"ภาระคนขาว?": การศึกษานวนิยายเรื่อง *ลอร์ด จิม* โดย โจเซฟ คอนราด *เบอร์มีส เดย์ส์* โดย จอร์จ ออร์เวล และ *เดอะ ไควเอท อเมริกัน* โดย แกรห์ม กรีน ในฐานะภาพสะท้อนอาณานิคมตะวันตกในเอเชียตะวันออกเฉียงใต้ในสามช่วงเวลา

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"White Men's Burdens?": A Study of Joseph Conrad's *Lord Jim*, George Orwell's *Burmese Days*, and Graham Greene's *The Quiet American* as Reflections of Three Phases of Western Colonialism in Southeast Asia

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ในงานวรรณกรรมของนักเขียนอังกฤษสามท่าน ได้แก่ *ลอร์ด จิม* ของ โจเซฟ คอนราด *เบอร์มีส เดย์ส์* ของ จอร์จ ออร์เวล และ *เดอะ ไควเอท อเมริกัน* ของ แกรห์ม กรีน อำนาจลัทธิอาณานิคมตะวันตกในภูมิภาคเอเชียตะวันออกเฉียงใต้สามารถแบ่งออกได้เป็น 3 ช่วงเวลาหลัก ได้แก่ ยุครุ่งเรืองสูงสุด ยุคเสื่อม และ จุดเปลี่ยนผ่านทางอำนาจของลัทธิอาณานิคมตะวันตก วิทยานิพนธ์นี้มุ่งหวังจะศึกษาวิเคราะห์สองประเด็นหลัก ได้แก่ การสร้าง อำนาจของบทบาทและสถานะของตัวละครชาย ได้แก่ จิม จอห์น ฟลอรีโธมัส ฟาวเลอร์ และอัลเด็น ไพลย์ ผ่านปฏิสัมพันธ์กับตัวละครอื่นทั้งชาวพื้นเมืองเองหรือชาวต่างชาติที่อาศัยอยู่ในเอเชียตะวันออกเฉียงใต้โดยเน้นให้ความสำคัญแก่ปฏิสัมพันธ์ที่มีกับตัวละครที่เป็นหญิงและการศึกษาว่าความสัมพันธ์ของตัวละครเอกเหล่านี้สะท้อนอำนาจของลัทธิอาณานิคมตะวันตกทั้ง 3 ช่วงเวลาอย่างไร วรรณกรรมเรื่อง ลอร์ด จิม สะท้อนให้เห็นช่วงเวลาที่ลัทธิอาณานิคมตะวันตกนิยมอยู่ในยุครุ่งเรืองสูงสุดผ่านความสัมพันธ์แบบนายกับทาสระหว่างจิมและตัวละครอื่นๆ วรรณกรรมเรื่อง เบอร์มีส เดย์ส์ สะท้อนให้เห็นยุคเสื่อมของอำนาจจักรวรรดิผ่านความสัมพันธ์อันคลุมเครือของ จอห์น ฟลอรีและตัวละครอื่น ส่วนวรรณกรรมเรื่อง เดอะ ไควเอท อเมริกัน แสดงให้เห็นถึงยุคเปลี่ยนผ่านของรูปแบบลัทธิอาณานิคมตะวันตกทางตรงเป็นรูปแบบที่กฎโดยทางอ้อม ได้แก่ จักรวรรดินิยมทางวัฒนธรรมผ่านความสัมพันธ์ของโธมัส ฟาวเลอร์ อัลเด็น ไพลย์ และตัวละครอื่นๆ

ภาควิชา ภาษาอังกฤษ ลายมือชื่อนิสิต .....

สาขาวิชา ภาษาอังกฤษ ลายมือชื่อ อ.ที่ปรึกษาหลัก .....

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NAVARACH KHAMSUWAN: "White Men's Burdens?": A Study of Joseph Conrad's *Lord Jim*, George Orwell's *Burmese Days*, and Graham Greene's *The Quiet American* as Reflections of Three Phases of Western Colonialism in Southeast Asia. ADVISOR: ASST. PROF. CARINA CHOTIRAWE, Ph.D., 126 pp.

Through the three chosen British novels, Western colonialism in Southeast Asia can be seen in three major phases: colonialism at its peak, colonialism during its decline and colonialism at its transformation. This thesis propounds that the roles and statuses of the white male characters (Jim, John Flory, Thomas Fowler and Alden Pyle) are established through their interactions with other characters, most of whom are women. The roles and statuses of these Western protagonists and their interactions with the people residing in the region of Southeast Asia can be seen to reflect three phases of Western colonialism. In *Lord Jim* (1899-1900), the main character Jim establishes a hierarchical master-slave relationship between himself and other local inhabitants. The relationship between Jim and other characters reflects the peak of colonialism. In *Burmese Days* (1934), the relationship between Flory and local characters becomes less hierarchical, reflecting Western colonialism during its decline. In *The Quiet American* (1955), the relationship between Fowler, Pyle and other characters, especially Phuong, reflects Western colonialism at its transitional stage, where European colonialism has begun to give way to American imperialism. The thesis also proffers the notion that though the roles and status of Westerners in Southeast Asia have continually changed, the paradigm of Western power is still in place.

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Student's Signature .....
Advisor's Signature .....

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CONTENTS

Chapter One: Introduction

TAKE up the White Man's burden -
Send forth the best ye breed -
Go bind your sons to exile
To serve your captives' need;
To wait in heavy harness
On fluttered folk and wild -
Your new-caught sullen peoples,
Half devil and half child.

Rudyard Kipling

"The White Man's Burden," a famous poem composed by Rudyard Kipling to commemorate the Diamond Jubilee celebration of Queen Victoria's reign was published in 1899 with the original title and subtitle "The White Man's Burden's: The United States and the Philippines." The poem is seen as a clear reflection of the colonialist mentality of a time when white men viewed themselves as a superior to all other races, while the "Other," is designated the position of "sullen captive, half devil and half child." The occidentals who positioned themselves as superior believed they had received the mission of protecting such inferior and devilish people from havoc. They also exploited this world view as a justification of their colonization of the land of the natives. However, as we well know, colonization and the waves of Western colonialism did not abruptly emerge during the time of Kipling in the nineteenth-century when the British Empire and its men were kept occupied by their colonizing project. The system of colonialism, a situation which one country or power rules over another and literally as well as discursively suppresses and exploits people of the conquered land, has its origin from the European's demand in trade and commerce, and

such demand inevitably came with the European invasions of the indigenous lands in which they constructed discourses to justify the legality of their invasion, which finally, the European nations and its people were able to set up the system of Western colonialism that spread throughout the globe including the region of Southeast Asia.

Trade, Christianity, and the Civilizing Mission

Trade and commerce were the initial reasons for colonialism. In ancient Greece, Alexander the Great's conquest of Persian Empire was aimed to set up a trade route spanning from the Straits of Gibraltar to the Indus Rive; the route is known today as the famous "Silk Route," which turned over Grecian culture into "Graeco-Oriental culture." Portugal sent out Infante Henry (1394-1460) to explore the other parts of the world and also to set up a Portuguese maritime trade. France, from the mid-to-late fifteenth century, prioritized trade as its expedition first priority because French monarch was lured by the profit they would get from tropical products in the West Indies. British colonialism was also initiated by economic reasons as well.

To stabilize the trading system within the foreign lands, it was necessary to establish the apposition of power, which later on became a key factor in the setting up of the system of colonialism. The West apposed their powers by conquering lands and establishing economic and governmental bridgeheads. In 1577, Spain conquered Cebu and Manila and established a Spanish bridgehead in the Philippines in 1599. Britain established the East India Company making it the oldest European company in India and the very first to be responsible for global trading of basic commodities such as spices, cotton, salt and opium. The company changed its course from commercial control in India to political control in 1757 after the Battle of Plassey that boosted British power over the Bay of Bengal. In the nineteenth century, Industrial Revolution

sped up the territorial expansion policy to respond to the growing demand of industrial goods, raw materials, and establishment of plantation industries.

However, the European conquerors were aware that seizing the lands of the natives and coercing its people into living under Western rule seemed to be an unjustified action; therefore, they needed a justification to legalize their project of colonizing the indigenous people. One of these discourses, developed since the Middle Ages, employed to deprive and oppress the indigenous people, was based on the absence of Christianity within the native lands. Those who did not believe in Christianity were deemed barbaric in nature and in need of being civilized by the Christian people. The Western or the European people constructed their own discourse setting up a binary paradigm in which they were the superior, civilized Christians; while the non-Western or non-European people were inferior uncivilized or barbaric people because of their non-Christian practices based on Pagan and animist practices. The European concept of Christianity as the mainstay of their civilization can be traced back to the Crusade War (1095-1291), the religious wars between armies of Christians and Muslim forces in the Holy Land. The Muslims were condemned as hostile to Christianity because of their barbaric murderous acts against the Christians and therefore should be eradicated. The Portuguese commenced its expedition, both on land and on sea, on the basis that their journeys would bring Christianity which they identified as civilization. Henry the Navigator (1394-1460), the Portuguese explorer who was hailed as the main initiator of the Age of Discoveries, gave the excuse that the invasion of the foreign lands was "driven by the service of God," and "it was his desire to spread the Faith of Our Lord Jesus Christ." The publication of Pope Nicholas V's (1397-1455) edicts in papal bulls in 1452 claiming, "Saracens, pagans, and other

