C. Akça ATAÇ, International Relations, Cyprus International University:

Ancient Greek History as a Manual to Guide the Intercultural Relations within the Second British Empire

Histories of ancient Europe had an unobvious but important place among the sources that the British referred to in their quest for the ideal sort of empire. In addition to contributing to contemporary attempts at improving the standard of history writing, the histories of ancient Greece produced throughout the eighteenth century served to vindicate the ongoing imperial schemes of Britain. Ancient authority had been sought by the British political nation at all stages of overseas expansion. In this sense, the ancient imperial legacy contributed towards shaping the 'imagined' characteristics of the British Empire.

Ancient Greek history-writing of eighteenth-century Britain presented Sparta and Athens as relevant to the ethnically homogeneous structure of the first British Empire, whereas Macedonia and Persia were associated with the process of building the more heterogeneous and more militaristic second British Empire. Once they had encountered the ethnic diversity of their imperial subjects, the British sense of superiority was troubled by the question of how to interact and intermingle with them. In the face of the territorial expansion on the Indian subcontinent, the British historians strove to offer imperial lessons about the Macedonian way of governing a cosmopolitan empire and the Greek treatment of the Persians as representatives of an alien, incompatible and hostile culture. These lessons were believed to provide insight into the contemporary conflict-ridden situation of British overseas existence.

Ancient histories of eighteenth-century Britain were subtle narratives of empire. Having replicated the ancient conviction that the empire of a highly developed civilization also contained inferior subjects, they perpetuated the ancient prejudices, reinforced them as the imperial maxims and permitted the distortion of historical facts. This study aims to elucidate the imperial lessons that ancient Greece offered the British nation during the troubled period of empire building.

Yuet May CHING, Associate Professor, Department of English,
Chinese University of Hong Kong:

The Prism and Misprision of Memory: A Critique of Two Memoirs

Gweilo by Martin Booth and *Myself a Mandarin* by Austin Coates are memoirs detailing the experience of two British expatriates in Hong Kong in the 1950s. The former, written by the ailing Booth just before his death in 2004, is a moving memoir recounting a seven year old's first encounters with the exotic East. The latter, published in 1968, is written from the perspective of a British colonial officer meting out law. One is remarkable because of its apparent innocence and fun often found in boys' adventure stories, the other because of its lively, sophisticated humor. Both give realistic, ethnographic details about Hong Kong, claiming first hand knowledge. Despite such appeal to the real, both texts provide clues revealing their own inconsistencies as well as the inadequacies of the narrators' visions. Booth shows his younger self befriending the local people from the lower class, but at the end he lets slip his desire to be 'minor royalty'. Coates cleverly cites a Chinese colleague in affirming that Chinese people won't tell the truth unless there is an advantage, but he cavalierly depicts himself calling in sick to avoid taking a law examination. The representations of the colonized other in imperialist discourses often show inconsistencies resulting from the colonizer's attempt to appear enlightened and to attribute to the colonized other the weaknesses of the colonizing self. These inconsistencies leave traces that open up the texts for postcolonial re-readings.

Cara CILANO, Associate Professor of English, University of North Carolina
Wilmington:

'We're Sorry, but…': Narratives of Contrition, Hybridity, and Victimhood in Postcolonial Britain

This paper examines current public perceptions in the UK of that nation's imperial past and its multicultural present in order to assert that discourses in British high and media cultures construct a

narrative of Britain's postcoloniality that is seemingly unaware of its inherent contradictions. In my paper, these public perceptions derive from three sources: the UK's national commemoration in museums across the country of the bicentennial of their abolition of the slave trade; an exhibit at the National Portrait Gallery, entitled "Between Worlds: Voyagers to Britain 1700-1850," that features images of colonized people, including Sake Dean Mahomet and Sara Baartman, who 'traveled' to the UK; and media coverage of the establishment of a mosque in the small northern English town of Clitheroe, a town experiencing a demographic shift emblematic of Britain's postcolonial present.

I contend that the national commemoration constitutes an act of historical contrition, a public reckoning with the sins of the UK's colonial past. Insofar as these museum exhibits convey Britain's "'deep sorrow,'" to quote Prime Minister Tony Blair, they contribute to the creation of a narrative of apology, an unprecedented national and international acknowledgment of and atonement for the "fantasies of Western superiority" that supported colonial empires. At the same time, though, the "Between Worlds" exhibition suggests by its very title a narrative of hybridity, either as mimicry or cross-cultural exchange, that undermines claims of cultural superiority. Herein we see a softening of the conflict and rabidity of racial and cultural subjugation. Finally, media coverage of the creation of a mosque in Clitheroe calls upon what I call a "victim's discourse" on the part of white Britons, which enables a sense of embattledness and a fear of cultural loss that, in this discourse's logic, legitimates cultural chauvinism. Where we once had unquestioned cultural superiority, we now have cultural defensiveness, and both positions play out in acts of political, cultural, and physical violence.

Michael C. FRANK, Postdoctoral Researcher, University of Konstanz.:

Imperial Discourse and the Pressures of Genre: Invasion Fantasies in Late 19th-Century Fiction

In his Foucauldian analysis of Orientalism, Edward Said famously postulated the homogeneity and continuity of colonial discourse, although Foucault himself had originally introduced the concept of discursive formation to "rid" historical analysis of the "theme of continuity." Thirty years after the publication of Said's epoch-making study, "imperial discourse" is still a totalizing concept. This paper argues for a more differentiated approach – not only on the level of diachrony, but also on that of synchrony –, by emphasizing the crucial relevance of literary genres and their "genre memories" (Bakhtin) in the shaping of imperial discourse.

