making sense of narrative and landscape are symbiotic and interwoven processes that are mutually sustaining and driven to expand, relentlessly, by the oscillating ideological movement of

his frontier consciousness. The novel self-consciously highlights this process by taking the textual code, *The Thirty-Nine Steps*, as its title. Its own narrative is operating to produce an infrastructure for, and to map the contours of, a broader ideological project that is at the heart of Buchan's post-1910 novels: the production and transposition of the South African landscape into, and onto—indeed, drawing it up from within—the British Isles.

Susan Jones points out that, geographically, the novel 'takes off from the point at which the imperial romance closes' (Saunders ed., 2004: p.418). Rather than beginning, as does *Prester John*, with its protagonist's movement away from the metropolitan centre to the imperial margins, Hannay is in fact recently returned from South Africa. Back from Bulawayo, then Rhodesia, where he has been working as a mining engineer, Hannay has 'got my pile—not one of the big ones, but good enough for me' (Buchan, 2010: p.13). The fact that Hannay's 'pile' is only modest and not, in contrast to Davie's plunder at the end of *Prester John*, 'one of the big ones', is itself indicative of a broader concern that *The Thirty-Nine Steps* struggles, so relentlessly, to resolve. The narrative strives to de-romanticise the South African landscape so as to reclaim the ideological and topographical frontier for, and reposition it within, Britain itself. It does this by repeatedly invoking a South African frontier context as a useful reference point, before then departing from it by intensifying its key features. This descriptive ricocheting, from one geographical context (London, or Britain) to another (the South African frontier), then back to Britain (though this time configured as a frontier), enacts the expansive ideology of the frontier as the text attempts to generate new borderlands within the very country that, according to Buchan's socioeconomic and political agenda, needs to be rejuvenated.

The de-romanticisation of the South African frontier is therefore combined with a peculiar exoticisation of the metropole, especially in the novel's opening pages. England has become, after Hannay's thirty-seven years in South Africa, 'a sort of *Arabian Nights* to me' (p.13), and racial stereotypes seep into Hannay's inverted vision of the frontier ('all capering women and monkey-faced men' (p.14)). Hannay's much-needed 'adventure' facilitates the production of a frontier geography within the very heart of the Empire, rather than in a far-flung borderland. However, as it commences, the narrative makes recourse to the South African frontier only to depart from it. After Hannay discovers the murdered Scudder, he comments: 'I had seen men die violently before; indeed, I had killed a few myself in the Matabele War; but this cold blooded indoor business was different' (p.22). The violence of the Empire's urban centre is here positioned in relation to, and then described as more intense than, that of the frontier. The domestic location of the murder allegorically invokes and reproduces, before then undermining, a simplistic binary core-periphery relationship between the 'interior' of London and the 'exterior' of South Africa.

This shift, which locates the frontier at the heart of the Empire, is perhaps not that surprising given the context of Buchan's own sociopolitical thought. As Schwarz has argued, for Buchan 'the purpose of colonial literature [...] was to allow the new nation of South Africa to be imagined *in the metropole*' (Schwarz, 2011: p.262; see also Buchan, 1903). As Buchan himself commented, it was little use 'telling people they are citizens of a great Empire on which the sun never sets if they are living in slums where the sun never rises' (quoted in Kruse, 1989: p.84). For Buchan, the frontier was a redemptive device that, Kruse argues, would enable Britons 'to get out of those slums



Fig. 3.3 This frontispiece to Booth's *In Darkest England and the Way Out* (1890) visualises the 'dark' cityspace of London, listing the various plights of its working class inhabitants—'unemployment', 'starvation' and so on. By contrast, the colonial frontier is portrayed as a brightly lit, open space that offers an antidote to these urban problems.

and find a wider horizon if only they would emigrate' (1989: p.84). Core and peripheral economic and cultural zones—a spatial relationship that shapes frontier consciousness—were, after all, scattered throughout London's own urban environment. As William Booth had asked in 1890, drawing on and geographically transposing colonialism's racial, civilisational and missionary discourses: 'As there is a darkest Africa is there not also a darkest England?' (1890: p.11, see fig. 3.3). Likewise, writing in 1909, C.F.G. Masterson observed in *The Condition of England* that 'modern industrial life' had

produced oppositional class divisions that were spatially proximate in Britain's cities: 'the life of those who enjoy, on the one hand, in Pleasure Cities, in all branches of eager and sometimes morbid amusement; and the life of the new race which will be evolved out of these strenuous gnomes who labour in the heart of the city congestions' (1960: p. 84). The difference was that the huge socioeconomic disparities between and within London's urban spaces were still deeply enmeshed within a capitalist socioeconomic system and the infrastructural networks that constituted it. The narrative of *The Thirty-Nine Steps* is therefore concerned, *at first*, to *remove* these problematic dynamics from its production of urban space. Instead, it writes the South African landscape *into* the parts of Britain's topography that might be capable of sustaining and performing the ideological work of the frontier.

Nevertheless, fundamental to the novel's geographical movement is not simply the shift from urban London to the rural terrain of the Scottish highlands, configured by the text as a new (but still South African) frontier. At about the novel's midway point, Hannay begins to forge allegiances with the British law and, by extension, the nation-state, and the narrative's progression and geographical orientation begins to change direction. Just as Hannay is forced to flee London in a quest for, and as a result of, the novel's adventure narrative, the geography and plot of the second half of the text is determined by his need to return *from* the frontier *back* into the metropolitan centre of the British Empire. On his return, the tensions that originally drove Hannay out of the urban landscape have been resolved, albeit temporarily. Like the frontispiece to Booth's *In Darkest England*, the novel's geographical and narrative trajectory establish the frontier as an antidote to the imperial capital's socioeconomic problems.

The first six chapters of *The Thirty-Nine Steps* are driven by what Nathan Waddell calls a “‘double-flight” narrative’ (2009: p.42), as Hannay attempts to escape not only the spies that have murdered Scudder, but also British law which, he assumes, will mistakenly want to arrest him for that same murder. It is this double persecution that drives Hannay’s northward adventure. Hannay is propelled by the ideological tension between anti-British terrorists and the British imperial state beyond the zone of its conflict. He plots this movement spatially, before again drawing on his South African experience:

I got out an atlas and looked at a big map of the British Isles. My notion was to get off to some wild district, where my veldcraft would be of some use to me, for I would be like a trapped rat in a city. (Buchan, 2010: p.24)

The intensity of the conflicting ideologies bearing down on Hannay are, at this point in the narrative, transposed metaphorically onto the infrastructural density of the cityscape. His only ‘notion was to get off to some wild district’, a region where both dense infrastructural cartographies and the ideologies with which they are embedded will fall away. His ‘veldcraft’ once again emphasises the centrality of South Africa to this geographical configuration.

However, the narration of Hannay’s geographical movement is ‘double-flight’ in another sense as well. Just as Davie’s adventure to the frontier in *Prester John* results in his eventual return to Britain, from around Chapter Seven of *The Thirty-Nine Steps* Hannay begins his own geographic return to the centre of the Empire, the location in and from which the narrative commenced. In addition, the plot has, by this point in the narrative, established that the terrorists are coincidentally (perhaps conveniently)

located on the very edge of the borderland into which Hannay has fled. The novel narrates the resolution of its opening ideological tensions through a tactical, and distinctly geographical, repositioning of its conflictual boundaries, one enacted through the symbolic orientation of the novel's infrastructural demarcations. Lodged between these ideological forces at the beginning of the novel, Hannay feels like a 'trapped rat', a subjective response that is reflected in the lack of physical space within the urban environment. However, the journey to, and traversal across and through, the Scottish frontier, relocates the terrorist threat *outside* of that metropolitan heartland, repositioning the two ideological forces at play throughout the novel into a conveniently manageable—inside-outside, centre-periphery—geographical paradigm. To quote Gregory, the 'imaginative geographies' of *The Thirty-Nine Steps* 'fold difference into distance, simultaneously conjuring up and holding at bay the strange, the unnatural, the monstrous' (2004: p.249).

This gear change in the narrative significantly alters the geographical trajectory of Hannay's movements. In the opening chapters, Hannay has never had a specific *destination*, as such. Rather, his intention has been to be in a process of constant geographical flux, always moving along, between and across infrastructural routes without ever settling or consolidating a stable position. However, in Chapter Seven, Hannay begins 'to feel quite kindly towards the British police' as he aligns himself with the ideological perspective of the state and almost immediately begins his journey *back* to London (p.65): for the very first time, Hannay has a specific location—Sir Walter's residency—towards which he can move. He immediately heads back southwards in a criss-crossing motion along British infrastructural lines that take in much of the country. The ease with which he travels along these routes, in direct comparison to the fraught

anxieties of his earlier journey northward, again invests the novel's geography with the narrative's broader ideological resolutions. As Waddell argues, Hannay's geographical trajectory is 'revealed as both a literal movement through the British mainland and a mending of his previously tarnished faith in Britain's ideological institutions, one that revitalises both his own psyche and, in a symbolic sense, the political standing of the homeland itself' (2009: p.43).

The *The Thirty-Nine Steps* is therefore a 'double-flight' narrative in this geographical sense as well. Hannay flees away from the metropole to the north, discovers the external threat present on the Scottish frontier and then heads back to the metropole again. He enacts the restless oscillation that defines frontier consciousness—after all, he has already been to, and *come back from*, South Africa, before then enacting this same expansive and centripetal movement throughout the novel. As Waddell suggests, whereas in the opening pages London inspired in Hannay feelings of alienation and boredom, on his return this preceding ideological conflict has been resolved by his assumption of a fully British national identity as he aligns himself, politically, with the state. 'You can imagine what a load this took off my mind', Hannay comments, using an indicative possessive pronoun to redefine his relationship to Britain: 'I felt a free man once more, for I was now up against my country's enemies only, and not my country's law' (Buchan, 2010: pp.72-3). The geography of Buchan's novel is once again invested with a political agenda: Hannay's alignment with the British government is reflected in his new found residential comfort in London's cityscape.

But despite the ideological resolution identified by Waddell and inscribed into Hannay's journey up and down Britain, the text continues to be plagued by the restlessness of its

protagonist's frontier consciousness. For as the narrative reaches this resolution, it is severed by a break of three stars: '***'. After this narrative break, Hannay suddenly comments: 'I felt curiously at a loose end' (p.76). Though his new found freedom allows him to move, unmolested, through the city's urban geography, he continues to oscillate between a peace or pleasure taken from no longer being 'outside' the law and an intensifying 'restlessness'. Importantly, it is as he walks from the wealthy urban areas through to the more peripheral zones of London's cityscape that his desire to re-enter the adventure narrative intensifies. I quote at length here to illustrate this process:

At first it was very pleasant to be a free man, able to go where I wanted without fearing anything. I had only been a month under the ban of the law, and it was quite good enough for me. I went to the Savoy and ordered very carefully a very good luncheon, and then smoked the best cigar the house could provide. [...] After that I took a taxi and drove miles away up into North London. I walked back through fields and lines of villas and terraces and then slums and mean streets, and it took me pretty nearly two hours. All the while my restlessness was growing worse. I felt that great things, tremendous things, were happening or about to happen and I, who was the cog-wheel of the whole business, was out of it. (p.76)

Hannay's discomfort, manifesting itself in a desire to return *once again* to the frontier, occurs as a reaction to London's impoverished urban areas. He walks through the relational zone between the core and peripheral arenas (configured in terms of economic class), descending from the wealth of the Savoy into the poverty of the city's 'slums and mean streets'. In that final sentence, as Hannay turns back to the adventure narrative which only a few moments earlier he has been so relieved to be rid of, the infrastructural metaphor of the 'cog-wheel' is evoked to signify his imminent re-entry into it. The paradoxical and perpetual movement that this chapter is drawing out of Buchan's fiction emerges once again, disrupting the resolution for which the narrative is, nevertheless, always searching.

The Thirty-Nine Steps highlights another ideological conflict that is embodied in the character of Hannay himself, manifesting in a moment of narrative obscuration that calls the novel's representational capacities into question. David Trotter has analysed the complexities of the novel's concluding scene, in which Hannay, as 'a frontiersman'—a figure 'forever excluded from the political system, and the cosy bourgeois world it protects'—comes into conflict with that bourgeois society (1990: p. 52). In this scene, the apparently innocent 'middle-classness' of the spies at first causes Hannay to question his own instincts. 'Perhaps he is imagining it all', Trotter writes: 'The frontiersman's instincts, always at odds with those of bourgeois society, are interrogated mercilessly and then, at the last moment vindicated. A tiny gesture betrays the spies' (p.52). By assuming a middle-class identity that, the novel makes clear, is content to reside at 'home' (they are, after all, 'quietly absorbed into the landscape', and repeatedly associated with domestic residences (Buchan, 2010: p.91)), the spies almost elude Hannay's keen observations. He has no spatial and experiential referents with which to make sense of them; his frontier consciousness, epitomised by the veldcraft that has saved him on so many occasions throughout the novel, is here rendered impotent.

A man of my sort, who has travelled about the world in rough places, gets on perfectly well with two classes, what you may call the upper and the lower. [...] But what fellows like me don't understand is the great, comfortable, satisfied middle-class world, the folk that live in villas and suburbs. (p.91)

The contradiction underlying this final scene can be configured at an infrastructural level—that is, at the level at which ideology responds to an explicitly imperial set of socioeconomic determinants. Hannay, the epitomic frontiersman, is *himself* performing an essential ideological function. Throughout the narrative, his perpetual and restless

geographical movement allegorically tracks the necessity for the expansion and constant accumulation of capital and its ideological corollary: frontier consciousness. These movements are required to sustain, both economically and ideologically, the ‘satisfied middle-class world’ of the bourgeoisie. Hannay realises, with horror, that he performs an ideological function for a class *whose ideology* he despises.

The impotence induced by this class confrontation is configured at the level of narrative visualisation, as the text’s ability to represent that which lies before it is self-consciously interrogated. As Hannay looks at the spies around him, he realises that though there ‘was nothing in their appearance to prevent them being the three that had hunted me in Scotland’, there was also ‘nothing to identify them’ (p.94). Hannay ‘simply can’t explain why [...] I, who have a good memory and reasonable powers of observation, could find no satisfaction’ (p.94). The narrative’s capacity to describe is, in this moment, undermined. However, after drawing attention to the limits of its representational capacity, it then proceeds, *inexplicably*, to move beyond them. After another narrative break, indicated once again by three stars (‘***’), Hannay immediately comments that ‘something awoke in me’ (p.95). The narrative now shifts, without justification, from a point of visual obscuration to one of clarity: ‘The three faces seemed to change before my eyes and reveal their secrets. [...] The plump man’s features seemed to dissolve, and form again, as I looked at them’ (p.95). The text draws attention to its own manufacturedness as a representational medium by failing to explain, at a syntactical level, the shift in Hannay’s powers of observation and recognition. It is for this reason that, as Alan Riach notes, this final scene has always been left out of film adaptations of *The Thirty-Nine Steps*: a purely visual medium cannot convey the process that Hannay, as a first person narrator, here describes (Macdonald ed., 2009: p.172).

This moment of obscurity reduces the narrative to its skeletal infrastructure. It is revealed as nothing more than a series of arbitrary signs that do *not* gesture towards any ‘real’ world, as it confesses its own representational limitations. When contextualised within the ideological manoeuvres of the plot, this narrative opacity takes on a crucial political and economic inflection, one that betrays the novel’s own effort—indeed, its struggle—to resolve Hannay’s ideological crisis. Hannay cannot reconcile his own frontier consciousness, defined in part by its rejection of the bourgeois world, with the realisation that he is actually performing a necessary ideological function for that same bourgeois class. Frontier consciousness stumbles upon this fundamental paradox as the narrative then seeks to conceal it. In order to emerge from this realisation with these conflicts ‘resolved’, it is necessary to force the bourgeois characters, surrounding Hannay in this climactic scene, out of their identities as the domesticated, unadventurous, British middle class. Instead, they become the complete opposite: the exterior threat that has shaped the dichotomous axis of the frontier in the first place. As Deak Nabers describes, in this scene the spies are as much ‘produced’ as they are ‘recognised’ (2001: n.pag.). The narrative is so strained by this ideological work that its own representational capacities are rendered momentarily obsolete.

After these efforts, the narrative is unable to sustain the resolution that it has worked so hard to produce. As Riach observes, the ending of *The Thirty-Nine Steps* is ‘astonishingly abrupt’ (Macdonald ed., 2009: p.174), drawing to a close just a couple of pages after this scene. In the novel’s final sentences the First World War breaks out and Hannay, ‘owing to my Matabele experience’, gets a ‘captain’s commission straight off’ (Buchan, 2010: p.97). Despite the novel’s attempts to relocate the South African frontier within the geopolitical unit of the British Isles, Hannay still returns here to his

South African experience in order to authorise his navigation of a new set of frontiers—frontiers that were, historically, already carving up Western Europe, and that are littered throughout Buchan’s next Hannay-novel, *Greenmantle* (1916). This text is similarly engaged in the transposition of the thematic, geographic and ideological coordinates of the frontier away from South Africa into new geographical spaces. As I will now show, this longer novel produces these not only in Britain this time, but also Europe and the Middle East, a transposition once again enabled by Hannay’s geographical movement along, across and between the infrastructural routes with which the landscape is cut through.

‘Imaginative Geographies’: Buchan’s Creative Cartographic Vision

Given the onset of the First World War in 1914, it is perhaps not surprising that *Greenmantle*, appearing serially in the weekly periodical *Land and Water* between July and November 1916, follows *The Thirty-Nine Steps* by shifting its focus away from South Africa. However, a distinctly South African topography continues to recur, repeatedly, throughout the text, albeit at a subtextual and subterranean—indeed, infrastructural—level. These South African topographies, this section will show, rupture through the novel’s spatial representations and disrupt the narrative’s capacity for resolution. The fictional topography that also functions as the text’s physical setting is, like both *Prester John* and *The Thirty-Nine Steps*, shaped by Buchan’s frontier consciousness. But unlike the topographies of those novels, which worked to consolidate and resolve these ideological tensions, *Greenmantle*’s depiction of South African topography actually disrupts its efforts toward ideological resolution, enabling

what I will call Buchan's '*creative cartographic vision*' (Lewis and Wigen, 1997: p. 200).

Ahead of the novel's final action scene, Hannay and his friends, Peter Pienar and John Blenkiron, attempt to map a route through the 'great expanse' of yet another borderland. From Hannay's repeated geographical observations and use of topographical reference points, it is possible to infer that the three 'heroes' are situated somewhere in the western regions of modern-day Iraq: 'Looking north I saw [...] the plain of the Euphrates', Hannay comments, and he is able to hear, 'like the cry of a wild bird, the muezzin from the minarets of Erzerum' (Buchan, 2010: p.262). The three are situated in a complex geographical and geopolitical borderland carved up by the frontiers of three different imperial powers: the Russian frontier to the north and east, the Ottoman frontier to the south and east, and the German frontier to the west, a tripartite configuration that recalls the U-shaped barracks of *Prester John*'s highveld. Fleeing from the Germans (the novel is set, after all, during World War I), the three 'spread out the maps' in order to plot a trajectory through the warring environment of the frontier to the safety that lies behind Russian military lines.

Peculiarly enough, it is at this moment that the geographical area of South Africa emerges, serving as a reference point for the novel's one South African character, Peter, who 'got his nose into the things at once, for his intelligence work in the Boer War had made him handy with maps' (p.263). Like Hannay in *The Thirty-Nine Steps*, Peter draws on his South African experience to make sense of this new military terrain. It is at this point that the novel, like the frontispiece to *Prester John*, highlights the importance not only of the borderland's geography, but also its *topography*. Not satisfied by the two-

dimensional map in front of him, Peter constructs a three-dimensional mould of the borderland through which he will move.

Peter's way of doing things was all his own. He scraped earth and plaster out of a corner and sat down to make a little model of the landscape on the table, following the contours of the map. He did it extraordinarily neatly, for, like all great hunters, he was as deft as a weaver-bird. He puzzled over it for a long time, and conned the map till he must have got it by heart. (p.264)

As has been argued throughout the thesis, maps are fundamental accompaniments to colonial texts, functioning as para-textual additions in the form of frontispiece maps and landscapes. However, as in *King Solomon's Mines*, they are also repeatedly used as representative technologies within the narratives themselves. Peter's attempt to construct a three-dimensional map of the frontier not only emphasises the topographical depth that Buchan attempts to convey through his productions of space. By enacting this constructive process within the text, *Greenmantle* highlights the ideological work embedded within both cartographic and literary mappings of the frontier. For Buchan, it is Peter's South African identity that allows him to construct a more accurate depiction of these contested borderlands, as the practice of map-making is placed centre stage.

Tracing the maps that occur throughout *Greenmantle* is therefore illuminating. In the novel's opening pages, these maps are used to plot the geographical terrain through which the narrative will then move. Hannay borrows 'an atlas from the library', stressing that although it 'wasn't thinking in an armchair that would solve the mystery', it is necessary in order to get 'a sort of grip on a plan of operations' (Buchan, 2010: p. 112). At this point, a return to Huggan's insights into the 'exemplary role of cartography in the demonstration of colonial discursive practices' is useful (Huggan, 1989: pp.

115-16). The map must have an ‘approximative function’ in its ‘mimetic representation’ so as to create the fiction of its ‘uniformity’: it is not so much a ‘statement of fact’, but rather ‘the subject of a proposition’, one that is ‘an approximate, subjectively reconstituted and historically contingent model of the “real” world’ (pp.117-18). In *Greenmantle*, however, the narrative repeatedly works to verify the various maps’ ‘propositions’. Maps are always succeeded by the geographical movement into the territories they depict, as the novel goes on to narrate its protagonist’s route through them. As for Haggard, Buchan’s literary narratives affirm the representational capacity and geopolitical proposition of the map, helping to ‘create geographies’ by adding flesh to their ‘skeletal landscapes’ (Chang, 1998: pp.43-44).

The mutually reinforcing movement between these two different representational mediums via a set of ‘metaphoric connections’ has been identified as a fundamental strategy of colonial discourse (Boehmer, 1995: p.16). However, whilst Buchan’s texts are participants in that larger discourse, they also enact these processes *within* their own narrative detail: ‘Maps were my business’, Hannay comments, ‘and I had been looking for one’ (2010: p.237). Hannay draws on textual inscriptions on the map and the physical and infrastructural routes they depict in order to access new frontiers:

I tried another map. This one covered a big area, all Europe from the Rhine and as far east as Persia. I guessed that it was meant to show the Bagdad [*sic*] railway and the through route from Germany to Mesopotamia. There were markings on it; and, as I looked closer, I saw that there were dates scribbled in blue pencil, as if to denote the stages of a journey. The dates began in Europe, and continued right on into Asia Minor and then South to Syria. (p.147)

This map denotes not only a spatial logic that opens up new swathes of land via the construction of a physical infrastructural line—in this case, the Baghdad railway. The

inscriptions of ‘dates scribbled in blue pencil’ bring, like the literary narrative that describes it, a temporal dimension to the infrastructural project. Hannay’s comment, ‘as if to denote the stages of a journey’, indicates the dual layers of the map’s propositional content: first, the progression of the proposed infrastructural line into the borderland between Eastern Europe and the Middle East; and second, Hannay’s own progression along that line, towards the frontier. This is configured in terms of a simplistic geographical division that highlights its Britain-centric perspective. A spatial bias is posited throughout the text before it is eventually deconstructed by the novel’s more complex topographical and multi-dimensional productions of space.

The maps of *Greenmantle* are engaged primarily in a ‘proposition’ that attempts to instigate and reinforce the narrative’s project to transpose the ideological borderland of the frontier of South Africa into Europe. Though this project is also central to *The Thirty-Nine Steps*, *Greenmantle*’s mapping efforts are inflected with ‘cracks’ in its ‘imaginary of the world system’ (Mignolo, 2012: p.22), fissures that reveal the deeper conflicts of its ideological materials. For example, when Hannay first encounters the character that will become his arch-enemy, ‘Colonel von Stumm’, the German gestures towards a map that is embedded with a set of geopolitical configurations:

‘[...] You see that map,’ and he pointed to a big one on the wall. ‘South Africa is coloured green. Not red for the English, or yellow for the Germans. Some day it will be yellow, but for a little it will be green—the colour of neutrals, of nothings, of boys and young ladies and chicken-hearts.’ (p.135)

According to Stumm’s reading, this map evacuates South Africa of any political agency. The framework of two warring imperial powers battling for a politically unaligned ‘third’ world produces a geopolitical configuration that anticipates the later twentieth-

century's 'Three Worlds Theory'. Though this set of 'metageographic categories', to use Lewis and Wigen's terminology (1997: p.10), would not emerge until the 1960s, the critical insights that have since been used to understand and then deconstruct that framework are useful here. Presented within a dialogue that, politically, militarily and cartographically, elevates Europe's position on the world map, the novel ostensibly subscribes to this set of metageographic categories designed to 'make more plausible the notion of European's priority in the history of human affairs, effectively serving as visual propaganda for Eurocentrism' (p.10).

The German, Stumm, explains this metageography not to a South African, but to Buchan's British protagonist, Hannay. As if to emphasise this evacuation of South African agency, Hannay is at this point *disguised as*, or *acting as*, a South African: the South African voice is directly usurped by a British one. Finally, as soon as Stumm has iterated these metageographical terms, he turns his attention to Peter, the one *actual* South African character in the room:

'[...] South Africa is counted out in this war. Botha is a cleverish man and has beaten you calves'-heads of rebels. Can you deny it?'

Peter couldn't. He was terribly honest in some things, and these were for certain his opinions.

'No,' he said, 'that it is true, Baas.'

'Then what in God's name can you do?' shouted Stumm.

Peter mumbled some foolishness about nobbling Angola for Germany and starting a revolution among the natives. Stumm flung up his arms and cursed, and the under-secretary laughed.

It was high time for me to chip in. (p.135)

Peter's inability to assert an alternative, South African-centric version of historical events is emphasised by his comparative lack of direct speech within the narrative and his use of the term 'Baas'—an Afrikaans word commonly used by unskilled black

labourers to address their white employers ('baas, n.', 2014). Stumm's historically orientated disempowerment of Peter can only be challenged by the British character, Hannay, who decides, with pronounced agency, that it is 'high time' for him to 'chip in'. Buchan's geopolitical hierarchies are established allegorically through his characters and their interactions: Britain occupies the highest rung, defending the weakest (South Africa) against a competing imperial power (Germany).

These metageographic categories can be deconstructed using a retrospective application of Aijaz Ahmad's critique of Fredric Jameson's essay, 'Third-World Literature in the Era of Multinational Capitalism' (1986), and beyond that, 'Three Worlds Theory' more generally. Ahmad begins by tackling Jameson's assertion that '*none* of these [Third World] cultures can be conceived as anthropologically independent or autonomous, rather, they are *all* in various distinct ways locked in a life-and-death struggle with first-world cultural imperialism' (Jameson, 1985: p.68, my emphasis). However, Ahmad extends his thesis to highlight the significance of the fact that, within the historical era of Cold War geopolitics,

first and second worlds are defined in terms of their production systems (capitalism and socialism, respectively), whereas the third category—the third world—is defined purely in terms of an 'experience' of externally inserted phenomena. That which is constitutive of human history itself is present in the first two cases, absent in the third one. Ideologically, this classification divides the world between those who make history and those who are mere objects of it [...] if only the first world is capitalist and the second world socialist, how does one understand the third world? Is it pre-capitalist? Transitional? Transitional between what and what? (1987: pp.6-7)

Ahmad's lucid deconstruction of these metageographic labels not only demonstrates the politics with which they are infused, but also establishes a framework that can be

retrospectively applied to the imperial geographies of *Greenmantle* and the politics implicit within them. The ideology of the novel's geopolitical mappings seeks to evacuate South Africa, which had been a hotly contested imperial possession throughout the preceding half-century, of any political agency.²⁶ This is further complicated by the historical circumstances of Britain's gradual political withdrawal from South Africa during this period, a process set in motion shortly after the publication of *Prester John* with the Union of the country in 1910.²⁷

Central to Ahmad's critique is the removal of not only a cultural and political agency from the 'Third World'. According to Ahmad's materialist lens, the region's lack of a definitive socioeconomic system renders all inhabitants of the 'Third World' mere 'objects' of history, unable to 'make' it. However, I will argue that the networked conception of the world-system, which both underpins Buchan's work and is refracted through the geographical and infrastructural determinants of his literature, reveals that 'the world is not divided into monolithic binaries'; rather, 'it is a hierarchically structured whole' (Ahmad, 2008: p.316). Throughout *Greenmantle*, the geopolitical space of South Africa repeatedly demands, at the infrastructural level of his work, that European configurations be defined in relation to *it*, rather than the other way around.