unbelievers inimical to Christ" (Wilson), can be evidence to affirm the justification of the European to "attack, conquer, and subdue" (Wilson) the lands of the natives. Vasco da Gama's (1469- 1524) expedition was also latent with religious intention. He reached Calicut, India, in 1498 and was welcomed by the King of Calicut and, therefore, was able to gain access to the spice trade, the key trade route that connected the East to the West. The attempt of Vasco da Gama to access this spice trade helped boost the financial status of Portugal during the reign of King Manuel I (1469-1521); Portugal became the first European power to prosper from this spice trade route. De Gama, on the surface, declared his expedition to seek Christianity in the land of the Infidels (Zurara 4); while his expedition simultaneously set up a trade route between India and Portugal. Christopher Columbus (1451-1605), under the patronage of the Spanish Monarch, also used Christianity as a justification for the Spanish colonial expansion in the "New World," or "East Indies." He found an excuse for his demand in wealth with a Christian purpose that he wrote in his personal record that "he hopes to find gold in such quantities that the kings will be able, within three years, to prepare for and undertake the conquest of the Holy Land" (Zurara 5). On the other hand, Humphrey Gilbert (1539-1583), a British adventurer and explorer who served during the reign of Queen Elizabeth I, asserted that Britain should set up its colonies in "barbarous countries which are not really possessed by any Prince or Christian people" (Zurara 45). Gilbert's statement was a response to his half-brother Walter Raleigh (1552-1618), British adventurer and writer, who had made the profit-thirsty statement, "whoever rules the waves, rules commerce; whoever rules commerce rules the wealth of the world, and consequently the world itself" (Zurara 45).

Another discourse, developed intensely during the nineteenth century, was

based on the notion of progress. The discourse became more concrete when it was treated to be a mission for the Europeans who journeyed and invaded the foreign lands. The European colonizers identified themselves with progress, modernity, and civilization, and saw it as their mission, therefore, to teach or deliver their civilization to the native peoples. France preached to its people the new thought, raised by the French economist Pierre Paul Leroy-Beaulieu (1843-1916), "la haute mission civilisatrice de la colonization," meaning "the high civilizing mission of colonization;" French people represented the high civilization and had a mission to civilize the indigenous 'Other.' The statement was proposed to justify French territorial expansion which implies that the non-Western world was culturally and technologically uncivilized and underdeveloped in terms of reason and technological and moral advancement, on the opposite to France and the French people who, by then, had embodied the attributes identified with "Age of Reason." Therefore, the non-Western world and its people were in need of French civilization. By the same token, Britain and its Englishmen also subsequently introduced the concept of the white man's burden. The phrase was taken from Rudyard Kipling's "The White Man's Burden" which was published in the 1899 at the peak of British colonialism. The poem was initially written to encourage America to seize the Philippines from Spain and save the Philippines from its cruel Spanish rulers. The poem connoted a mentality that praises the white man's cultural superiority by polarizing native people as "sullen people," while the white men are the opposite. Later on, the catch-phrase "White Man's Burden" was appended to Europe's justification of the Western colonization; the discourse portrays the European people as superior, civilized, and even "the best" (Kipling, Beecroft and Powers) that the West had bred and positioned the 'Other' as inferior and devilish "half devil and

half child" (8). The white men had their own mission in which they claimed a noble "burden" the task of protecting and civilizing indigenous people.

In sum, Christianity and the European's civilizing mission became the "moral raison d'être," a cultural concept with economic and political functions, of the colonizer to conquer and colonize the foreign indigenous land. With these two elements fused together, the demand of wealth and power of the West was perfectly and subtly sealed.

Southeast Asia and Western Colonialism

As mentioned earlier, western colonization was globally grown, and one of the regions that was unable to escape the western power expansion was Southeast Asia. The region is geographically divided into two sub-regions, the mainland and the Malay Archipelago, and comprises ten countries; such division in itself is a legacy of western influence imposed on these native lands and its people.

Southeast Asia was unable to avoid becoming victim to Western colonialism. The region underwent the process of colonization because of its wealth of natural resources. Thus, Southeast Asia became a destination for Western explorers, adventurers, merchants, and colonizers seeking economic prosperity. The Europeans used Christianity and a civilizing mission as their justification for the apposition of power; they positioned the Southeast Asian people as inferior because they did not believe in the Christian God and lacked the attributes of progress. The region and its people were portrayed as underdeveloped and in dire need of the Western modernization; therefore, the lands were invaded and its people exploited for several centuries.

Records note that Southeast Asia had come into contact with Western powers since the sixteenth century. The period that spanned the sixteenth to the eighteenth

century can be considered as the beginning of Western, specifically, European colonialism in Southeast Asia in a way that there were some European powers coming into contact with particular Southeast Asian cities. The Portuguese were the first who advanced into maritime Southeast Asia by capturing Malacca and conquering the Sultanate of Malacca in 1511, but its power was not influentially extended. Subsequently, the Netherlands and Spain superseded Portugal by becoming the dominant European powers in Southeast Asia. The Spanish commenced its rule over the Philippines in 1565 following its conquest of Cebu and Manila in 1571. The Netherlands colonized the city of Sunda Kelapa, known today as Jakarta, in order to establish the Dutch East India Company in 1619 aiming mainly at acquiring trading monopolies. Furthermore, it extended its colonial power by taking over some parts of Java, and seizing Malacca from the Portuguese in 1641. When the Dutch East India Company collapsed in 1799, the Dutch government converted its power from trading monopolies to administrative authority over the Indonesian archipelago.

Western Colonialism in Southeast Asia reached its peak during the mid-nineteenth century when various European powers were able to seize most areas in the region. While the Portuguese, the Spanish, and the Dutch pioneered colonial initiatives within Southeast Asia, the British and the French came into the scenario to complete the picture of colonial economic and governmental domination within the region. The colonial system in this period therefore became a homogenous combination of commercial and territorial expansion. The British gradually extended its power within Southeast Asia. Initially, the Empire exercised its power through territory invasion by capturing Rangoon, Myanmar. Then, the Treaty of Yandabao was imposed in 1826 to set up a British trade system in Burma because the treaty allowed the East India

Company to take control of Burma's coastal areas including Arakan and Tenasserim. Later in the early 1850s, the British won the Second Burma (Myanmar) War (1852-3), which allowed the Britain to occupy Lower Burma, an area of agricultural and timber wealth (Osborne). Myanmar fell into absolute control of the British Empire in 1886 after the latter captured Mandalay, which was Myanmar's capital city at the time. The act that could be seen as Britain's imperious suzerainty over Myanmar was when Britain renamed this Southeast Asian country as "British Burma." The pronunciation of the word "Myanmar" is hard for British colonizers to pronounce; therefore, to make the pronunciation easier, "Burma" was recorded and became known to British people. This act could be seen as a way for Britain to seize ownership over Myanmar because by making the unknown, unpronounceable word, people, and country become pronounceable. Moreover, by adding the word British as an adjective to the word Burma symbolizes Britain's possession over Myanmar; this could be seen as an act of an owner who names his or her own property or subordinate. Eventually, the term "British Burma" emerged and a fixed borderline between India and Burma was officially drawn declaring British possession of Burma. Apart from mainland states, British governmental and economical domination was gradually developed in the Southeast Asian maritime states as well. The British "Straits Settlements" were established in Penang, Singapore, and Malacca respectively. This was the case where "the flag followed trade, where Britain came first to be the most powerful political player in the region and then to build on that position to take direct political control of affairs" (Osborne).

Keeping up with the British, France extended its colonial governmental and economic domination within the area known back then as "French Indochina." Seeing

Vietnam as a channel to trade with China and to compete with the British territorial expansion in Southeast Asia, France decided to invade Vietnam and captured Saigon in 1859. In the 1880s, it successfully established its colonial domination over all areas of Vietnam; Vietnamese officials were replaced by the French officials, and consequently the old Vietnamese governmental order was eventually destroyed. Apart from Vietnam, Cambodia also fell under the domination of France; however, the Cambodian governmental body was not completely destroyed the same way as had happened in Vietnam. Instead of uprooting the traditional and local authority, King Narodom I (1834-1904) was allowed to retain his status and became a symbolic head of state; while, the ultimate power laid with the French officials.

Civilizing and Protecting Southeast Asia

Embedded with the aforementioned colonialist ideologies and discourses, the West or the Europeans largely perceived Southeast Asia and its people as inferior, weak, and underdeveloped; therefore, they maintained it was their duty to civilize the region and turn it to be a modernized area and to protect the region from all threats. The West started its civilizing mission through the alteration of Southeast Asian government, economics, and society. The Western powers replaced the traditional form of government with a centralized European-style form of government. For instance, the French officials in French Indochina were appointed to replace native officials as inspectors of indigenous affairs and to be reported directly to the Governor General of French Indochina. Britain, by the same token, indirectly controlled the Straits of Malacca, including Penang, Malacca, and Singapore; the British government allowed the Sultans to retain their autonomous and independent status along with their own military forces as long as they reported to the British authorities.

Economic conversion was another civilizing project that the West did with Southeast Asia. The western nations established large-scale export industries in which the Southeast Asian economy was inevitably bonded with the global market; the price of goods and products did not depend on the natives' decision as in the past, but rather on the world market. This establishment financially rewarded Southeast Asian cities and kingdoms that it enhanced economic and cultural exchange. However, this economic advancement simultaneously put the region into a completed subjugated position because the region became dependent to the World's market in a way that the countries in this region depend on western currencies and pricing. Therefore, when there was economic recession in the western market, these Southeast Asian countries were from such recession too. For example, in the 1920s, Vietnam became the World's third largest rice exporter which was able to export 1.2 million tons of rice per year. Malayan states became the World's largest exporter of natural tin and rubber in the 1930s; they produced 75% of the supply of rubber in the world. However, during the Great Depression, the Southeast Asian market suffered from the effects of the economic recession. In this way, eventually the fate of Southeast Asian market did not depend on the decision of its people but the Europeans.