In the last three decades of the 19th century – following the publication of George Chesney's *The Battle of Dorking* (1871) –, numerous fictional works presented scenarios of alien invasions of London. These invasion fantasies inverted the narrative pattern of British imperial expansion, while mirroring its central motifs. Thus, the Martians' attempted genocide of the earthlings in H. G. Wells' *The War of the Worlds* (1898) is described in terms of a Darwinian survival of the fittest and, rather disturbingly, compared to modern colonialism. In Bram Stoker's *Dracula* (1897), the spread of vampirism in London similarly represents a process of reverse colonization. The novel expresses a range of fears concerning immigration, sexually transmitted diseases and, most importantly, the possibility of counter-evolutionary regression. This latter motif links Stoker's text to Joseph Conrad's *Heart of Darkness* (1899), which describes an invasion of a different sort – not from without but from within.

In my analysis of the three novels (which were all published between 1897 and 1899), I will argue that their narratives of reverse colonization, defeat, and degeneration constitute a counter-discourse to imperialist narratives of progress and that this fact can be partly explained by the interplay between discourse and genre.

Harriet GUEST, Professor, Centre for Eighteenth Century Studies,
The University of York, UK

New Zealand Romance

The paper discusses the views of New Zealand as a promising site for colonisation in the accounts of Europeans who took part in Captain Cook's voyages to the South Pacific. It focuses on the probably apocryphal tale of a colonial romance between one of Cook's men and a New Zealand girl narrated in John Rickman's *Journal of Captain Cook's Last Voyage* (1781). The paper explores the ways in which the tale, which conforms broadly to the sub-genre of colonial romance as it was defined by Marie Louise Pratt and Peter Hulme, is shaped both by European apprehensions of Maori culture in the

context of Scottish enlightenment theories of the progress of civilisation, and by the perceived need, underlined by the war between Britain and the thirteen American colonies, for a new kind of imperialism.

Katrina GULLIVER, Research Scholar, Faculty of History, University of Cambridge:

Narratives of Going Native

The white man 'gone native' has always been a spectre of Colonial existence, and has been represented in the literature of colonialism. The way these men were perceived was informed by currents in the broader culture, namely the image of the castaway in literature, the idea of 'going native' and attendant racial theories, and the anxieties associated with Colonial settlement. From *Robinson Crusoe* onwards, stories of men 'going native' have been a recurring theme in English adventure fiction.

In this paper I will explore how stories of 'going native', particularly those in Australia and the Pacific, were used to reinforce racial ideas of hierarchy and European superiority. The popularity of such stories during the high point of Empire (in the late 19th and early 20th centuries) serves to demonstrate how popular culture served the ends of Empire, and helped to reassure those in the metropole that their control of the periphery was justified. I will also discuss how anthropological ideas of racial regression underpinned such stories and the image of those who had 'gone native'.

My examination of such fictional accounts, as well as their 'factual' counterparts in newspaper reports has reveal particular recurring tropes that served to both blame the white man who rebelled by choosing to live among indigenous people, as well as maintaining the idea that he was still superior by virtue of being white.

Martin A. HAINZ, Senior Lecturer, Department of German Studies, University of Vienna:

Provinz – Zum Beispiel Czernowitz

Wenn *Provinz* definiert wird, so ist entweder geglückte Integration ihre Vorbedingung, was wiederum verunmöglicht, von einer (etymologisch suggerierten) *Siegesbeute* zu sprechen – die Provinz löst sich im Augenblick ihres Glückens im Reich, dem sie angeschlossen wird, auf -; oder aber sie bildet sich erst im selben Moment, da sie zuvor *fast noch* Feindesland war. *Provinz* ist darum als unmöglicher Zustand zu bedenken.

Darum ist die Provinz so fragil; dann aber auch unvermeidlich – und nicht anders ist es mit den Kolonien. Erst dann, wenn die Provinz nicht mehr in der Spannung zur Kapitale sich transzendiert und vor allem auch die Kapitale zum „Glutbecken des Sinnes" (Roland Barthes) macht, ist nämlich universelle Provinzialität. Europa dekonstruiert sich, wie sich die Provinzen dekonstruieren: nämlich quasi affirmativ. Die pluralen Optionen der einen Pflicht: Das könnte avancierte Provinzialität, die nicht mehr provinziell ist, sondern sich in einem Plural weiß, dessen Dignität sie buchstabiert, bedeuten und sein. Provinz wäre so das Wissen um die Reflexion auf Provenienz. Dieses destabilisiert alles; es impliziert die Wahl der Perspektive, der epistemischen Option, des Ortes – ein Recht, das gerade darum den Experten des *Erörterns* verweigert wird, wie Derrida bemerkt hat.

Dieses Modell zum einen des Werdens und zum anderen der produktiven Verunsicherung ist durchaus tauglich, die positiven Qualitäten von Czernowitz zu benennen, das, was Czernowitz, während es in mancher Hinsicht wohl auch blockierend wirken konnte, förderte.

Denn Czernowitz ist keine Metropole, sondern tiefste Provinz, doch davon geprägt, dass von hier aus auf die Metropolen gesehen wird, es Zirkel gibt, die sich verschiedenen Literaten und Philosophen verpflichtet fühlen, teils wohl auch im Sinne übelster Idolatrie, doch: Spannung ist gegeben. Desgleichen Spannung besteht zwischen den Kulturen und innerhalb derselben. Allenthalben und in jedem ist also Kultur zu erfahren: als produktive Schizophrenie, „(e)s ist einer Kultur eigen, dass sie nicht mit sich selber identisch ist", schreibt Derrida. Czernowitz ist also der Name eines Flanierens durch Importiertes; und bezeichnet damit die Kompetenz, profund heimatlos zu sein, nämlich überall gleichermaßen zuhaue, in all den Ideologien, Kulturen, Religionen, Sitten zumindest soweit, dass das Gespräch nicht völlig abbricht. Viel enger ist so freilich auch nicht die Beziehung zu dem, was unter all dem das Eigene sein sollte. Gefahr ist allenthalben. Aber sie ist suspendiert: So wenig, doch *so* wenig ist das offenbar gar nicht, bleibt – es reichte immerhin für einen *Zusatzertrag* des Nebeneinanders. Ist Czernowitz eine geistige Lebensform? Das *ist* es eben *nicht* – es wird dazu , und zwar in der