This flips Jameson's argument on its head: Buchan's literature, as a manifestation of

²⁶ T.J. Couzens has outlined some of the main military resistances faced by the British during the height of their colonial rule in South Africa, including: the Makgatho rebellion (1850s-1890s), the Ndebele-Shona Rising in Rhodesia (1896-1897), the Sekhukhuneland and Majaji rebellions (uprisings stirred up by the Rhodesian uprising and the Anglo-Boer war between 1901-1903), the Bambantha Rebellion (1906), the ongoing Magoeba (or Makgoba) resistance (1895) and the Malapoch evasion of taxes and self-defence against a siege by whites (1894). This is not to mention ongoing struggles with the Boers that had come to a head in the first and second Anglo-Boer wars of 1880-81 and 1899-1901 respectively (see Couzens, 1981: pp.9-16; and Afigbo et al., 1986a).

²⁷ This withdrawal, as Afigbo and others have shown, was further implicated in an abandonment of 'almost all the responsibility [Britain] had for so long recognised towards the non-whites in South Africa' (1986b: pp.176-77).

‘first-world cultural imperialism’ is in fact ‘in various distinct ways locked in a life-and-death struggle’ with a peripheral socioeconomic, political and cultural arena (Jameson, 1986: p.68). South Africa, as a frontier landscape, repeatedly shapes *Greenmantle*’s topographical production of space. The novel produces an alternative metageography, or ‘a *creative cartographic vision* capable of effectively grasping unconventional regional forms’ and producing ‘discontinuous “regions” that might take the spatial form of lattices, archipelagoes, hollow rings, or patchworks’ (Lewis and Wigen, 1997: p.200). The result is that the ‘Third World’, to return to Ahmad’s reconfiguration of the term, no longer ‘come[s] to us as a mere descriptive category, to designate a geographical location or a specific relation with imperialism alone’, but rather ‘carries within it contradictory layers of meaning and political purpose’ (2008: p.307).

There recurs throughout *Greenmantle*’s narrative one particular topographical feature, the description of which not only recalls the South African landscape in general, but more specifically *Prester John*’s literary production of it. Crucially, this physical chunk of landscape is not prefigured by an appearance on a map. Instead, it literally rises up, or ruptures through, Hannay’s *unconscious*. The topographical feature—‘a rum little hill with a rocky top: what we call in South Africa a *castrol* or saucepan’—first appears to Hannay in ‘a queer dream’ (2010: p.243, see fig. 3.4). A number of clues suggest that this piece of landscape is specifically South African: the term ‘*castrol*’ is, as Hannay points out, a South African phrase. Furthermore, it is also located ‘in a wild place among the mountains’ (p.243), and its ‘saucepan-like’ topography recalls *Prester John*’s landscape, described later by Buchan in his autobiography as an ‘inverted pie-dish’ (1940a: p.117). On waking, Hannay decides that ‘it was a reminiscence of the veld, some spot down in the Wakkerstroom country, though for the life of me I couldn’t



Fig. 3.4 An image of a ‘real-life’ *castrol*, described as the ‘Rooirand’ in *Prester John*, located on the edge of the highveld in what today is Limpopo, a north-easterly province in South Africa where the settings of both *Prester John* and Haggard’s *King Solomon’s Mines* might be retrospectively and approximately located (‘South Africa: Limpopo Province’).

place it’—and even at this unconscious level of the dreamscape, Hannay associates this topographical feature with safety, or homeliness: ‘I had a notion that if I could get to that *castrol* I should be safe’ (2010: p.243).

From this point, the *castrol* overlays Hannay’s narrative, refusing to leave ‘off haunting’ him (p.248). ‘At every turn of the road I expected to see the *castrol* before us’ (p.251), Hannay comments, as he continues to reflect on his intimate knowledge of South Africa’s topography: ‘I reckon I have scrambled over almost every bit of upland south of the Zambesi, from the Hottentots Holland to the Zoutpansberg, and from the ugly yellow kopjes of Damaraland to the noble cliffs of Mont aux Sources’ (pp.251-2). However, it is when this pointy chunk of mountain finally breaks into *Greenmantle*’s landscape—a transition from Hannay’s imagined geography into the novel’s production of physical space—that the South African attributes of this topography are delineated most explicitly:

[A]head in the midst of the pass was that curious *castrol* which I had first seen in my dream on the Erzerum road.

I saw it distinct in every detail. It rose to the left of the road through the pass, and above a hollow where great boulders stood out in the snow. [It was] as if the earth within the rock-rim had been beaten by weather into a cup. That is often the way with a South African *castrol*, and I knew it was so with this. (pp. 283-4)

Hannay simultaneously sees the *castrol* in the *Eastern European* landscape whilst using his knowledge of *South African* topography to explain and make sense of it. When the literary topography of *Prester John* is overlaid onto this feature, the resulting intertext brings the central economic and political dimensions of Buchan's South African concerns crashing into the narrative. The Rooirand, which operates throughout *Prester John* as the central topographical feature around which much of that novel's action takes place, shares several descriptive similarities with the *castrol*. Just as the *castrol* is, Hannay explains when he first sees it, 'distinct in every detail', for Davie 'the Rooirand stood very clear in front, and slowly, as I advanced, I began to make out the details of the cliffs' (Buchan, 2008: p.41). This central feature becomes the topographical focal point for the contentious ideological issues that *Prester John* is attempting to resolve:

I had my finger on the central pulse of the rebellion. [...] This cave of the Rooirand was the headquarters of [Laputa's] rising, and there must be stored their funds—diamonds, and the gold they had been bartered for. I believe that every man has deep in his soul a passion for treasure-hunting, which will often drive a coward into prodigies of valour. (p.97)

This central feature of the landscape is invested—on a literal and symbolic level—with both the profitable resources that facilitate capitalist accumulation and also the potential for a new labour force that, once Laputa's rising has been subdued, can be incorporated into the expanding world-system. As though to emphasise the centrality of this

topography, *Prester John*'s central chapter, buried at the heart of its narrative, is entitled 'The Cave of the Rooirand' (p.102).

Whilst *Greenmantle* is constantly struggling to evacuate South Africa of any geopolitical relevance or agency, recasting it as a culturally and politically redundant geographical region, these ostensible machinations do not permeate the infrastructural depth of the text. Buchan's narrative attempts to suppress its political unconscious—the historical, social and economic realities that 'are part of the *latent* form of the text' (Roberts, 2000: p.81). However, by interrogating the 'unconscious' of what Gregory would call Buchan's 'imaginative geography', 'the multiple spatialities inscribed within [that] geographical imaginary' are exposed (1995: p.475). What results in *Greenmantle* is the manifestation of a physical segment of South Africa in the unconscious of Buchan's protagonist, one that then ruptures through into the physical landscape of the text. The interrogation of this imaginative geography yields 'analytical openings' that allow a critical purchase on 'the contradictions that are contained within (often contained by) dominant constellations of power, knowledge and geography' (Gregory, 1995: p.475).

The concluding passages of *Greenmantle* attempt to suture this ideological geography smoothly back into its literary production of space. The *castrol* becomes, for Davie and his friends, a symbolic topographical feature that resolves the tensions of frontier consciousness. Hannay, like Davie before him, has tried to move beyond the infrastructural networks of the world-empire, whilst always refraining from moving *too far* beyond them. Both characters have been engaged in an ongoing struggle to inhabit a borderland that, because of the expansive nature of the frontier, is always in flux. As

frontiersmen, they are in a constant process of geographical orientation and reorientation. However, located on the *castrol*, on the edge of ‘our own battle-line again’, Hannay discovers a kind of ideological resolution. ‘I knew now what had been the weight on my heart’, he concludes:

It was the loneliness of it. I was fighting far away from my friends, far away from the fronts of battle. It was a sideshow which, whatever its importance, had none of the exhilaration of the main effort. But now we had come back to familiar ground. (Buchan, 2010: p.295)

Hannay’s geographical location, and his emotional response to it, is relational: the ‘loneliness’ that has plagued him throughout the text is here associated with the fact that he has been separated, geographically, from the symbolic and infrastructural networks of British military power and the capitalist world-economy. However, the return to ‘familiar ground’ stabilises the oscillations that have pervaded his frontier consciousness. The *castrol*’s location is both close to the infrastructural frontier without quite being *within* its web; its remains on the periphery of those networks, in the relational zone that emanates out from them. The *castrol*’s solid symbolic and physical geography then holds the ideological oscillation of the frontier in stasis, experienced by Hannay as a sense of resolution and acceptance that recalls, and re-enacts, Davie’s own new found confidence towards the end of *Prester John* (Buchan, 2008: pp.182-88).

This resolution is still relentlessly linked back to the South African highveld, as Hannay attempts to reconcile the conflicts of the different ideological strands that permeate the novel. He is positioned in a frontier location—not only spatially, on the *castrol*, but now also temporally, as he anticipates, with a calm acceptance rooted in his geographical

positioning, his own imminent death. Located on the frontier of his own temporal existence, he recalls his South African experience:

A man's thoughts at a time like that seem to be double-powered, and the memory becomes very sharp and clear. [...] I know that my thoughts were chiefly about the jolly things that I had seen and done; not regret, but gratitude. The panorama of blue noons on the veld unrolled itself before me, and hunter's nights in the bush, the taste of food and sleep, the bitter stimulus of dawn, the joy of wild adventure, the voices of old staunch friends. Hitherto the war had seemed to make a break with all that had gone before, but now the war was only part of the picture. (Buchan, 2010: p.297)

Hannay's thoughts become 'double-powered' indeed; this passage engenders a peculiar cross-directional geographical superimposition. South Africa is projected by Hannay onto the landscape before him, as his process of remembering becomes spatialised and he descends into the geography of his unconscious. But conversely, the text also enmeshes the landscape through which Hannay has moved—from Britain, through Western Europe to its eastern boundary—into a narrative that begins in South Africa, binding the two geographies together. The frontier geographies of *The Thirty-Nine Steps* and *Greenmantle* are no longer a 'break' with those of South Africa, but instead now 'part' of the same 'picture'.

Greenmantle produces a 'creative cartographic vision' that navigates the layered complexities of frontier consciousness and the contours of its ideological constituents. The displacement of these contours onto the topographies of its literary landscapes results in an attempt 'to visualise discontinuous "regions"', mapping a 'powerful sociospatial aggregation' that transcends 'single, bounded territories' (Lewis and Wigen, 1997: p.200). In so doing, Buchan's literary productions initiate a complex conceptualisation of ideological space that can be mapped onto the socioeconomic

networks of Britain's world-empire. They self-consciously acknowledge that their 'vision is always partial and provisional', reliant on 'spaces of constructed visibility that—even as they claim to render the opacities of "other spaces" transparent—are always also spaces of constructed invisibility' (Gregory, 2004: p.12). When read in this way, Buchan's topographies can be said to dismantle the metageographic constructs that are still so often used to frame the socioeconomic and cultural hierarchies of the contemporary world-system and that continue to shape what Gregory calls 'the colonial present' (2004: p.16).

Buchan's texts demonstrate the 'entangled' nature of colonial literature's mapping project and 'underline the deep "spatiality" of [the] spinning together of domination and resistance' (Sharp et al. eds., 2005: p.1). This spatiality is not simply 'metaphorical', but rather implicates 'the countless material spaces, places and networks'—the infrastructure—that sustained, 'practically as well as imaginatively and symbolically', the British world-empire, the world-system and the ongoing resistance that challenged and shaped them both (p.1). However, this anti-imperial resistance mostly remains implicit throughout Buchan's literary writings, with the obvious exception of Laputa's uprising in *Prester John*. In the next (and final) chapter, which turns to the work of E.M. Forster, Edmund Candler and Edward Thompson, and so back to India and its unevenly developed urban and rural zones, it becomes possible to see how late colonial literature negotiates and attempts to counter more overt expressions of anti-imperial resistance. Set in the historical context of the ongoing and increasingly coherent nationalist campaigns of early twentieth-century India, these literary texts are more explicitly engaged with and confronted by challenges to Britain's imperial hegemony. Like Buchan's, their productions of space take on a distinctly topographical dimension, one

that is also shaped by their ideological efforts to suppress and contain the resistance they encounter. However, by reading these efforts infrastructurally, along the lines I have developed so far, the chapter will show that a form of spatial resistance still remains embedded within their various narrative structures and uneven literary geographies.

Chapter Four: Mapping Nationalism: Allegories of Uneven Development

Introduction: Geographies of Division, Unity and Uneven Development

Comprised of just four paragraphs, the opening chapter of E.M. Forster's *A Passage to India* (1924) depicts an unevenly developed Indian terrain, describing the various infrastructural segregations and hierarchies that are inscribed into Chandrapore's urban architecture (Forster, 2005: pp.5-7).²⁸ Though this city is a fictional location, Pankaj Mishra supposes that the reference to 'a city of gardens' indicates it is based on Bankipore, where Forster had spent just three weeks in January 1913 (Forster, 2005: p. 344). Bankipore is located, significantly, in Western Bengal, a province partitioned by the British in 1905 (see fig. 4.1). The G.O.I. split the region along communal lines, attempting to segregate Hindu centres of fomenting anti-imperial resistance from the Muslim majority in the East so as to secure the loyalty of the latter—as Richard Cronin observes, the partition of Bengal was 'a classic example of "divide and rule"' politics (1977: p.1). Historically, however, the partition ignited an atmosphere of 'anti-government agitation' that would manifest in counter-tactics such as the boycott of British manufactures, or *swadeshi* movement. These movements would, in turn, become politically organised under the increasingly unified anti-colonial nationalist movement, or the 'movement for *Swaraj*' (p.178). Gandhi himself observed that the partition had catalysed anti-colonial political action, a regional resistance that soon spread across the

²⁸ 'Amongst the many resonances of the title is a reference to cartography, and consequently to the colonial topos of a voyage into unknown territory', Parry points out (1998: p.183). Another of these resonances is, via Walt Whitman's poem, 'Passage to India', the great infrastructural feat of the age: the Suez Canal. In his poem, Whitman imagines a 'New' world sutured into the infrastructural world-system, that 'by its might railway spann'd, / The seas inlaid with eloquent gentle wires [...] oceans to be cross'd, the distant brought near, / The lands to be welded together' (2004: pp.274-5).



Fig. 4.1 This map details the divisions of Eastern Bengal and Assam in 1905, published in the *Bengal Gazetteer* (1907-9). ('Partition of Bengal, 1905')

nation: 'The Partition has caused an awakening', he wrote, and 'discontent and unrest have spread throughout the land' (2008: p.133). This resistance was so widespread that on 25th August 1911, shortly before Forster himself travelled through the province, Lord Hardinge, then Viceroy, sent a dispatch not only announcing the reunification of Bengal, but also promising an increase in local self-governance (Cronin, 1977: pp. 221-2).²⁹ Lord Curzon, whose reflections on borders and frontiers were discussed in the

²⁹ It is worth noting that though the Morley-Minto Reforms of 1909, which were 'in large part a response to the intense agitation triggered by the Bengal partition, vastly extended the range of Indian participation in the governance of their country', they also embedded 'in Indian life the idea that its society consisted of groups set apart from each other.' In particular, Metcalf notes, was the 'conception of India's Muslims as a distinct community who deserved representation on their own', a lineage that he traces through an increasing intersection between religious and political identities to 'the flowering of a new communal rhetoric, and, ultimately, [to] the Pakistan movement' (1995: pp.223-5).

previous chapter, predicted on the eve of the partition in 1904 that if the Raj was ‘to yield to their clamour now, we shall not be able to dismember or reduce Bengal again, and you will be cementing and solidifying, on the eastern flanks of India, a force already formidable and certain to be a source of increasing trouble in future’ (Saxena ed., 1987: p.88). He was to be proved right.

The history of the Bengal partition gives conceptual shape to the infrastructural geographies in much anglophone colonial literature set in India in the following years; for my purposes, in particular, the work of E.M. Forster (1879-1970), Edmund Candler (1874-1926) and Edward Thompson (1886-1946). Whilst the somewhat critically overlooked literature of Candler and Thompson are the main focus of this chapter, I begin with a brief reading of *A Passage to India*, which sets several of the interlinked trajectories to be addressed in motion. The novel negotiates an ideology that circulated through numerous polemic and historical as well as literary texts in order to justify the continuation of the Raj’s rule. Many writers and historians, from Alfred Lyall in 1907—an historian cited by Candler in an epigraph to his first novel, *Siri Ram—Revolutionist* (1912) (see Cowasjee ed., 2005: p.401), and discussed in Chapter One of this thesis—to Bruce Tiebout McCully in 1940, understood imperial rule ‘as a unifying agency’ (1940: pp.211-13).³⁰ This ideologically informed geographical and social imaginary repeatedly envisioned the disintegration of India as a political entity and, often, an ensuing communalist violence, should the infrastructural framework of British governance be removed.

³⁰ Other texts propagating this notion include William Samuel Lilly’s *India and Its Problems* (London: Sands & Co, 1902) and Edwyn Bevan’s *Indian Nationalism, An Independent Estimate* (London: Macmillan and Co., Limited, 1913), amongst many others.

By contrast, notions of an inherent unity informed much early Indian nationalist writing, surfacing as a central justification for independence in the work of both Jawaharlal Nehru and Gandhi. As Nehru writes in *The Discovery of India*, published in 1946 on the eve of independence:

The unity of India was no longer merely an intellectual conception for me: it was an emotional experience which overpowered me. That essential unity had been so powerful that no political division, no disaster or catastrophe, had been able to overcome it. (Nehru, 2010: p.52)³¹

Perry Anderson has since identified the ‘couplet’ of ‘diversity-unity’ as an important trope ‘in the official and intellectual imaginary of India’ (2013: p.9). It is this notion of ‘unity in diversity’—an India bound together ‘into a single political community’—that underpins Sunil Khilnani’s famous coinage, ‘the idea of India’ (1997: pp.5-6). If, as Makarand Paranjape argues, India ‘as we know it today’ had ‘to be imagined into existence through the struggle between’ colonial and national ‘traditions and imaginations’ (2013: p.6), this chapter will argue that competing geographies of division and unity are a central site of contest underpinning literary productions of space at this historic-political moment in British India. The novels addressed here are explicitly concerned with the rise of Indian nationalism and the precarious legitimacy of the Raj, producing conflicting ‘imaginative geographies’, to return to Gregory’s term (2004: p.12), as India’s unification and division is mapped unevenly through their narratives.

³¹ Gandhi, too, is preoccupied by notions of division and unity, addressing communalist tensions between Hindus and Muslims more directly than Nehru and linking these divisions to British domination. As he writes in an edition of *Young India*, published in May 1921: ‘That unity is strength is not merely a copy-book maxim but a rule of life, is in no case so clearly illustrated as in the problem of Hindu-Muslim unity. Divided we must fall. Any third power may easily enslave India so long as we Hindus and Mussalmans are ready to cut each other’s throats.’ (2008: p.191).

A Passage to India's opening description is preoccupied with uneven geographical development and social division, albeit on a smaller scale. It depicts the more localised geographies of segregation demarcated by the infrastructures underpinning and facilitating the daily life of Anglo-Indians. Forster's cartographic description surveys the landscape from above, enacting and implementing the 'landscanning European eye' of the 'colonial gaze' (Pratt, 2003: p.60). It is engaged in a project of zoning that traces the racialised segmentation of the urban environment, mapping this onto the specific infrastructural and architectural area to which each racial group is designated. Indeed, his description here can be interestingly seen to anticipate Fanon's description of the divided colonial city, discussed in the introduction to this thesis (2001: pp.29-30). The Indian section of Chandrapore is comprised of 'mean' streets and 'ineffective' temples, whilst the 'few fine houses' that do 'exist' are 'hidden away in gardens or down alleys whose filth deters all but the invited guest' (2005: p.5). The narrative emphasises both the insufficiency and transience of local Indian infrastructure, blurring the boundaries between man-made constructions and the surrounding natural environment. 'The very wood' from which the houses are built 'seem made of mud':

So abased, so monotonous is everything that meets the eye, that when the Ganges comes down it might be expected to wash the excrescence back into the soil. Houses do fall, people are drowned and left rotting, but the general outline of the town persists, swelling here, shrinking there, like some low but indestructible form of life. (p.5)

Forster presents an impermanent geography, the Ganges on the verge of washing the edges of the urban environment away whilst 'the general outline'—depicted from an implicitly hierarchical, cartographic view from above—remains intact, ebbing and flowing unevenly with the waters that threaten its contours. This blurred outline is

positioned in contrast to the distinct infrastructural coordinates and rigid civil lines of the Eurasian communities, which ‘stand on high ground by the railway station’ away from the river’s threatening waters (p.5). Then, shifting further upwards (Forster’s topography is, like Buchan’s, inflected with racial ideologies), the survey ends with ‘the English people who inhabit the rise’ and their concrete infrastructural environment (p. 6).

It is sensibly planned, with a red-brick Club on its brow, and further back a grocer’s and a cemetery, and the bungalows are disposed along roads that intersect at right angles. It has nothing hideous in it, and only the view is beautiful; it shares nothing with the city except the overarching sky. (p.6)

This ‘physical segregation of its ethnic, social and cultural component groups’ depicts the blueprints of what Anthony King calls the ‘*colonial city*’ (1976: p.14). H.E. Meller documents that by 1901, the number of Indians living in British India’s colonial cities amounted to three-quarters of the entire Anglo-Indian community at that time (Chaudhuri and Dewey eds., 1979: pp.333-35). These numbers grew throughout the first half of the twentieth century as industrial workforces inflated and urban environments expanded to accommodate them. Cities such as Calcutta became ‘practically divided into two worlds’ (Bose, 1981: p.3): Kipling himself contrasted Calcutta’s ‘luxuries [...] of Sewers and Paving’ with its ‘great wilderness of packed houses’ (2010: p.59), and these divided geographies inform Forster’s description of his fictional town of Chandrapor. However, this literary mapping is not simply a documentation of *uneven* rates of infrastructural development. It shows how different zones are inflected with ideological agendas that, in turn, have shaped those spaces. Forster’s narrative attempts to naturalise the indigenous architecture by emphasising its fluid quality through the metaphoric comparison with the river Ganges. But the text also shows, if less explicitly,

how this naturalisation is in fact an ideological production, responding to and reproducing the core-periphery dynamics of an expanding world-empire.

Forster's novel addresses the intimate relationship between India's uneven development under British rule and the rise of nationalist resistance, albeit at the level of what Jameson would call 'national allegory' (1986: pp.65-88). Reapplying Jameson's concept to India at this historical moment of its partial assimilation into the global capitalist world-system, the literary productions analysed here emphasise the infiltration of a public or political sphere into the private spheres of many of the literary characters' inner lives: 'their private stories are always allegories of public situations' (Szeman, 2001: p.807). As Szeman interprets Jameson's theory in this context, these texts therefore 'necessarily and directly' speak 'to and of the overdetermined situation of the struggles for national independence and cultural autonomy in the context of imperialism' (2001: p.808).³² Dr Aziz, Forster's central character, functions as an allegorical victim of the injustice of the Raj's legislative structure, a maltreatment that drives him to adopt a nationalist stance. As Alex Tickell has argued, Aziz and Fielding metonymically signify 'the lost possibility of any lasting friendship between coloniser and colonised, which is registered in the novel's concluding scene' (2012: p.194): "'Why can't we be friends now?' [...] 'No, not yet'" (Forster, 2005: p.306). In these closing sentences, Forster's narrative emphasises the allegorical function of its two central characters. Both Fielding and Aziz are unable to divide their personal lives from

³² It is necessary to acknowledge here Ahmad's critique, already discussed in the previous chapter, of Jameson's 'essentially descriptive' theory which asserts 'a level of facticity that conceals its own ideology', as Jameson prepares 'a ground from which judgments of classification, generalisation and value can be made' (Ahmad, 1987: p.6). However, by applying this concept to *colonial* literature, its 'monstrous machinery of descriptions' is turned back upon itself, so that rather than asserting generalisations about 'Third-World Literature' it instead facilitates the chapter's excavation of the political and ideological tensions embedded within these colonial texts.

the broader political ideologies and sociocultural locations that they come increasingly to signify, allegorically, throughout the text. The divide between coloniser and colonised quite literally ruptures and ruins their personal relationship, their private identities becoming allegories for larger political issues.

However, this allegorical work is imbued with a more complex ideology that both responds to and in turn produces an imagined community divided along sectarian lines. Though written out of the context of the partition of Bengal, the imagined cartography underpinning this final dialogue between Fielding and Aziz—who is, importantly, not Hindu but Muslim—anticipates ongoing communalist tensions that would eventually result in the partition of Pakistan in 1947.³³ Indeed, the novel self-reflexively draws attention to the way in which the Raj's 'divide and rule' ideology shapes colonialist productions of Indian space.

³³ The term 'communalist', or communalism, is used here as Gyanendra Pandey defines it: 'a condition of suspicion, fear and conflict between people belonging to different denominations' (Pandey and Samad, 2007: p.18). In his essay, Pandey raises another point that perhaps illuminates the politics of Forster's choice to make his central Indian protagonist, Aziz, a Muslim. 'Colonial India was seen by its British rulers as a Hindu country', with the various other religious communities such as 'Muslims, the Sikhs, the Christians, the Parsis' and others, all seen rather as 'so many minorities'. It is the damaging infiltration of this colonial system of 'classification' and the sense of '*permanent* advantage or disadvantage' to which a member of a majority (Hindu) group or minority group would be subject that, Pandey argues, informs the political claims made on 'the eve of Partition and Independence' (p.31). Forster's choice to write a Muslim character as his allegorical representative of India, or the Indian nation, might then be read as subverting more divisive forms of colonial discourse whilst also bringing these various communal and ideological 'fault lines' to the surface. This is reflected in the novel's three sections—'Mosque', 'Caves' and 'Temple'—that, as Sara Suleri has argued, function 'primarily as cavities to contain Western perceptions of what is missing from the East' (Bloom ed., 1987: p.110). The novel's structural layout divides Hindu and Muslim by inserting what, as this chapter will later show, is a significantly symbolic topographical feature between their respective places of worship.

‘Who do you want instead of the English? The Japanese?’ jeered Fielding, drawing rein.
‘No, the Afghans. My own ancestors.’
‘Oh, your Hindu friends will like that, won’t they?’
‘It will be arranged—a conference of oriental statesmen.’
‘It will indeed be arranged.’
‘Old story of “We will rob every man and rape every woman from Peshawar to Calcutta”, I suppose, which you get some nobody to repeat and then quote every week in the *Pioneer* in order to frighten us into retaining you! We know!’
(pp.305-6)

In this exchange, which closes the novel, Fielding justifies British rule in the ideological terms of its role as a unifying power by gesturing towards an imminent communalist tension. However, the prediction of the violence that would ensue were the British to leave comes not from Fielding, but rather Aziz, who satirically quotes an imagined newspaper headline. Aziz’s recitation of what he describes as an ‘old story’ suggests that this is, by the early twentieth century, a weary line of argument for Britain’s continued rule. Aziz alludes to the way in which this ideology circulates through and is amplified by the British press in India through an allusion to the *Pioneer*—an ‘all-India newspaper’ to which Kipling himself had made regular contributions (Forster, 2005: p. 372). The representation of India as a nation of divided cultural and religious communities and geographies is thereby revealed as an ideological strategy designed to justify the continuation of British rule.