The European modernization also altered the Southeast Asian social structure. The Europeans represented themselves with technological modernity and progress; therefore, they introduced new tools to improve the region's social structure though such modernization was ultimately aimed at benefit-making to the European powers. For example, rail systems and telecommunications were introduced to the region in order to facilitate European trade with Southeast Asia. Schools and a European educational system were introduced by the governments to indoctrinate European ways

of thinking and to train the local people to serve the lower-ranking occupations at the colonial offices such as local translators, clerks, or interpreters. New professional fields were introduced such as traders, engineers, plantation managers, and teachers; however, the higher ranks of these professions were reserved only for the Europeans, while the lower rank positions, such as laborers, constructors, mining workers, and rickshaw men, were for the local people.

Apart from being an underdeveloped region, Southeast Asia was also perceived by the European powers as a weakling in need of European protection. Southeast Asian government leaders were said to be weak and powerless; they were unable to protect their own lands; therefore, they needed the strong powers or people like the Europeans to protect them. For example, Sultan Abdullah of Perak willingly signed the Pangkor Treaty in order to achieve the British protection and recognition in exchange to retain his power in the area. The Laotian king Oun Kham requested the protection of France because Siam, Laos' sovereign power, was unable to protect Laos from the invasion of the "Black Flags," the Chinese forces. King Oun Kham's request of French protectorate led to a dispute between Siam and France, which later escalated into the Franco-Siamese War leading to Siam's defeat in the "Paknam Incident," when it was forced to dismiss its suzerainty over Laos.

Southeast Asia after the Age of Western Colonialism

It is widely accepted that Western colonialism came to its decline after the Second World War when the western powers encountered difficulties in retaining and re-establishing their powers over their colonies. Britain encountered several resistant forces such as the nationalist movement in 1906 called the Young Men's Buddhist Association and Saya San's rebellion, which was regarded as a quintessential anti-

colonial movement in Southeast Asia. Burma gained its independence on January 4, 1948 after General Aung San negotiated in the Panglong Agreement to guarantee that Burma would be returned to an independent state. Britain lost its control over the Malayan states in 1957 due to the lingering problem of communist insurgencies and the ethnic conflict between Malayan people and Chinese immigrants. The British authority in Southeast Asia officially ended in 1963 when it granted the dissolution of the Federation of Malaysia, declaring Singapore, Sarawak, and Sabah as independent states. With help from British and American forces, France attempted to re-establish its power over Indochina, but they also encountered with resistance in the form of the Viet Minh which was calling for Vietnam's independence. This led to the Indochina War, the war between France and Viet Minh. The defeat of French troops at Dien Bien Phu in 1954 caused France to withdraw its authority in Vietnam. European colonialism in Southeast Asia eventually ended in 1984 with the dissolution of British Protectorate of the Sultanate of Brunei.

Despite the formal end of Western colonialism in Southeast Asia, the region has still been haunted by its past. Though direct control of the West might be seen to have it closure; Western legacy is still engraved deeply and problematizes Southeast Asian people. The question of what is Southeast Asia has been an on-going debate in academia for a period of time. For academics in the area, it is preposterous to pin Southeast Asia down to a fixed definition. In *Locating Southeast Asia*, Kratoska et al, state in the introduction:

"Questions about the identity of Southeast Asia are implicitly questions about whether Southeast Asia is or can be a nation writ large. For people who live in the region, the answer is 'no.' The concept of Southeast Asia evolved from the need of

Europe, America and Japan to deal collectively with a set of territories and peoples that felt no particular identification with one another " (Kratoska, Raben and Nordholt).

The above passage attests to how the power exercised by the West during the colonization in the past resulted in lingering conflicts for the Southeast Asian people in the present. The term Southeast Asia is a Western-constructed concept to identify and locate the location of the territorial dependents without a true understanding and acknowledgement of the people in the area. How the Western people generalized the region and its people into one general term could be interpreted as an act of the colonizer, whom, as Conrad states in his famous *Heart of Darkness* Marlow's aspiration to lose one's self "in the glories of explorations and to fill many blank spaces on earth" (17). The concept of Southeast Asia was established for the benefits and convenience of the West during territorial expansion and this Western concept became more concrete through the border settlement of several kingdoms and cities in the region.

After formal western decolonization during the twentieth century, it is unarguable that Southeast Asia was constantly engaged with foreign powers, and, on several occasions, the region has been inclined towards and been dependent on the West. The Southeast Asia region is not usually regarded as a key area on the world stage in terms of politics, economics, and culture. One of the major incidents that shines a spotlight upon Southeast Asia, was, perhaps, the Cold War, when America decided to commit itself to the Southeast Asia Collective Defense Pact (SEATO) to protect the countries in the region from succumbing to Communist forces and, at the same time, to retain its dominance within the region, (Nuechterlein) according to the Domino Theory. Prior to that, Southeast Asia was not able to escape the influence of Western colonialism

either physically or ideologically. According to Nuechterlein, though the Cold War may be perceived by the world as Southeast Asia's engagement with a Western power, in fact, it had already been engaged in a long-term relationship with Euro-American forces. In *Historicising Modernity in Southeast Asia*, Barbara Watson Andaya explains that the region was engaged with Western colonial powers, such as France and Britain, from the advent of modernity in the areas of political, economic, and social advancements. She asserts that several forms of development in Southeast Asian cities were both direct and indirect results of Western political and economic control (Andaya). Andaya, moreover, argues that European colonization of the Southeast Asian region was not solely by force, but also came with the eagerness of the local people in Southeast Asia themselves who viewed connection with the outer world as a means to achieve progress and civilization (Andaya). Ironically, this eagerness that links the Western forces to the concept of modernity displays itself in the anti-colonial movement in Southeast Asia as well. Andaya points out that Southeast Asian men, particularly those living in places colonized by the West, who joined in the anti-colonial movements did not have a problem adapting to and putting on Western clothing because dressing was for them an initiation of their own modernity not evidence of the colonial regime (402). From her perspective, the Southeast Asian region and its people seemed to have ideologically yielded in complete subservience to Western influences.

However, there are some studies that attempt to highlight incidences of resistance against Euro-American colonialism in Southeast Asia. John Bastin and Harry J. Benda's argument in their book History of Modern Southeast Asia: Colonialism, Nationalism, and Decolonization suggest that the age of colonialism has ended after the end of World War II, and "decolonization has barely begun" (200), and the colonial

powers are reduced to “mere outsiders” in their colonies. The driving force within the Southeast Asian countries after their independence from European colonialism, as Bastin and Benda argue, were the nationalist movements, which led to political turmoil within each country. On the other hand, Robert C. Bone, Jr., in his book *Contemporary Southeast Asia*, does agree with Bastin and Benda to the extent that he concurs that “the colonial era has ended” (Bone) after the end of World War II. He asserts that the United States was the dominant power within the Southeast Asian region and was able to substitute European colonialism with American Imperialism and to bring “a peaceful transition to independence in all of the colonies” (87). Unlike the two previously mentioned books, Cynthia Chou tries to use her book as an attempt to escape from the paradigm of Euro-American dominance over Southeast Asia. In her book, *Southeast Asia through an Inverted Telescope: Maritime Perspective on a Borderless Region*, Chou argues that instead of locating and defining Southeast Asia and its people as a fixed entity, one should define this region as “something perpetually shifting and transformative, unbounded by any nation or state” (152).

The age of colonialism in the Southeast Asian region may be perceived to have met its closure from the end of the Second World War, when colonies under the European powers, France and Great Britain such as Vietnam (1945), Myanmar (1948), and Malaysia (1957), liberated themselves and jubilantly celebrated their national independence. However, this does not mean that by then colonialism totally met its full and final demise; liberation and national independence do not indicate that Southeast Asia subsequently become totally independent from Euro-American influences. There are still traces of the direct and indirect residual effects of Western colonialism that haunt the once-colonized region. In other words, colonialism has instead been

transformed into a subtle and discursive form. The most obvious example is American's Hollywood, which is perceived as a new form of Western colonialism or American imperialism, in which Hollywood extends its controls all over the world in terms of trade and culture.

From the aforementioned discussions, it can be seen that Euro-American colonialism has not totally lost its relevance in the Southeast Asian region. Southeast Asia, in the present, is not colonized openly; from a vertical colonization, Southeast Asia is now under the influence of Western powers through horizontal colonization. However, this transition of colonialism, from European to American, did not happen abruptly but gradually developed and changed over the course of time, and, most importantly, an ideology such as the "White Man's Burden" did not vaporize. The historical records and academic works mentioned earlier have shown the factual development of colonial powers.