Kompetenz, damit umzugehen, dass derlei hier nicht besteht. Man weiß ja: „(D)er echte Traditionalist weiß nicht, dass er einer ist", die „Hopi-Indianer lebten in keiner Hopi-Kultur, sondern in einer ‚Welt'." (Rudolf Burger) Diese Czernowitzer Welt hier ist keine *Welt*, sondern Verklammerung von Kulturne, von Welt-Möglichkeiten, die einander zu Welt-Unmöglichkeiten suspendieren – man könnte auch sagen, dass die Czernowitz-Welt das ist, was bleibt, wenn ihre ideologisch-sprachlich-kulturellen Bestandteile widerlegt sind, man könnte kurzum (parallel zu Odo Marquards Rede von der Philosophie als Umgang mit dem Scheitern ‚also als „Inkompetenzkompensationskompetenz") von Czernowitz sagen: Die Hauptstadt des Buchenlands brachte eine *Inkongruenz-kompensationskompetenz* hervor.

John HAWLEY, Professor and Chair of the English Department,
Santa Clara University, California:

Assimilation, Then and Now, and the Napoleonic Impulse of Postcolonial Theory

In Stephen Greenblatt's classic study, *Marvelous Possessions: The Wonder of the New World* (Chicago, 1991) and most notably in David Spurr's *The Rhetoric of Empire: Colonial Discourse in Journalism, Travel Writing, and Imperial Administration* (Duke, 1993), the tropes of colonizing language come into compelling focus: surveillance, appropriation, aestheticization, classification, debasement, negation, affirmation, idealization, insubstantialization, naturalization, eroticization, and even resistance. Sara Suleri's *The Rhetoric of English India* (Chicago, 1992) adds deeper layers of complexity (and complicity) to the juggernaut of colonizing legerdemain, as does Gaurav Desai's *Subject to Colonialism: African Self-Fashioning and the Colonial Library* (Duke, 2001), demonstrating the colonized's incorporation of the rhetoric by which they had been inscribed.

Against this backdrop I would propose discussing the documentation favoring assimilation among the colonies, principally through the educational system but also through the civil service system that education was to support. The effects of this policy will be demonstrated through a quick sampling of colonized writers who were the products of the system, or fictionalized versions of them.

The paper will conclude, though, with a more theoretical proposition: that postcolonial theory needs to find a place in its canonization of 'postcolonial literature' for the many writers who, for whatever reason (successful assimilation? Universal standards?) do not choose to 'push back', but who nonetheless embody a contemporary national literature that is neither resistant to the colonial heritage, nor enthralled by the romance of nativist purity. What sort of narratology adequately incorporates their authorial project?

Werner HUBER, Professor, Department of English and American Studies,
University of Vienna:

'De-Anglicisation' in Irish Renaissance Narratives of Self and Nation

In a letter to Karl Marx (dated 23 May 1856) Friedrich Engels famously described Ireland as England's first colony. Beginning in the 1980s with the establishment of 'New Literatures in English' and post-colonialism as sub-disciplines of EngLit, critics have again and again emphasised the paradigmatic role of Ireland and Irish Literature for all post-colonial discourse (e.g. David Lloyd, J.T. Leerssen, C.L. Innes, Claire Connolly, David Cairns/Shaun Richards – not forgetting the Field Day enterprise).

In view of the specifics of Ireland's colonial history of settlement and conquests it comes as no surprise to see that the dominating trope of post-colonial discourse in an Irish context is that of a "battle of two civilisations" (D.P. Moran). And it is especially during the period of the Irish Renaissance (ca. 1890-1922) that the struggle for an Irish cultural and political identity foregrounds binary/polar definitions of Self and Other (auto-images vs. hetero-images, auto-stereotypes vs. hetero-stereotypes). Obviously, the most blatant expressions of this overriding trope of the battle of two civilisations (colony vs. empire, Ireland vs. England, but also Irish vs. Anglo-Irish/West Briton) can be found in programmatic, non-fictional texts such as Douglas Hyde's "The Necessity of De-Anglicising Ireland" (1892) or "D.P. Moran's "The Philosophy of Irish Ireland" (1905). However, it is interesting to see that in autobiographical texts in particular the creative clash of two civilisations is negotiated seriously and effectively in terms of a synecdochic amalgamation of life-story and cultural narrative ('autobiography as crisis literature'). Accordingly, the corresponding tropes and relevant motifs (e.g.

'language,' 'race') used in the construction of such narratives will be discussed with reference to the 'autobiographies' of George Moore, William Butler Yeats, and James Joyce.

Ursula KLUWICK, Postdoctoral Research Associate, Department of English and American Studies, University of Vienna:

What Really Happened to Wonder? From The Arabian Nights to Magic Realism

The East has habitually been narrated as mysterious, as the irrational other of the rational West. The emphasis on wonder in fictional accounts of Western encounters with the East bears witness to how the East is offered up to the Western gaze as a wonder-ful site, turned into a miraculous spectacle or peep-show for the foreigner's pleasure. This narrative strategy arguably received part of its momentum from *The Arabian Nights*, whose influence on perceptions of the Orient was tremendous, far exceeding that of Grimms' fairy tales on descriptions of the West. Not only do many depictions of the East as mysterious show their affinity with *The Arabian Nights* very clearly, but the manner in which the Orient was imagined in general was heavily indebted to these tales.