At this allegorical level, Forster’s text alludes to its geopolitical and socioeconomic infrastructures, thereby undercutting the Raj’s ideological arguments with the realpolitik of imperial strategy. Forster completed *A Passage to India* shortly after the First World War during a time when the technologies, and subsequently the economies, of global and imperial warfare were changing. As Rashid Khalidi observes, Winston Churchill

had decided, in the first decade of the twentieth century, to construct ‘a new generation of dreadnought battleships in the midst of a deadly Anglo-German naval race’ (2004: p. 84). These ships, mounted with ‘heavy, newly developed, larger fifteen-inch guns’ were ‘oil-powered’ and, along with other technological and infrastructural developments, ‘made Britain profoundly dependent on oil, a commodity that, unlike coal, had to be imported’ (pp.84-5). Mesopotamia and Persia, two areas with significant oil fields, were more accessible to Britain from its strategic foothold in India, making the subcontinent more crucial than ever before. Nerendra Sarila’s study of the complex geopolitical moment between the end of the Second World War in 1945 and Indian and Pakistani independence in 1947 has shown how Britain’s apparently ‘selective concern for the Muslims of India’ was ‘not so much to protect them as to use a portion of them to realise Britain’s strategic goals’ (2007: p.206). This is not to suggest that Forster’s text is somehow consciously invoking or attempting to critique these much larger cross-border movements, but its production of a divided colonial space still necessarily alludes to the infrastructural coordinates of the British world-empire and various accompanying anxieties as they were playing out on a global terrain.

Whilst the British had adopted a policy of ‘divide and rule in India after the bloody revolt or the Great Mutiny of 1857’, Sarila argues, this had been ‘a policy to control Indians, not to divide India’; this ‘latter question’ didn’t come into play until ‘the British started to plan their retreat from India’ (p.409). Picking up on these concerns, the late colonial literature analysed in this final chapter is marked by a significant shift in imperial ideology, one that no longer attempts to justify the retention of imperial power, but rather begins to accept and imagine a postcolonial India. The ideological frameworks analysed here are both struggling to redefine imperialism's infrastructural

legacy, whilst also containing resistance to it in other more strategically subtle ways. The writings of Forster, Candler and Thompson are all concerned with the rise of Indian nationalism and are infused with an acceptance of the disintegration of Britain's formal empire. They are also, however, already attempting to imagine the rise of an informal one: on occasion, their literary productions of Indian space register the geopolitical determinants that would eventually constitute Britain's political and economic interest in the division of Pakistan from India.

From Forster to Candler and Thompson: Biographical Symmetries

In chronological terms, Forster's novel sits symmetrically between the years of Candler's and Thompson's literary productions. Candler published *Siri Ram—Revolutionist: A Transcript from Life, 1907-1910* in 1912, followed by its sequel, *Abdication*, in 1922. Thompson's first novel, *An Indian Day*, appeared in 1927 and his second, *A Farewell to India*, which was also a sequel to his first, in 1931. *A Passage to India* is therefore framed by these four texts. Thompson's *An Indian Day*, alongside his historical work, *The Other Side of the Medal* (1925), discussed in Chapter One of this thesis, were thought by many contemporaneous reviewers and critics to be a 'counterblast' to Forster's novel (Lago, 2001: pp.210-11, 223-25). Identifying the 'inevitable' tendency to compare the two novels, Mary Lago argues that though 'Thompson knew his India better', it was Forster that 'wrote the better novel' (p.225). Forster drew a direct, correlative relationship between his ability to write about India and his geographical distance from it. Writing from India, he reflected that though he began writing *A Passage to India* 'before my 1921 visit' based on the experience of his 1912-13 visit, once his writings 'were confronted with the country they purported to

describe, they seemed to wilt and go dead and I could do nothing with them. [...] The gap between India remembered and India experienced was too wide. When I got back to England the gap narrowed, and I was able to resume' (1963: p.153).

Unlike Forster, both Candler and Thompson invested much of their working lives in India and were involved in both governmental and educational capacities in the Raj's administration. They therefore developed a more intimate knowledge of its political landscape. However, as opposed to Schreiner, for example, Candler's and Thompson's location *in* India does not result in a formal and political radicalism, but rather a distinct conservatism.³⁴ Whilst Candler and Thompson were exposed to the day-to-day administration of the Raj and the various resistances to it, Forster was never so directly aligned with the G.O.I. nor the Anglo-Indian community, and this political and geographical distance enables Forster's undoubtedly more subversive fictional representation. For Benita Parry, 'the indirections of its aversion to empire separate Forster's book from the self-justifying contemporaneous "problem" novels which set out to account for Indian discontent while reinstalling the British ideal of disinterested service' (1998: p.178). Though Candler and Thompson themselves come from contrasting political backgrounds, their literary voices share an explicit conservatism that comes through in the frequent polemical tangents scattered through their novels. As a contemporaneous and comparative reference point, Forster's novel thus functions as a useful intertext with which to unlock the latent politics and ideological fractures of both Candler's and Thompson's work.

³⁴ Candler is quite honest about his political leanings in his autobiography, in which he writes: 'I was born an unreflecting young Conservative, ready to bow my back to "the white man's burden", which, by the way, was not so heavy then as it has become since with all the weight of cant we have shovelled on to it' (Candler, 1924: p.64).

If Thompson's intimate experience of the 'day-to-day political manoeuvring at the provincial level' permeates his fiction, this in fact detracts from the literary value of his novels (Lago, 2001: p.225). Though both Thompson and Candler authored polemic and historical texts as well as travel writings, Parry—the only critic to have paid them extended critical attention as literary figures—has observed that there is 'often no essential difference' in the style used across these different genres. Candler's 'opinions voiced and sensations recorded in his travel books and autobiography also appear in his fiction' (1972: p.132), whilst Thompson's novels detail 'debates on conflicting viewpoints among Anglo-Indians and between British and Indian' (p.201). In response to the growing nationalist movement through the 1910s and 1920s, both authors acknowledge, on a conscious level, the increasing imminence of British withdrawal from India, and their novels provide a space in which to negotiate these realities. Rather than struggling with anti-imperial politics at an infrastructural level, nationalism and anti-imperial resistance are placed centre-stage as their narratives' primary subject of interrogation. This plays out in open discussions of ideological differences, contested economic statistics and propagandist claims. The prominence of these agendas affects the literary value of the texts; that they are bogged down in their overt politicisation is perhaps one reason for their critical neglect. Nevertheless, an infrastructural methodology reads beyond and beneath the novels' explicit politics to show that the literature still maps deeper, more complex ideological struggles and tensions.

With the exception of *Siri Ram*, the novels are all written in the context of a general acknowledgement of the inevitability of Indian independence. Though both Candler's and Thompson's second novels are definitely 'sequels' to their first, neither of these follow on from the first straightforwardly. They replicate environments, characters and

themes, but include little over-arching narrative progression. That both authors fail to create strong narrative linkages across their first two novels, whilst nevertheless recycling characters and themes, is suggestive. The intriguing symmetry invites a close comparative reading of their literary productions and suggests a formal and generic tendency symptomatic of the political and economic climate out of which they are being written. Attempting to come to terms with ideological anxieties thrown up by Britain's withdrawal from India, both sequels return to arguments that the first novels had attempted to navigate and resolve, exhibiting a reluctance to relinquish British power in India.

Gandhi once described Thompson as 'India's prisoner' (Lago, 2001: p.1). The Mahatma had read Thompson's second novel, *A Farewell to India*, which concludes with an allegorical enactment of its titular declaration. Nevertheless, for the remainder of his lifetime—Thompson died on the eve of Indian independence in 1946—he continued to return to the subcontinent and to be embroiled in its politics. Candler's sequel makes a similar titular declaration—*Abdication*—about the end of Britain's imperial rule in India. As Candler's semi-autobiographical character, Skene, comments in the final pages of that novel: 'we've abdicated and we can't have it both ways. Our conscience perhaps is not so robust as it was. Let us then hasten the wheels of Swaraj' (1993: p. 270). Yet, despite these explicit declarations of imperial withdrawal, a set of literary infrastructural mechanisms function in both works to imagine Britain's continued political and economic power in the region.

Alongside the notable similarities I have outlined, there are also some key differences between the two writers. Throughout his time in India, Candler used the Raj as a launch-

pad for a string of excursions beyond the ‘frontier’ into ‘Burma and Indo-China’, as documented in his extensive travel-writings (Candler, 1900: p.60). Throughout these writings there is a recourse to the tropes of the imperial romance and ‘frontier consciousness’ that recalls the work of Haggard and Buchan. They include frontispiece maps that depict vast empty spaces marked only by Candler’s route through them and the narrative is divided into sections with titles such as ‘Off the Beaten Track’ (pp. 15-16). Candler exhibits a romanticised preoccupation with ‘places fascinating for their beauty and remoteness’ (1912: p.x), landscapes beyond the imperial infrastructures that had woven their way across India. By contrast, his literary writings repeatedly fail to move beyond their confrontations with the politics of anti-colonial nationalisms. As Tickell notes, Candler is simultaneously ‘an enthusiastic proponent of the “romance” of colonial adventure’ whilst remaining well ‘informed in his approach to Indian nationalist politics’ (2012: p.158). This conflict produces an ideological tension most clearly expressed, this chapter contends, in his literary geographies. The need to produce a romanticised, pre-capitalist Indian landscape to sustain the processes of capital accumulation strains against the ongoing pressure to acknowledge emerging nationalist politics. The result is a literary production of a divided Indian landscape that associates certain ideological pressures with different geographical zones so as to contain them. This can, I will argue, be read as a formal expression of uneven developments in both infrastructure *and* the varying levels of nationalist consciousness across the subcontinent.

Whilst Candler remained an apologist of Empire throughout his life, Thompson’s thought follows a significantly more radical trajectory. As Parry writes, he was ‘on the left, one of the small minority who opposed’ the G.O.I.’s policies, who ‘attacked Anglo-

Indian attitudes', and who 'attempted to explain Indian grievances to an indifferent British public' (1972: p.165). After all, Thompson was already writing correctives to colonial historiographies of the Indian Mutiny in 1925. He studied, translated, exchanged letters with, and became an advocate of Bengali poet and novelist, Rabindranath Tagore (see Gupta, 2003). Interestingly, Thompson was also the father of the twentieth-century historian and Marxist thinker, E.P. Thompson (1924-1993), whose work has in turn had important implications for the *Subaltern Studies* collective. Thompson junior separated the concepts of 'class struggle' and 'class consciousness' so that the latter could be understood not as a necessary condition for the former but, in fact, the reverse (see Thompson, 2013). The result was that, as Rajnarayan Chandavarkar explains, '[s]ince class consciousness was the product, not the prediction, of historical experience, class struggle preceded its emergence and, indeed, facilitated its development' (1997: pp.181-2). This loosening of the concept of class struggle from its historical bindings to a very specific stage in capitalist development meant that the analytical category could be used to describe subaltern resistance in colonial India: 'class struggle and the cultural and historical experience which it encompassed could [now] be studied more extensively in societies where capitalism had manifested itself weakly and unevenly' (pp.181-2). As Chatterjee argues, it is the 'perception of uneven development' itself that 'creates the possibility for nationalism' (2011: p.4). Like Candler, Thompson the father produces literary geographies that are cut through with uneven levels of capitalist development and these can be analysed, albeit indirectly, through the interventions of his son.

Despite this radical legacy and his own contemporaneous criticisms of British imperialism in India, Thompson's literature still operates as an ideological apology for

the Empire. Though ‘among the few European writers at this time who openly presaged the inevitable end to British authority’, he ‘did not escape the colonialist ideological bloc’ (Boehmer, 1995: pp.152-3), remaining an advocate throughout his life of ‘the British aspiration to revitalise and improve India’ (Parry, 1972: p.180). In 1930, Thompson wrote an extensive study of Britain’s uneven infrastructural development across the subcontinent, indicatively entitled *The Reconstruction of India*. This permeates his novels through ideologies of humanitarian development, or ‘palliative imperialism’ (Mukherjee, 2013: pp.17-18). Like Flora Annie Steel’s short stories, Thompson’s first two novels attempt to resolve the ‘troubled dialectic between violation and protection, between governance and atrocity’ (Pierce and Rao eds., 2006: p.3). However, because Thompson’s texts are set within the context of India’s imminent independence and British withdrawal, this conflict is all the more problematic. The discrepancy between the ideological investment in infrastructure as a symbolic, civilising and humanitarian force, and that same infrastructure’s facilitation of socioeconomic exploitation, uneven development and impoverishment, is further complicated by another ideological tension. Thompson expresses a patronising concern for the infrastructural development and relief works of *post-imperial* India whilst also exhibiting a pervasive nostalgia for a romanticised, undeveloped, pre-capitalist version of the subcontinent. Like Candler, Thompson attempts to resolve these ideological tensions through a strategic literary production of a distinctly uneven Indian geography.

Geographies of division shape all of the landscapes in which these novels are set. After all, Forster’s, Candler’s and Thompson’s early biographical experiences of India were forged in the politically turbulent region of Bengal, a sociopolitical environment that

rocked with nationalist fervour in the aftermath of the period of partition.³⁵ But these mappings of differentiated geographies and uneven infrastructural developments extend beyond the political boundary enforced, then dissolved, by the Raj between 1905 and 1911. Both Candler's and Thompson's narratives engage thoroughly with various nationalist ideologies, sometimes acknowledging them as legitimate movements whilst often working, on other narrative levels, to isolate and contain them, thereby reinstating British hegemony. Beneath the overt politics of their narratives are deeper ideological tensions at work, as the texts respond to the increased infrastructural development running unevenly through the subcontinent as well as various forms of anti-imperial and nationalist resistance.

At this point it is necessary to clarify what is meant by 'Indian nationalism', described by Khilnani as 'a somewhat misleading shorthand phrase to describe a remarkable era of intellectual and cultural ferment and experimentation' (1997: p.153). Peter Heehs helpfully breaks nationalism down into four main 'factors' that he argues underpinned India's successful campaign for independence from the British, and which correspond to my own definitions of resistance outlined in the introduction of this thesis. They include 'pressure exerted by public bodies, notably the Indian National Congress'; 'non-violent resistance campaigns'; 'violent resistance'; and 'global and political economic changes' (Boehmer and Morton eds., 2010: p.153). Heehs notes that historically the first and second are remembered, celebrated and studied, whilst there is often an 'inadequate account of the third' and the fourth is 'all but' ignored (p.153). The sporadic occurrence

³⁵ Thompson was an educational missionary who worked as a teacher of English Literature in Bankura Wesleyan college on the western border of Bengal from 1910 (Lago, 2001: p.2), whilst Candler worked as a tutor to a young Bengali rajah, followed by an appointment as principal of a Bengali college from 1905 to 1906 (Parry, 1972: p.133).

of a specifically violent resistance in both Candler's and Thompson's fiction will be analysed in order to supplement the 'inadequate account' of Heeh's third category. That Candler, Thompson and Forster experienced Bengal during their time in India meant that they were all geographically and historically proximate to the emergence of violent terrorism as a vehicle for anti-imperial resistance; as Heehs notes, '[t]errorism in British India was largely a Bengali phenomenon' (p.154). In addition, since the dynamics of the cross-national world-system fundamentally inform my critical analysis of the literary texts and their material and cultural geographies throughout the thesis, Heeh's fourth under-acknowledged category is also addressed. The chapter stresses that whilst the imagined independent nation circulated in these colonial texts may go hand in hand with the relinquishment of Britain's governmental responsibility in India, it is by no means accompanied by an envisioned economic departure from the subcontinent. India is woven into the infrastructure of the global economy and the end of the formal empire, these literary narratives predict, does not necessarily mean the end of an informal one.

The Uneven Topographies of Nationalist Ideology

There is a symbolic topographical feature that recurs across the geographies of these novels. It is found first in Candler's *Siri Ram*, then appears in *A Passage to India* before emerging once again in Thompson's *An Indian Day*. Forster's opening description of Chandrapore introduces this feature. The novel begins with the words, 'Except for the Marabar Caves' (2005: p.5), distinguishing them as topographical anomalies within the colonial terrain: 'Only in the south, where a group of fists and fingers are thrust up through the soil, is the endless expanse interrupted. These fists and fingers are the

Marabar Hills, containing the extraordinary caves' (p.7). Indeed, 'Part II' of the novel's three parts is entitled 'Caves', positioning them structurally at its centre.

Throughout the three novels, caves are used to perform symbolic work. For both Candler and Thompson, they are situated in a specifically peripheral zone beyond the infrastructural networks of the world-system and different kinds of nationalist resistance are situated in them. This geographical and political alignment reveals the colonial ideology embedded within the literary production of these 'unevenly developed regions (e.g., city and country)', contrasting spaces that are nevertheless imagined within the same territorial and 'national-cultural system'. As Esty argues, the nation functions to 'contain and naturalise the problem of uneven development by appeal to a common culture, language, and destiny' (2012: p.26). However, the literary geographies of these colonial literary texts produce these peripheral zones (the caves) not only to contain 'the problem of uneven development', though this they do; they also attempt to delimit, isolate and undermine, spatially, different forms of nationalist resistance, as I will show. As Donald Moore argues, 'power works' by 'mapping social inequalities onto spatial categories that are produced through those processes, boundaries carved out through historical struggle' (Pile and Keith eds., 1997: p.91).

Remarkably, like *Passage*, although published some twelve years earlier, Edmund Candler's *Siri Ram* also takes a cave as its central symbolic focus: split into five 'Parts', the third is entitled 'Part III: The Cave' (Cawasjee ed, 2005: p.395). When read comparatively, both Candler's and Forster's symbolic depiction of the cave intertextually invokes a legacy of Western philosophy that raises issues of false consciousness. Debrah Raschke has already made the intertextual and philosophical

connection between the Marabar Caves and Plato's 'Allegory of the Cave', showing how Forster interweaves Platonic allusions into his descriptions of them before, she argues, 'then subverting them' (1997: p.11). The novel's intertextual engagement with this motif expresses a rejection of a Platonic idealism, instead grounding the novel in the 'material world below.' Raschke reads this materialist rejection of an idealist realm as symptomatic of Forster's broader challenge to the 'traditional conceptions of romance, which depend on metaphysical substructures for its survival' and that are built around the 'epistemological and sexual order in which pure masculine reason dominates' (p.11).³⁶ By invoking then rejecting the romance, Forster initiates a self-reflexive meta-narrative that questions its own representational capabilities, one that in turn highlights the capacity for *mis*interpretation inherent in colonial productions of space. The caves constantly evade verifiable categorisation, even for Aziz, despite his own relative indigeneity:

Aziz, looking again, could not even be sure he had returned to the same group. Caves appeared in every direction—it seemed their original spawning-place—and the orifices were always the same size. [...] When he had gone a few steps, he thought [Miss Quested] might have dropped something else, so he went back to look. But the previous difficulty occurred. He couldn't identify the cave. (Forster, 2005: pp.144-45)

By levering open a gap between materialist and idealist philosophies, Forster's caves evade the text's interpretative mechanisms, becoming a 'symptom of what the novel is unable to comprehend' (Parry, 1998: p.185). Within the context of Forster's opening

³⁶ This motif, which labels the landscape 'archetypally, as feminine', is also etched into the map in the opening pages of Haggard's *King Solomon's Mines* (2008: p.21; see also Stott, 1989: pp. 77-79, and fig. 4.2). Maria Davidis has shown how 'Adela's desire for romance—her wish to explore the landscape—harkens back to male explorer figures of the past, who traditionally penetrate a fecund feminine landscape in order to bring forth its fruits for the British empire. At this point in imperial history, Adela is a reminder that the time of great imperial questing is over'; this is encapsulated in her surname, 'Quested', which 'suggests the form that romance always takes, that of the quest', but in its past tense form (1999-2000: pp.260, 266).

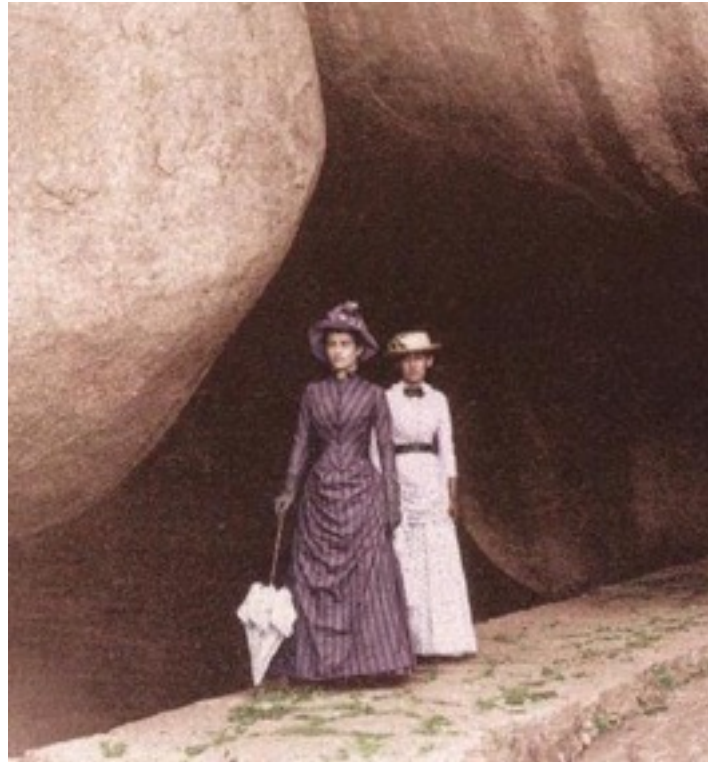


Fig. 4.2 This image of ‘English Women visiting caves near Bangalore (c.1880s)’, located on the cover of the Penguin edition of *A Passage to India* (2005), depicts a symbolic, and ‘archetypally feminine’ landscape.

geographical survey, the caves become a locale that eludes the ‘landscanning eye’ of the ‘colonial gaze’ (Pratt, 2003: p.60). The novel does not simply produce an Indian topography that accords with imperial ideology. Rather, it shows the way in which the production of space is always shaped by those ideologies and in so doing, undermines them: as Aziz himself realises, Adela’s ‘pose of “seeing India” [...] was only a form of ruling India; no sympathy lay behind it’ (Forster, 2005: pp.291-2). Whilst *Passage* remains mostly silent on ‘all traces of base interest—India as a source of raw materials, cheap labour, markets and investment opportunities, and India as a linchpin of Britain’s wider imperial ambitions’, the novel’s detailed geographies nevertheless, as Parry argues, ‘speak a defiant *material* presence which is both a scandal to the invaders’ epistemological categories, and a threat to their boast of possessing India’ (1998: p.181).

Approaching Candler's cave through the prism of Forster's highlights the ideological work that *Siri Ram*'s landscape performs. The cave that sits as a topographical centrepiece in Candler's novel generates a meta-textual reflexivity that excavates the ideological contours shaping colonialism's production of Indian space. At first glance, however, Candler's cave functions to contain, delimit and control an anti-imperial nationalist ideology. The depiction of the cave in *Siri Ram* is, like *Passage*'s, interwoven with Platonic allusion, but this is used to categorise nationalism as itself an explicitly *ideological* movement, thereby delegitimising and undermining it as a state of false consciousness. Whilst extended polemic debates about Indian nationalism dominate other sections of the novel, *Siri Ram*'s literary production of space attempts to resolve, within the infrastructure of the text, the ideological tensions that surface in response to them.

The physical feature of *Siri Ram*'s 'Cave' becomes a shelter for Candler's nationalist insurgent, Narasimha Swami. The Swami is an allegorical figure who functions simplistically throughout the novel's narrative as the mouthpiece for an anti-imperial, nationalist sentiment. In the novel's opening pages he is described as having 'an extraordinary influence over the youth of India' and is 'known to be a dangerous agitator' (Cawasjee, ed., 2005: pp.404-5). As Stephen Morton notes, the novel itself draws 'historical comparisons' between the Swami and contemporaneous 'revolutionary publicists' such as Aurobindo Ghose (Boehmer and Morton eds., 2010: p.212), whose 'revolutionary politics ultimately landed him in jail' (Nandy, 1983: p.92). The Swami's allegorical function is reinstated throughout this central section, whilst the cave too is invested with a distinct symbolism:

He would sit for hours, his eyes fixed on two pebbles at his feet, restraining his breath until the material world slipped away from him and his spirit floated in ether [...] Power and influence came out of these trances. The Swami owed much of his magnetism to them and the extraordinary hold he had upon the affections and imagination of his countrymen. [...] he became a kind of superman in his own country. Images of him carved in wood and stone and cast in metal were sold in the idol shops of Kashi, where he had a great name for piety and transcendental power. (p.471)

This passage reverses Forster's critique of the colonial gaze that, as Raschke argues, undermines the representational capacities of colonial literature through its invocation of the 'material world below' (1997: p.11). Instead, *Siri Ram*'s intertextual invocation of Platonic philosophy performs an ideological tactic. It detaches the Swami's nationalism from the material geographies of a prospective Indian nation, thereby decoupling nationalism from its territorial underpinnings and isolating it as a form of false consciousness. As David Hawke argues, 'modern theories of false consciousness claim that it is produced by an imbalance in the tripartite relationship between the subject (which is the realm of ideas), the object (the world of substantial, material things), and the media of representation which negotiates between these two poles' (1996: p.14). By upsetting this relationship, the cave in *Siri Ram* is invested with a process in which 'one set of ideas' seek 'to label another as false' (p.15). As Hawke points out, this 'tactic can be traced to the very beginning of Western philosophy', and more specifically, to 'Plato's *Republic*' (p.15).

Siri Ram's intertextual allusion to Plato's 'Allegory of the Cave' is striking. The Swami is located in 'a cavernous cell down under the ground', at 'the far end of the cave' (Plato, 2008: p.240). The 'artefacts' of 'human statuettes, and animal models carved in stone and wood and all kinds of materials' that cast the shadows on the cave

wall, and that the prisoners of the cave take to be material reality (p.240), are in *Siri Ram* circulated beyond the cave via the idolatry images of the Swami himself, ‘carved in wood and stone and cast in metal’ (Cawasjee ed., 2005: p.471). The Swami’s nationalism is ‘narrowed’, or ‘crystallised’, through his ‘flame-like energy’, which references the ‘firelight burning’ in Plato’s cave (p.472). Through these allusions, Candler’s narrative attempts to delegitimise the Swami’s nationalist leadership by reducing it to an idolatry reminiscent of the ‘false consciousness’ of Plato’s ‘prisoners’.

However, a tension arises because Candler’s text cannot delegitimise the historically circulating nationalist ideologies in their entirety. As Rachael Corkill observes, between the years 1907 and 1910, noted in the novel’s subtitle (*A Transcript from Life, 1907-1910*), ‘the names of Bal Gangadhar Tilak and Aurobindo Ghose, as mouthpieces of Indian nationalism, were on the lips of anyone who professed to know anything about India’ (Cawasjee ed., 2005: p.398). To draw on Neil Smith’s terminology, the text of *Siri Ram* does not deny that nationalist ideology is ‘a set of ideas rooted in practical experience’; given its historical context, it has to confess this. Rather, it seeks to emphasise that this ‘given social class’—in this case a class of revolutionary nationalists—‘sees reality from its own perspective, and therefore only in part’ (Smith, 2008: p.28). Candler’s novel seeks to acknowledge this emerging nationalism whilst struggling to reconcile it with its own imperial ideology. The tension that results from this acknowledgement is that whilst the text seeks to isolate and control nationalist thought by emphasising its ideological partiality, in so doing it must simultaneously admit the partiality of its own perspective, undermining the claims to total knowledge that underpin colonialism’s interdisciplinary cartographic enterprise. Though Candler’s cave does not offer the level of self-critical purchase that Forster’s more obviously symbolic

caves initiate, it does raise questions about the narrative's capacity both to represent and produce spaces. Applying Jameson's terminology from his essay 'Beyond the Cave' (itself an obvious Platonic reference), Candler's narrative appears to be dogged by the fact 'that realism is the most complex epistemological instrument yet devised for recording the truth of social reality,' whilst also subtly recognising, 'at one and the same time, that it is a lie in the very form itself, the prototype of aesthetic false consciousness' (1975: pp.8-9). By raising issues of ideology so as to challenge nationalism in this way, the text highlights the limitations of its own ideological project as they are inscribed into its genre and form.