In order to fully understand such development, one should include human perspectives into it. Literary works written during the colonial time, therefore, would reflect human experiences through the rise and fall of the colonial powers. For that reason, three British novels are chosen as this thesis's center of focus. These three novels are written by novelists who had first-hand experiences residing and interacting with people in Southeast Asia, and these three novels are the products of such experiences. They reflect the writers' different perceptions towards colonial rules, colonial officials, and also native people. Therefore, this thesis propounds that the three novels, Joseph Conrad's *Lord Jim,* George Orwell's *Burmese Days,* and Graham Greene's *The Quiet American,* represent three major phases of Western colonialism in Southeast Asia: its peak, decline, and a transitional phase. Not only the reflections of

the western colonial power's rise and fall, the thesis would also argue that they show that the protagonists never really escape the colonialist mentality in a way that they carry the white man's burden mentality perceiving themselves as superior and others as their subordinates. The white man's worldview determines the novels' protagonists to act and interacts with other characters and creates several kinds of relationship that also reflect changing roles and power of both white men and native characters.

Each chapter of this thesis would present how each novel represents a phase of western colonialism. In the second chapter, this thesis would present that Joseph Conrad's *Lord Jim* reflects British Colonialism at its peak. Jim establishes a master-slave relationship with the people in Patusan both western and non-western characters. This chapter will put a focus on how Jim's firm belief in the white man's burden ideal determines him to prove and redeem himself from his past mistakes. He creates an illusory heroic image of himself through his relationship with other characters, and such image reflects the British subjects' mentality that they perceive their colonizing project as a mission for a greater good. With such a firm belief, Jim succeeds in the missions he believes are good and beneficial for others and secures a superior status of a white man over native people. This reflects the peak of western colonialism as the British officials also had a firm belief in their missions like Jim does; therefore, they struggled and overcame obstacles to fulfill their ideal missions. In the third chapter three, George Orwell's *Burmese Days* is used as a way to reflect European colonialism in decline. There is an alteration in the hierarchical relationship that there is an introduction to the concept of equality through Flory's relationship with other characters. However, such equality is based on an imperial bias that eventually dismantles Flory's status in a way that he cannot maintain colonial power over the natives. In the fourth chapter, the thesis

will argue that Graham Greene's *The Quiet American* represents western colonialism at its transition from European colonialism to American Imperialism. The relationships and love triangle between Fowler, Pyle, and Phoung illustrates how the old European way of thinking is inapplicable, while the American culture seems to be more welcomed in the native land. The interactions between two white men and Phoung, a native Vietnamese, reflects how a patriarchal and colonial power is disrupted through this native female's agency. The thesis will focus on the protagonists' relationships with other characters and how these relationships reflect how the roles and power of white men and natives are changed and how the native females' exercise their own agency. Most importantly, each chapter will explore how the concept of the white man's burden is treated and questioned be it as a blessing or curse.

Chapter Two: Joseph Conrad's *Lord Jim* as a Reflection of Western Colonialism at its Peak

Introduction

As one of the greatest British writers of the early twentieth century, Joseph Conrad's writing skill in the English language is regarded as exceptional, an amazing feat considering the fact that English was his fourth language, and that he was self-taught. A naturalized British citizen, Conrad was born Jósef Teodor Konrad Korzeniowski in Berdyczów, the Polish part of Ukraine. By the time of his birth, Berdyczów was dominated by Prussia, Russia, and Austria-Hungary, which meant that he experienced firsthand what it was to be a colonized subject from an early age. Conrad's own father joined the movement that resisted colonial dominance over Poland, and that sent him as well as the young Conrad into exile. This was probably the time when Conrad began to adopt a skeptical view of the world and be resentful of the feelings of inequality and subjugation that slaves and colonized subjects are usually exposed to. Such a poignant experience earned from a very young and impressionable age might have been the force that inspired him to write the kind of fiction that is seen to be critical of colonial practices such as the well-known *Heart of Darkness.*

The discrepancy between his personal and professional life is reflected in the series of his writings. In 1886, Conrad adopted an anglicized name and became a naturalized British citizen after a few years of sailing on several British ships. Acquiring British citizenship had an impact on Conrad in several ways. It enabled him to make a living out of the maritime trade, and, on the other hand, it provided him with the opportunity to fulfill his childhood aspirations to see the world and eventually use these

locales as the sources to write his novels. This opportunity to explore the world and faraway places possibly led Conrad to absorb the pride of a colonist to meet, conquer, and colonize the native lands. However, despite his pride in the British Empire, Conrad was seen, according to Jonah Raskin, as a "foreigner wearing odd clothes and speaking different languages" (Raskin *The Mythology of Imperialism: Rudyard Kipling, Joseph Conrad, E.M. Forster, D.H. Lawrence, and Joyce Cary*). In other words, he could never be regarded as a true British gentleman but rather an immigrant, a second-class citizen like other colonized subjects. Though proud of the British Empire, he also witnessed its dark side of it specifically its exercise of power towards the others such as the Boer War in which he felt an "allegiance toward his adopted country, he was, at the same time, extremely suspicious of the Empire politics and jingoism. (Najder)"

Of Joseph Conrad's novels, arguably his best-known ones *Heart of Darkness* and *Lord Jim*, are usually studied through the psychological framework to the extent that Conrad's moral condemnation of Colonization is often neglected. In *Imperialism: Conrad's Heart of Darkness*, Jonah Raskin proposes, therefore, instead of studying the novel through theoretical or critical frameworks such as psychoanalysis, the novel should be considered as a form of colonialism condemnation (Raskin "Imperialism: Conrad's Heart of Darkness"). There are also studies that discuss the asymmetrical relationship within his novels, since, as Gene M. Moore states, in *"Slavery and Racism in Joseph Conrad's Eastern World,"*

> "Slavery plays an important role in Conrad's Malay fictions but remains largely invisible to Western eyes because slavery in the Malay Archipelago was not based on racial difference... Recent histories of the Sulu and Iranun in relation to piracy and slavery make it possible to appreciate Conrad's use of slavery both literally

and metaphorically and reveal his sympathy for those who like himself understood what it meant to be stateless and insecure" (Moore).

In the eyes of academia, Conrad's novels are not written with the sole intent of criticizing colonial practices; the novels could be seen to indicate a sense of colonial pride as well. In *Contested Masculinities: Crises in Colonial Male Identity from Joseph Conrad to Satyajit Ray,* Nalin Jayasena views Jim's relationship with the other characters in the novel as contributing towards Jim's self-aggrandizement and white man's pride. Other characters, who are placed in direct and indirect relationships with Jim, function to elevate Jim's superiority and uphold his heroic characteristics (56). It may be said that even though Conrad attempted to portray his protagonists as figures for which to criticize the British Empire, these characters had a self-conflict that filled Conrad's works with ambiguity as reflected by Conrad's controversial perception towards the British Empire.

Conrad's ambiguous and contradictory perception towards the British Empire can be highlighted when he is juxtaposed against a figure like Rudyard Kipling. Both of them were contemporary writers, who introduced the nineteenth century British readers to the world beyond their familiar frontier. As writers, Conrad and Kipling "cultivated an exotic air" (Raskin *The Mythology of Imperialism: Rudyard Kipling, Joseph Conrad, E.M. Forster, D.H. Lawrence, and Joyce Cary* 49), since both are credited for introducing new overreaching and nefarious lands into English fiction, Congo and India namely. Conrad even hailed Kipling for the "fresh experiences" Kipling provided to his readers by "introducing India into English fiction," and, most of all, illustrating "the feeling of the English manner and the English blood in conditions

they have made at once so much and so little their own…He is wonderful about India, and India has not been 'done'" (49). Jonah Raskin, however, states in his book *The Mythology of Imperialism* that both Conrad and Kipling loved their Britain differently, claiming that "In times of crisis they defended Britain, albeit politically their positions were antagonistic" (54). The difference was that while Kipling hailed and beckoned for the white man's burden to the British reading public, Conrad debased it since he did not agree with the brutal and inhumane conduit exercised by the British officials in several parts of the world. Writing, for Conrad, is "colonizing, appropriating space, taming wilderness of words, building a society," otherwise stated, "the conquest of the colony" (Raskin 50). What the British people read about exotic lands was made up by Western prejudices of the East, and writing was quite a crucial and brutal tool, even a weapon, of the Westerners to justify their colonization over the native lands and, most importantly, to create a strong binary opposition positioning the Westerner as prerogative creature and the native as a duteous figure. Therefore, Conrad envisioned many great dangers of what Kipling's poem could engender. Conrad also condemned Kipling's actions in the Boer War in which the latter helped in publishing a military newspaper and promoting the United States to become an imperial power. He saw the war as fatuous and senseless and his reaction to Kipling's manner in the war was what he described in French as "C'est à crever de rire[1]" (Raskin 54). The war, in Conrad's opinion, would not bring the country to its zenith but rather its downfall.

Despite disagreeing with Kipling's discriminating perception of the white man's superiority, Conrad's protagonist Jim in *Lord Jim*, as this thesis propounds, reflects the

[1] Meaning "This is hilarious"

superior role and status of the white man as a colonizer during a time that might be considered the peak of Western colonialism in Southeast Asia. Marlow's narration of Jim reflects a similar hierarchical colonial mentality as Kipling asserted in his poem "The White Man's Burden" in a way that the character establishes fixed binary oppositions between himself and other characters in order to aggrandize himself as an idealistic British hero. In the novel, characters residing in Southeast Asia, both whites and non-whites, are employed as the figures in inferior supporting roles for Jim, a true British gentleman, to explore his moral ambiguity which eventually turns out that Jim, the white colonizer, is endowed with a superior morality in comparison with the other characters. Though Jim can be perceived to be a colonizer to a lesser extent that he is amiable with the local residents, the barrier that exists between the whites and non-whites in the story remains strong; both groups of people would never amalgamate. Polarized in this white and non-white dichotomy, Jim becomes the only figure of excellence in comparison to the other characters in the novel.