Interestingly, the intertextual impact of *The Arabian Nights* prevails also in the postcolonial era. Again, we find both direct echoes of this text in others, as well as a more general proclivity for presenting the East with recourse to the miraculous atmosphere of *The Arabian Nights* and other fairy tales. The narrative tradition of wonder is continued most consciously in magic realist writing, in which the idea of the mysterious East often forms one of the most central points of departure. Alternatively indicted for its perpetuation of the image of the wonder-ful East and hailed as subversive for its counter-discursive strategies, in its particular depiction and use of the marvellous, magic realism maintains an ambiguous relation with wonder. This paper will compare instances of wonder from colonial with examples from contemporary magic realist fiction, and consider whether the latter merely adopts the strategies of the first, or whether magic realism really offers recuperation and subversion.

Christa KNELLWOLF, Adjunct Associate Professor, National Europe Centre, The Australian National University / Guest Professor, Department of English and American Studies, University of Vienna:

The 'Novara' Expedition and the Imperialist Messages of Exploration Literature

In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, significant public funds were spent on naval expeditions that were sent out to collect information about even the remotest parts of the earth. In addition to gathering knowledge, the reports published from these journeys were important vehicles for the formation and consolidation of colonial attitudes. Although most scientific voyagers believed that the expansion of the boundaries of knowledge benefited the common good, they were also aware that the scientific idealism of the age was tempered by the interests of Europe's colonial nations. As a result their travel accounts both endorse customary assumptions (for example relating to the superiority of western civilization) and interrogate the foundations of imperial ideology.

My conference paper concentrates on Carl Scherzer's account of the Austrian 'Novara' expedition (1857-1859). Comparing Scherzer's narrative with the assessments of indigenous culture and society contained in earlier descriptions of Australasia and the Pacific (especially Georg Forster's account of James Cook's second circumnavigation, 1772-1775), it will employ narratological tools for the analysis of imperialist ideology. In particular it will seek to identify the narratives (or scripts) that have been deeply engrained in cultural consciousness to guarantee assent to the imperial project. Since propagandist claims were emplotted in extremely popular stories of adventure and scientific progress, it will next explore the premises of their appeal to vast numbers of readers. This will show that some archetypal stories about success and happiness are counterbalanced by less simplistic narratives about the foundations of culture and society. The narratological attempt to identify and explain competing arguments therefore aims to shed new light on the contradictory premises of empire building.

J.J.V. KUITENBROUWER, Research Scholar, Department of English and American Studies, University of Amsterdam

Dutch Attitudes Towards British Imperialism and the 'native question' in South Africa around 1900

The Anglo-Boer War (1899-1902) generated a lot of discussion in the European metropole about British expansion in South Africa, and more generally, the moral principles of imperialism. Historians have pointed out that the conflict between the Empire and the Boer Republics was not just about the imperialists' greed for gold or hunger for land, but in essence about which form of colonial rule would become dominant in South Africa.

In the Netherlands, the public passionately chose the side of the Boers in this struggle as they were considered part of the diaspora of the Dutch-speaking race. Information from South Africa supporting the Boer cause reached propagandists in Holland via a network that was set up in the previous decades. In this way Dutch organisations played a central role in the campaign that was aimed to show the injustice of the Anglo-Boer War and to counter the British depiction of the South African question.

In pro-Boer propaganda, race relations in South Africa were a central topic. The debate extended beyond the issue of differences between indigenous groups and Western colonialists and also touched upon disparities between settlers from English and Dutch descent; the two 'white races' to use a phrase from that time. One of the major concerns of the European public was the question how white minority dominance in the region should be protected against the indigenous population. This paper aims to explore the perceived contrasts between the British and Boer approach to this so-called 'native question'. And it will be argued that the intricate triangle of British, Boer and black 'elements' is crucial in the historical understanding the representation of the South African question around 1900.

Jonathan LAMB, Andrew W. Mellon Professor of the Humanities, English Department, Vanderbilt University

Making Babies in the Pacific: James Cook on New Narrative Ground

This paper argues that the competing elements of Cook's narrative are between his duties under his instructions to give a full account of everything transacted and the sort of wayward pleasures he felt when he simply did what he fancied doing. Narratologically, the Admiralty account follows the relation between property and a record of self-preservation outlined by Wolfram Schmidgen in his book *Eighteenth-century Fiction and the Law of Property*. This law demands the rigorous attention to referential detail both in terms of bulk and sequence. But when it comes to reefs and shoals and performances of taboo rituals, then Cook is on different narrative ground, hard for him to assess, even harder for him to justify to his masters. Making babies is what people at sea do (at least in Richard Hughes's novel) when they are trying to make sense of their own emotions and their re-oriented relation to the things that used to be referred to so distinctly in an authorized account. When Cook is doing this very dramatically in the Inasi festival, it leads to a very private form of notation that has been discussed most astutely by Michel de Certeau as a hybrid tongue, a lingua franca. An alternative way of viewing Cook's difficulties would be to say that he approaches the issue of affective knowledge without ever having dreamed that his emotions would have anything to do with his acts of cognition.

Linda LANG-PERALTA, Professor, The Metropolitan State College of Denver in Colorado:

Fictions within Fictions in Achebe, Kincaid, and Lessing

This paper will compare similar discursive strategies related to empire used by Chinua Achebe, Jamaica Kincaid, and Doris Lessing. Each of these authors depict ways in which British and European literature affected attitudes of both the colonizers and the colonized, suggesting the importance of imaginative literature as a crucial means of conveying and critiquing culture.