Edward Thompson's first novel, *An Indian Day*, again has a cave nestled at its centre. Though not explicitly named in a titular subsection, the emergence of the cave at a central point in the narrative's trajectory is reminiscent of these previous novels. Parry indeed reads Thompson's descriptions of the caves as 'derivative, drawing heavily on Forster's remarkable account of the Marabar Hills and Caves', whilst nevertheless noting a crucial distinction between them (1972: p.187). Whereas for Forster 'these are multi-symbolic', Thompson's hills and caves, Parry argues, 'have a more circumscribed function, announcing the unrelenting presence of an India immensely old, remote from the British and the modern world, and contemptuous of its works' (p.187). The developmental temporalities Parry ascribes to Thompson's production of Indian geography are, she notes, ideologically complicit with colonial notions of modernity. This passage from *An Indian Day*, which surveys the subcontinent's rural space from the perspective of an infrastructural route, is revealing:

This was a hill outcropped from the thickest of the wilderness on the Orissa borders, and humped itself to a height of a thousand feet above the surrounding plain. [...] It was a characteristic enough hill, one of many thousands, of every height from twenty feet up to several thousand, that are scattered over India. You may see them from the train, as you go through Central India or the jungles of Chota Nagpur or Orissa. [...] The geologist finds no fossils in them. The temples of post-Aryan India seem alien, an annoying excrescence of yesterday. (Thompson, 1940: p.149)

Thompson's narrative is evocative of contemporaneous travel guides as it addresses the reader directly through the use of the second person pronoun, 'you',³⁷ implying a perspectival gaze that is geographically located on the infrastructural route—'from the train'—cutting through the rural Indian landscape. Both hills and caves are significantly located in 'the *thickest of the wilderness* on the Orissa borders' (my emphasis), highlighting the peripheral location of these topographical features. The narrative positions them beyond the networks of imperial infrastructure whilst also weaving it into the core-periphery dynamics of its cultural geography. Contrasting temporalities are then ascribed to this spatial production as the scientifically informed 'geologist' is juxtaposed with rural India's 'annoying excrescence of yesterday'.³⁸ As David Arnold demonstrates in his reading of the 1909 *Imperial Gazetteer*, geology was a discipline complicit with colonialism's 'positivist logic'; its mappings of 'the physical foundations

³⁷ See, for example, John Murray's *The Imperial Guide to India, Including Kashmir, Burma and Ceylon. With Illustrations, Maps and Plans* (London: Alabaster, Passmore and Sons, Printers, 1904).

³⁸ Ashis Nandy's understanding of tradition and modernity as socially, geographically and historically contingent concepts, rather than as essentialised poles positioned in contrast to one another, exposes the ideological underpinnings of the contrasting temporalities with which Thompson's novel here inflects its productions of Indian space. As Nandy writes, the '*tradition of modernity*' is what 'the scientific and technological world-views have been trying to fob off on the rest of the world with the help of the doctrine of progress', whereas in reality, '*the choice is not between traditional and modern technologies; it is between different traditions of technology*, some dominant and some recessive, some appropriate and some inappropriate, some endogenous and some exogenous. [...] This is not to deny, but to stress, that in each culture some traditions are contemporary and relevant, and others are not' (1978: p.382).

of India’ and ‘a survey of its human inhabitants’ worked ideologically to locate the ‘colonial administration’ at the ‘highest stage of this evolutionary saga’ (2000: p.131).

Like *Siri Ram, An Indian Day* then configures this topographical feature as both a symbolic and actual locale from which nationalist resistance emerges. It narrates this process allegorically through the actions of Nixon, a colonial administrator, as he seeks to explain Indian unrest in the region.

Meanwhile proof accumulated that discontent was fishing in the troubled waters of famine. The community was thrilling with excitement, winds of some mysterious terror were making men’s minds a shaking grove. [...] Nixon, scanning his reports and seeking for some focus to all this wide-winging rumour, some place to search for a definite foe to strike at, settled on Trisunia. (Thompson, 1940: p.149)

Trisunia is the name of the ‘hill’ described in Thompson’s geographical survey. However, Nixon’s decision to locate an intangible and ever-present anti-imperial unrest—built out of the written materials of colonial bureaucracy and intelligence ‘reports’—at this topographical location is here somewhat arbitrary. Nixon actually enacts the narrative’s own attempt to isolate, segregate and contain threats to its ideological perimeters within and through the spatial layout of the landscape that it depicts. As for Candler, the caves are the location best suited to this project.

The opening sentence of this passage gestures towards contemporaneous debates around the relationship between British imperialism in India and the famines that had plagued

the subcontinent throughout its formal rule.³⁹ Mukherjee has distilled these arguments into two binary categories before going on to discuss the more complex and conflictual nature of their relationship. Whilst ‘for the rulers’ famine relief was configured as ‘the *raison d’être* of colonialism and imperialism’, ‘for the ruled, famine was a direct product of the conquest of their lands by the germs, guns and the profit motives of European powers’ (2013: pp.30-31). As Mukherjee points out, these debates circulate not only within the Raj’s ‘*textualities* of governance (parliamentary papers, administrative reports, medical texts, historical and anthropological studies)’, but also give shape to ‘literary narratives’ of the period (p.31).

Thompson’s text exposes the ideological nuances of this debate. Whilst propagating the notion of famine relief as a justification for imperial rule throughout much of the narrative, at this point the text alludes to the way in which nationalist movements sought to mobilise resistance from within famine stricken communities, exploiting the ongoing suffering of famine victims to further their cause. The text attempts not only to propagate the humanitarian impact of imperialism that relieves famine victims living under its protectorship, but also strives to delegitimise nationalist ideology by exposing it as a coercive form of indoctrination that exploits the suffering of those that it commandeers to its cause. It critiques the nationalist movement’s ideological manipulation of natural disasters such as famines whilst failing to see its own participation in a very similar, if oppositional process. If this is not directly acknowledged by the text, its juxtaposition of conflicting ideological perspectives

³⁹ Mike Davis outlines the four ‘global subsistence crises’ under the Raj during the latter half of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and includes a table that monitors the shocking ‘Estimated Famine Mortality’ across this period (2010: pp.6-7), events also documented by Navtej Singh (1996).

works, like Candler's, to suggest the political agendas informing its production of space. The narrative is forced to make room for an alternative, increasingly coherent system of sociopolitical and cultural understanding in the form of growing nationalist energies, which in turn relativises and undermines its own.

Nixon's immediate attempt to contain this movement within a small segment of Indian landscape is built out of the geographical compartmentalisation, or 'divide and rule' tactics, that underpinned counter-nationalist efforts. After Nixon identifies Trisunia as the geographical locale of nationalist unrest, the narrative goes on to expand upon its topographical detail and to link it, symbolically, to wider notions of anti-imperial resistance. The caves are presented to the reader through an intertextual repetition of Forster's own opening description of the Marabar hills:

If you crossed Trisunia's summit, and began the northern descent, you reached a rocky surface pitted with caves and cracks [...] One of the caves went deep into the hill. No one had ever been interested or hardy enough to explore it. [...] It was from the unknown heart of this cave that Hara Deva the Destroyer was now roaring. Terrified crowds had heard him, at the spring festival; but the rumour had died away, only to be revived as the miseries of famine grew to their height. (1940: p.153)

For the novel's British characters, the 'roaring stuff' emerging from an 'unknown' geographical location suggests a nationalist stronghold. As Alden, another colonial administrator, hypothesises, 'the people who started the roaring stunt have set this yarn going also, to frighten off investigators' (pp.154-5). He continues:

I read something some time ago, about what seditionists had been doing in the Philippines. It seems they had a cave of sorts there also; and they fixed it up with a whopping megaphone. It was a place with magnificent echoes. (p.156)

Though invoking the ‘echo’ of Forster’s Marabar Caves (2005: p.137), another intertext underpins this section of Thompson’s novel. The cave, embedded ‘deep into the hill’, is uncharted territory, with no one as yet proving ‘hardy enough to explore it’ (Thompson, 1940: p.153). Hamar, another colonial administrator, comments, ‘I’m going to raid those damn caves’ (p.155), and eventually the three British imperial characters ‘entered the cave at last, cautiously and with loaded revolvers’ (p.158). The narrative evokes Haggard’s three imperial characters who, in *King Solomon’s Mines*, penetrate ‘the bowels of a huge snow-clad peak’ where they are ‘cut off from all the echoes of the world’ (2008: p.178). Recalling Raschke’s reading of Forster’s caves as a subversion of the ‘traditional conceptions of romance’ (1997: p.11), Thompson’s cave functions as something of an ideological intermediary. It both subverts the explicitly pro-imperial allegorical narrative of Haggard’s novel whilst not quite achieving the radical work of Forster’s anti-imperial one.

Whilst for Haggard’s characters, as discussed in Chapter Two, the prospect of increased material wealth motivates their entry into a peripheral zone, within the differing historical, geographic and socioeconomic context of British India in the 1920s, the motivation is instead to seek out and repress nationalist resistance. Nevertheless, this re-emergence of the generic contours of the imperial romance suggests that the economically exploitative motions of the expanding world-system are registered within the narrative’s subtext. According to Jameson’s understanding of genre, the ‘raw material’ of the ‘the historical moment’ limits the ‘number of formal possibilities’ and genre-types that can emerge from within it (2002: pp.133-35). The textual patterns and tropes playing out across different historic-geographical zones here demonstrates how

these literary narratives are continually registering and reproducing the socioeconomic and ideological motions of the world-system at the levels of form and genre.

Before expanding on these economic underpinnings, however, it is important to interrogate further *An Indian Day's* representation of nationalism. Even though Thompson's re-writing of the cave is an ideological tactic designed to isolate, control and contain nationalist resistance, when his characters actually enter the cave it turns out to be empty: 'there was an easy way out to an opening in an unpathed tract of the forest. There had been cooking and sleeping and habitation in the cave', Thompson's protagonists discover, 'beyond a peradventure; but the rest was guesswork' (p.158). The novel configures anti-imperial nationalism as a political movement that cannot be controlled, or assimilated into, the mappings of a colonial one. Though the plot details the isolation, containment and infiltration of the cave, at the moment of entry Thompson's nationalists slip beyond the colonial administration's reach, escaping through the back of the cave into 'an unpathed tract of the forest'—the resistance shifts, geographically, beyond the frameworks of colonial knowledge. The narrative does not simply confess the existence of emerging Indian nationalism, but emphasises, through its symbolic topography, its unrepresentable and thus unassimilable nature: it becomes a politically mobilised spatial resistance within, but also always beyond, the text. Indeed, though written in the third person, the narrative's perspectival orientation looks 'over the shoulder' of the colonial administrators who explore the cave, at no point moving beyond their personal knowledge and experience. Unlike the omniscient narratives of Forster and Candler, Thompson does not move into the consciousness, or even experience, of those that resist, unless the action is directly observed by one of his Anglo-Indian characters.

Candler's attempts to contain anxieties around anti-imperial resistance by restricting them spatially to the peripheral zone of the cave likewise fails, as it spills over, spatially, into other geographical regions. Before retreating to his cave, the Swami makes what Benedict Anderson would call a 'colonial pilgrimage' to Europe, especially 'England', as well as the United States. These pilgrimages, Anderson argues, made by bourgeois members of the colonised population to the imperial metropole to 'receive some education or training', are linked both to the expansion in cross-national 'communication and transportation' infrastructures and the 'subtle, half-concealed transformation, step by step, of the colonial-state into the national-state' (Anderson, 2006: pp.114-5). The geographical coordinates of nationalism's imagined community are central to this process: there is a distinct 'isomorphism between each nationalism's territorial stretch and that of the previous imperial administrative unit', a 'similarity' that 'is by no means fortuitous; it is clearly related to the geography of all colonial pilgrimages' (Anderson, 2006: pp.114-5). Candler's novel shows that it is the Swami's cross-border geographical movements, which are then combined with the imperial transportation and communication infrastructures *within* India, that enable him to imagine a community mapped onto a specific, bordered territory: the post-imperial nation.

Nehru would make a similar observation in his essay, 'The Unity of India': the 'coming of the British to India synchronised with the development in transport, communications and modern industry, and so it was that British rule succeeded at last in establishing political unity' (1941: p.13). Whilst arguing that India's 'desire for unified political control' originated prior to British rule, Nehru nevertheless concedes that it was the Raj that laid the infrastructural foundations which would enable the realisation of these

national imaginings.⁴⁰ It is not coincidental, then, that the literary productions of space analysed in this chapter register, on formal, thematic and symbolic levels, British India's uneven and differentiated internal infrastructural development in the same moment that they negotiate the formation of the Indian nation as a distinct geographic and political entity. They are coterminous ideological projects that shape one another in uneven ways and the writings of Candler and Thompson explore this intimate relationship.

Candler's titular protagonist, Siri Ram, himself makes a journey across the unevenly developed terrain of the Indian subcontinent, traversing its core and peripheral zones. The geographical trajectory mapped out by the novel moves from an urban centre to a rural, and in terms of its relation to the networked world-system, economically and culturally peripheral zone. This marked split between town and country is a 'separation' that, as Jameson argues, 'becomes a vital index of the development of capitalism' (2014: p.110).⁴¹ The first section of *Siri Ram* works, as does Thompson's in *An Indian Day*, to separate nationalism from imperialism's cultural and economic circuitries as they manifest in its infrastructural networks, a division symbolically compounded through the infrastructural density of its urban environments. It produces an uneven literary geography that attempts to isolate and contain nationalism by rooting it in a peripheral zone, far from the networks of the world-system that it might threaten. However, despite

⁴⁰ Though Nehru and Gandhi shared ideas of a unified Indian nation, the latter did not concede, as Nehru does here, that infrastructural systems such as the railway network had played any formative role. For most nationalists, '[i]mprovement or control, not elimination of the railways, was the goal', but Gandhi was 'one of the few who contested the very presence of the railways', inverting 'every positive representation' of them (Kerr, 2003: p.313). At one point in *Hind Swaraj*, he actually blames the railways for intensifying communalist divisions, arguing that if 'we did not rush about from place to place by means of railways and such other maddening conveniences, much of the confusion that arises would be obviated' (2008: p.185).

⁴¹ *Siri Ram*'s opening sentence follows Skene as he is 'driving to the meeting in the city', emphasising the fact that both he, and the reader, are moving 'citywards', toward Delhi (Cawasjee ed., 2005: p.403).

this ideological work, the narrative then embeds both the cave and the Swami in the material, cross-border infrastructural networks of communication that allow the Swami to spread his nationalist doctrine. ‘Siva’s mansion had become the Swami’s office’, the narrative proceeds: the cave ‘floor’ becomes ‘littered with his torn correspondence’ and ‘envelopes with the American postmark’ (p.487). The cave literally becomes coated with a correspondence that connects it to cross-national networks of nationalist resistance. This network enables what Anderson would call ‘unbound serialities’ that, as Chatterjee explains, ‘afford the opportunity for individuals to imagine themselves as members of larger than face-to-face solidarities’ (Chatterjee, 1999: p.128). The cave now becomes ‘the hub of the universe; the civilised world was conspiring with [Siri Ram’s] master [the Swami] to set his country free’: ‘Sometimes it would be a letter from an Indian in Paris or London, or an Irish professor in an American University, or some well-meaning radical in the House of Commons’ (p.487).

The networks giving shape to this cross-national resistance complicate the simplistic spatial division that the broader trajectory of Candler’s novel endeavours to initiate. Although it seeks to isolate and control nationalist discourse by reducing it, allegorically, to the Swami and to this single topographical feature situated in a peripheral location, spatial segments of the nation beyond the infrastructural networks are nevertheless now implicated in them. ‘The town-country division inherent in capitalism’ cannot be treated ‘as two separate units, one developed and the other underdeveloped’—rather, they are “‘areas” of differential development [that] are joined relationally’ (Hopkins and Wallerstein, 1982: p.180). This is mapped onto the ‘[o]pposition to oppression [that] is coterminous with the existence of hierarchical

systems' (Arrighi et al., 2011: p.29), which occurs here not in any simplistic binary sense, but *spatially*, across *Siri Ram*'s unevenly developed literary geography.

Candler's narrative in fact details the way in which this resistance is articulated via the 'two principal varieties of antisystemic movements', each of which have contrasting spatial configurations. The first can be configured as the 'social movement' (enmeshed within cross-national, counter-networks of resistance, 'the internationalism' of Siri Ram's and the Swami's 'ideology' is emphasised); and the second as the 'national movement' (territorial borders give shape to the Swami's imagined community in a spatial 'liberation from the unequal relations among different zones of the modern world-system') (2011: pp.30-1, 54). In the novel's central section, these two movements have 'found enough tactical congruence to work together' (p.31), and it is imperialism's cross-national infrastructure that, the novel relates, facilitates this (see Boehmer, 1998: pp.5-6). They have both enabled the Swami to formulate his own coherent nationalism through his correspondence with a range of international social movements, whilst in turn facilitating the growth, communication and spread of those nationalist sentiments through his new imagined community. The infrastructural underpinnings of Britain's world-empire are configured, symbolically but also physically, by Candler's text as routes no longer invested with imperial power but as instead facilitating anti-imperial resistance.

The ideologies informing these productions of space are themselves uneven. That is to say, different spaces, be they core or peripheral, perform a variety of ideological functions that are not consistent throughout the duration of the text. Within the socioeconomic context of a swiftly though unevenly industrialising India, the imperial

ideology shifts, or oscillates, between the relational zones of core and periphery embodied in different cartographic contexts as it navigates its own fragmentation. Whilst this literature's symbolic cartographies attempt to divide British India's geography simplistically in two, these rigid binaries are complicated by the networked nature of the world-system. The novels detail more complex disaggregations of core-peripheral zones as they cut through and between Anglo-India's segregated and compartmentalised architectural spaces, as the next section will explore.

Meteorological Metaphors and Violent Resistance

Siri Ram's efforts to confine nationalism using a simplistic, binary symbolic cartography, configured between colonial urbanity and indigenous rurality, is transgressed in the novel's remaining two sections. In the closing scene of the central section, 'The Cave', the Swami's national allegorical status is ritualistically transferred to Siri Ram, in language still informed by Plato:

It was an impressive scene—this wraith of a man illumined by the dancing firelight which threw the shadow of his uplifted hand against the dark, dripping, buttressed rock [...] And the message was delivered to the nation, to the Valki incarnation of Vishnu, which was personified in Siri Ram. It was enough to inspire the dullest and send him hot foot on any sacrifice. (Cawasjee ed., 2005: p.495)

From here, Siri Ram departs *from* the cave *back towards* the urban environment of Delhi in which the novel began. On his return, he is convinced by the underground nationalist group of which he is now a member to sacrifice himself for their cause as 'hero, martyr, patriot' (p.548). His self-sacrificial conviction—he will inevitably be caught, tried and hanged by the colonial government—is justified by his assurance that his violent act

will lead to the creation of an independent nation. ‘Tonight in every city young men will be ready’, he is told, and ‘[h]undreds of other officials will fall at the same time’: his revolutionary act will be ‘be a match to light the conflagration’ (p.537), giving a national weight to his individual actions. Siri Ram justifies what Tickell has read as an act of suicidal terrorism (2012: p.159) by imagining himself as part of a larger, nation-wide community, conceived, to return to Anderson, ‘as a deep, horizontal comradeship’ (2006: p.7). After his arrest, and faced with the prospect of his imminent death, Siri Ram takes comfort by imagining his own symbolic status within a wider community as a martyr for the nationalist cause: ‘The thoughts of millions were centred on him. [...] He tried to revive the warmth of pride. He reminded himself that he was already haloed. [...] His features were well known; thousands of cheap prints of him would be circulated in Bengal’ (pp.548-50). At this point, Siri Ram actively participates in his own death. He reaches for ‘the little wafer of poison’ he has smuggled into the gaol cell, opens ‘the packet almost indifferently’ and commits suicide (p.550). His political cause consumes his individual identity as his national allegorical significance solidifies.

However, the novel’s plot works to undermine Siri Ram’s imagined community by dividing, and thus delegitimising, the nationalist movement. This tactic is then displaced outwards onto the literary production of Indian geography as divided, uneven and unequal. It transpires that the wider nationalist community for which Siri Ram has sacrificed himself has, in fact, no intention of initiating a movement of mass resistance. Instead, the movement’s leaders have tricked Siri Ram into committing a one-off act of terrorism as part of their ongoing campaign but that, in its isolation, will prove politically insignificant. This plot twist, combined with a further intertextual reference

to Plato's 'Allegory of the Cave', frames the national community of which Siri Ram believes he is a member as nothing *more* than 'imagined', a product of false consciousness that is decoupled from any territorial reality.

On returning to Delhi, Siri Ram meets his fellow nationalists in a dimly lit room. When he asks, 'Why was the room dark?', he is told that '[t]he patriots always meet now in a darkened room': if a member of the group 'is taken it is easy to deny knowledge of the others. To the police, to the magistrate, to the judge, the answer is always one: "The room was dark. I could not see"' (p.536). Whilst alluding to the 'underground' nature of this network, situated beyond the view of the colonial gaze, the blindness emphasised here is not the government's but rather Siri Ram's. As his interlocutor points out to him: 'And they could not see you. You could not see me. You do not know what house you are in. You were taken here blindfolded' (p.536). The dark chamber in which these preparatory transactions take place is evocative of the Swami's—and Plato's—cave, reducing the other members of the nationalist group to indistinguishable 'features', 'figures' and 'strange familiar voices' (p.535). Unable to meet them 'face-to-face', Siri Ram is literally forced to 'imagine' the community for which he is about to die (Anderson, 2006: p.6). In the scene's closing moments, the Platonic imagery recurs and the narrative mechanises Siri Ram's false consciousness with an infrastructural metaphor:

Two thin wicks flickering in an earthen saucer were lighted in the niche above his head, and he was illumined fitfully like some triple-paunched idol in a cave. [...] Siri Ram was hypnotised. Thoughts revolved like wheels in his head. (p. 538)

The text dismisses the possibility that Siri Ram's decision to die for a nationalist cause is an expression of his own agency, rather emphasising the ideological and propagandist conditions of his resistance in an attempt to undermine them.

Despite the novel's counter-nationalist strategies, Stephen Morton has read the novel, and specifically Siri Ram's conversion to the nationalist cause, within the tradition of the *Subaltern Studies* movement in order to demonstrate the limits of Candler's ideological framework. Drawing on what Dipesh Chakrabarty would call 'a subaltern past', or a 'history that resists historicisation' (2008: pp.9-11), Morton argues that 'a similar resistance to historicisation is evident in the ways that the insurgent acts of Siri Ram and Narasimha Swami elude the colonial intelligence gathering of the Anglo-Indian authorities' (Boehmer and Morton eds., 2010: p.217). Candler's colonial characters, like the omniscient narrator, are unable to comprehend the way in which 'the Swami's ascetic form of spiritualism provides a theological and rhetorical structure for the revolutionary nationalist movement' (p.217). The nationalist ideology to which both the Swami and Siri Ram subscribe is present within the text, whilst nevertheless remaining beyond its colonial structures of knowledge. As Morton writes, 'just as Chakrabarty's subaltern past is a supplement to the historians' past, so Siri Ram's political theology is a "supplement" to Candler's post-hoc narrative of counter-terrorism' (pp.217-8). However, this reading overlooks the fact that Siri Ram is eventually let down by his fellow nationalists. In this additional layer to the text's project of delegitimisation, Candler's narrative frames Siri Ram's revolutionary ideology as 'false' not only from the perspective of his colonial characters, but also his nationalist ones, as they fool and sacrifice one of their own young, enthusiastic militants.

Even so, Candler's text is caught in a conflictual ideological relationship with its subject material. As Parry points out, the primary focus of Candler's novel is 'the inspiration of the political upsurge' that, historically, and especially in Bengal between 1907 and 1909, had been manifesting in acts of violent nationalist resistance (1972: pp.149-50). The narrative details, and therefore inevitably draws attention to, moments of resistance and dissent with one hand, whilst isolating, controlling and delegitimising those same acts of violence with the other. The text seeks to 'explain' nationalist resistance—that, given the historical surge in acts of violence, had taken on for Candler and his contemporaneous readers a substantive and dangerous threat—without acknowledging that some of nationalism's objections to Britain's imperial rule might be legitimate. This paradoxical ideological negotiation of nationalism results in a narrative jarring, or stuttering, embodied in an image of revolution and repetition that recurs throughout the novel.

Set temporally within the space of one year, the seasons provide contrasting atmospheric backdrops to the novel's five parts. By focusing on climate in this way, the novel's closing chapter describes an ideological return to its opening pages through its evocation of the year's revolution. 'A rainless June had succeeded a rainless April and May', the reader is informed, and the '*Ode to the Nightingale* had come round again with the revolving year, inevitable as the season' (p.550). Referring here to the romantic poetry taught annually on the college's syllabus, and linking this to the revolution of

India's seasonal climate, the novel looks back, or returns, to its opening chapters.⁴² Candler's narrative similarly performs an ideological revolution rather than resolution, finishing where it started, *prior* to the formations of nationalist resistance and violent terrorism that it has attempted to navigate. The text fails to make any temporal or cumulative progress forward, beyond these ideological tensions. This circulatory structural motion, echoed by both Siri Ram's revolutionary thoughts that revolve 'like wheels in his head' (p.538) and the mechanical movement of the imperial infrastructures *in* the novel, is embedded within the novel's title—*Revolutionist*. Though attempting to articulate and control anxieties around nationalist resistance, Candler's novel gestures towards their ongoing presence, anticipating the increase in resistance that would historically occur in the succeeding decades.

The novel concludes with the response of another of Candler's Indian characters—Banarsi Das—to Siri Ram's death, its final sentence highlighting both the climate and his grief: 'The air was hot and gritty. Ineffectual thunder rumbled in the distance. As they drove back to the College without a word, Banarsi Das was shaken with silent weeping' (p.554). Though a fairly irrelevant peripheral character in *Siri Ram*, in Candler's sequel *Abdication*, Banarsi Das himself becomes embroiled in nationalist networks. The 'rumble' of thunder here provides a backdrop of pathetic fallacy for Banarsi Das's 'shaking' emotion that, though 'in the distance', is pervasive and present. The depiction of resistance through this meteorological metaphor as a distant but

⁴² There is a further politics to the presence of romantic poetry running through the novel, one that recurs also in the work of Thompson. As Tickell argues, the novel's recurring representation of 'an Indian inability to appreciate English literature, especially its traditions of the pastoral, and where these involve "misread" romantic poetry' this both references and then in turn 'effectively erases the history of Young Bengal's highly politicised transactions with romanticism' (2012: p.162).

‘rumbling’ presence shares notable similarities with Thompson’s description of an intangible ‘roaring’, or ‘bellowing, especially at night’—distant and unseen, but definitely present (Thompson, 1940: pp.154-5).

In its closing scene, *An Indian Day* also describes the arrival of a storm, likewise linking this to the revolutions of India’s distinct seasonal cycle.