Even though this thesis is propounding that *Lord Jim* reflects the peak of Western colonialism because he succeeds in exercising his heroism to the native people, a number of studies presenting an opposite idea. They argued that Jim and his relationships with other characters represent a failure of romantic exaltation as well as the decline of Western colonialism. First of all, Gordon W. Thompson argues in his article "Conrad's Women" that Jim's romantic relationship with Jewel is non-heroic. Jim does not fulfil his white man's burden ideal as he should do, but it is Jewel who performs her role as a savior to physically and mentally save Jim. She physically saves Jim's life from four assassins sent by Sherif Ali to kill Jim; moreover, providing Jim a

place to stay in Patusan as her western lover draws Jim out of "his earthy failings behind him" (Thompson 218) Thompson also adulates Jewel's power over Jim that her provision of Jim's residency in Patusan offers him the opportunity to enter Patusan in a status of a white colonizer with a chance to redeem his honor from a shameful past. Thompson supports his reason with Marlow's reflection on Jim and Jewel's relationship,

> Our common fate fastens upon the women with a peculiar cruelty… One would think that, appointed to rule on earth, it seeks to revenge itself upon the beings that come nearest to rising above the trammels of earthly caution; for it is only women who manage to put at times into their love an element just palpable enough to give one a fright-an extra- terrestrial touch. (Thompson 277)

Marlow's reflection admits a woman like Jewel is the one who truly holds power as she knows how and when to use it. This is a subversion to patriarchal power represented by Jim in a way that through her selfless and loyal love for Jim, Jewel becomes a powerful figure that is elevated to the transcendent "extraterrestrial" status, while Jim becomes dependent to her because without Jewel, he would be a helpless white prisoner who get lost in a foreign land. In the end, Jim will never be able to transcend himself as a romantic hero because his actions throughout the story reveal that he unconditionally loves only himself.

Secondly, Jim's unheroic traits are represented though the metaphor of a butterfly and a beetle. Jim is compared to a butterfly; while Cornelius is compared to a beetle. On the surface level, it could be seen that Jim is portrayed with a beautiful image;

whereas, Cornelius is portrayed with filth and dirt. According to Tony Tanner, such a metaphor carries a deeper interpretation. In his article “Butterflies and Beetles—Conrad’s Two Truths,” Tanner presents the metaphor and discusses life’s philosophy whether to follow one’s own idealism or to abandon it,

> The butterfly is "a creature of beauty, a creature with wings which can carry it above the mere dead level of an earth which beetles crudely hug." The beetles, of course, are "ugly earth- bound creatures, devoid of dignity and aspiration, intent merely on self-preservation at all costs." Humanity contains both butterflies and beetles, the images suggest, and beetlelike humans survive far better than those special individuals who spurn the earth and pursue the transcendent beauty of the butterflies… Marlow's tentative Platonic musings leave us with a choice between butterflies and beetles, a choice between survival without beauty and short-lived exaltation. (Tanner 24)

Tanner suggests that Jim’s own idealism is inapplicable to reality because Jim acts as if he is a butterfly flying gracefully trying to fulfil his own mission to be a hero somewhere on earth disregarding the fact that his wings are fragile and the world he lives in does not play by rules of Jim’s romantic heroism. People compete and strive for survival, and no one truly cares of heroism. Jim is stern as well as innocent that he does not learn to adapt and adjust himself to an environment he lives with; therefore, his final decision is never considered a true heroic act because it means nothing. Tanner’s argument assents with A. Grove Day’s discussion in his article “Pattern in *Lord Jim*: One Jump after Another.” In Day’s article, he proffered Jim’s decision in

each jump reveals Jim as even more unheroic. Day refers to Stein's analysis of Jim as a romantic person who is out of touch with reality, in other words, inexperienced,

> [Stein]…gives also the best statement of Conrad's idea of how to survive in this world. This statement is made in terms of plunging into the sea and making the sea support one, "a man that is born falls into a dream like a man who falls into the sea. If he tries to climb out into the air as inexperienced people endeavor to do, he drowns—nicht wahr?...No! I tell you! The way is to the destructive element submit yourself, and with the exertions of your hands and feet in the water make the deep, deep sea keep you up. (Day 396)

Stein's sea metaphor is intentionally employed to ironize Jim's profession as a sailor that when Jim has to face harsh situations and realities, his decisions and responses towards each incident is unprofessionally. For example, he dresses inappropriately in an all-white attire which is easily tainted by dirt. In the Patna incident, Jim jumps off from the sinking ship in order to save his life. His decision could be seen in two levels: his response is unprofessional, and his jump is a revelation that Jim could never meet up with his transcendent goal.

With such views of Jim as an unheroic figure in mind, this thesis attempts to mildly posit *Lord Jim* as a novel representing European colonialism at its peak because this novel is set during a time when the British Empire was seen to have reached the peak of colonial expansion throughout the world, including Southeast Asia. One of the most notable British colonial enterprises was nautical trade, and this British maritime distention was influential and caused a surge of maritime competition between powerful nations in which the competition affected the lives of westerners and natives on so many

levels, both personal and mercantile, as seen through such characters in *Lord Jim* as Jim, Gentleman Brown, and Rajah Allang. Apart from geographical and economic growth, an imperialistic mindset had spread widely and concurrently (Young 12). This imperialistic mentality reflects what is emphasized throughout Rudyard Kipling's poem "The White Man's Burden (1899)," which stresses that it is the mandate of the westerner who journeys into a foreign land is to help civilize the land and its people. The poem encodes two major issues: first, a fixed binary opposition, where the white man represents civilization while the non-white man represents barbarianism; second, an idealistic heroic model, what a British hero should be. The character Jim, likewise, reveals an imperialistic mindset that is similar to Kipling's poem to the extent that Jim's relationship with people in Patusan seems to reflect a hierarchical framework; Jim does follow what Kipling proposes in the "White Man's Burden" that he comes to Patusan to be a savior of sorts of the people. The presence of Jim as a local hero of the natives might reflect to a certain extent the success of Western colonialism in Southeast Asia during the time *Lord Jim* made its publication. Jim is successful in establishing what can be seen as a master-slave relationship with the people in Patusan, where the people place Jim in a higher status extolling him with the title "Tuan[2]," a term "Tuan" that in Malay language is reserved for the rulers only and it conveys a sense of nobility as it can even be translated as "Your Majesty" or "Your Highness." This positioning, therefore, grants Jim the chance to assume the role of protector of the Patusan people while simultaneously signifying that Jim is admissible to the world of the East not as a common person but as a nobleman of sorts. Jim's entry represents the prosperous image

[2] Meaning "Lord."

of the British Empire which its colonists were able to perform a guarding role and acquire a status of the knight in the shining armor: a savior who has come to help the people in the far-off lands. He creates a rather illusory heroic image of himself through his relationship with other characters, and, by this extension, Jim reflects how the British people at that time perceived not only themselves but their nation as glorious and superior as well. In short, Jim's carries the white man's burden worldview perceiving himself to be morally superior than other white men residing in Patusan as he believes that his journey goes beyond material prosperity but a heroic adventure where a white hero takes a spiritual journey to a mythical land to purge both himself and the native people.

"To veil the threat of terror, and check the show of pride": The Relationship between Jim and Gentleman Brown

In the novel, the character Jim is cunningly crafted as a statuesque figure compared to a white character residing in Patusan under a title of Gentleman Brown in order to illustrate that Jim is the virtuously superior among his fellow white males. The distinction lies in the fact that Jim is regarded as morally and ideally superior than Gentleman Brown, a white-man pirate rampaging people in Patusan. Marlow recounts Jim's superiority claiming that Jim "was of the right sort, he was one of us" (70), this is due, not only his western ancestry, but his nurtured British heroic code of conduct that exalts Jim from another white men,

> "...those men did not belong to the world of heroic adventure; they weren't bad chaps though. Even the skipper himself...His gorge rose at the mass of panting flesh from which issued gurgling mutters, a cloudy trickle of filthy expressions;

but he was too pleasurably languid to dislike actively this or any other thing. The quality of these men did not matter; he rubbed shoulders with them, but they could not touch him; he shared the air they breathed but he was different..." (24-5)

With both men sharing similar backgrounds as westerners seeking for opportunities and prosperity in Patusan; Jim and Gentleman Brown; shared several affiliations. They also enjoyed the company of Southeast Asian natives both men and women as Jim had Dain Waris, his native best friend, and Jewel, his mistress; while Gentleman Brown is said to be "a white man living amongst the natives with a Siamese woman" (268). Eventually, both of them would end up differently; one becomes a hero and the other a miscreant causing the loss of many lives including Jim and Dain Waris, who were considered leaders of their community. Therefore, to present the image of virtuous and glorious Western or British hero, Jim is a more appropriate candidate than Gentleman Brown.

First of all, with his youthful and majestic image, Jim might represent the Empire, while Brown possibly represents the side of the Empire that is about atrocity and decay since Marlow's portrayal of Brown is atrocious and disgraceful. According to Marlow, "[Gentleman Brown] was willing and able to talk between the choking fits of asthma, and his racked body writhed with malicious exultation at the bare thought of Jim" (267). Gentleman Brown was in his decaying form; his appearances become more disgusting as the external side reflects his inner thoughts that emphasizing. This can be seen when Marlow continues to narrate his first encounter with Gentleman Brown, "I had to bear the sunken glare of his fierce crow-footed eyes if I wanted to know; and so I bore it, reflecting how much certain forms of evil are akin to madness, derived from intense

egoism, inflamed by resistance, tearing the soul to pieces, and giving factitious vigour to the body" (267). The portrayal of Brown disclosed to readers at the time is that of someone ill, unpleasant, and cunning, certainly not a positive image of a Western hero who bears the mission of the white man's burden to help others. Brown's first introduction to readers is such that he would hardly impress anyone since he is introduced like a stock devilish character.