Achebe concludes his novel *Things Fall Apart* with a departing British colonizer imagining how he will include Okonkwo's story in the book he will write about Africa. Kincaid's novel *Lucy* includes a scene in which the protagonist remembers how a detested poem by William Wordsworth formed part

of her British education on a Caribbean island. Lessing's short story "The Old Chief Mshlanga" shows how European fairy tales were the lens through which a settler's daughter saw (or did not see) the African landscape around her until she experienced a dramatic encounter that changed her perspective.

Homi Bhabha's concepts of hybridity, ambivalence, and mimicry will serve as tools to "explain the illusions, fantasies and material promises disseminated through factual and fictional descriptions of the encounter between colonial 'masters' and their subjugated peoples".

Martin LÖSCHNIGG, Professor of English at the University of Graz:

'A good disaster': John Franklin as Imperial (Anti-) Hero in Rudy Wiebe's 'A Discovery of Strangers', Mordecai Richler's 'Solomon Gursky Was Here' and Sten Nadolny's 'Die Entdeckung der Langsamkeit'

Since the last of Sir John Franklin's three expeditions to the Canadian Arctic disappeared in the ice in 1845, the figure of that unfortunate British explorer has been transformed into myth. In Canadian literature in particular, Franklin has been a "haunting presence", as Margaret Atwood has it, and a symbol of imperial exploration and expansion to the north. My paper proposes to investigate the narrative strategies employed by two contemporary Canadian novels, Mordecai Richler's *Solomon Gursky Was Here* (1989) and Rudy Wiebe's *A Discovery of Strangers* (1994), and by German novelist Sten Nadolny's *Die Entdeckung der Langsamkeit* (1983) to (de-)mythologize Franklin and arctic exploration. I shall discuss how, in these novels, narrative itself becomes a form of exploration, investigating the 'empty spaces' glossed over by imperial myth-making. As one of the characters in Wiebe's novel puts it, "[s]tories are like ropes, they pull you to incomprehensible places". In the case of *A Discovery of Strangers*, these "places" stand for the experience of the (future) colonized, as represented by the Dene people who served Franklin as scouts and hunters during his first overland expedition in 1819-22. Wiebe's novel therefore attempts to re-write an episode in the history of imperial expansion from the point of view of those to be subjugated, revising in particular accounts of the expedition by Franklin himself and by members of his crew. In much the same way, Richler's burlesque of the history of arctic exploration deconstructs imperial myths by means of the counterfactual participation of Jews (another marginalized group within the Canadian spectrum) in Franklin's third expedition. In contrast, Nadolny's attempt at an imaginative biography undermines images of the imperial hero, while at the same time mythologizing Franklin as a man out of his time.

Ansgar NÜNNING, Professor of English and Director of the Graduate Centre for the Study of Culture, University of Giessen:

Metaphor as Mini Stories of Empire: On the Dissemination of Imperial Mentalities and Values through Metaphors

Proceeding from the assumption that metaphors contain "mininarrations" (Eubanks 1999) and that they always come with "ideological freight", this paper attempts to throw some light on the varying ways in which the British empire was given form through metaphoric projections, on how it was perceived and conceptualized at the time, and on how metaphors of empire contributed to the stories told about the empire, to the dissemination of imperialist values and to what Mangan (1990) has felicitously called the "making of imperial mentalities". The paper will give a brief overview of the most popular metaphors used with respect to the British Empire, exploring how the relationship between England and her colonies was metaphorically conceptualized. The main part of the paper will be devoted to an exploration of the functions that metaphors of empire served to fulfil. The metaphors that the Victorians thought, felt and ruled their empire by arguably provide a case-study of a phenomenon which illustrates where language, literature, and culture meet, and where the analytical frameworks of postcolonial theory, narratology, conceptual metaphor theory and cultural history can profitably be combined.

Vera NÜNNING, Professor of English and 'Prorektorin', University of Heidelberg:

Ways of Imperial Story-Telling: The Dissemination of Imperial Values in Victorian Narratives

The paper will look at different narrative techniques which were used to spread Imperial values in the second half of the nineteenth century. At that time, the British finally managed to convince themselves that the Empire could be accepted as part of their national identity, and even was something to be proud of. In this process, in which the image of the Empire was reversed, stories circulating Imperial mentality played an important role. The paper will identify the most important narrative conventions which turned rather chaotic, embarrassing and traumatic events into an Imperial success story. These conventions will be grouped under the headings of (1) 'selection and manipulation of facts'; (2) 'configuration of characters and events'; (3) 'creation of heroes'; and (4) 'modes of emplotment'.

Gayle R. NUNLEY, Professor and Chair, Department of Romance Languages, the University of Vermont:

Narrating Cultural Encounter in the Literature of Spain's Imperial Collapse

Spain's military defeat in the Spanish-American War of 1898 and resulting loss of its most-prized remaining colonies is well recognized as having crystalized the general spirit of cultural malaise afflicting public discourse of the turn-of-the-century period. This circumstance can often give rise to the notion that the project of Empire is somehow absent from turn-of-the-century writing except where conceived nostalgically as an irretrievably lost moment of splendor in the shared national past. Quite to the contrary, however, Spanish literature of the decade bracketing the 1898 colonial defeat is replete with texts whose ideological structures and discursive strategies can be shown demonstrably to draw from the rhetoric and processes of Empire as conceived and practiced within the modern European experience, in some cases via the application to present-day circumstances of concepts and imagery with deep resonance for Spain's own continuing imperial project.