The Bengali year was ending. Again the Great God massed his war-clouds, and a racing tempest scoured the exhausted air. The lightnings stabbed, the thunders burst, the huge red faded bowls of *simul* blossom tumbled heavily down, the leaves rent from the tress, the black clouds strode majestically through the sky. The first storm caught a group in Alden’s compound, assembled in the hope of tennis. They huddled on the verandah, cursed it, and watched it. (pp.243-4)

Thompson’s ‘black clouds’ directly inconvenience his Anglo-Indian community, who are situated in an important architectural location. Thompson’s characters collect on the ‘verandah’, a feature of the colonial bungalow that, as Thomas Metcalf documents, spread throughout the Empire (2002: p.6). The ‘verandah’ which encircled the bungalows was, Metcalf shows, a physical and symbolic location designed for ‘carefully regulated intercourse’ with the colonial environment, often further protected by ‘a large compound’ (p.6; see also King, 1976: p.123 and Glover, 2004: pp.61-82). In Forster’s opening cartographic survey, the rigid infrastructures and grand architectures of Chandrapore’s Anglo-Indian community perform their intended function, segregating it from the rest of the urban environment. They operate, by contrast with the rest of the cityscape, as ‘smug redoubts: Compound walls, checkpoints, imposing monuments, and intimidating boulevards’ designed to make ‘clear to the Raj’s subjects the intrinsic separations of Indian and European societies’ (Johnson, 2011: p.5). However, later in

the novel, as the narrative comments on British efforts to be ‘harmonious all the year round’, these infrastructural embodiments of empire become precarious:

The triumphant machine of civilisation may suddenly hitch and be immobilised into a car of stone, and at such moments the destiny of the English seems to resemble their predecessors’, who also entered the country with intent to refashion it, but were in the end worked into its pattern and covered with its dust. (Forster, 2005: p.199)

Likewise, in Thompson’s novel the infrastructure of ‘Alden’s compound’ doesn’t enable the Anglo-Indian occupation of space, but in fact disempowers the colonial administrators. The ‘group’ are ‘caught’, isolated and contained—trapped even—within the bungalow’s barriers of segregation and demarcation, their ‘huddling’ together further suggesting a fear of external threat. *An Indian Day*, like *Siri Ram*, concludes by aligning its narrative with the resolution of the meteorological year, emphasising the circularity of the temporal space it has occupied. In this conclusive metaphor, both novels exhibit a heightened awareness of the future that lies beyond their respective narrative closures and ideological resolutions, one that remains uncertain, uncontrollable and, through the trope of the oncoming storm, tumultuous.

A Passage to India, *Siri Ram* and *An Indian Day* here indicate the onset of future revolutionary tumult, each text illuminating the other through these points of metaphorical exchange. Though Candler and Thompson tackle nationalist resistance with the intention of resolving ideological anxieties thrown up by it, their novels’ conclusions instead look forward to the inevitability of further contestations; they ‘cursed it, and watched it’ (Thompson, 1940: p.244). Indeed, both novelists do return to these issues, deploying the same characters, themes and literary geographical

mechanisms in their respective sequels. The circulatory movement is embedded within the novels' strategic production of an uneven Indian geography which, when read through an infrastructural lens, can in fact be seen to undermine their political projects.

Beginning in Delhi's urban environment, *Siri Ram*'s narrative moves to a peripheral zone, culminating with the topographical feature of the cave at the centre of the novel. However, the novel's second half narrates a movement back from this peripheral location to the infrastructural core of Britain's world-empire in India—both physically, in terms of the infrastructural density of the cityscape, but also socioeconomically (the infrastructures both *in* and *of* its textual terrain). The novel attempts to remove anti-imperial resistance to, and contain it within, India's rural spaces. However, Siri Ram commits his violent act of resistance deep within the infrastructural environment of urban Delhi. Merivale, the target of Siri Ram's successful assassination attempt, is situated in

the dimly lit spaces at the end of the station. [...] It was an interminable platform, stretching away almost to the distant signals. It might have been built for a metropolis. [...] aimless engines seemed to be eternally shunting goods trucks in the different sidings. Merivale wondered why they made these stations so big. At the far end humanity was packed thick, and there was a babel of shrill tongues, but the desert itself seemed to close in on the platform before the last lamp. (Cawasjee ed., 2005: p.544)

Merivale finds himself in a relational zone, situated in an infrastructural location whilst looking outwards into the undeveloped 'desert'. This peripheral geography, beyond the Raj's infrastructural network, physically closes in on what Merivale presumes is a secure location, a relationship emphasised by the contrasting levels of light and dark associated with the differing locations—the desert removes the 'last lamp' from view.

The physical environment thus anticipates Siri Ram's own movement into it, a transgression of physical boundaries which is, in turn, followed by his act of resistance: the assassination of Merivale. These contrasting geographies are further tied to the imperial export economy by the sound of the 'goods trucks' that echoes throughout this scene, implicitly referencing the nationalist arguments of Dadabhai Naoroji and Romesh Chunder Dutt discussed in Chapter One of this thesis. As Siri Ram shoots Merivale, the narrative collects around the infrastructures *in* the text, symbolic objects that had historically enabled Britain's economic exploitation of the subcontinent (see Dantwala, 1973: p.14).

The noise of a train entering the station suggested to [Merivale's] flickering senses the idea of wheels. Then the supporting arm gave way under him, and he felt a twinge like a hot needle in his back. (Cawasjee ed., 2005: p.546)

Shocked by his own actions, Siri Ram accidentally lets off another shot:

Another bullet hit the stone coping at his feet and ricocheted into an empty goods train. [...] For a moment these two had the drama to themselves. In the din of the shrieking engines and the clang of couplings, no one recognised the sound of the revolver shot. (p.546)

The stray bullet momentarily draws the narrative away from the dying Merivale to hit a 'goods train' that is, significantly, 'empty', suggesting the damaging effects of famine catalysed by the 'wild trade cycle of growth and recession' of the world-system (Hall-

Matthews, 2005: p.68).⁴³ In this climactic scene, the infrastructure that has facilitated, both historically and symbolically, imperial self-assurance, military security and economic exploitation, here actually obscures the act of violence, drowning out the sound of the revolver. In the concluding paragraphs of this chapter, these infrastructural demarcations are invested not with ideologies of imperial security, but rather enact, metaphorically, Siri Ram's anti-imperial efforts. As he is dragged away 'between two constables', he justifies his actions vocally with the warning that the 'English are not long for this country' (p.547). His claim then appears, almost immediately, to be allegorically facilitated by the infrastructures that have both symbolically and physically given shape to the scene, as Merivale's body is carried back to the club.

The Bombay Mail with its freight of homeward-bound passengers rattled over the railway arch as they drove under. The metallic throb as it became faint in the distance sounded to them both like the knell of everything. (p.547)

The locomotive depicted in the chapter's concluding paragraphs, on which Merivale himself was supposed to have been travelling, actually removes its British occupants from the subcontinent. The 'metallic throb' of the train anticipates the 'thunder' rumbling 'in the distance' in the novel's closing sentence (pp.515, 554). The threat of the nationalist movement is built into the infrastructure of the narrative through this cumulative symbolic sound, one that is further echoed, as has been noted, in

⁴³ Hall-Matthews argues that these famine crises were intensified by India's uneven development and, in particular, the inconsistent and selective expansion of imperial infrastructures: 'Improved transport can have a dynamic impact on society, particularly by creating access to markets with the potential to generate either profit or food insecurity. It can also cause difficulties by integrating local markets with some wider ones in which they are not competitive, including that in transport itself, but not with others of greater potential benefit' (2005: p.73). Mike Davis also links these famines to India's uneven infrastructural development and the G.O.I.'s free trade policies, describing them as 'forcing houses and accelerators of the very socio-economic focus that ensured their occurrences in the first place' (2010: pp.15-16).

Thompson's 'roaring'. Whilst the narrative's attempt to resolve this threat results in a circulatory pattern that cannot move forward, nationalism is articulated with a sense of temporal progression that predicts the Indian nation's postcolonial futurity.

An Indian Day builds more symbolic weight into this meteorological metaphor. After the three men's unsuccessful penetration of the cave, described above, the narrative becomes dominated by 'unsatisfactory weather'—'a spate and incredible fury of rain overwhelmed the land':

Hamar, looking from his veranda as dawn was spreading, clear at length, saw Nixon in gum-boots wading through a river that splashed and squelched round his feet. [...] He had been cooped indoors by this infernal weather, and felt he *must* get out. He invited Hamar to join him. (Thompson, 1940: p.159)

Again located—indeed, trapped or 'cooped'—on the verandah, Hamar joins Nixon to face the weather, rather than remain safe within the secure, infrastructural borders of his colonial bungalow. Driven by a restlessness reminiscent of Buchan's frontier consciousness, the two men's assertion against the 'infernal weather' leads to the discovery and suppression of a potentially violent nationalist uprising. This is narrated through a further intertextual rewriting of Haggard's *King Solomon's Mines*. After they have 'pushed ahead' into the 'jungle', moving into a peripheral space beyond imperialism's infrastructural networks, they reach 'the first of the broken temples' (p. 159). The frontispiece to one of these temples, 'a stone chariot containing effigies of Radha and Krishna', has

been shifted aside; beneath it a flight of steps ran down into the earth. The water was pouring down this, and half a dozen Bengalis were toiling on it, removing boxes. At sight of the police saheb panic seized them, and they bolted. The Englishmen rushed forward [...]. (p.159)

After the emptiness of the cave, Thompson's 'Englishmen' here stumble upon *another* space symbolically embedded *within* the topography of the landscape, one that is further linked to the 'water' that has thus far kept the imperial protagonists 'cooped' up in their bungalows. The Hindu 'effigies of Radha and Krishna' recall the historical bearing of Bengali nationalist figures such as Aurobindo Ghose or Bipin Chandra Pal, who also inspired Candler's Swami. Nationalist, meteorological and religious imagery is, in this passage, overlaid as the text registers this complex nexus of ideological interrelations. Just as Haggard's imperial protagonists move from 'the vast stalactite ante-cave' into 'a gloomy apartment' that 'in some past age had been hollowed, by hand-labour, out of the mountain' (2008: p.165), Thompson's characters first penetrate an empty cave before moving further into the peripheral landscape to discover another underground chamber. Even the 'boxes' being removed from the chamber in this passage can be read as a reference to the 'Martini-Henry ammunition boxes' discovered by Haggard's protagonists (2008: p.171). Crucially, however, whilst Haggard's boxes are filled with 'gold pieces', Thompson's characters instead discover a vast arsenal of weaponry, described here by Nixon:

There must be thousands and thousands of pounds' worth of revolvers and ammunition. They've got stands of rifles, too, though not so many rifles as revolvers. There's at least a couple of hundred live bombs and hand grenades, all fully detonated, and thousands of springs and bomb parts. [...] It was the ammunition and bombs that those chaps were busy removing this morning. (p. 161)

The basic contours and narrative tropes of the genre of the imperial romance are here deployed, albeit loosely, not to profess an ideological ownership over, and to narrate the extraction of, mineral resources from the landscape. Rather, Thompson again uses them to resolve ideological anxieties around the rise of an increasingly coherent and potentially violent nationalist resistance.

Though Thompson's protagonists successfully discover and suppress the nationalist movement that the novel describes, the narrative nevertheless continues to point to the limits of its own representational capacities. Significantly, these limitations are rooted in its uneven production, regulation and subsequent knowledge of the geographical landscape. After Nixon and Hamar discover the stock of weapons, they reflect on the insufficiency of their geographical knowledge. As Nixon points out:

Imagine yourself a young Indian! And you know every inch of this land, and you feel you can fool these sahebs and tie them up in its jungles, and have them in a fog all the time, because they *don't* know things, don't know what the folk think or feel, don't know *anything*! You'd want to take a hand in the movement! (p.162)

Nixon here makes a perspectival shift as he attempts to imagine the regulatory, governmental infrastructure of the Raj from a peripheral location, rather than from his own perspective within the colonial administration. This movement outwards and rotation of the colonial gaze back inwards leads Nixon to demarcate the boundaries of his colonial knowledge. Thompson's character is aware of the presence of anti-imperial activity, as he alludes to it here, whilst also emphasising that it lies beyond the borders of colonialism's discursive parameters. This formulation is then expressed spatially as the unknown geographical and explicitly peripheral—in both cultural and economic

terms—zone of the ‘jungle’ becomes the locale from which this resistance originates. As the next section will further explore, the ideological and geographical contours of Thompson’s text suggest that it is the conditions of uneven development, as manifested in the Raj’s imperial infrastructure, that actually provoke and enable the rise of nationalist movements.

‘Palliative Imperialism’: Producing Rural Space

Whilst the tumultuous climate that shapes the backdrop to Thompson’s text bears, as I have argued, these metaphoric significations, it also testifies to the violent floods (and droughts) that plagued Calcutta and its surrounding rural regions—where Thompson’s novel is set—during this period. It was in direct response to these dramatic fluctuations in precipitation levels and climate that the Raj had established a Famine Relief and Insurance Fund in 1878, developing ‘regional famine codes that instructed the organisation of local relief’ from the 1880s onwards (Davis, 2010: p.141). Both Candler and Thompson are preoccupied with famine relief—often facilitated by forms of infrastructural expansion—and, like Steel, use it to propagate notions of a benevolent, or ‘palliative imperialism’: ‘the idea of imperialism as an act of care, in fact, a relief effort’ that works, ideologically, to assign ‘an essentially benign motive to the agents of global power’ (Mukherjee, 2013: p.18). Their engagement with these humanitarian discourses differs somewhat from Steel’s, however, and is used not so much to justify the *continuation* of imperial rule, but rather to demonstrate the sorts of humanitarian assistance and state interventions that, the ideology argues, a post-imperial Indian government would not be able to provide. Though the rural geographies of these novels have hitherto functioned in my critique as a spatial mechanism designed to contain

nationalist resistance, they now become spaces that point to the beneficence of imperial rule. Different geographical spaces, shaped by the uneven development to which they are historically subject, are themselves invested *unevenly* with different ideologies by these literary productions of colonial space.

Siri Ram's final scene takes on a further political dimension, illuminated by the text's literary geographies and allegorised in Merivale, the British victim of Siri Ram's terrorist attack. When Siri Ram is about to murder Merivale, the narrative transforms the two characters into metonyms of the broader colonial-nationalist stand-off: 'For the moment he thought only of himself and Merivale, oppressor and oppressed. The Cause had narrowed down to that' (Cawasjee ed., 2005: p.537). Whilst 'Indian nationalism' developed a 'cult of self-sacrifice and martyrdom as anti-colonial resistance', the British were the first 'to construct a highly exclusive, emotive Christian sacrificial *mythos* around the heroism and redemptive suffering of colonial men and women': for Tickell, 'Merivale's heroic part in fighting a local plague epidemic' operates as a narrative counterpoint to 'Siri Ram's terrorist career' (2012: p.19). This symmetrical contrast between the two men is emphasised by the text itself, positioning them as negative inversions of one another. These political allegories are then further literalised within the text through each character's capacities for self-sacrifice or martyrdom, both men giving up their lives for their respective causes.

The literary mappings of India's uneven geography have thus far been concerned to associate colonial and nationalist ideologies with urban and rural, or core and peripheral environments respectively. However, Merivale's work in famine relief, which comprises the tangential narrative segment of Part II of *Siri Ram*, complicates these simplistic

divisions. Entitled 'The Village', this section is situated in a peripheral zone beyond the Raj's infrastructural networks. The narrative then proceeds to document the extension of its systems of spatial regulation, when Merivale undertakes relief work there. It is in the resulting relational zone that the ideologies of 'palliative imperialism' surface most clearly. Like Buchan's 'borderlands', it is in these frontier zones, where imperial infrastructures and peripheral pre- or non-capitalist socioeconomic organisations meet, that the allegorical signification of Candler's imperial character becomes most neatly consolidated and self-consciously highlighted within the text.

Confronted with a rural village that has fallen victim to a plague, Merivale is allegorically depicted as an invading imperialist at the outermost edges of the G.O.I.'s infrastructural network:

He cared not for man or law. He *was* law. He might have sealed orders in his pocket to frame new codes every day to meet each new emergency. One thing only mattered. The village had to be evacuated, the houses disinfected, segregation camps and hospital camps built. He saw the work at his feet and leapt at it. Responsibility warmed him like wine. (p.434)

Candler's narrative self-reflexively alludes to the ideological function that this 'disaster event' plays for the justification of imperial expansion into India's rural zones. As Merivale rises to his role as 'palliative imperialist', the narrative simultaneously reveals his disregard 'for man or law'. This apparent paradox reveals the ideological work that the humanitarian relief effort is doing for imperialism's troubled self-justificatory strategies, as Merivale's assumed responsibility becomes a heady narcotic, 'like wine'. The spatial metaphor that positions the work 'at his feet', before he 'leapt at it',

compounds this atmosphere of uneasy opportunism that serves the interests of the coloniser as much as it does the colonised.

The irrelevance of the specifics of the disaster is itself emphasised when, on his return to Delhi, Merivale is asked by the ‘first person he saw’, “‘where have you been all these months? Famine, wasn’t it?’/ Merivale explained that it was plague./ “But how romantic!’” (p.464). The circumstances of the disaster are also dismissed by the British characters with whom Merivale converses, significantly, *inside* the symbolic architectural space of the Anglo-Indian club.⁴⁴

Thus was Merivale restored to the lap of civilisation with little comment, but much inward relish. Skene had heard something of his plague adventures from Innes, but he knew it would be difficult to make him talk. Little by little, perhaps, by leading questions, he might piece out a story. (p.464)

Discussed as ‘romantic’, ‘plague adventures’, nothing more than ‘a story’ that Skene ‘might piece out’, the disaster is reduced to the ideological function that it has served for imperialism’s expansive and divisive spatial movements. Whilst Merivale is ‘restored to the lap of civilisation’ (configured spatially as the urban Anglo-Indian community), the suffering villagers are left under the rule of ‘a staff of subordinates, every house disinfected and the village ringed in with police’ (p.440). Though the text justifies the imperial intervention in the quantitative terms of the lives it has saved—‘[t]hirty-two had died in the three days before the evacuation and two only in all the days afterwards’—

⁴⁴ Throughout Forster’s *Passage*, the Anglo-Indian club is repeatedly portrayed as a racially segregated space: ‘the club moved slowly; it still declared that few Mohammedans and no Hindus would eat at an Englishman’s table’ (p.60); ‘there’s the native, [...] we don’t admit him to our clubs’ (p.88); and as one character remarks, ‘I suppose nothing that’s said inside the Club will go outside the Club?’ (p.176). As Mrinali Sinha has shown, the club is ‘a quintessentially imperial institution’ that operated as ‘a privileged site for mediating the contradictory logic of Eurocentrism’ and that created ‘a distinctive colonial public sphere’ (2001: p.493).

what results is the ideological production of a new rural geography that serves imperialism's interests. Though legitimised ideologically as an expression of 'palliative imperialism', Candler's narrative exposes what Gyan Prakash describes as British imperialism's 'coherent strategy of power and identity' built through 'the structures in which the lives of its [colonised] people are enmeshed' (1999: p.3). As Prakash argues, these physical technologies and imperial infrastructures, from 'railroads, steel plants, mining, irrigation, hydroelectric projects, chemical and petroleum factories' to 'public health organisations and regulations, the bureaucracy and its developmentalist routines' (p.3), worked to forge 'a link between space and state, making the newly configured India part and parcel of the institution of its technological configuration' (p. 160).

Merivale's infiltration, segmentation and compartmentalisation of the village requires the violent suppression of its inhabitants' 'enduring precedent for resistance' (Cawasjee ed., 2005: p.435). The imperial occupation of this rural space is described as a brutally physical suppression of a clearly articulated opposition to it:

As they ran through the gate, a youth lifted an arm to bar their way. 'We do not want you here', he said, and flung a disgusting insult at them. Chauncey [Merivale's colleague] knocked him down. The two [Chauncey and Merivale] sprang on the crowd, clearing a lane with their sticks. In a moment they had the street to themselves. (p.436)

Candler's two imperial agents—one of whom is consistently allegorised as metonymic of British imperialism more generally—literally, and violently, clear a route through the physical space of this peripheral area. In so doing, they make way for the infrastructures that suture it into the G.O.I.'s state bureaucracy—'time-honoured contagionist

practices', Nightingale documents, that sometimes placed 'temporary cordons sanitaires around whole bazaars and other native villages' (2012: p.133). As Merivale and Chauncey physically incorporate this peripheral space into imperialism's infrastructural networks they in turn produce it, altering its material geography. They identify what they understand to be pre-existing cultural divisions only to entrench and reinforce them, producing a geography of segregation that draws the village into a network of infrastructural barriers running along ethnic, communal and caste lines.



Fig. 4.3 A map from the *Imperial Gazetteer Atlas of India*, first printed in 1909. The various shadings denote the dominant religious demographics of different geographical regions, mapped here by the colonial regime, but which anticipates the geographical partitions of India and East and West Pakistan in 1947.

Chauncey had marked out a hospital camp in a mango clump round a well a quarter of a mile from the gate. And on the other side of the village he had laid out the health and segregation camp, giving every caste its own quarter outside pollution distance, as in their homes. The Jats were in the centre, and the Kamins, or serfs, in detached camps all around, according to their degree; and the untouchables, the sweepers, and the high-defiled cobblers, farthest from the shade and the well. (p.435)

Of course, the text subscribes to its own ideological agendas, framing the humanitarian intervention as a justification for its restructuring of Indian space and claiming the pre-existence—‘as in their homes’—of social and ethnic division prior to the imperial presence. Nevertheless, it also shows the way in which the ‘engineered space of colonial India’ shaped not only colonialism’s geographical imagination of the subcontinent, but also nationalism’s (Prakash, 1999: p.160). Candler describes the colonial production of a space divided between communal groups, a socio-geographical imagining that would be inherited by the ‘imagined community’ of independent India with disastrously violent consequences. It reveals, through its production of rural space, that, as Pandey argues, communalism ‘is a form of colonialist knowledge’ (2008: p.6, see fig. 4.3).

Thompson’s second novel, *A Farewell to India* (1931), is engaged in a similar cartographic process that defines contrasting core-periphery areas within the basic dichotomy of urban and rural zones, whilst investing each, unevenly, with different ideological functions. The novel produces a romanticised rural environment that draws on, before departing from, the motifs of the imperial romance. It produces rural India as a ‘natural’, pre-capitalist space, in direct contrast to industrialising Calcutta and the subcontinent’s other expanding urban centres. As Smith explains, ‘[n]ature is generally seen as precisely that which cannot be produced’—for Thompson, rural space functions as ‘the material substratum of daily life, the realm of use-values rather than exchange-

values' (2008: p.49), whilst the urban environments, by contrast, are configured as centres, or hubs, of an expanding capitalist world-economy.

Thompson's British character, Alden, iterates this formula as he surveys the landscape of the text's rural setting in the novel's opening pages. He turns 'into a bypath leading to the region of wilderness and forsaken temples' that 'would have brought him to the Red Tank, that swampy relic of the old days' (Thompson, 1931: p.17). At this point, the rural environment is cut through with an infrastructural line that draws Alden's gaze toward the neighbouring city. As he follows the path to the 'Red Tank', he finds that 'first it crossed a single railway line, which connected Vishnugram with the ferry of the Samodar River, twenty-eight miles away, and the dark industrial towns beyond' (p.17). The infrastructural route links the rural location to the growing cityscape of Vishnugram. This city is in turn associated with capitalist development as the narrative highlights the industrial production that has fuelled its increasing urbanisation. By contrast, the rural environment is painted as explicitly pre-capitalist: as Alden observes a moment later, 'this was India, where estates are not fenced, nor are even houses over-private, except in their women's apartment' (p.18).

The indigenous rural architecture described here raises the issue of public and private spheres and the boundaries between them. If, as Jameson argues, 'one of the determinants of capitalist culture, that is, the culture of the western realist and modernist novel, is a radical split between the private and the public' (1986: p.69), Thompson's depiction of rural India both literally and symbolically produces it as a pre-capitalist environment. In its pre-capitalist state, it is romanticised by the novel as 'natural', or at least *more* natural than the urban environment of the nearby city, Vishnugram. What the

novel does here, however, is show how its own productions of space are in fact serving the interests of capital accumulation. As Smith explains: 'with the progress of capital accumulation and the expansion of economic development, this material substratum is more and more the product of social production, and the dominant axes of differentiation are increasingly societal in origin' (2008: pp.49-50). Thompson's depiction of the 'development of the material landscape' can be read as itself describing this 'process of the production of nature' (p.49).

Alden's observation of the 'single railway line', an infrastructural route that is expanding the processes of development out from the city into the rural landscape, is here coterminous with the narrative's production of that rural space as a pre-capitalist and explicitly natural 'wilderness'. The text places its content 'in historical context', revealing the way in which Thompson's romanticisation of rural India and the description of its societal organisation as pre-capitalist is in fact, to paraphrase Smith, a product of its own ideological production. Through its mappings of infrastructural development, Thompson's textual portrayal of India is embedded within, and in turn reproducing, what Smith describes as 'the false ideological dualism of society and nature', thereby mapping 'the real patterns of uneven development as the product of the unity of capital' (p.50). The novel's preface then amplifies these processes onto the subcontinent as a whole. Thompson configures the geography of his fictional text as a map for those parts of India beyond the well-trodden path of 'the tourist':

The reader must remember that Vishnugram is not a great city, but just an entirely typical provincial town—the capital of an area of perhaps a thousand square miles. [The reader] will not be far wrong if he imagines that the conditions and circumstances amid which he finds himself [in this novel] are essentially the same in thousands of Indian provincial cities, of which the tourist necessarily can know nothing. (1931: pp.5-6)

By framing the uneven development it describes as ‘entirely typical’ of Indian geography, Thompson’s novel self-consciously claims to map the subcontinent in its entirety. The novel’s patchwork literary geography of urban and rural zones can then resolve the ideological tensions arising from the damaging effects of British India’s accelerated, though uneven and unequal, economic development, and imperialism’s self-justificatory rhetoric of its humanitarian, or ‘palliative’ role as a governmental protectorate. Another of Thompson’s British characters, Findlay, reflects that ‘[t]here was no need for a famine to come, declared officially as such by Government; in this land there was always famine somewhere. There was always disease and suffering’ (p. 61). Reiterating the preface’s claim to geographical generalisation, the text frames the famines afflicting India’s peripheral spaces as pervasive and perpetually ongoing. But this in turn is a symptom of ‘palliative ideology’: the need to produce nature, or India’s rural space, as constantly subject to disaster such as plague and famine (see Mukherjee, 2013: p.57).

According to Mukherjee, within this ideology the ‘structural relationship between imperialism’s engine—industrial and financial capitalism—and disaster are not, or *cannot* [...] be imagined’ (p.41). However, *A Farewell to India* is written some decades after the texts with which Mukherjee is primarily concerned, which include Steel’s fiction. In the intervening years, between the end of the nineteenth century and the early

1930s, industrial and urban expansion in India had been pervasive. This increase in urban, travel and communication infrastructures, and the social and economic relations of capital that they facilitated, is registered in Thompson's novel with notable anxiety. The response is embedded within the novel's production of rural space and in fact reveals, to use Mukherjee's terminology, 'the creases in the ideological façade' of palliative imperialism (p.18). By mapping 'the real patterns of uneven development as the product of the unity of capital' (Smith, 2008: p.50), the novel actually highlights the 'structural relationship' between imperialism's infrastructural and capitalist development and the different 'natural disasters' that, somewhat paradoxically, had legitimised much of that development. As the subcontinent becomes increasingly enmeshed within the economies of global capitalism, the colonial imagination of Indian space as a rural, disaster-ridden landscape has to be actively, indeed anxiously, produced, thereby sustaining the justificatory ideology of palliative imperialism.