On the other hand, from the time he is first introduced at the very beginning of the novel, Jim is presented in a far different light from Gentleman Brown. Marlow describes Jim as,

> -- an inch, perhaps two, under six feet, powerfully built, and he advanced straight at you with a slight stoop of the shoulders, head forward, and a fixed from-under stare which made you think of a charging bull. His voice was deep, loud, and his manner displayed a kind of dogged self-assertion which had nothing aggressive in it. It seemed a necessity, and it was directed apparently as much at himself as at anybody else. He was spotlessly neat, appareled in immaculate white from shoes to hat, and in the various Eastern ports where he got his living as ship-chandler's water-clerk he was very popular. (11)

Descriptions of Jim's appearance and posture by Marlow are portrayed with confidence, gentleness, and even with holiness through his immaculate all-white attire that possibly is intended to make Jim appear like a saint who has come to purge a devilish land of heathens. Marlow's description of Jim complements what Kipling presents in his poem that the white man would need to be a priest-like man exorcising the "half devil half child" (Kipling 6) natives. Jim is illustrated as "spotlessly neat, appareled in immaculate white from shoes to hat, and in the various Eastern ports where

he got his living as ship-chandler's water-clerk he was very popular" (8). Through the eyes of Marlow, Jim embodies these three elements that might be more reputable to represent the image of Western colonizers and powers than that of Gentleman Brown. This image of Jim seems ideal as a representation of the Western power in the way that he is a good-looking and well-mannered British man. When he walks, he has an air of self-confidence, yet his confidence does not intimidate others; instead, it conveys friendliness and willingness to offer help. The description of Jim might be more preferable to Western readers of the novel as they would wish that a character like Jim so gentlemanly and upright-like would represent them in a faraway land.

This could mean that Jim comes to Patusan as a savior of sorts endowed with the ability to purge calamity and evil spirits away from the people. Furthermore, his all-white attire has the effect of distinguishing Jim from other people. This probably creates the boundary between the white and the non-white people in a way that these two groups of people would not be consolidated, while the white man may come to alleviate the native's sufferings, yet he was not "one of them;" he is still "one of us," an Englishman. Jim's glorious disguise is also used as a way to cover up his dubious past and ambiguous purpose of coming to Patusan in the same way that the Western people wanted to cover up their distrustful aim of conquering the native land in a welcoming and affectionate disguise. Moreover, according to Marlow, Jim becomes "very popular" (11), and such popularity was a fundamental need of the Westerners when reaching the lands, they wished to conquer.

Secondly, Jim presents himself as more highly moralistic than Brown. Both Jim and Gentleman Brown share a romantic ideal that they were searching for spiritual fulfillment in Patusan. They do not only aim to find the material prosperity in this native

land as, according to Marlow, Brown reveals that even though he had gained so much wealth from the locals, all of those assets "had yielded him nothing in the way of material advantage except a small bag of silver dollars…And that was all--absolutely all" (275). Both Jim and Gentleman Brown are trying to evade their guilt in which Jim struggles to escape from the Patna scandal, while Brown can hardly escape from the Spanish officials due to his piracy. These two alleged offenders have their ultimate fears: divulgence in the case of Jim and imprisonment for Brown. Therefore, in order to escape their guilt and overcome their fears, they choose to hold the honorary titles of "lord" and "gentleman" as both terms convey the sense of courage, the thing they lack. In line with online etymology dictionary, the term "lord" means "master of a household, ruler, feudal lord, superior, and husband;" the term sets the one who holds such title to have a courage to lead and responsible for others' lives, the courage in which Jim fails to perform on the Patna. In consideration with the foregoing, "gentleman" also connotes a notion of bravery to fight evil and preserve virtue since the term means "nobleman whose behavior conforms to the ideals of chivalry and Christianity" (Online Etymology Dictionary), the fortitude that is an irony to the real Gentleman Brown who is an embodiment of evil himself. Both of them have different means to conquer their ultimate fears, and such means are an answer to the question on what should be considered the characteristics of a true hero who does not only conquer the native land but also wins the hearts of the people. By the time Brown declares war with the Patusanians, he already rumors that they would be captured because the Patusan army outnumbered his; therefore, he again chooses to flee because he realizes that if he is captured, he would only end up imprisoned, which is his utmost fear. During his secret meeting with Jim, Brown reveals his attitude claiming he would save himself in case

he is caught off guard, “it came to saving one’s life in the dark, one didn’t care who else went--three, thirty, three hundred people"--it was as if a demon had been whispering advice in his ear. "I made him wince” (300). In order to protect himself from such demolition, Brown would do anything even if it means sacrificing people’s lives. He proves that he really means that when he mistakenly kills Dain Waris because he thinks that Dain Waris would be an obstruction to his escape.

On the other hand, Jim manages to face his ultimate fear in a different manner. Dain Waris’ death might have left Jim feeling guilty and responsible for Waris’ life in the same way that he feels responsible for the fate that befalls passengers on the Patna. He could have saved Dain Waris as he could have saved those crew members. Instead of running away as he did in the past, this time Jim chooses to stay and take responsibility by ending his life in exchange for the loss of Dain Waris’ life. Both men’s decisions lead to a question on the ideal Romantic hero as, between these two men, who is the embodiment of a true hero. Brown’s decision could be interpreted that he would never be considered a true hero, that he is always taking from others. In this case, he takes away Dain Waris’ life to escape from his fear, if he turns himself in, he might be incarcerated, but if he fights against Dain Waris, he might have a chance to get away. This may not conform to one’s image of a true hero, who is supposed to help or give to other people rather than taking. In contrast, Jim is willing to give up his life in order to offer compensation for Dain Waris’ death. His action could be seen as an act of giving; he was not running away this time, instead, he chooses to stay and tries to offer retribution for his guilt. This in one way is a means for Jim to redeem himself from his shameful past, and, in another way, it reveals Jim’s intense leadership in a way that he would be the only one to remedy Doramin’s loss. He takes the blame instead of allowing

Doramin to lead the army against Brown's which could result in large numbers of casualties. Jim, therefore, could be seen as sacrificing himself to save many innocent lives by choosing to accept death; while Brown refused. With such decisions, the two figures are juxtaposed with Jim seemingly to be superior than Brown; while Brown is defeated by his own fears; Jim, on the other hand, overcomes it.

Death does end Jim's life, but it also provides him with the opportunity to be a true hero because his death might be considered as a heroic death. This could be seen through Marlow's interviews with several locals who refer to Jim as "Tuan Jim." After his death, people continue to treat Jim with respect by addressing him using honorific the title "Tuan." Brown's decision, on the other hand, does not qualify him as a true hero but a coward escaping from a crime he has committed. He lacks responsibility, and he has to live his life in shame. In his first meeting with Marlow, Brown tells Marlow to address him with the title "Gentleman Brown;" a self-appointed title unlike Jim's. He tells the native people to address him that way in order to elevate his self-esteem, and he is successful in creating an aura that implies he is superior to the native people who thus agree to remain as his subordinates (267). By doing so, he might wish to cover up his shameful past which is a wicked irony despite the ungentlemanly things he has committed in his life. In conclusion, the novel offers an answer that the true hero who could win the heart of the people is a man who courageously confronts his own ultimate fear and truthfully be willing to help other people with no hesitation. Therefore, the image of Jim is an appropriate alternative to uphold the Western ideal heroic code. For Western readers, an image of Jim would console them and would be chosen to represent the West and its people not Gentleman Brown who would be considered cowardly because he could not fulfil the Western expectation of being a giver rather

than a taker.

"Your New Caught Sullen Peoples, Half Devil and Half Child": A Relationship with the Natives

Jim's relationship with white male characters demonstrates how Jim is portrayed as a physically and morally superior figure, among his own white male fellows, and how the character Jim could be a clean-cut representation of the British gentleman in Southeast Asia during colonial times. Apart from the exquisite appearance and exemplary morality, the character Jim might also be introduced as the embodiment of Western colonization at its peak through his relationship with the Patusanians. Jim's relationship with the natives was clearly of a hierarchical nature; with Jim as the master and the natives, to some extent, his slaves and subordinates. One native of Patusan who becomes involved with Jim to the point where he is placed in juxtaposition against Jim who seems as an illustration of Jim as the embodiment of the peak of Western colonialism is Rajah Allang.