In my paper I propose to explore these mechanisms through study of the surprisingly little-known corpus of foreign-emplotted novels published in Spain during the immediate post-war period by major writers of the stature of Galdós, Valera, Blasco Ibáñez, Valle Inclán, Pardo Bazán and others. Applying the work of travel theorists such as John Urry and Mary Louise Pratt, I hope to show how the narration of the Spanish protagonist's encounters with foreign lands and peoples in these texts creates a discursive space that both reflects – and reflects upon – the conceptual and representational structures of imperial identity and the fortunes and future of Spain's imperial project itself.

Okome ONOOKOME, Associate Professor of African Literature and Cinema, Department of English and Film Studies, the University of Alberta, Edmonton:

Of Malarial Coast and the Ambiguous Presence of the Emporium: Early Colonial Narratives of the Sierra Leonean Colony and Syl Cheney Coker's The Last Harmattan of Alusine Dunbar

Sierra Leone became a crown colony in 1808. Before then the actual history of this small settlement on the West Coast of Africa began at about 1787, soon after the abolition of domestic slavery in 1772. But the original white settlers came much earlier and before long, it soon became the quintessential "heart of darkness" in much of the literature written by Europeans of that period. Like many African countries that "emerged" from what Ellen Thorpe described as "that malarial coast," the history of the early settlers in Sierra Leone is actively present with us today. This history defines the West African region in ways that cannot be ignored. My paper speaks to the "presence" of this "past." As an "ocean community" created out of "many desires," the story of Sierra Leone coincided with the importation of European modernity into conquered Africa. Both the history of the presence of Europe and the modernity which it imports created a discursive agenda that is continuously being debated today. It is a presence that was as troubling then as it is intractable in the "modernity" of the colonized. Ways of understanding the "pastness" and the present "tenses" of Sierra Leone are intricately linked to this "imperial past," and the "malcontent" of the postcolonial present. Debating the "malcontent" of the

postcolonial present by focusing on the complex representations of this usable "past" is a viable option towards understanding the place of Sierra Leone in the "colonial geography of desire" and racial anxieties of the time.

The focus of my presentation is both on the colonial and literary representations of Sierra Leone as a "contact zone" in two modes of writings – the colonial narratives of this "ocean community" and of the historical imagination of its local inhabitants. My presentation defines Sierra Leone within the discursive parameters inscribed and inspired by the inquiry of the "ocean community" created by colonial desire. My paper addresses the narratives of two early European "adventurers," Ann Maria Falconbridge and Richard Burton as examples of the colonial narrative of African "ocean communities." Their "tales" of this "malarial coast," as most of these colonial outpost," were described and contrasted with that of a "native" Sierra Leonean, Syl Cheney Coker whose *The Last Harmattan of Alucine Dunbar* presents yet another fascinating history of this "ocean community." My presentation will show that as "a laboratory of modernity," Sierra Leone was important to the British Empire because of "its crucial role in British anti-slavery campaigns and in the experiments with the advancement of African/Black people." But the narratives of these British "adventurers" and "busybodies" also show the ambivalence of the seemingly altruistic objective of the British Empire. Sexualized and infantized, the colonial discourse of the "natives" releases a system of narrative "surplus" that constantly dis/places the "natives" outside the scope of the very "modernity" that the Emporium professed to bring to the colonized.

Margarete RUBIK, Professor, Department of English and American Studies, University of Vienna:

Conflicting discourses in Ida Pfeiffer's travelogues

Ida Pfeiffer's mid-19th century travel accounts of her journeys to the 'Holy Land', to Iceland, her two trips around the world and her journey to Madagascar are interesting because as a woman and as an Austrian she occupied a position at the periphery of imperialist expansion, yet the implicit colonial values and ideological positions she assumes despite her frequent criticism of British and Dutch colonial policies will indicate how naturalised these positions had become in Europe by the 1850s. The paper will examine the changing narrative strategies she employs to appeal to a wide readership without compromising her scientific claims (which, indeed, were acknowledged by Alexander von Humboldt and others), and how the scientific and sentimental modes of travel writing which Mary Louise Pratt has identified in fact reinforce and support each other, giving authority and credibility to her reports, of which the narratives about Indonesian head-hunters and cannibals were undoubtedly considered the most sensational. The paper will try to define what civilisation and savagery in fact meant to Pfeiffer and what such definitions – though notoriously instable - were predicated on. I will also analyse how an explicitly critical stance towards colonial administration in the Far East could be harmonised with an implicit dependence on basic colonialist assumptions, how her Eurocentric viewpoint is often predicated on class values and habits of socialisation, and how the unshakeable belief in the universal value of Western rationality and science can explain both her behaviour towards the indigenous population and her evaluation of the foreign cultures she encountered.

Stefan SCHLENSAG and Cyprian PISKUREK, Department of English and American Studies, University of Dortmund:

Carry on Columbus … Up the Khyber! Film as Strategy to Narrate the Empire

New Historicism has argued that all kinds of texts, visual or literary, are relevant source material for critical analysis. Whether it is the impact of New Historicism or the fact that our culture has become more and more visual: due to its mimetic quality, films are the material at hand to analyse (and teach) the process of construction on various levels.

In the context of the post-colonial discourse, the construction of cultural difference and otherness in film is of special interest. The "Other" – spelled with capital letter since Edward Said's study *Orientalism* – is of course ambivalent: it embodies stereotypes of foreign cultures but also serves as a projection screen for our own fears.

Our presentation shall focus on a long-running series of British comedy films in which the construction of cultural difference is highlighted: the "Carry On" films. These are often considered to

be typical examples of British humour using innuendo and slapstick as most important narrative means. Two of these movies shall be analysed as paradigms of cross-cultural relations: *Carry on Up the Khyber* (1968) and *Carry on Columbus* (1992).