Turning to Thompson's depiction of the burgeoning cityscape of Calcutta in *A Farewell to India*, as well as Alden's subjective response to it, these ideological orientations can be further excavated. The proliferation of urban infrastructures creates an atmosphere of claustrophobia, manifested in the novel's description of 'the heats, which were mental no less than physical' (Thompson, 1931: p.40). Waiting for 'the night train' to take 'him back to Vishnugram', Alden decides to spend the afternoon 'shirtless on a bed, listening to the variegated noise of Calcutta' (p.40). He physically removes himself from the urban space, withdrawing to the privacy of his hotel room and overhearing only 'the passing voices of the modern world':

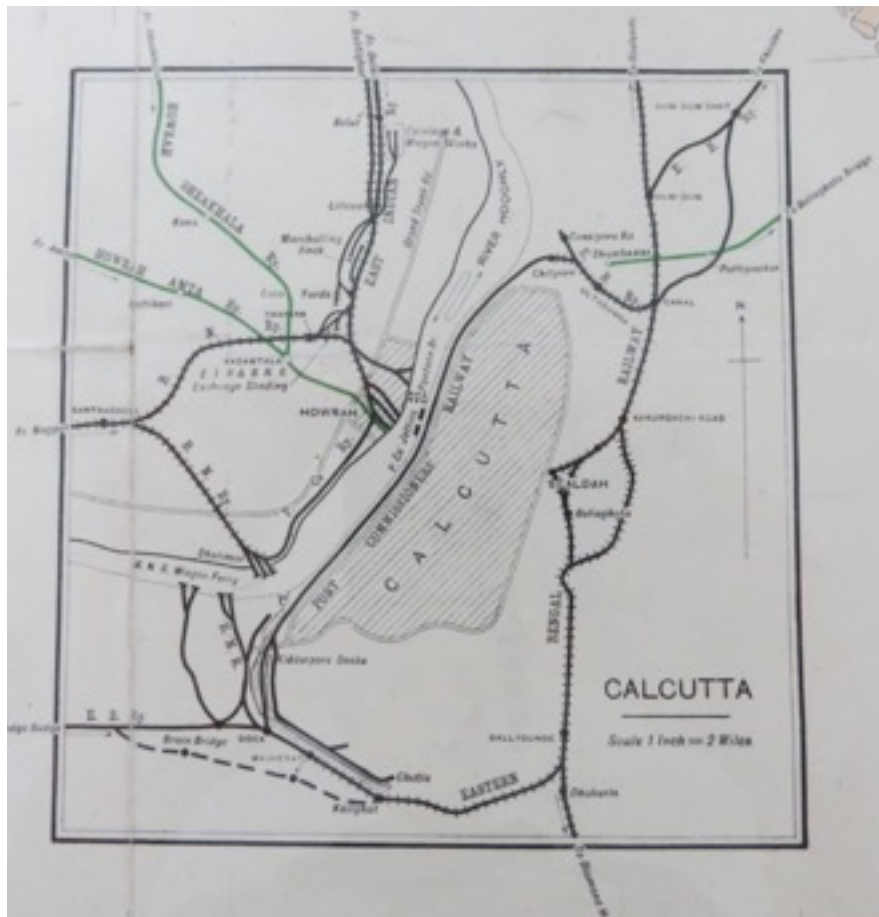


Fig. 4.4 Segment of a map from the Survey of India in 1922, which details the infrastructural layout of Calcutta. Once again, infrastructures such as roads and railways are used to give shape to this urban landscape. Colonial Office 1047/1094, National Archives, Kew.

Alden had come to equate with the metropolis other sounds also, which as yet troubled his Vishnugram hardly at all. The rattle and clank of trams, the approach and dying away of cars [...] he remembered a time when motors were hardly known in Calcutta streets. Now at whiles, especially when night was ravaged, he could have thought the whole creation was groaning together, waiting for the manifestation of—what? Some higher mechanisation, that would lift mankind out of physical weariness and all disease, but certainly out of its quick senses of light and colour and touch and sound? (p.41)

I quote at length here to highlight the oscillation of Alden's subjective response to the city. The different geographical segments of India through which Alden, and the novel, moves—the rural periphery and the bustling core of Calcutta—highlight the layered and uneven development of the Indian landscape. These spatial zones are placed on a linear developmental trajectory, the former being slowly transformed into, and accumulated

by, the ‘modern world’ of the latter. Alden imagines these varying scales of development synchronised into a unified process, ‘the whole creation [...] groaning together’. He envisages the world-system’s infiltration into, and ongoing repartition of, the Indian landscape, as these ‘patterns of uneven development’ become a ‘product of the unity of capital’ (Smith, 2008: p.50).

However, an ideological fissure emerges through Alden’s geographical contemplations. How can imperial infrastructural expansion—and thus, Luxemburg would argue, the accumulation of capital—continue if there are no rural disaster zones into which it can move? Alden’s desire for ‘[s]ome higher mechanisation, that would lift mankind out of physical weariness and all disease’ is fundamentally flawed because if this were to be realised—if imperial infrastructural expansion were, in the end, successful in lifting *all* of its colonial subjects out of poverty and eradicating famine and plague *indefinitely*—the ideology of palliative imperialism would disintegrate. As Barnett points out, ‘humanitarian governance hopes to put itself out of business’; it is ‘dedicated to its own destruction’ (2014: pp.222-3). The economic determinants of colonial capitalism *and* one of the central ideologies that has emerged in response to, and in turn facilitated it, here intersect at a point of crisis as they realise their own finite temporalities. These two central motivations for the literary text’s production of India’s rural space here overlap, only to be dealt with by the narrative in a moment of what, to return to Pierre Macherey, is nothing more than an ‘eloquent silence’ (1986: p.79): ‘waiting for the manifestation of—what?’

Following Macherey’s propositions once again, it is possible to conclude that these silences and gaps not only highlight the text’s ideological limits, but further reveal ‘the

inscription of an *otherness* in the work [...] that which happens at its margins' (p.79). The literary production of uneven Indian geographies, and its correspondingly uneven ideological investment in them, are themselves shaped by the moments of crisis that the British world-empire was experiencing throughout this period. Despite the ideological efforts of these texts, they inevitably, if unwittingly, initiate 'revolutionary trajectories', to return to that phrase of Harvey's used in Chapter Two (2012: p.xvii). A growing nationalist resistance shapes the uneven development of infrastructural expansion across the subcontinent, a process mapped by these colonial literary texts through their productions of space.

Resistance in the Imperial Capital: Producing Urban Space

Harvey coins the phrase 'revolutionary trajectories' in his discussion of twenty-first century urbanism, where he argues that the city is particularly productive of forms of sociopolitical conflict and change: it is 'the site where people of all sorts and classes mingle, however reluctantly and agonistically, to produce a common if perpetually changing and transitory life' (2012: p.67). This is underpinned by notions of proximity and inequality, themselves products of capitalism's uneven processes of development. Though this chapter is concerned with a very different historic and geographic space, it is nevertheless a period that witnessed astonishingly swift processes of industrialisation and urbanisation in India. Like *Siri Ram*, Candler's second novel, *Abdication*, is preoccupied with these issues, making a similar arc-like trajectory across India's unevenly developed terrain. Beginning in the tightly regulated urban environment of Delhi, it then follows its Indian protagonist, Banarsi Das, on a journey to the 'Independent Territory' of the North-West Frontier, before returning to the urban

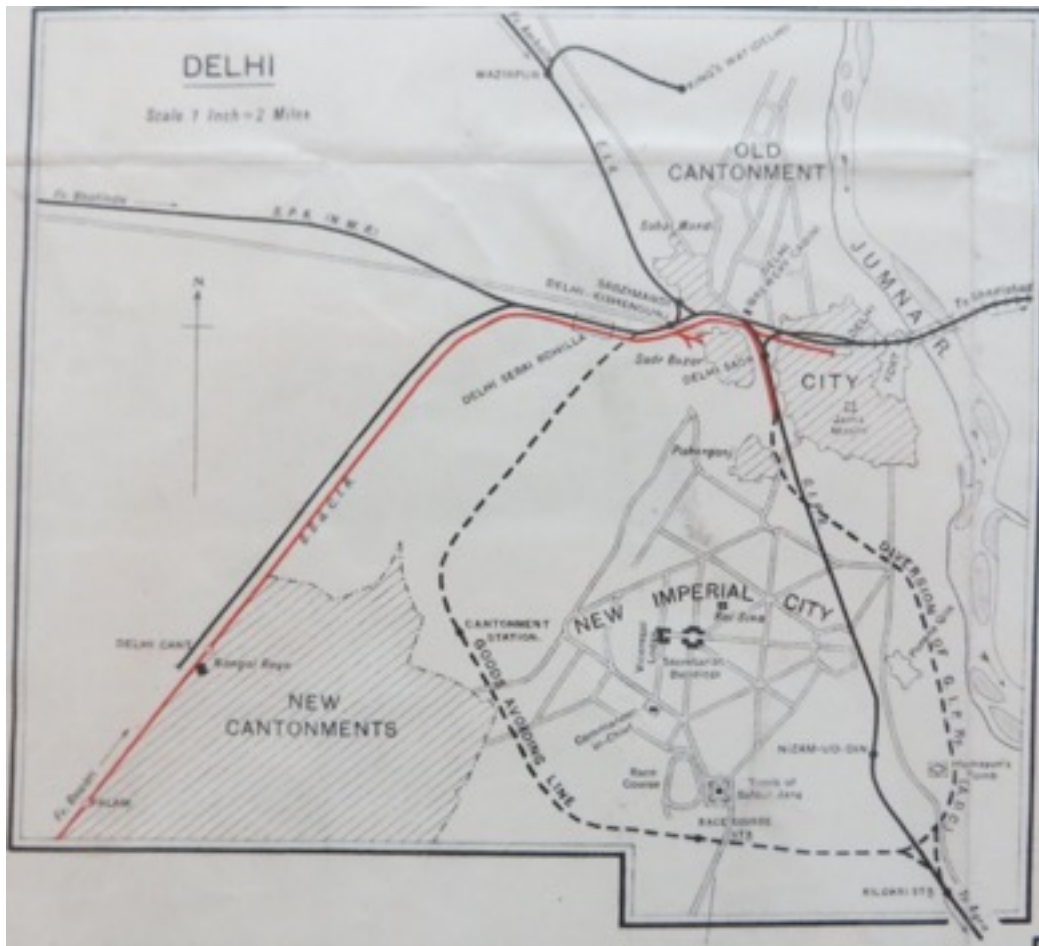


Fig. 4.5 Another image from the Survey of India in 1922 that reveals the uneven infrastructural development of Delhi's two halves, as well as the role that this infrastructural development plays in representing those spaces. Whilst the 'New Imperial City' is shaped by a set of geometric and clearly depicted streets, the Old City, collected around the Jama Masjid, remains undecipherable, signified only by etched diagonal lines. Colonial Office 1047/1094, National Archives, Kew.

environment by the end of the novel, thereby mapping the 'finite, if elastic, boundaries' of the 'imagined' nation (Anderson, 2006: p.7).

Abdication opens with a description of the 'logically planned' infrastructures and grand architectures of New Delhi (Candler, 1993: p.1). The new city, which had been 'commissioned in 1911 to facilitate the transfer of the capital of British India from Calcutta to Delhi', took only '20 years to construct' (Legg, 2007: p.1). As well as being 'more centrally located', the transfer of the capital to Delhi also shifted the

administrative centre of the G.O.I. away from ‘the increasingly revolutionary centre of Bengal’ (p.28). Stephen Legg argues that the city’s construction was as much a ‘performance of showcase imperial sovereignty for an increasingly aggressive national audience’ as it was a completely new infrastructural production of a vast tract of urban space (p.29). Nevertheless, Delhi remained cleft into two parts, denoted by temporal prefixes—‘New’ and ‘Old’—that are still used to describe the city today (see fig. 4.5). These two sections contrast sharply with one another, a juxtaposition most visible in the infrastructural development of each area. As Legg describes, ‘the neo-classical monumentalism of the imperial capital, and the sterile, geometric spaces of New Delhi’ lie in direct contrast to the ‘Old’ city. This urban environment is, by contrast, often ‘depicted as an organic space of tradition and community’ lacking any ‘modern sanitation and infrastructure’ and becoming, in the colonial imagination at least, ‘a haptic and sensory place of smells, sights and contact that bewildered and beguiled Western tourists and governors alike’ (p.1).

The contrasting ideological associations with the city’s unevenly developed urban terrain recalls the geographies of division mapped in *A Passage to India*’s opening cartographic survey. It is demonstrative of the way in which space comes to be *produced* by literature *for* the colonial imagination. These differing spatial segments, as well as their respective inhabitants, are given temporal currencies as they are placed at contrasting points on a linear developmental scale (though they of course continue to exist coterminously). But whilst Forster’s mapping of the unevenly developed landscape of the fictional town of Chandrapore remains starkly segregated in this way, Candler’s depiction of Delhi interrogates and moves through these divisions. Furthermore, the narrative introduces an element of subversive self-reflexivity into its own ability to

represent the cityscape. Whilst the physical infrastructures of New Delhi were designed to segregate, hierarchise and canalise co-existing populations, Legg's book-length study demonstrates the way in which 'the two cities were, in fact, governed as one and impacted upon each other in myriad ways', becoming 'intimately intertwined' (pp.1-2). Candler's narrative both reinforces these ideologies of segregation whilst also, on occasion, cutting through and complicating them.

Abdication's opening sentence hints at this possibility of transgression: 'Riley', Candler's British protagonist, 'was aware of a perceptible lifting of the heart as he rode through the Mori Gate and left Anglo-India behind him' (1993: p.1). Moving through the infrastructural demarcation that separates the 'efficient, and logically planned' Anglo-Indian town of 'Thompsonpur' from the 'frank squalor of the city', Riley is located in a relational borderland reminiscent of Buchan's frontier, but one that is here contained *within* the city's municipal boundaries. He moves between the networks of trade and capital that suture the G.O.I. into Britain's wider world-empire—'the cupolaed telegraph and post offices'—to an economically peripheral zone ('the defilement of the city') (pp.1-2). However, Riley's subjective response to these differentiated urban spaces is contradictory: 'The frank squalor of the city pleased his eye if not his nose', whilst the rigid infrastructures and architectures of New Delhi 'depressed him' (pp.1-2). Riley romanticises 'The City' as a space that is somehow more 'natural' than the rigid architectures of 'the headquarters of the youngest canal colony, and the capital of the New Province'—it 'must not be confused with Thompsonpur', the text warns, emphasising the more rigid spatial segregations of Anglo-India's "'Civil Station" and cantonments' (p.3). These sharp contrasts are compounded through corresponding

notions of ‘old’ and ‘new’. The latter adjective is used to describe the governmental and territorial entity of the ‘New’ province, whilst the segments of Old Delhi ‘within the gate’ have been, Riley observes, in existence ‘since the dawn of time’ (p.3). Positioned on a linear developmental scale, this literary production of Delhi’s contrasting city spaces reveals how the physical landscape is ideologically complicit, to turn to Chakrabarty, in ‘Europe’s acquisition of the adjective “modern” for itself’ and, simultaneously, the production of the ‘nightmare of “tradition” that “modernity” creates’ (2008: pp.43-6).

Like Davie in Buchan’s *Prester John*, Riley moves beyond the regulated ‘core’ of the Anglo-Indian city in order to locate and assimilate new peripheral zones. His metonymic representation of the Raj as a whole is suggested by the fact that he is, notably, ‘the editorial chair of the *Gazette*’, a symbolic figure at the head of Anglo-India’s print production: the narrative itself describes the Raj as ‘the incubus of which he, Riley, was a symbol’ (p.6). He allegorically enacts the need of capital, in the form of Britain’s world-empire, to satisfy its accumulative appetite by searching out and expanding into pre-capitalist spaces.

The charm of the quarter revived in him feelings which he had almost forgotten, the curiosity, the love of unfamiliar things, the itching for adventure he had felt six years earlier when he first came out to India—‘the romance of the East’, still exploited by managers of theatres and novelists, though one’s sensitiveness to it has been dulled by the war, which has flattened out everything or brought it too near to us [...]. (p.5)

This passage recalls some of the generic conventions of the romance and its production of the redemptive space of the frontier. This occurs both ideologically, as a pre-

industrial or pre-urban space (the ‘charm of the quarter’), and socioeconomically, as a location into which capital can expand. However, Riley’s affectionate response to this peripheral space is accompanied by an anxiety that, like Alden’s, is concerned about the loss of those spaces. It highlights the fundamental paradox underpinning the ideological tensions of colonial capitalism: the core infrastructure needs continuously to expand into pre-capitalist spaces, whilst nevertheless retaining some space that lies beyond so that these same expansive processes can begin all over again.

Throughout its opening paragraphs, Candler’s novel is relentlessly, if sub-textually, preoccupied with its ability to represent these spaces. The narrative’s self-conscious dimension demonstrates the way in which the landscape that it represents—including those segments of the city that are ‘pre-modern’ or undeveloped—is in fact *produced* by it. Forster’s opening mapping sequence in *A Passage to India*, related by an omniscient narrator is, as argued earlier, symptomatic of the broader notion of the ‘colonial gaze’ (Pratt, 2003: p.60). However, Candler’s narrative meta-textually describes a peculiar, disembodied imperial ‘eye’ that is drawn, directed and controlled by the infrastructure of the divided city. The architectural layout described highlights the imbalance in power between developed and undeveloped, or core and peripheral zones, but Riley’s resistance to this canalisation reveals the ideological fabric overlaying them. The novel’s opening lines set this recurrent theme in motion:

Riley was aware of a *perceptible* lifting of the heart as he rode through the Mori Gate and left Anglo-India behind him. The frank squalor of the city pleased his *eye* if not his nose. Thompsonpur was efficient, and logically planned to serve the conveniences of life, but unsatisfying whether *viewed by the inward or outward eye*. (Cawasjee ed., 2005: p.1, my emphases)

Abdication's description of the city is scattered with references to perception, visibility and the ability to represent. This can and should be read, I suggest, as the spatial expression of an ideological anxiety riven by emerging Indian nationalisms.⁴⁵ Themes of visibility and knowability are written into the infrastructural layout of the city, both facilitated and inhibited by it in equal measure. The road that runs from the Anglo-Indian community to the old part of the city is 'straight and broad; one sighted folk a mile before one met them' (p.1). The infrastructural route is constructed to facilitate colonial visibility, a tactic that renders potential uprisings and political unrest knowable and thus, once identified in this way, easier to contain and suppress. But what the novel emphasises is the way in which these governmental strategies are written into and enabled by the Raj's production and control of urban space. 'There was any amount of space in Thompsonpur', Riley observes, noting that '[o]ne had left it two miles behind before one reached the Mori Gate and the defilement of the city' (p.2). Thompsonpur has 'entirely eclipsed' the 'walled city within the gate' both 'visually and materially' (p.3).

These visual and material infrastructural divisions, segregations and imposed distances are, the text narrates, further combined with the symbolic use of its architecture. Indeed, Candler's description of these symbolic manifestations of imperial power, and Riley's subjective response to them, constructs the ideology inscribed into them as if it were *itself* a form of infrastructure. Riley moves past

⁴⁵ Published in 1922, at the end of Gandhi's four year-long satyagraha campaign launched in response to the Rowlatt Acts, *Abdication* registers this strand of Indian nationalism in particular. Thompson's second novel, *A Farewell to India*, published during another particularly intense period of Gandhian resistance—the Civil Disobedience campaign of 1930-32—is likewise preoccupied with Gandhian nationalism (Boehmer and Morton ed., 2010: pp.171-2; and Rothermund, 1970: pp.21-3).

blocks of houses, shops, and hotels. Here, too, the verandahs were roomy, the plinth high, and on the frieze above the pillars, in glazed enamelled letters, such words as Globe, Empire, British, Victoria, European, caught the eye, canalising the impressions of the Imperial-minded, which run in channels none too broad at any time. (p.2)

Michel Foucault, in an interview with Paul Rabinow, himself used the term '*canalisation*' to 'ensure a certain allocation of people in space' and 'the coding of their reciprocal relations' (Rabinow ed., 1991: p.252). Legg's book-length analysis of Delhi appropriately draws on Foucault's writings as 'a structuring analytic with which to negotiate the path from New to Old Delhi' (2007: p.xiv).⁴⁶ Candler's narrative here reveals the symbiotic process between ideology and infrastructure. New Delhi is not only constructed as an expression of imperial ideology, symbolically and physically manifesting the Raj's power. It also shows how that infrastructure actually works to shape the thought processes of 'the Imperial-minded', listing a series of associative catchwords that are physically inscribed 'in glazed enamel letters' into the city's architecture. The ideology propagated by these architectures is itself imagined as an infrastructural embodiment, its 'broad channels' locked in a dialectic with the physical space to which it responds and that it in turn reproduces.

The spatial dynamics underpinning the novel's preoccupation with visibility and the capacity to represent persist as Riley moves into Old Delhi, the infrastructural layouts of which are notably contrasted with the Anglo-Indian section of the city. He enters 'the

⁴⁶ Nicholas Thomas has also transposed Foucault's concept of 'governmentality' into a colonial environment. He writes: 'The prison, welfare systems, town planning and political economy can all be seen as expressions of this order of governmentality, which is manifested both in colonial administration and in changes in metropolitan policies and institutions. In effect, modernity itself can be understood as a colonialist project in the special sense that both the societies internal to Western nations, and those they possessed, administered and reformed elsewhere, were understood as objects to be surveyed, regulated and sanitised' (Thomas, 1996: p.4).

network of alleys, too narrow to admit wheels': by 'stretching out his arms he could almost touch the walls on either side' (p.4). As opposed to the 'broad channels' of New Delhi, the narrow, clustered nature of this section of the city is emphasised as its infrastructure inhibits movement through it. These varying facilitations and inhibitions of movement are again situated within a paradigm of contrasting temporalities: Old Delhi is filled with 'an atmosphere of ancient and undisturbed peace', invoking a pre-modern temporality that is reflected in the architectural materials out of which the buildings are constructed: 'Few of these houses had been vulgarised by modern hands. [...] the windows were corbelled, the lattices and screens fretted, the balconies supported by brackets of wood and stone' (p.4). The infrastructural density that intrudes onto, and limits, the open space of the alleyway, actually prevents vehicles—themselves symbolic technologies of a capitalist modernity—from moving through it.

Whilst Riley repeatedly draws attention to the visibility facilitated by the infrastructural layout of New Delhi, the Old City limits these mechanisms of surveillance. 'The walls of the lower stories were all dead to the street', blocking Riley's view into the private spaces of their inhabitants. Though 'some' of 'the doors stood open', he gets only 'a glimpse of a courtyard' and immediately experiences a 'guilty sense of prying' (p.4). Like Thompson's character Hamar, Riley acknowledges the limits of his colonial knowledge, expressing these through an unevenly developed geographical terrain—for Hamar, rural, for Riley here, urban. The pathetic fallacy deployed at the end of *Siri Ram* and by Thompson throughout *An Indian Day* is articulated once more, though here the text makes the metaphorical connections between the shifting climate and anti-imperial movements even more explicit: 'An atmospheric change had come over the city', observes Riley, as '[h]is sense of something impending was so strong that he even

imagined a darkening of the sky' (p.5). The threat of an oncoming storm is no longer a meteorological backdrop to the text's plot, but rather part of Riley's subjective response to the imminent resistance he is about to encounter.

Someone was shouting that the shops were already closed in every other quarter of the city. Then above the confused murmur he heard the cry of 'Mahatma Gandhi-ki-jai', and he remembered it was the *hartal*, Gandhi had been arrested. [...] All down the street behind him the dirge for the mahatma ceased, and there arose a more sinister and angry chorus, 'Hai Hai Rowlatt Bill.' It followed him through the square by Amir Khan's mosque and the relative quiet of Hari Mandi. The echo of the rhythmic beat of it sounded in his ears till he passed through the Baradari Gate and regained the complacent security of Thompsonpur. (pp.5-7)

Within the symbolic currency of this colonial literature, the 'atmospheric' change Riley experiences is here translated from a loose metaphor to direct political action through the vehicle of Gandhi, who had become by the early 1920s 'a metonym for disorder' (Cohn, 2009: p.162). The 'rhythmic beat' that runs through *Siri Ram* resurfaces in this novel, as what was once subtextual allusion here coagulates into an organised and coherent nationalist movement present within the text. These are then inscribed back into the unevenly developed spaces of the city, as Riley retreats to 'the club [...] solid, homely, inviting, a fortress' (p.12), in order to escape the 'angry chorus'. This 'crowd' congregates in the 'open square by the mosque' (p.7), making use of the city's infrastructural layout to advance their protest. Though it has been a recurrent ideological project of Candler's earlier narratives, *Abdication* does not even attempt to undermine the political concerns articulated by these groups. Instead, it retreats with its protagonist back into the segregated zone of the Anglo-Indian community, ignoring the politics of the spaces beyond its infrastructural barriers.

The ideological contours of the narrative can be mapped onto the infrastructural layout of the urban landscape that underpins them, as the narrative makes use of the city's divided geography to ignore the presence of ongoing anti-colonial protests. The existence of social, political and geographical zones lying beyond the G.O.I.'s infrastructures of capital and control are here actively removed from the novel's production of urban space. Though this might be read as an ideological denial of ongoing resistance written spatially into the cityscape, those spaces still lie beyond the Raj's governmental eye, the Anglo-Indian community vulnerable to the spontaneous acts of violent resistance that, as *Abdication* goes on to detail at length in its closing scene, can emerge from them (see Chapter VIII, 'The Meeting in the Square', pp. 233-55). Candler's narrative explicitly draws attention to the 'colonial gaze' facilitated by Delhi's infrastructural organisation, whilst emphasising, like certain aspects of Forster's description, the ideological underpinning of its production of Indian space. The result is the subtextual acknowledgement of its own ideological limits through the contours of the uneven cityscape that it produces.

Despite the potential resistance inscribed into the spatial productions of Candler's text, this chapter has reluctantly to conclude with a more sceptical assertion. If this colonial literature constructs an infrastructural framework that will be inherited by independent India, even if only on an imaginary terrain (though I would argue it is also a physical one), it remains a cultural geography riddled with social and sectarian divisions, uneven and unequally developed urban and rural spaces, and inscribed with implicit sets of political and economic hierarchies. These imagined geographies and infrastructural circuitries may have contributed to the formation of Indian nationalism, but it must be acknowledged that they also underpin a string of violent historical processes. The notion

that 'India has existed as a nation time out of mind' had been central to Nehru's brand of nationalism (Anderson, 2013: p.96); as he claimed, 'the whole history of India for thousands of years past shows her essential unity and the vitality and adaptability of her culture' (1941: p.17). However, Nehru also argued, as has already been noted, that India's deeply historical desire for 'unified political control of the whole country could not be realised' prior to British rule 'in view of the lack of means and machinery'; it was British infrastructural expansion in the region, the 'railways and the other accompaniments of a modern administration' in all their unevenness, that enabled India to be both imagined, and eventually consolidated, as a politically unified geographical entity (p.18).

If Indian nationalisms were forced to imagine the new nation along (or in Gandhi's case, against) the infrastructural coordinates left behind by the British, there is no reason to suppose that the various inequalities, spatial divisions and communalist tensions represented and reproduced in Forster's, Thompson's and Candler's productions of space would not gain a significant cultural as well as geographical currency in post-imperial India. If the infrastructure of the Raj—its transport and communications networks, its military frameworks and state bureaucracy—had facilitated, according to Nehru, the consolidation of a unified Indian nation, it also laid the foundations for post-imperial India's many problems: its rural and urban divisions, its communalist antagonisms and even, perhaps, Partition in 1947. Benedict Anderson describes this infrastructural inheritance with an illuminating metaphor: like 'the complex electrical system in any large mansion' after 'the owner has fled', 'the new owner's hand at the switch' will still flick on and activate the same infrastructural circuitry (Anderson, 2006: p.160). Perry Anderson takes up his brother's metaphor to describe Britain's

departure from India in 1947: ‘Having lit the fuse, Mountbatten handed over the buildings to their new owners before they blew up, in what has a good claim to be the most contemptible single act in the annals of Empire’ (2013: p.77).

The texts discussed in this chapter might be seen, then, to be constructing a new kind of imperial infrastructure in the light of the disintegration of Britain’s formal empire, one that instigates a cultural mapping of an informal imperialism, but an imperialism nonetheless. That Thompson and Candler are engaged, for example, in the delegitimisation of nationalist movements by highlighting communalist and other forms of social division intersects with, and looks forward to, the geo-strategic tactics that would inform Britain’s role in the Partition of Pakistan and India in 1947. As Perry Anderson argues, by inflicting ‘partition on its subjects overnight’ the British Empire was able to ‘save its face: for Empire, now read Dominion’ (2013: p.77). The ideological tactics that this chapter has excavated out of the literature analysed here foreshadows, and eventually becomes typical of, Britain’s strategic approach to decolonisation in the following decades. As Benjamin Grob-Fitzgibbon has argued, the empire sought ‘to secure the colonies for the Commonwealth in an orderly transfer of power while maintaining British influence in the region and strengthening overall Western dominance in the Cold War world’ (2011: p.3). Thompson’s and Candler’s respective productions of colonial space configure this shift in the imperial imagination at their infrastructural levels; they are engaged in what Gordon Martel, in his discussion of the decolonisation process, has described as ‘a conscious design on the part of the managers to “downsize”, “restructure”, and “re-engineer” the imperial project’ (2000: p. 403). They contribute to the production of a symbolic cartography that would gain wider cultural currency as Britain attempted to secure an informal cross-national

infrastructure that served its post-imperial political and economic interests. The Raj's infrastructural circuitries, inherited by independent India, thus both enabled Nehru's vision—disfigured, though it was, by the catastrophes of Partition—whilst keeping the subcontinent firmly enmeshed in the exploitative hierarchies of the still resolutely capitalist world-system.⁴⁷

⁴⁷ The same can be said of South Africa post-1994. For example, Patrick Bond, who traces 'how capitalist crisis coincided with the emergence of neoliberal ideas, and in turn exacerbated "uneven development"', expresses 'concern about the new government's deviation from the liberation movement mandate' as he situates 'the South African liberation struggle and the political-ideological role of the African National Congress' within the 'broader global processes also unfolding during the 1990s' (2000: pp.2-4).