Rajah and Jim are placed in comparison in terms of what is an ideal leader. While Jim is portrayed as compassionate and just, Rajah, as his antithesis, is wicked, oppressive, and lustful. Marlow's description of Rajah Allang was gathered from his interview with Stein, "he [Rajah Allang] was a dirty, little, used-up old man with evil eyes and a weak mouth, who swallowed an opium pill every two hours, and in defiance of common decency wore his hair uncovered and falling in wild stringy locks about his wizened grimy face" (181). In contrast with Marlow's description of Jim, Rajah Allang is presented in the same light as Gentleman Brown: old and devilish. This could be seen as a colonial trope writing of the non-white people; portraying the leader of the natives

as old could convey the idea that the local government was backward and, to some extent, in decay. Moreover, Rajah Allang as the embodiment of wickedness; this portrayal probably intensifies the prejudices of the West towards the native people claiming that they were barbaric and opium-addicted. Rajah Allang's character is in direct contrast with Jim's gentrified gestures and attire, and when the two are compared, Jim is perceived as the more desirable one. Compared to Rajah Allang, Jim's youth and vigor convey the idea of the West as a new and blessing force visiting a barbaric land. Also, Jim's nature is gentle and amicable, and it could be construed that the West is more benign and affectionate toward the local people than their own local leader, like Rajah Allang, himself. Marlow describes Jim to the extent that he appears to be emphasizing with youth and power,

> He stood erect, the smoldering brier-wood in his clutch, with a smile on his lips and a sparkle in his boyish eyes. I sat on the stump of a tree at his feet, and below us stretched the land, the great expanse of the forests, somber under the sunshine, rolling like a sea, with glints of winding rivers, the grey spots of villages, and here and there a clearing, like an islet of light amongst the dark waves of continuous tree-tops… And there I was with him, high in the sunshine on the top of that historic hill of his. He dominated the forest, the secular gloom, the old mankind. He was like a figure set up on a pedestal, to represent in his persistent youth the power, and perhaps the virtues, of races that never grow old, that have emerged from the gloom. I don't know why he should always have appeared to me symbolic. Perhaps this is the real cause of my interest in his fate. I don't know whether it was exactly fair to him to remember the incident which had given a new direction to his life, but at that very moment I

remembered very distinctly. It was like a shadow in the light. (206)

Apart from Rajah Allang's unappealing looks, his governance implies the idea of a local backward government which rejects the Western form of government that was then considered modern. According to Stein, Rajah Allang was not a sultan himself, but he was an uncle of the sultans, and he was the one who had held the absolute power over the land of Patusan. However, he governed the land and treated the people in an inhumane fashion. To Stein,

> There were in Patusan antagonistic forces, and one of them was Rajah Allang, the worst of the Sultan's uncles, the governor of the river, who did the extorting and the stealing, and ground down to the point of extinction the country-born Malays, who, utterly defenseless, had not even the resource of emigrating--"For indeed," as Stein remarked, "where could they go, and how could they get away?" No doubt they did not even desire to get away. The world (which is circumscribed by lofty impassable mountains) has been given into the hand of the high-born, and this Rajah they knew: he was of their own royal house. (181)

As abovementioned, Rajah Allang's administration of the land and the people is treacherous as he has seized the ruling power from his own nephew; it is barbarous as he exercises his power through absolutism and mass extermination of the Malays. This is apparent in how the native or local administration is introduced and displayed to Western readers of the twentieth century; it is inhumane in a way that the locals abuse their own kind much in the same way as Kipling proffers that these people are "sullen and half-man-half-devil." The local administration represented by Rajah Allang could be seen as how much the native leader lacks the ability to lead a civilized government:

instead of reconciling with the Malays peacefully, he chooses to solve the problem through mass murder. Such a violent act could be seen as barbarous and backward in need to be improved, by extension, or replaced by a better form of government: obviously one that is formed by the West. Moreover, Rajah's treatment of Jim could be seen as an attempt to eradicate Jim, the new Western power, from his territory. Rajah Allang's inhumane acts are highlighted with his treatment of his political prisoners. Jim experiences this by himself as he is held imprisoned in Rajah Allang's cell for several days. "Filthy place, isn't it? And I couldn't get anything to eat either, unless I made a row about it, and then it was only a small plate of rice and a fried fish not much bigger than a stickleback--confound them! Jove! I've been hungry prowling inside this stinking enclosure with some of these vagabonds shoving their mugs right under my nose" (468).

In contrast to the villainous Rajah, Jim is like a knight in a shining armour who has come to save the people of Patusan. He represents Western modernity and advancement including benevolence, logic and human rights. Marlow hears the local headman's reflection of Jim,

> He talked to me (the second white man he had ever seen) with confidence, and most of his talk was about the first white man he had ever seen. He called him Tuan Jim, and the tone of his references was made remarkable by a strange mixture of familiarity and awe. They, in the village, were under that lord's special protection, which showed that Jim bore no grudge. (192-3)

The local headman's opinion towards Jim illustrates that, during his two-year stay in Patusan, Jim has emerged as a meliorating leader in contrast to Rajah Allang.

The local people's acceptance of Jim could be interpreted as such that Western colonization has been running smoothly and successfully as the people have embraced to Jim's leadership. Jim is majestic-looking to the Patusanians and seems to assimilate with the people in which they felt "familiar and awe" with their Tuan Jim; Jim is loved and admired by the local people; while Rajah Allang is defined, according to the local headman, as "terror."

As a representative of the new form of authority, Jim demonstrates a new way to control and handle social disturbance; ironing the situation out with apparent logic and humanity. Jim could be regarded as a rational character; in the time of disturbances, he is diplomatic and attempts to resolve the problem in a non-offensive manner. Jim's means are in contrast to that of Rajah Allang's violent means in dealing with conflicts; while Rajah Allang chooses annihilation, Jim opts for diplomacy. Jim's logical and diplomatic abilities are attested when he deals with Brown's army. He remains diplomatic as he agrees to a secret meeting with Brown, listening to what Brown wants, and asserting what he himself wishes. He treats the problem humanely as he is willingly to help Brown because he somehow could relate to Brown's fate. This could be seen as a more civilized resolution to an insurgency staged in order to resolve the problem, to prevent bloodshed, and to save lives. While Rajah Allang deals with this same situation by pretending to hold diplomatic negotiations as he sends Kassim and Cornelius to the meeting; he does not aim to actually resolve the problem. In fact, he wants to eradicate Jim and his authority in Patusan by waging war. In short, both Jim and Rajah Allang are juxtaposed in terms of their forms of leadership, both are pitted against each other with one representing Western-style administration and the other, the native administration; while the former attempted to willingly help and listen to all parties, the

latter appears selfish and has a cunning and violent way to preserve Rajah's benefits and retain his power. Rajah Allang's aforementioned image and characterization convey that he is morally inferior to Jim, and, for the British reading public, such image of Rajah Allang portrayed confirms the Western prejudices against the natives that they are savage and ferocious and could be ameliorated by the white man.

Another indigenous character designated to an inferior position to Jim is Dain Waris. Although Dain Waris is seen to be equal to Jim in terms of intellect and martial strength, yet this man is in an asymmetrical relationship with Jim because, in comparison to Jim, he is always less significant than Jim, or known in a ship language as a "second in command."

> Dain Waris, the distinguished youth, was the first to believe in him; theirs was one of those strange, profound, rare friendships between brown and white, in which the very difference of race seems to draw two human beings closer by some mystic element of sympathy. Of Dain Waris, his own people said with pride that he knew how to fight like a white man. This was true; he had that sort of courage--the courage in the open, I may say--but he had also a European mind. You meet them sometimes like that and are surprised to discover unexpectedly a familiar turn of thought, an unobscured vision, a tenacity of purpose, a touch of altruism. Of small stature, but admirably well proportioned, Dain Waris had a proud carriage, a polished, easy bearing, a temperament like a clear flame. His dusky face, with big black eyes, was in action expressive, and in repose thoughtful. He was of a silent disposition; a firm glance, an ironic smile, a courteous deliberation of manner seemed to hint at great reserves of intelligence and power. Such beings open to the Western eye, so often

> concerned with mere surfaces, the hidden possibilities of races and lands over which hangs the mystery of unrecorded ages. He not only trusted Jim, he understood him, I firmly believe. (492)

This description of Dain Waris compared to Jim explains how he is treated as the underdog even though he may be considered an intellectual in Western hegemonic cultures and a mentally and physically strong man. He becomes Jim's inferior since he is described that he has a "European mind;" this could be interpreted that his Asian identity is subdued so that he would not be accepted with his native courage until he has something European within him. The word "surprised" Marlow employs possibly signifies how Westerners see the natives as inferior beings who can never have their own integrity and intelligence; the only way they could be perceived as a equal is to adopt a western identity. This "small stature" does clearly illustrate not only Waris' physical form but also lists him in a subordinate position to the Western people; even though he gains special strength, still he is not a white man. He is clearly not one of them. Waris is a lesser being than Jim through Marlow's narration, and it was made clear when the narrator said that "If Jim took the lead, the other had captivated his leader" (492). Jim, in this relationship, is still the master to Dain Waris who is only a resemblance of Jim.

Waris's death does not seem to aggrandize Waris himself but it is a means that intends to dignify Jim as the situation would lead Jim to encounter Gentleman Brown with bravery and to redeem his lost honor that, this time, he did not run away from his ultimate fear, death. The character of Lord Jim, in this way, follows what is embodied within Kipling's "The White Man's Burden," a strict dichotomy between Jim and indigenous people: an image of the British hero who is armed with honor and bravery.

This therefore, could be interpreted that Jim's relationship with the people in Patusan reflects the peak of colonialism when British men were seen, both from the perceptions of Southeast Asian natives and British people, as the hero who had saved and maintained civilization. British men, like Lord Jim, bring modernity to Patusan as what Simpson and Weiner observe "Englishmen are [socially and politically] modern to the last degree" (948). He also saved the natives from the kind of savagery Kipling referred to as "new-caught sullen people, half devil half child" (6-7), who showed "the threat of terror" (11); this includes Rajah Allang whose regime is oppressive and despotic, and Dain Waris who can be considered an infirmity compared to Jim. The two could become the "threat of terror" in terms of two different types of leaders; the former is obviously a tyrant ruling with violence, and the latter is a mimicry[3] of a white man; he can only be a facsimile not an exemplar like Jim.