Carry on Up the Khyber is a parody of the British imperial experience in India, while *Carry on Columbus* is a farce of the colonial encounter in the Caribbean. Our analysis explores the possibilities and limits of film as a medium to narrate history. In addition, we ask whether a genre such as comedy can be an appropriate contribution to the post-colonial debate or if it is simply sheer entertainment. This question obviously arose during the first Gulf war when a TV broadcast of *Carry on Up the Khyber* was cancelled.

Ludwig SCHNAUDER, Postdoctoral Researcher, Department of English and American Studies, University of Vienna:

The Subversion of the Idea of Progress in Joseph Conrad's Major Fiction

One of the central tenets of imperialism was the idea of progress. It had gained ground since the Enlightenment and had 'developed slowly into the single most comfortable assumption of nineteenth-century Europe and America' (Reed, *Victorian Will* 86). The idea could be found in diverse discourses such as those of history, economics, sociology and evolution and was also used to justify the imperialist endeavour: the colonizers were to bring economic, moral and intellectual progress to the "dark" regions of the earth and thereby raise the native population to more progressive levels of civilisation. As a meta-narrative the idea of progress also informs the imperialist fiction written in the late 19th and early 20th centuries even though it was hardly ever questioned or consciously addressed. An important exception is the work of Joseph Conrad whose novels *Heart of Darkness* and *Nostromo* will be the focus of this paper. In these narratives Conrad draws attention to the central place of the idea of progress in imperialist ideology by questioning and subverting it not just on a thematic but also on a structural and narratological level, for instance by using unchronological time-schemes, open endings, the tale-within-the-tale-convention, unreliable narrators and multiple points of view. Thus he brings to bear his trenchant scepticism not just on the idea of progress but also on concomitant concepts dear to imperialists: efficiency, the work ethic and the moral, intellectual and indeed evolutionary superiority of the white European; the existence of a universal truth and human beings' capability to discover it, express it in language and share it with others; the probity and sincerity of political creeds and the significance of the individual as against larger, impersonal forces.

John STOREY, Professor, Centre for Research in Media and Cultural Studies, University of Sunderland, UK

Heart of Darkness: A Symptomatic Reading

Heart of Darkness has attracted an enormous amount of critical writing since its publication in 1899. The critical engagement with Joseph Conrad's novel has produced a great deal of debate and disagreement. One particular debate concerns its representation of imperialism. Critics such as Chinua Achebe, Patrick Brantlinger and Edward Said have argued that the novel ultimately supports imperialism. Achebe even suggesting that Conrad was himself a 'bloody racist'. Other critics, such as Paul B Armstrong, Albert Guerard and J Hillis Miller, have argued that the novel presents a sustained attack on imperialism. My paper will argue, drawing on the much neglected work of French Marxist philosopher Pierre Macherey, that *Heart of Darkness* is deeply contradictory, articulating both positive and negative attitudes towards imperialism. Using Macherey's technique of 'symptomatic reading' (developed from the work of Louis Althusser), I will seek to demonstrate a profound disparity between the novel's 'ideological project' and its 'figuration'.

Denise TALLIS, Lecturer in the Social Sciences, Curtin University, Perth, Western Australia:

Imagining Whiteness: Noongars, Licences and the State

Indigenous Australians have been classified, described and defined by categories of subjugating convenience since the time of first settlement. By the late 1990, 67 variations of racial identification, territorial habitat, blood lineage, subjective identification and exclusionary classification were identified in legislative discourse alone. However, official discursive strategies that favoured the colonial project form only a small part of the colonial fantasies of superiority that imagined Western Australian Aborigines. Equally as pervasive were the attitudes and mentalities of white superiority that shaped how Indigenous people saw themselves. By the late 1940s, the hegemony of whiteness had reached a zenith and was so powerful that it became possible for Noongar people to imagine themselves as white. During this period of "high assimilation" the effects of legislation introduced in the 1936 *Aborigines Amendment Act* and the push to assimilate the Indigenous population through a process of institutionalization and acculturation was coupled with exclusionary tactics, enforced by a system of licensing, which acted to force Indigenous people to assume a white identity. Despite the perceived demise of Imperial influence after the Second World War in colonial outposts such as Western Australia, these forces prevailed to create the possibility for the Indigenous people to formally declare themselves as white. While state power was critical to the maintenance of hegemonic whiteness subtler forces were at work to ensure the Indigenous population remained compliant and malleable to discourses of development and progress underlying white power. This paper explores the hegemonic forces of racial superiority which were bound in with the imperial project and processes of empire building that remained in place on the periphery of the British Empire until well into the twentieth century.

Gautam Basu THAKUR, Research Scholar, Program in Comparative & World Literature, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign:

Informatics and Empire: The Fantasy of Knowledge and Colonial Control in Wilkie Collins' 'The Moonstone'

My paper will attempt to study the ideological situation of Wilkie Collins' novel *The Moonstone* (1868) in context of the politico-cultural transitionality of 1860's that resulted from the Indian mutiny of 1857 and the rise of Tsarist Russia as a contending imperial Other. I will explore Collins' novel as metaphorically reflecting, abbreviating, and responding to the crisis of its imperial culture and as metonymically related to the contemporary debates around suitable modes of imperial and colonial control. And within this transitional space the agency driving the narrative closure to the fictional engagement with the colonial Other in the novel, namely the vital piece of missing knowledge that is supplied by the English traveler Mr. Murthwaite following his experiences within the colonial space, gains an ideological significance as far as it offers a radical re-envisioning of control as based on surveillance, collection, collation, approximation, and eventual transfer of knowledge or information to the metropolitan centre. What Collins' novel offers as the most effective mode of colonial control is a fantastic proposition of naturalization with and surveillance of the colonial space – an unobtrusive (since invisible) form of control and subjection of the colonial Other by the gaze of the metropole agent. Though critics have often characterized this preoccupation with invisible surveillance (especially in British mutiny fiction) of the colonial space as literally fantastic, I would argue otherwise by drawing attention to contemporary newspaper and periodical reports on actual stories of such incidents (the survey of Tibet and the travels of Arminius Vámbéry). These, I contend, sedimented with a more fantastic fixation with the Other's space (the Other's *jouissance* and knowledge), the *harem* of eighteenth and nineteenth century colonial voyeuristic imagination, and constituted more specifically in context of mid-Victorian cultural liminality the fantasy of knowledge and the archive as foundational and eventual means of control.