Conclusion: Towards An Infrastructural Reading of the Present

The production of space found in colonial literature and explored in this thesis can still be traced in the unevenly developed infrastructural geographies of the twenty-first century. It is certainly the case that power hierarchies have shifted and formal empires have disintegrated. However, as Wallerstein and others have recently concluded, the phenomenon of globalisation as ‘bracketed by the symbolic dates of 1989 and 2008’ in fact refers back ‘to the kind of normalcy experienced before the year 1914’:

Back in the epoch of fledgling leftist movements and conquered non-Western peoples, capitalists could pursue their goals largely unconstrained by the demands of national governments, the considerations of social policy, and, for the first time, in a truly global arena that was unified by new transportation technologies and secured by military and political structures of colonial domination. [In the twenty-first century,] American hegemony now [keeps] firmly in check the imperialist rivalries of the kind that had finished off the previous globalisation in 1914. (Calhoun et al., 2013: p.170)

The processes of accumulation that shaped Britain’s world-empire and that were underpinned by global infrastructural developments have only intensified in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries. Georges Labica has argued that ‘contemporary globalisation is nothing other than Lenin’s “new imperialism”, now reaching a still higher stage of development’ (Budgen et al. eds., 2007: p.228), and Wallerstein views the recent ‘protectionist thrust’ of governments across the world, manifested in various forms of ‘austerity’ and ‘repression’, as symptoms of ‘an ever-tighter gridlock of the system’ (Calhoun et al., 2013: p.32). Though riddled with new and increasingly complex contradictions and limitations, capitalism still remains the dominant social, cultural and economic world-system.

As I have tried to show, colonial literature has played a role in the cultural imagining of this world-system. It has helped to facilitate the ongoing ‘underdevelopment’ of ex-colonies by contributing to the ‘extreme unevenness’ of their inherited infrastructural circuitries (Amin, 1976: pp.201-3). ‘Infrastructure does not grow *de novo*’, argues Susan Leigh Star, but rather ‘wrestles with the inertia of the installed base and inherits strengths and limitations from that base’: ‘[o]ptical fibres run along old railroad lines’ and cities such as Delhi remain divided into ‘Old’ and ‘New’ zones (1999: p.382). The literary texts I have examined have instigated and perpetuated certain infrastructural imaginings, the inheritance of which have had severe consequences for the world’s postcolonial citizens. Yet they also allow us to interrogate those consequences. Dirlik observes that ‘it is increasingly difficult to point to any nation or region as the centre of global capitalism’, which is now constituted as ‘a network of urban formations, without a clearly definable centre’ (1994: p.349). More than ever before, the capitalist world-system can and should be conceived as a complex set of infrastructural networks, cross-national capital flows and geographies of uneven development. It is this networked world-system that, with the heuristic help of the literature, should continue to be the target of our critique.

The thesis has organised its assessment of the relationship between imperial infrastructure and different kinds of spatial resistance around four paradigmatic concerns, addressed across the four chapters—humanitarianism, segregation, frontiers and nationalism. Each one of these themes continues to shape infrastructural expansion and development in the world today. The humanitarian ideologies analysed in Chapter One have come increasingly ‘to be used in relation to any provision of medical, shelter and food aid—even if these [are] undertaken by militaries or by state agencies following

political agendas' (Weizman, 2011: p.51). As Barnett argues, humanitarianism has become 'a global welfare institution, and aid workers are social workers—appearing to be emancipatory when operating as mechanisms of social control': 'Global capitalism needs humanitarianism', Barnett continues (2014: p.24), a dilemma that Flora Annie Steel was already struggling with in her short fiction in the 1880s and 90s.

Likewise, 'the early twentieth-century mania for racial segregation', a central concern of Chapter Two, has 'left a terrible legacy for the cities of today's world—and for the larger human communities in which they are located' (Nightingale, 2012: p.4). Though the contemporary 'spatial politics' of 'former colonial cities' such as Johannesburg are now primarily 'about class', 'many aspects of colonial White Town/Black Town systems of race segregation continue to help carve deep social canyons that scar the vast expanses of the megacities' (p.402). As Chapter Two's discussion showed, literature has the capacity both to entrench and to subvert these segregationist ideologies and their physical manifestations. Whilst Haggard's literary geography implicitly advocated the separation of South Africa's white and black populations, the innovative formal strategies of Schreiner's and Plomer's fiction reveal systems of segregation to be permeable, vulnerable to transgression and subversion.

Despite what is surely the complete assimilation of planetary space into the world-system, frontier consciousness still exists in a number of geographical locations and in more violent and sinister ways than ever before. Weizman has written at length on Israel's occupation of the West Bank, where the 'dynamic morphology of the frontier resembles an incessant sea dotted with multiplying archipelagos of externally alienated and internally homogenous ethno-national enclaves' (2012: p.7). Whilst for Buchan's

Richard Hannay, ‘our swords were hammered into ploughshares’ (2010: pp.313-4), historian Arno J. Mayer has inverted this phrase—‘Plowshares into Swords’—to emphasise the increasingly violent consequences of Zionism’s frontier consciousness (2008: p.88). Furthermore, though a contemporary ‘geographical imagination [...] tends to treat colonial frontiers and Western “homelands” as fundamentally separate domains’, Stephen Graham has shown how this ‘imaginative separation’ conceals ‘the ways in which the security, military and intelligence doctrines addressing both increasingly fuse together into a seamless whole’ (2011: p.xix). As *The Thirty-Nine Steps* revealed, frontier consciousness, and the process of capital accumulation with which it was complicit, are embedded not only in the geographical expanse of the South African highveld, but also within the world-system’s metropolitan centres.

Finally, as Wallerstein and others argue, if antisystemic movements were once rooted primarily in the national-liberation movements of the twentieth century, the new nations that emerged remained ‘caught in the constraints’ of the world-system (Arrighi et al., 2011: p.27). Now, as Hardt and Negri have shown so comprehensively, ‘the concept of national sovereignty is losing its effectiveness’ as the ‘unity of single governments has been disarticulated and invested in a series of separate bodies (banks, international organisms of planning, and so forth, in addition to the traditional separate bodies), which all increasingly refer for legitimacy to the transnational level of power’ (2001: p. 307). Already in the 1920s and 1930s, Edmund Candler and Edward Thompson were producing literary geographies that revealed the ideologies embedded in India’s infrastructural development, the cross-national nature of which would destabilise its later efforts toward national sovereignty.

Despite these various outgrowths, it is not my intention to dampen the anti-imperial resistances excavated by this thesis with a sense of historical futility. Infrastructural reading, as a methodology, has enabled a specifically resistant kind of reading practice against the four thematically oppressive infrastructural and ideological formations I have explored. Whilst Flora Annie Steel could not relinquish her faith in the notion of imperialism as a benevolent force, her short fiction raises striking concerns about the socioeconomic effects of infrastructural expansion in India and exposes the hypocrisies of humanitarian ideology. If Rider Haggard propagated a segregationist ideology that would be violently realised in South Africa throughout the twentieth century, Olive Schreiner and William Plomer developed formal and textual ways of undercutting and subverting it, interrogating colonial categories of racial definition in the process. John Buchan's preoccupation with the frontier may have contributed to the formation of a range of damagingly racist tropes and stereotypes, but a closer look at his literary geographies reveal how they in fact conceive alternative, if not subversive ways of imagining the world-system's patchwork of core and peripheral zones. Lastly, though Edmund Candler and Edward Thompson sought to delegitimise the nationalist movements that threatened imperial rule and intervened in capitalism's accumulative processes, an infrastructural reading of their literature reveals that their efforts to isolate and contain this resistance were always doomed to fail.

The 'decolonial' project with which this thesis is aligned needs to be ongoing. As Mignolo argues, 'scholars and decolonial thinkers' can contribute to this project 'not by telling indigenous scholars, intellectuals, and leaders what the problem is, since they know it better than we do', but rather 'by acting in the hegemonic domain of

scholarship' (2011: pp.10-11). Infrastructural reading's strategic analysis is crucial, I argue, for analysing 'contemporary forms of power', which

may appear to take on the shape of a multiplicity, a diffuse field of forces simultaneously aggressive and benign. It is a form of power that not only charges forward; it surrounds, immerses and embeds. Political activists must constantly invent new forms of struggle that are recognisant of this paradigm of power, but which also evade and subvert its embrace, attempt to rewire its webs in order to escape its calculation. (Weizman, 2011: pp.23-24)

Mindful of this 'diffuse field', this thesis concludes with a call for more infrastructural readings: the methodology needs to be redeployed in a range of different historical and cultural contexts, from the period of formal decolonisation to the moment of the 'colonial present'. Whilst this thesis has revisited 'the colonial past in order [...] to retrieve its shapes, like the chalk outlines at a crime scene', it remains, as Derek Gregory writes, conscious of 'the continuing impositions and exactions of colonialism in order to subvert them: to examine them, disavow them, and dispel them' (2004: p.9). Infrastructural reading allows the literary critic to read, resistantly, a range of cultural productions that are both complicit with, and also subversive of, new modes of colonisation, oppression, dispossession and exploitation, a project that is of ever increasing urgency in the contemporary world.

Works Cited

Archival Sources

- BRITISH ASSOCIATION OF SCIENCE, 1905, A17Fol. Wits, Historical Papers, University of the Witwatersrand. 'Market Square, Johannesburg, 1905'. Photography by Miss Catherine Henderson.
- Colonial Office, 1047/1045. National Archives, Kew. 'Imperial Institute Map of the Chief Sources of Metals in the British Empire with Diagrams of Production for 1918' (1921).
- Colonial Office, 1047/1054. National Archives, Kew. 'The Coal Fields of India excluding those of Baluchistan, the Punjab and Rajputana, and Iron Ores of Bihar and Orissa', showing rivers and railways. Lithographed [About 60 miles to an inch]. From the Imperial Mineral Resources Bureau, Review of the Mineral Industry of the British Empire: Coal etc. Part II 1913-19' (1922).
- Colonial Office, 1047/1094. National Archives, Kew. 'India Showing Railways Open and under construction on 31-3-22. Heliozincographed. 1:4,055,040. Insets: "Jherriah and Raneegunge Coal Fields", 16 miles to an inch; "Ceylon", 64 miles to an inch, and 7 cities (including Aden), various scales. Survey of India' (1922).
- HUMPHREYS, James Charles Napoleon, 1902-1969 (Consulting Engineer, Director of Companies and Africana Collector), A1138, 1610. Wits, Historical Papers, University of the Witwatersrand. 'The Great Diamond Industry of South Africa', by Harold S. Harger, in *The South African Mining Journal: Twenty-first Anniversary Number*. Photographs: 'Kimberley Mine, 1873', 'First Whim, Kimberley Mine, 1874'.
- MPD 1/207, 1 item extracted from T 1/7150A. National Archives, Kew. 'A map showing the existing and proposed lines to India, Australia and China in connection with the cable of the Anglo-Mediterranean Telegraph Co Ltd., lithographed by Metchim and Son, 32 Clement's Lane, in 1868'.
- Ref: A.385 COT. National Library of South Africa. *The Shippers' Guide to South and East Africa. With Coloured Railway Map*. 1897. Compiled and Edited by W.D.M. Cotts of Niven, Mitchell & Cotts, Johannesburg, Durban and Delagoa Bay. London: Simpkin, Marshall, Hamilton, Kent & Co., Limited.
- Ref: A.Q.622.096822 HAT. National Library of South Africa. *The Gold Mines of the Rand Being a Description of the Mining Industry of Witwatersrand, South African Republic*. By Fredrick H. Hatch (Mining Engineer) and J.A. Chalmers (Mining Engineer). With Maps, Plans, and Illustrations. London: Macmillan and Co. And New York, 1895.

Primary Texts

- Buchan, John. *The African Colony, Studies in the Reconstruction*. London: William Blackwood and Sons, 1903.
- Prester John*. London: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1910.
- A Book of Escapes and Hurried Journeys*. London: Thomas Nelson and Sons, Ltd., 1922.
- Memory Hold-The-Door*. London: Hodder and Stoughton Ltd., 1940a.
- Comments and Characters*. W. Forbes Gray ed. London: Thomas Nelson and Sons Ltd., 1940b.

- Prester John*. Cornwall: House of Stratus, 2008.
- The Complete Richard Hannay Stories*. London: Wordsworth Editions Ltd., 2010.
- Candler, Edmund. *A Vagabond in Asia, with a map of the Author's Route, and Several Illustrations from Original Photographs*. London: Greening & Co., Ltd., 1900.
- The Mantle of the East*. London, Edinburgh, Dublin and New York: Thomas Nelson & Sons, 1912.
- The Long Road to Baghdad, with 19 Maps and Plans and 16 Half-tone Plates, In Two Volumes: Volume I*. London, New York, Toronto and Melbourne: Cassell and Company, Ltd., 1919.
- Youth and the East, An Unconventional Biography*. Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood and Sons, 1924.
- Abdication*. New York: Turtle Point Press, 1993.
- Siri Ram—*Revolutionist, A Transcript from Life 1907-1910* (1912) in Saros Cowasjee ed. *A Raj Collection*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2005.
- Conrad, Joseph. *Last Essays*. Richard Curle ed. London: J.M. Dent & Sons, 1926.
- Heart of Darkness*. London: W.W. Norton & Company, 2006.
- Forster, E.M. *The Hill of Devi*. London: Penguin Books, 1963.
- A Passage to India*. London: Penguin Classics, 2005.
- Haggard, H. Rider. *The Days of My Life, An Autobiography, Volume I*. London: Longmans, Green and Co. Ltd., 1926.
- King Solomon's Mines*. Gerald Monsman intro. and ed. Lancashire: Broadview Literary Press, 2002.
- King Solomon's Mines*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008.
- She*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008.
- Kipling, Rudyard. *From Sea to Sea: Letters of Travel*. New York: Doubleday, Page & Company, 1913.
- Kim*. London: W.W. Norton & Company, 2002.
- The Complete Verse*. London: Kyle Cathie Ltd., 2006.
- Kipling Abroad: Traffics and Discoveries from Burma to Brazil*. Andrew Lycett ed. London: I.B. Tauris, 2010.
- Plomer, William. *Turbott Wolfe*. Toronto: Clarke, Irwin & Co. Ltd., 1965.
- The Autobiography of William Plomer*. London: Jonathan Cape Ltd., 1975.
- Selected Stories*. Stephen Gray ed. Johannesburg: AfricaSouth Paperbacks, 1984a.
- Cecil Rhodes*. Johannesburg: AfricaSouth Paperbacks, 1984b.
- Schreiner, Olive. *The South African Question*. Chicago: Charles H. Sergel Company, 1899.
- Undine*. London: Harper & Brothers, 1928.
- Woman and Labour*. London: Virago Press Ltd., 1978.
- From Man to Man*. London: Virago Press Ltd., 1982.
- The Story of an African Farm*. Patricia O'Neill ed. Canada: Broadview Press Ltd., 2003.
- Trooper Peter Halket of Mashonaland*. Middlesex: The Echo Library, 2009.
- Schreiner, Olive, and Cronwright-Schreiner, C.S. *The Political Situation*. London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1896.
- Steel, Flora Annie. *The Garden of Fidelity, Being the Autobiography of Flora Annie Steel, 1847-1929*. London: Macmillan and Co., 1930.
- Indian Scene: Collected Short Stories of Flora Annie Steel*. New York: Books For Libraries Press, 1971.

- On the Face of the Waters* (1896) in Saros Cowasjee ed. *A Raj Collection*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2005.
- Thompson, Edward. *The Other Side of the Medal*. London: Leonard & Virginia Woolf at The Hogarth Press, 1930a.
- The Reconstruction of India*. London: Faber & Faber Ltd., 1930b.
- A Farewell to India*. New York: E.P. Dutton & Co., Inc., 1931.
- An India Day*. London: Penguin Books Ltd., 1940.
- Woolf, Leonard. *The Village in the Jungle*. London: Eland Publishing Limited, 2008.

Secondary Texts

- Abrahams, Peter. *Mine Boy*. Reading: Heineman Educational Publishers, 1963.
- Afigbo, A.E., Ayandele, E.A., Gavin, R.J., Omer-Cooper, J.D., Palmer, R. *The Making of Modern Africa, Volume 1, The Nineteenth Century*. New York: Longman Group Ltd., 1986a.
- The Making of Modern Africa, Volume 2, The Twentieth Century* (New York: Longman Group Ltd., 1986b).
- Ahmad, Aijaz. 'Jameson's Rhetoric of Otherness and the "National Allegory"'. *Social Text* No.17 (Autumn, 1987): 3-25.
- In Theory: Nations, Classes, Literatures*. London and New York: Verso, 2008.
- Alexander, Peter F. *William Plomer: A Biography*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989.
- Al-Rawi, Ahmed. 'Buchan the Orientalist: Greenmantle and Western Views of the East'. *Journal of Colonialism and Colonial History*, Vol. 10 No. 2 (Fall, 2009): n.pag.
- Amin, Samir. *Unequal Development: An Essay on the Social Formations of Peripheral Capitalism*. Sussex: The Harvester Press Limited, 1976.
- Imperialism and Unequal Development*. Sussex: The Harvester Press Ltd., 1977.
- Amoore, Louise. *The Global Resistance Reader*. London and New York: Routledge, 2005.
- Anderson, Benedict. *The Spectre of Comparisons: Nationalism, Southeast Asia, and the World*. London: Verso, 1998.
- Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. London: Verso, 2006.
- Anderson, Kevin B. *Marx at the Margins: On Nationalism, Ethnicity, and Non-Western Societies*. Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2010.
- Anderson, Perry. *The Indian Ideology*. London and New York: Verso, 2013.
- Anzaldúa, Gloria. *Borderlands: La Frontera*. San Francisco: Aunt Lute Books, 1987.
- Archard, David. 'Paternalism Defined'. *Analysis* Vol.50 No.1 (January 1990): 36-42.
- Arendt, Hannah. *The Origins of Totalitarianism*. New York: Schoken Books, 2004.
- Arnold, David. 'Gramsci and Peasant Subalternity in India'. *The Journal of Peasant Studies* Vol. 11 No. 4 (July 1984): 155-77.
- Science, Technology and Medicine in Colonial India*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000.
- Arrighi, Giovanni, Hopkins, Terence K., and Wallerstein, Immanuel. *Antisystemic Movements*. London and New York: Verso, 2011.
- Attwell, David and Attridge, Derek, eds. *The Cambridge History of South African Literature*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012.
- 'baas, n.' *OED Online*. Oxford University Press. December 2014. Web.

- Baden-Powell, Robert. *Scouting for Boys: A Handbook for Instruction in Good Citizenship*. Elleke Boehmer ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005.
- Bal, Mieke. *Narratology: Introduction to the Theory of Narrative*. London: University of Toronto Press Inc., 1997.
- Barnett, Michael. *Empire of Humanity: A History of Humanitarianism*. New York: Cornell University Press, 2013.
- Barnett, Michael, and Weiss, Thomas G. eds. *Humanitarianism in Question: Politics, Power, Ethics*. Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2008.
- Bartholomew, John George. *Imperial Gazetteer of India*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1909.
- Bartolovich, Crystal, and Lazarus, Neil eds. *Marxism, Modernity, and Postcolonial Studies*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004.
- Beavon, Keith. *Johannesburg, The Making and Shaping of the City*. Pretoria: University of South Africa Press, 2004.
- Bennett, Tony. *Formalism and Marxism*. London: Routledge, 2003.
- Bevan, Edwyn. *Indian Nationalism, An Independent Estimate*. London: Macmillan and Co., Limited, 1913.
- Bhatia, Nandi. 'Staging the 1857 Mutiny as "The Great Rebellion": Colonial History and Post-Colonial Interventions in Utpal Dutt's *Mahavidroh*'. *Theatre Journal* 51 (1999): 167-184.
- Bivona, Daniel. *British Imperial Literature, 1870-1940: Writing and the Administration of Empire*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998.
- Blanchard, Robert G. *The First Editions of John Buchan: A Collector's Bibliography*. Connecticut: Archon Books, 1981.
- Bloom, Harold ed. *Modern Critical Views: E.M. Forster*. New York: Chelsea House Publishers, 1987.
- Blunt, Alison, and McEwan, Cheryl eds. *Postcolonial Geographies*. London and New York: Continuum, 2002.
- Boehmer, Elleke. *Colonial & Postcolonial Literature*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995.
- Empire, the National and the Postcolonial, 1890-1920: Resistance in Interaction*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998.
- ed. *Empire Writing: An Anthology of Colonial Literature, 1870-1918* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998).
- 'The Worlding of the Jingo Poem'. *The Yearbook of English Studies* Vol. 41 No. 2 (2011): 41-57.
- Boehmer, Elleke, Chrisman, Laura and Parker, Kenneth eds. *Altered State? Writing and South Africa*. Sydney: Dangaroo Press, 1994.
- Boehmer, Elleke, and Morton, Stephen eds. *Terror and the Postcolonial*. West Sussex: Blackwell Publishing Ltd., 2010.
- Booth, Howard J., and Rigby, Nigel, eds. *Modernism and Empire*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000.
- Booth, William. *In Darkest England and the Way Out*. London: The Carlyle Press, 1890.
- Bond, Patrick. *Elite Transition: From Apartheid to Neoliberalism in South Africa*. London: Pluto Press, 2000.
- Bose, Nemaï Sadhan. *Racism, Struggle for Equality and Indian Nationalism*. Calcutta: Prabartak Printing and Halftone Ltd., 1981.

- Brantlinger, Patrick. *Rule of Darkness: British Literature and Imperialism, 1830-1914*. New York: Cornell University Press, 1988.
- Brewer, Anthony. *Marxist Theories of Imperialism: A Critical Survey*. London and New York: Routledge, 2001.
- Bubb, Alexander. 'The Provincial Cosmopolitan: Kipling, India and Globalisation'. *Journal of Postcolonial Writing* 49:4 (2013): 391-404.
- Budgen, Sebastien, Kouvelakis, Stathis, and Žižek, Slavoj. *Lenin Reloaded: Toward a Politics of Truth*. Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2007.
- Burdett, Carolyn. *Olive Schreiner and the Progress of Feminism: Evolution, Gender, Empire*. New York: Palgrave, 2001.
- Butlin, Robin A. *Geographies of Empire: European Empires and Colonies c.1880-1960*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009.
- Calhoun, Craig, Collins, Randall, Derluguian, Georgi, Mann, Michael, and Wallerstein, Immanuel. *Does Capitalism Have a Future?* New York: Oxford University Press, 2013.
- Carruthers, Jane. 'Friedrich Jeppe: Mapping the Transvaal c.1855-1899'. *Journal of Southern African Studies* 29:4 (2003): 955-976.
- Carter, Paul. *The Road to Botany Bay: An Essay in Spatial History*. London: Faber and Faber Ltd., 1987.
- Repressed Spaces: The Poetics of Agoraphobia*. London: Reaktion Books Ltd., 2002.
- Dark Writing: Geography, Performance, Design*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2009.
- Caygill, Howard. *On Resistance: A Philosophy of Defiance*. London: Bloomsbury, 2013.
- Chang, Mike. *Cultural Geography*. London: Routledge, 1998.
- Chakrabarty, Dipesh. *Rethinking Working-Class History: Bengal 1890-1940*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000.
- 'Clothing the political man: a reading of the use of khadi/white in Indian public life'. *Postcolonial Studies* Vol.4 No.1 (2001): 27-38.
- Provincializing Europe*. New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2008.
- Chandavarkar, Rajnarayan, "'The Making of the Working Class': E.P. Thompson and Indian History". *History Workshop Journal* Issue 42 (1997): 177-196.
- Chatterjee, Partha. 'The Colonial State and Peasant Resistance in Bengal, 1920-1947'. *Past and Present* No.110 (February, 1986): 169-204.
- 'Anderson's Utopia'. *Diacritics* Vol.29 No.4. *Grounds of Comparison: Around the Work of Benedict Anderson* (Winter, 1999): 128-134.
- The Partha Chatterjee Omnibus*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2011.
- Chaudhuri, K.N., and Dewey, Clive eds. *Economy and Society: Essays in Indian Economic and Social History*. Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1979.
- Childs, Peter. *Modernism and the Post-Colonial: Literature and Empire, 1885-1930*. London: Continuum International Publishing Group, 2007.
- Chrisman, Laura. *Rereading the Imperial Romance: British Imperialism and South African Resistance in Haggard, Schreiner, and Plaatje*. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000.
- Postcolonial Contraventions: Cultural Readings of Race, Imperialism and Transnationalism*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2003.

- Clark, Nancy L., and Worger, William H. *South Africa: The Rise and Fall of Apartheid*. Edinburgh: Pearson Education Ltd., 2011.
- Clingman, Stephen. *The Grammar of Identity: Transnational Fiction and the Nature of the Boundary*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009.
- Coetzee, J.M. *White Writing: On the Culture of Letters in South Africa*. London: York University Press, 1980.
- Cohn, Bernard. *The Bernard Cohn Omnibus*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2009.
- Cooper, Frederick. *Colonialism in Question: Theory, Knowledge, History*. London: University of California Press, Ltd., 2005.
- Couzens, T.J. “‘The Old Africa of a Boy’s Dream’—Towards Interpreting Buchan’s Prester John’. *English Studies in Africa* 12:1 (March, 1981): 1-26.
- Cronin, Richard Paul. *British Policy and Administration in Bengal, 1905-1912: Partition and the New Province of Eastern Bengal and Assam*. Calcutta: Firma KLM Private Ltd., 1977.
- Curzon, Lord George. *The Romanes Lectures 1907: Frontiers*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1907.
- Dantwala, M.L. *Poverty in India: Then and Now, 1870-1970*. Delhi: Macmillan India, 1973.
- Davidis, Maria. ‘Forster’s Imperial Romance: Chivalry, Motherhood, and Questing in *A Passage to India*’. *Journal of Modern Literature* Vol.23 No.2 (1999-2000): 259-276.
- Davis, Clarence B., and Wilburn, Kenneth E. eds. *Railway Imperialism*. London: Greenwood Press, 1991.
- Davis, Mike. *Late Victorian Holocausts: El Niño Famines and the Making of the Third World*. London: Verso, 2010.
- Davies, Dominic. ‘Critiquing Global Capital and Colonial (In)Justice: Structural Violence in Leonard Woolf’s *The Village in the Jungle* (2013) and *Economic Imperialism* (1920)’. *The Journal of Commonwealth Literature* (2014). Web.
- Devarenne, Nicole. ‘Nationalism and the Farm Novel in South Africa, 1883-2004’. *Journal of Southern African Studies* 35.3 (2009): 627-642.
- Dewey, Clive. *Arrested Development in India: The Historical Dimension*. Riverdale: The Riverdale Company, 1988.
- Dirlik, Arif. ‘The Postcolonial Aura: Third World Criticism in the Age of Global Capitalism’. *Critical Inquiry* 20 (Winter 1994): 328-356.
- ‘Confucius in the Borderlands: Global Capitalism and the Reinvention of Confucianism’. *Boundary 2* Vol.22 No.3 (Autumn, 1995): 229-273.
- ‘Spectres of the Third World: global modernity and the end of the three worlds’. *Third World Quarterly* Vol.25 No.1 (2004): 131-148.
- ‘Divided Cities’. *Society and Culture in Twentieth-century Africa*. November 2010. Web.
- Duffield, Mark. ‘Governing the Borderlands: Decoding the Power of Aid’. *Disasters* 24:4 (2001): 308-320.
- Dutt, Romesh Chunder. *Open Letters to Lord Curzon on Famines and Land Assessment in India*. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., Ltd., 1900.
- The Economic History of India in the Victorian Age*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd., 1950.
- Dutt, Utpall. *The Great Rebellion*. Calcutta: Seagull Books, 1986.