Van Troi TRAN, Université Laval, Québec / École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales, Paris

'Consider the Universal Cannibalism...': Selling, Eating, Dreaming the Colonies at the Paris Expositions Universelles

"...all whose creatures prey upon each other."

The figure of the Cannibal has been used in colonial narratives (and beyond) to designate and typify the radical exotic, the untameable Other, the darkest margins of humanity. As an archetypal example of colonial ambivalence, the display of (so-called) cannibal tribes from New Caledonia at the 1889 and 1900 Expositions universelles in Paris have generated a great amount of passionate accounts from visitors, expressing scorn, disgust, fascination or guilt. This paper won't be about those cannibals. It will rather explore the homology between cannibalism and the ethnographic desire to feed on others and incorporate their cultural attributes. More specifically, it will focus on the links between a cannibal imagination and the consumption of exotic food at the 1889 and 1900 Expositions universelles. Firstly, it will analyse the body-food metonymies and analogies in the accounts on colonial exhibitions of human specimens and the marketing of colonial alimentary commodities displayed and sold to the metropolitan public. Secondly, it will approach the consumption of colonial dishes and food samples in pavilions, kiosques, café-concerts and restaurants as a way of ingesting the world, acquiring an encyclopaedic knowledge on other cultures and digesting the ideals of universal communion and imperial unity under the banner of the Plus Grande France, as proclaimed by the organizers of the world's fairs. Thirdly, it will explore the memorial and phantasmagorical dimensions of colonial food, as expressed in exposition visit accounts. Food consumption thus appears for some visitors as a passport for the recitation of imaginary travels or the nostalgic recollection of past experiences in the colonies. In all its materiality, colonial food, as presented and ingested at the Paris Expositions universelles, appears as an objectification of many tropes, complexities and contradictions that inhabit the French colonial narratives in the first decades of the Third Republic.

Joris VERDONCK, Research Scholar, University of Leuven, Belgium:

'Those Colours Saved for Better Days': History and Myth in the Poetry on the Battle of Isandlwana, Zululand, 1879

On 22 January 1879, the slopes of the mountain Isandlwana were the scene to the worst defeat ever suffered by a modern army at the hands of a primitively armed foe when the British invasion force in Zululand was overrun by the formidable Impis of King Cetshwayo. The poetry written on the infamous battle, which marked the nascence of the Age of the New Imperialism, an era of unprecedented patriotic fervour, solicits a shift away from the historical and the contingent. In form and content, it spells out an essentially narrative logic of retribution and self-affirmation that traverses the ideological and abstracts the contextual in order to connect with the metaphysical. The mystification of a nefarious Real, and the literary implements of cultural self-fashioning that accompany these narratological interventions, as materialised within the sign system these discourses interdependently configure, is attempted and achieved through rhetorical epigonism, narrative eschatology, and metaphors of spatial dialectic; devices whose mythical impact is negotiated at the expense of the particulars of history. The notions of providence and glory celebrated in these poems, moreover, are markedly in tune with the tenets subscribed to in the ubiquitous culture of the New Imperialism, which sought to construct and perpetuate resilient late-Victorian views on man, the other man, and the world. And finally, these forgotten poems show how the literature of the periphery, marching to the same gung-ho drum as the contemporary canon, disseminated these ideas and how it functioned as an integral part of what can be called the imperial repertoire

Adrian S. WISNICKI, Birkbeck College, University of London:

Friendly Natives and 'Fertile Lands' in mid-Victorian Africa

My paper argues that the success of David Livingstone's best-selling *Missionary Travels and Researches in South Africa* (1857), a work that cast British imperialism in its most benevolent guise and set the ideological agenda for a generation of mid-Victorian explorers and policy makers in Africa, depends in part on the imaginative "cartography" of the text. From close analysis of Livingstone's work, I suggest that the missionary succeeds in imposing a series of imaginary overlapping boundaries on the heart of south central Africa, and so in rewriting (and re-representing) the cultural and physical geography of the region so as to respond to the sacred *and* secular desires of the British public.

Using close textual analysis, reference to contemporaneous periodical reviews, and recent critical work on Victorian Protestant evangelism (Schwer, Thorne, Johnston) and anthropology (Thomas, the Comaroffs), I explore the means—in particular, the strategic revision of his letters and journals—by which Livingstone constructs south central Africa as a region that abounds with idyllic and "fertile" lands, with indigenous populations predisposed to the institution of Christianity, and with self-motivated individuals that long for the introduction of commerce. As such, the region—previously the subject of myth and uniformed speculation—becomes a "very inviting field" (Livingstone's term) for the missionary and capitalist alike.

From another perspective, my paper suggests that in *Missionary Travels*, Livingstone develops, suitably populates, and so *overdetermines* an ideal, interstitial site for British intervention and colonization in Africa, while also formulating a persuasive masterplan (founded, famously, on the intersection of Christianity, commerce, and civilization) that *correlates* to his representation of Africa and its inhabitants. This multifaceted project, in turn, transforms *Missionary Travels* from a travel account into an innovative imperial administrative document—one that provides a key glimpse into the changing parameters of mid-Victorian colonial policy and reveals how Livingstone sought to position himself as a central agent in the expansion of the British empire.