- Eagleton, Terry. *Marxism and Literary Criticism*. London: Routledge, 2002.
- Eagleton, Terry, Jameson, Fredric and Said, Edward. *Nationalism, Colonialism and Literature*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1990.
- Esty, Jed. 'The Story of an African Farm and the Ghost of Goethe'. *Victorian Studies* 49.3 (2007): 407-430.
- *Unseasonable Youth: Modernism, Colonialism, and the Fiction of Development*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012.
- Etherington, Norman A. 'Rider Haggard, Imperialism, and the Layered Personality'. *Victorian Studies* 22: 1 (1978): 71-87.
- Fanon, Frantz. *The Wretched of the Earth*. With a preface by Jean-Paul Sartre. Constance Farrington trans. London: Penguin Classics, 2001.
- Ferro, Marc. *Colonization: A Global History*. London: Routledge, 1997.
- Foster, Jeremy. 'John Buchan's "Hesperides": Landscape Rhetoric and the Aesthetics of Bodily Experience on the South African Highveld, 1901-1903'. *Cultural Geographies* 5 (1998): 323-347.
- Foucault, Michel. *The Foucault Reader: An Introduction to Foucault's Thought*. Paul Rabinow ed. London: Penguin Books, 1991.
- *Dits et Écrits I, 1954-1975*. Paris: Éditions Gallimard, 2001.
- *Dits et Écrits II, 1976-1988*. Paris: Éditions Gallimard, 2001.
- Frischman, Brett M. *Infrastructure: The Social Value of Shared Resources*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012.
- Galtung, Johan. 'Violence, Peace, and Peace Research'. *Journal of Peace Research* Vol. 6 No.3 (1969): 167-191.
- Gandhi, M.K. *An Autobiography, The Story of My Experiments With Truth*. London: Penguin Books, 2007.
- *The Essential Writings*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008.
- Gillingham, James. *Violence: Reflections on Our Deadliest Epidemic*. London: Jessica Kingsley Publishers, 1996.
- Glover, William J. "'A feeling of Absence From Old England": The Colonial Bungalow'. *Home Cultures* Vol. 1 Issue 1 (2004): 61-82.
- Gott, Richard. *Britain's Empire: Resistance, Repression and Revolt*. London: Verso, 2012.
- Graham, Stephen ed. *Disrupted Cities: When Infrastructure Fails*. London: Routledge, 2010.
- *Cities Under Siege: The New Military Urbanism*. London and New York: Verso, 2011.
- Gramsci, Antonio. *The Gramsci Reader: Selected Writings, 1916-1935*. David Forgacs ed. London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1988.
- Gray, Stephen. 'William Plomer's Stories: The South African Origins of New Literature Modes'. *The Journal of Commonwealth Literature* 21:53 (1986): 53-61.
- Gregory, Derek. 'Imaginative Geographies'. *Progressive Human Geography* 19:4 (1995): 447-485.
- *The Colonial Present: Afghanistan, Palestine, Iraq*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing Ltd., 2004.
- Griffiths, Ieuan Ll. *The African Inheritance*. London: Routledge, 1995.
- Grob-Fitzgibbon, Benjamin. *Imperial Endgame: Britain's Dirty Wars and the End of Empire*. Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011.

- Guha, Ranajit. *Elementary Aspects of Peasant Insurgency in Colonial India*. Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1983.
- ed. *A Subaltern Studies Reader, 1986-1995*. Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1998.
- Gupta, Uma Das ed. *A Difficult Friendship: Letters of Edward Thompson and Rabindranath Tagore, 1913-1940*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003.
- Hall-Matthews, David. *Peasants, Famine and the State in Colonial Western India*. Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005.
- Hardiman, David. *Peasant Resistance in India, 1858-1914*. Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1992.
- Hardt, Michael, and Negro, Antonio. *Empire*. London: Harvard University Press, 2001.
- Harlow, Barbara. *Resistance Literature*. London: Methuen Inc., 1987.
- Harnetty, Peter. *Imperialism and Free Trade: Lancashire and India in the Mid-nineteenth Century*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1972.
- Harvey, David. *The Condition of Postmodernity*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1995.
- The Limits of Capital*. London: Verso, 1999.
- Spaces of Global Capitalism: Towards a Theory of Uneven Geographical Development*. London and New York: Verso, 2006.
- Cosmopolitanism and the Geographies of Freedom*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2009.
- Rebel Cities: From the Right to the City to the Urban Revolution*. London: Verso, 2012.
- Seventeen Contradictions and the End of Capitalism*. London: Profile Books Ltd., 2014.
- Hawkes, David. *The New Critical Idiom: Ideology*. London: Routledge, 1996.
- Headrick, Daniel R. *The Tools of Empire: Technology and European Imperialism in the Nineteenth Century*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1981.
- Tentacles of Progress: Technology Transfer in the Age of Imperialism, 1850-1940*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988.
- Technology: A World History*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009.
- Henshaw, Peter. 'John Buchan from the "Borders" to the "Berg": Nature, Empire and White South African Identity, 1901-1910'. *African Studies* 62:1 (2003): 3-32.
- Hobsbawm, Eric. *Primitive Rebellion*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1959.
- The Age of Empire, 1875-1914*. London: Abacus, 2007.
- Hobson, J.A. *The War in South Africa: Its Causes And Effects*. London: James Nisbet and Co. Ltd., 1900.
- The Psychology of Jingoism*. London: Grant Richards, 1901.
- Imperialism: A Study*. London: Unwin Hyman Ltd., 1988.
- Hopkins, Terence K., and Wallerstein, Immanuel. *World-Systems Analysis: Theory and Methodology*. London: Sage Publications Ltd., 1982.
- Huggan, Graham. 'Decolonizing the Map: Post-Colonialism, Post-Structuralism and the Cartographic Connection'. *Ariel, A Review of International English Literature* Vol. 20 No. 4 (October, 1989): 115-131.
- Territorial Disputes: Maps and Mapping Strategies in Contemporary Canadian and Australian Fiction*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1994.
- Hutchins, Francis G. *The Illusion of British Permanence: British Imperialism in India*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1967.

- Jameson, Fredric. 'Beyond the Cave: Demystifying the Ideology of Modernism'. *The Bulletin of the Midwest Modern Language Association* Vol.8 No.1 (Spring, 1975): 1-20.
- 'Third-World Literature in the Era of Multinational Capitalism'. *Social Text* No.15 (Autumn, 1986): 65-88.
- Postmodernism, or, the Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism*. Durham: Duke University Press, 1991.
- The Political Unconscious, Narrative as a Socially Symbolic Act*. London: Routledge, 2002.
- Representing Capital: A Commentary on Volume One*. London: Verso, 2014.
- Johnson, Alan. "'Sanitary Duties" and Registered Women: A Reading of *On the Face of the Waters*'. *Yale Journal of Criticism* 11:2 (Autumn, 1998): 507-513.
- Out of Bounds: Anglo-Indian Literature and the Geography of Displacement*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2011.
- Johnson, Robert. *British Imperialism*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003.
- Karis, Thomas and Carter, Gwendolen M. eds. *From Protest to Challenge: A Documentary History of African Politics in South Africa, 1882-1964, Volume 1: Protest and Hope, 1882-1934*. California: Hoover Institution Press, 1972.
- Katz, Wendy R. *Rider Haggard and the Fiction of Empire: A Critical Study of British Imperial Fiction*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987.
- Kerr, Ian J. *Building the Railways of the Raj, 1850-1900*. Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1995.
- 'Representation and Representations of the Railways of Colonial and Post-Colonial South Asia'. *Modern Asian Studies* Vol.37 No.2 (2003): 287-326.
- Khalidi, Rashid. *Resurrecting Empire: Western Footprints and America's Perilous Path in the Middle East*. London: I.B. Tauris & Co Ltd., 2004.
- Khilnani, Sunil. *The Idea of India*. London: Hamish Hamilton Ltd., 1997.
- King, Anthony D. *Colonial Urban Development: Culture, Social Power and Environment*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd., 1976.
- Urbanism, Colonialism, and the World-Economy: Cultural and Spatial Foundations of the World Urban System*. London: Routledge, 1991.
- ed. *Culture, Globalization and the World-System: Contemporary Conditions for the Representation of Identity*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2000.
- Klein, Ira. 'Materialism, Mutiny and Modernization in British India'. *Modern Asian Studies* 34.3 (2000): 545-580.
- Krebs, Paula M. 'Olive Schreiner's Racialization of South Africa'. *Victorian Studies* 40.3 (1997): 427-444.
- Kruger, Loren. *Imagining the Edgy City: Writing, Performing, and Building Johannesburg*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013.
- Kruse, Juanita. *John Buchan (1875-1940) and the Idea of Empire*. Lampeter: The Edwin Mellen Press, Ltd., 1989.
- Lago, Mary. 'India's Prisoner', *A Biography of Edward John Thompson, 1886-1946*. Columbia and London: University of Missouri Press, 2001.
- Larkin, Brian. 'The Politics and Poetics of Infrastructure'. *Annual Review of Anthropology* 42 (2013): 327-43.
- Latham, A.J.H. *The International Economy and the Undeveloped World, 1865-1914*. London: Billing & Sons Ltd., 1978.

- Ledger, Sally and Luckhurst, Roger eds. *The Fin de Siècle, A Reading in Cultural History, c.1880-1900*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000.
- Lefebvre, Henri. *The Production of Space*. Donald Nicholson-Smith trans. Oxford, Blackwell Publishers Ltd., 1998.
- Legg, Stephen. *Spaces of Colonialism: Delhi's Urban Governmentalities*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2007.
- Lenin, V.I. *Imperialism, The Highest Stage of Capitalism*. London: Martin Lawrence Ltd., 1934.
- Essential Works of Lenin: "What Is to Be Done?" and Other Writings*. Henry M. Christman ed. New York: Dover Publications, 1987.
- Lester, Alan. *From Colonisation to Democracy: A New Historical Geography of South Africa*. London: I.B. Tauris, 1998.
- Lester, Alan, Nel, Etienne, and Binns, Tony. *South Africa, Past, Present and Future: Gold at the End of the Rainbow?* Essex: Pearson Education Limited, 2000.
- Lewis, Martin W. and Wigen, Kären. *The Myth of Continents: A Critique of Metageography*. London: University of California Press, 1997.
- Lilly, William Samuel. *India and Its Problems*. London: Sands & Co, 1902.
- Lloyd, David. *Anomalous States: Irish Writing and the Post-Colonial Moment*. Durham: Duke University Press, 1993.
- Luxemburg, Rosa. *Rosa Luxemburg Speaks*. Mary-Alice Waters ed. London and New York: Pathfinder Press, 1970.
- The Accumulation of Capital*. Agnes Schwarzschild trans. London and New York: Routledge, 2003.
- Lyall, Sir Alfred. *The Rise and Expansion of the British Dominion in India*. London: John Murray, 1907.
- Macdonald, Kate ed. *Reassessing John Buchan: Beyond the Thirty-Nine Steps*. London: Pickering and Chatto, 2009.
- MacDonald, Robert H. *The Language of Empire: Myths and Metaphors of Popular Imperialism, 1880-1918*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1994.
- Macey, David. *Frantz Fanon: A Biography*. London: Verso, 2012.
- Macherey, Pierre. *A Theory of Literary Production*. Geoffrey Wall trans. London: Routledge, 1986.
- Marks, Shula, and Rathbone, Richard eds. *Industrialisation and Social Change in South Africa: African Class Formation, Culture, and Consciousness, 1870-1930*. London: Longman Group Ltd., 1982.
- Martel, Gordon. 'Decolonisation after Suez: Retreat or Rationalisation'. *Australian Journal of Politics and History* Vol. 46 No. 3 (2000): 403-417.
- Marx, Karl. *Grundrisse, Foundations of the Critique of Political Economy*. Martin Nicolaus trans. London: Penguin Books, 1993.
- Capital*. David McLellan ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999.
- Karl Marx on India (1853-1862)*. Iqbal Husain ed. New Delhi: Tulika Books, 2006.
- Masselos, Jim. *Indian Nationalism: A History*. New Delhi: Sterling Publishers Private Limited, 2010.
- Masterman, C.F.G. *The Condition of England*. J.T. Boulton ed. London: Methuen & Co. Ltd., 1960.
- Mayer, Arno J. *Plowshares into Swords: From Zionism to Israel*. London and New York: Verso, 2008.

- McClintock, Anne. *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest*. London: Routledge, 1995.
- McCully, Bruce Tiebout. *English Education and the Origins of Indian Nationalism*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1940.
- Meredith, Martin. *The State of Africa: A History of Fifty Years of Independence*. London: Simon and Schuster UK Ltd., 2006.
- Diamonds, Gold and War: The Making of South Africa*. London: Pocket Books, 2008.
- Metcalf, Barbara D. and Metcalf, Thomas R. *A Concise History of India*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002.
- Metcalf, Thomas R. *Ideologies of the Raj*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995.
- An Imperial Vision: Indian Architecture and Britain's Raj*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2002.
- Mignolo, Walter D. *The Darker Side of Western Modernity: Global Futures, Decolonial Options*. Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2011.
- Local Histories/Global Designs: Coloniality, Subaltern Knowledges, and Border Thinking*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012.
- Miller, J. Hillis. *Topographies*. California: Stanford University Press, 1995.
- Misra, B.B. *The Unification and Division of India*. Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1990.
- Mittelman, James H. *The Globalisation Syndrome: Transformation and Resistance*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000.
- Monsman, Gerald. *Olive Schreiner's Fiction: Landscape and Power*. New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1991.
- H. Rider Haggard on the Imperial Frontier: The Political and Literary Contexts of His African Romances*. Greensboro: University of North Carolina, ELT Press, 2006.
- Colonial Voices: The Anglo-African High Romance of Empire*. New Orleans: University Press of the South, 2010.
- Moore-Gilbert, Bart. 'Olive Schreiner's *Story of an African Farm*: Reconciling Feminism and Anti-Imperialism?' *Women: A Cultural Review* 14:1 (2003): 85-103.
- Moretti, Franco. *The Way of the World: The Bildungsroman in European Culture*. Albert Sbragia trans. London: Verso, 2000.
- 'Conjectures on World Literature'. *New Left Review* 1 (Jan/Feb 2000): 54-68.
- Mukherjee, Upamanyu Pablo. *Natural Disasters and Victorian Empire: Famines, Fevers and the Literary Cultures of South Asia*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013.
- Murphy, Patricia. 'Timely interruptions: Unsettling gender through temporality in *The Story of an African Farm*'. *Style* 32.1 (Spring 1998): 80-102.
- Murray, Cara. *Victorian Narrative Technologies in the Middle East*. London: Routledge, 2008.
- Murray, John. *The Imperial Guide to India, Including Kashmir, Burma and Ceylon. With Illustrations, Maps and Plans*. London: Alabaster, Passmore and Sons, Printers, 1904.
- Nabers, Deak. 'Spies Like Us: John Buchan and the Great War Spy Craze'. *Journal of Colonialism and Colonial History*, 2:1 (2001).

- Nandy, Ashis. 'The Traditions of Technology'. *Alternatives* 4:3 (December, 1978): 371-385.
- The Intimate Enemy: Loss and Recovery of Self Under Colonialism*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1983.
- Naoroji, Dadabhai. *Poverty and Un-British Rule in India*. London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co., 1901.
- Nehru, Jawaharlal. *The Unity of India, Collected Writings, 1937-1940*. Buckingham Street: Lindsay Drummond, 1941.
- The Discovery of India*. New Delhi: Penguin Books, 2010.
- Newsinger, John. *The Blood Never Dried: A People's History of the British Empire*. London: Bookmarks Publications Ltd., 2010.
- Nightingale, Carl H. *Segregation: A Global History of Decided Cities*. London and Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2012.
- Nuttall, Sarah, and Mbembe, Achille eds. *Johannesburg: The Elusive Metropolis*. Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2008.
- Nyman, Jopi, and Stotedbury, John A. eds. *Postcolonialism and Cultural Resistance*. Joensuu, Finland: Faculty of Humanities, University of Joensuu, 1999.
- Osterhammel, Jürgen and Petersson, Niels P. *Globalization, A Short History*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003.
- Packenham, Thomas. *The Scramble for Africa, 1876-1912*. London: Abacus Books, 2009.
- Palumbo-Liu, David, Robbins, Bruce, and Tanoukhi, Nirvana eds. *Immanuel Wallerstein and the Problem of the World: System, Scale, Culture*. Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2011.
- Pandey, Gyanendra. *The Gyanendra Pandey Omnibus*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2008.
- Pandey, Gyanendra and Samad, Yunas. *Fault Lines of Nationhood*. New Delhi: Roli Books Pvt. Ltd., 2007.
- Paranjape, Makarand R. *Making India: Colonialism, National Culture, and the Afterlife of Indian English Authority*. New Delhi: Springer and Amaryllis, 2013.
- Parry, Benita. *Delusions and Discoveries: Studies on Indian in the British Imagination, 1880-1930*. London: The Penguin Press, 1972.
- 'Materiality and Mystification in *A Passage to India*'. *NOVEL: A Forum on Fiction* Vol.31 No.2. Thirtieth Anniversary Issue: II (1998): 174-194.
- Postcolonial Studies: A Materialist Critique*. New York: Routledge, 2004.
- 'Partition of Bengal (1905)'. *New World Encyclopedia*. Web.
- Patwardhan, Daya. *A Star of India: Flora Annie Steel, Her Works and Times*. Poona: Lokasangraha Press, 1963.
- Pierce, Steven and Rao, Anupama, eds. *Discipline and the Other Body: Correction, Corporeality, Colonialism*. London: Duke University Press, 2006.
- Pile, Steve and Keith, Michael eds. *Geographies of Resistance*. London and New York: Routledge, 1997.
- Plaatje, Solomon. *Mhudi*. Oxford: Heineman Educational Publishers, 1930.
- Sol Plaatje: Selected Writings*. Brian Willan ed. Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press, 2001.
- Plato. *The Republic*. Robin Waterfield trans. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008.
- Pocock, Tom. *Rider Haggard and the Lost Empire*. London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1993.

- Prakash, Gyan. *Another Reason: Science and the Imagination of Modern India*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999.
- Pratt, Mary Louise. *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation*. New York: Routledge, 2003.
- Randall, Don. 'Autumn 1857: The Making of the Indian "Mutiny"'. *Victorian Literature and Culture* Vol. 31 No. 1 (2003): 3-17.
- Raschke, Debrah. 'Forster's *Passage to India*: Re-Envisioning Plato's Cave'. *The Comparatist* Vol.21 (May, 1997): 10-24.
- Reid, Julia. "'Gladstone Bags, Shooting Boots, and Bryant & May's Matches': Empire, Commerce, and the Imperial Romance in the Graphic's Serialization of H. Rider Haggard's *She*". *Studies in the Novel* 43:2 (Summer 2011): 152-178.
- Rhodes, Cecil. *Cecil Rhodes: His Political Life and Speeches, 1881-1900*. London: Chapman and Hall Ltd., 1900.
- Roberts, Adam. *Fredric Jameson*. London: Routledge, 2000.
- Robinson, William I. 'Globalisation and the Sociology of Immanuel Wallerstein: A Critical Appraisal'. *International Sociology* (2011): 1-23.
- Rodney, Walter. *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*. Oxford: Pambazuka Press, 2012.
- Rothermund, Dietmar. *The Phases of Indian Nationalism and other essays*. Bombay: Nachiketa Publications Limited, 1970.
- Roy, Shampa. "'A Miserable Sham': Flora Annie Steel's Short Fictions and the Question of Indian Women's Reform". *Feminist Review* No. 94 (2010): 55-74.
- Rubenstein, Michael. *Public Works: Infrastructure, Irish Modernism, and the Postcolonial*. Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 2010.
- Rühe, Peter. *Gandhi: A Photo Biography*. London: Phaidon, 2001.
- Said, Edward. *Culture and Imperialism*. London: Chatto and Windus, 1993.
- Orientalism*. London: Penguin Classics, 2003.
- Sarila, Nerendra Singh. *The Shadow of the Great Game: The Untold Story of India's Partition*. London: Constable and Robinson Ltd., 2007.
- Sarkar, Sumit. *A Critique of Colonial India*. Calcutta: A.G. Printing Works, 1985.
- Saunders, Corinne ed. *A Companion to Romance*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2004.
- Saxena, Vinod Kumar. *The Partition of Bengal (1905-1911): Select Documents*. Delhi: Kanishka Publishing House, 1987.
- Schwarz, Bill. *The White Man's World: Memories of Empire, Volume 1*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011.
- Scott, James C. *Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990.
- Seeley, John R. *Expansion of England: Two Courses of Lectures*. London: Macmillan and Co., Limited, 1914.
- Sethi, Rumina. *The Politics of Postcolonialism: Empire, Nation and Resistance*. London: Pluto Press, 2011.
- Shanmugasundaram, V. *The Drain Theory*. Madras: University of Madras, Reprinted from the Indian Economic Association Conference, 1975.
- Shapple, Deborah L. 'Artful Tales of Origination in Olive Schreiner's *The Story of an African Farm*'. *Nineteenth-Century Literature* 59.1 (2004): 78-114.
- Sharp, Joanne P., Routledge, Paul, Philo, Chris, and Paddison, Ronan eds. *Entanglements of Power: Geographies of Domination/Resistance*. London and New York: Routledge, 2005.

- Sharpe, Jenny. *Allegories of Empire: The Figure of Woman in the Colonial Text*. London: University of Minnesota Press, 1989.
- Singh, Navtej. *Starvation and Colonialism: A Study of Famines in the Nineteenth Century British Punjab 1858-1901*. New Delhi: National Book Organisation, 1996.
- Sinha, Mrinalini. 'Britishness, Clubbability, and the Colonial Public Sphere: The Genealogy of an Imperial Institution in Colonial India'. *Journal of British Studies* Vol.40 No.4 (2001): 489-521.
- Smith, Craig. 'Every Man Must Kill the Thing He Loves: Empire, Homoerotics, and Nationalism in John Buchan's Prester John'. *NOVEL: A Forum on Fiction* Vol. 28 No.2 (Winter, 1995): 173-200.
- Smith, Janet Adam. *John Buchan, A Biography*. Bristol: Western Printing Services Ltd., 1965.
- Smith, Neil. *Uneven Development: Nature, Capital, and the Production of Space*. Athens and London: The University of Georgia Press, Third Edition, 2008.
- Soja, Edward. *Postmodern Geographies: The Reassertion of Space in Critical Social Theory*. London and New York: Verso, 1989.
- 'South Africa: Limpopo Province'. *Limpopo Tourism Agency*. Web.
- Srinivasan, Roopa, Tiwari, Manish, and Silas, Sandeep eds. *Our Indian Railway: Themes in India's Railway History*. New Delhi: Foundation Books Pvt. Ltd., 2006.
- Star, Susan Leigh. 'The Ethnography of Infrastructure'. *American Behavioural Scientist* 43:377 (1999): 377-91.
- Stoler, Ann Laura. *Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power: Race and the Intimate in Colonial Rule*. London: University of California Press, Ltd., 2002.
- Along the Archival Grain: Thinking Through Colonial Ontologies*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009.
- Stott, Rebecca. 'The Dark Continent: Africa as Female Body in Haggard's Adventure Fiction'. *Feminist Review* No.32 (Summer 1989): 69-89.
- Strobel, Margaret and Chaudhuri, Nupur eds. *Western Women and Imperialism: Complicity and Resistance*. Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1992.
- Suleri, Sara. *The Rhetoric of English India*. Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1992.
- Sutcliffe, Rebecca J. 'Feminizing the professional: The government reports of Flora Annie Steel'. *Technical Communication Quarterly* 7:2 (1998): 153-173.
- Szeman, Imre. 'Who's Afraid of National Allegory? Jameson, Literary Criticism, Globalisation'. *South Atlantic Quarterly* 100:3 (Summer, 2001): 803-827.
- Tally Jr., Robert T. *The New Critical Idiom: Spatiality*. New York: Routledge, 2013.
- 'The Delhi Durbar or Imperial Assembly, 1877. In pencil, pen, black ink and watercolour, heightened with bodycolour and gold, watermark "J WHATMAN" and commissioned by Arthur Hobhouse (1819-1904)'. Web.
- The Imperial Gazetteer of India. Vol. 26, Atlas*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1909.
- Thomas, David Wayne. 'Liberal Legitimation and Communicative Action in British India: Reading Flora Annie Steel's *On the Face of the Waters*'. *ELH* 76 (2009): 153-187.
- Thomas, Nicholas. *Colonialism's Culture: Anthropology, Travel and Government*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers Ltd., 1996.

- Thompson, E.P. *The Making of the English Working Class*. London: Penguin Classics, 2013.
- Tickell, Alex. 'Negotiating the Landscape: Travel, Transaction, and the Mapping of Colonial India'. *The Yearbook of English Studies* Vol. 34 (2004): 18-30.
- Terrorism, Insurgency and Indian-English Literature, 1830-1947*. London: Routledge, 2012.
- Tidrick, Kathryn. *Gandhi, A Political and Spiritual Life*. London: Verso, 2013.
- van der Vlies, Andrew. *South African Textual Cultures: White, Black, Read All Over*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007.
- Waddell, Nathan. *Modern John Buchan: A Critical Introduction*. Newcastle-upon-Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2009.
- Wallerstein, Immanuel. *The Capitalist World-Economy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991.
- Geopolitics and Geoculture: Essays on the Changing World-system*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992.
- Historical Capitalism*. London: Verso, 2011.
- World-Systems Analysis: An Introduction*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2004.
- Weinthal, Leo ed. *The Story of the Cape to Cairo Railway and River Route, from 1887 to 1922. Volume One. The Record of an Imperial Project; How it Materialised to Date; and the Story of its Creators, and Volume Two. The Main Line as it exists today from the Cape to the Nile Delta*. Luton: Gibbs, Bamforth & Co., 1922.
- Weizman, Eyal. *The Least of All Possible Evils: Humanitarian Violence from Arendt to Gaza*. London and New York: Verso, 2011.
- Hollow Land: Israel's Architecture of Occupation*. London: Verso, 2012.
- Whitman, Walt. *The Portable Walt Whitman*. Michael Warner ed. New York and London: Penguin Books Ltd., 2004.
- Wilding, Hugh, and West, Anthony. *Research Sources for Indian Railways, 1845-1947*. Weybridge: Families in British India Society, 2009.
- Williams, Raymond. *The Country and the City*. London: Chatto & Windus, 1973.
- Culture and Materialism: Selected Essays*. London: Verso, 2005.
- Winchester, Clarence ed. *The Wonders of World Engineering: Epics of Conquest in Story and Picture*. London: Fleetway House, 1937.
- Wisnicki, Adrian. 'Reformulating the Empire's Hero: Rhodesian Gold, Boer Veld-Craft, and the Displaced Scotsman in John Buchan's *The Thirty-Nine Steps*'. *Journal of Colonialism and Colonial History* 8:1 (2007): n.pag.
- Wittenberg, Herman. 'Imperial Space and the Discourse of the Novel'. *Journal of Literary Studies* 13:1-2 (1997): 127-150.
- Worden, Nigel. *The Making of Modern South Africa: Conquest, Apartheid, Democracy*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing Ltd., 2007.
- Young, Robert J.C. *Postcolonialism: An Historical Introduction*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing Ltd., 2008.
- Žižek, Slavoj. *Violence: Six Sideways Reflections*. London: Profile Books Ltd., 2008.