"Our Loved Egyptian Night?": A Relationship with the Native Woman

In conjunction with the prevailing image of being the virtuous, Jim completes the image of Western powers as colonial power within Southeast Asia with a strong image of the conqueror through a hierarchical-master-slave relationship with a local woman by the name of Jewel. Jim treats Jewel very well as his romantic partner that he promises not to leave her under no circumstances; however, Jim's relationship with her

[3] Homi K. Bhaba develops the concept of "Mimicry" from Frantz Fanon's psychoanalytic model of colonialism and Jacques Lacan's concept of mimicry and the split subject and lays out his own idea in "Of Mimicry and Man." Bhabha proposes the term "mimicry" as "subject of a difference that is almost the same, but not quite," (Homi K. Bhabha, *Of Mimicry and Man* 127 (Bhaba) (Bhaba) (Bhaba)) in which the colonial subject can well imitate and adapt one's self into a colonizer's hegemonic cultures and politics; however, one will never "quite" fits in the colonizer hegemony truly (Cain and al. 2325).

is based on a level of inequality. Jewel is possibly seen as the colonial subject; she is an absolute subordinate to Jim, the colonizer. Jim becomes her master through such processes as renaming her by obliterating her native name and teaching her his language. In the act of renaming Jewel, Jim demonstrates a sense of familiarity, mastery, and ownership. Throughout Marlow's narration, Jim is a serious man, he is hardworking to the extent that people might see him a workhorse; however, inwardly, he does seem to crave for the sense of belonging as well, "Jim with his own hands had worked at the rustic fence, you will perceive directly the difference, the individual side of the story. There is in his espousal of memory and affection belonging to another human being something characteristic of his seriousness. He had a conscience, and it was a romantic conscience" (217). Therefore, there is a need on his part for someone to share his romantic compassion, and Jewel, a Eurasian woman, is the one he chooses to serve that purpose. However, Jim does not acclimatize with Jewel by accommodating and assimilating with the Patusanian culture. On the contrary, he introduces her into his own culture by replacing her Malay with an English name, Jewel.

Giving her an English name is his way of introducing Jewel into the English-speaking culture. Actually, at this time English is emerging as the Lingua Franca of the world replacing French, and it is one of the apparatus employed by the British Empire to increase its imperialistic power in colonization. To have a colonial subject to abandon his/her mother tongue could be seen as the dominant power is exercised through an articulation of the colonial subject; the will and the identity of such colonial subject could possibly be eventually reduced and ripped off. Under such conditions, Jim becomes the master, and Jewel emerges as his subordinate. Moreover, historically, jewelry and precious stones are always a reward for those who wandered in an exotic

land and invested their power in fighting against maleficence of a native country; therefore, the name "Jewel" might be intended to be a commodity for Jim who now dwelt in and protected Patusan; he conquered the land by becoming "Lord or Tuan Jim." To this end, Jim's dedication is rewarded by his own "Jewel,"

> The white man had obtained it, I was told, partly by the exercise of his wonderful strength and partly by cunning, from the ruler of a distant country, whence he had fled instantly, arriving in Patusan in utmost distress, but frightening the people by his extreme ferocity, which nothing seemed able to subdue…such a jewel… is best preserved by being concealed about the person of a woman. Yet it is not every woman that would do. She must be young… and insensible to the seductions of love. (220-1)

The choice of the word "obtained" probably entails how the white man or the colonial power perceive native women not as human beings equal to him but only an object to them. Thus, when Jim obtains Jewel, he not only obtains her as an object of passion, but he also becomes her master; he, as a white-man colonizer, owns the colonized subject. Jim's reward, according to what Marlow hears, is not only any ordinary woman, but it is important that this jewel must be pure and untouched by anyone or any man before him. Besides, making the unpronounceable Malay name to him into the pronounceable English name is an act to know something unknown; it could be seen as Jim's attempt to exercise his power towards this Malay woman that he values and commodifies her into his own object. Consequently, it also gives Jim "a marital, peaceful, homelike effect" that comforts Jim during his stay in Patusan.

Jim does not only construct a master-slave relationship with Jewel by objectifying her, but, when he teaches her to speak English, he does, discursively,

conquer her through language. Teaching her the English language is a way for Jim to introduce his own culture to Jewel. Marlow recounts his experience when visiting Jim and Jewel in Patusan observing that,

> …she had learned a good bit of English from Jim, and she spoke it most amusingly, with his own clipping, boyish intonation. Her tenderness hovered over him like a flutter of wings. She lived so completely in his contemplation that she had acquired something of his outward aspect, something that recalled him in her movements, in the way she stretched her arm, turned her head, directed her glances. (221)

While Jim is transmitting his language into Jewel's tongue, he is, at the same time, reducing and silencing the identity of Jewel into something that Homi K. Bhabha defines as "mimicry, almost the same but not quite" (Bhabha 27). Jewel is able to attain the language skills he imposes, but her English is not of her own voice or even intonation, only a replica of Jim's English, albeit inferior one. She might be seen as the native gemstone that has been through the polishing process and finally becomes a product that is acceptable to the European. Moreover, Jewel's unconscious imitation of Jim's posture might be interpreted as if she had followed the patriarchal mentality introduced to her through Jim, and she might be unaware of this and unconsciously embrace such mentality. Through Jewel's English, the master-slave relationship is strengthened and is made clear that Jewel completely becomes Jim's property. Therefore, Jewel undergoes double restraint by the language and gender role with Jim as the master to her subjugation.

The titular character and protagonist Jim in Joseph Conrad's *Lord Jim* represents how a white man is mentally and physically superior to the native or even a

white man residing in and degenerated by a native land. Jim's relationships with other characters create a fixed binary opposition to show how Jim, a white colonizer, is superior to the others. Though death does end Jim's life, this fixed binary opposition is secured. Jim still represents an image of a white man with virtue. Jim's accomplishments in Patusan in terms of virtue, leadership and courage, and dedication, put him on a pedestal making him a hero not only to the native people in the novel but to the reading public of *Lord Jim* in reality. Jim's accomplishment could represent the success of British colonization in Southeast Asia in a way that the British men came to the native land developing backward and savage administration, leading and protecting the native people from adversity, and educating the people with Western culture alias language. He even goes as far as to sacrifice himself just to save the people in Patusan; this conforms with the Western code of conduct that places emphasis on doing good for others. Jim's self-sacrifice could be seen as an exorbitant act that one can do or reach, and it makes him become more extraordinary than other people. Henceforth, the success of Jim and of the Western colonizers does come with a hierarchical relationship with the local community and folks; those who were non-white or those who are expats are considered inferior to those who are nurtured and educated intensely in the Western practices like Dain Waris. Therefore, Jim, as the paragon of almost everything, can be regarded as the representation of a successful white colonizer who does succeed in colonizing a native land, and, by extension, he mirrors an image of the peak of Western colonialism the Western readers wanted to see. Even though Conrad might not agree with the colonial practices via the colonies; however, his novel *Lord Jim* and his protagonist Jim could not escape the colonial mentality of seeing the East and its people as inferior. The image of Jim in the end of the novel reflects the glorious image of a

white colonizer in the end of Kipling's poem in which Jim is able to defeat the savagery and "search manhood" and gain "dear-bought wisdom" (30-3).

"Take up the White Man's Burden, and Reap his Old Reward"

As said, Conrad's view on British colonialism is ambivalent that he praises the glory of his adopted nation, while simultaneously foresees that British power expansion is "rotten at its heart;" therefore the peak of British colonialism perceived through Jim's success is also embedded with a sense of deterioration of the Empire. Jim's attempt to succeed on becoming a virtuous, a protector, and a conqueror renders him as a self-serving colonist that he exploits and takes advantage from Patusan and its people, for when it comes to choose between his or other benefits, Jim puts himself as a first priority. Jim's stubbornness to fulfil his own aspiration is emphasized through the final chapters, how he deals with the death of Dain Waris concurrently with how he disregards his relationship with other native characters. Only to regain the lost ideal heroism to "prove his power in another way and conquer the fatal destiny itself (317), Jim dismisses his bonds and responsibilities he has with the natives. This is similar to what the Empire does to its colonized subject and, to some extent, this could be seen as how Conrad tries to illustrate the hollowness and the failure of the ideology of the white man's burden to his reading public. First of all, Jim underlines that his ultimate goal is for the glorification of himself through his brief conversation with Tamb' Itam, his native servant. Asked by Tamb' Itam to "fight for our lives" (316), Jim replies with no hesitation, "I have no life." The phrase "fight for our lives" is ambiguous and could be interpreted into two meanings that he asks Jim to fight the struggles and hardship of life, or he asks Jim to fight for the sake of the native people who are under the protection of Jim. For the former meaning, Jim's answer could be seen that living is not an answer

for Jim to gain his ideal heroism; leaving everything behind is the only way to achieve his goal. For the latter meaning, Jim's answer could be seen as heartless that it is a shortened form of "I have no life to responsible for you the native people but for myself." In both ways, they show how Jim is inconsiderate of the natives' well-being.

The British colonial power invaded into the native land, started its colonizing projects, and promised a better way of living; all these were made under a decision of the British power without the natives' consent. Eventually, during or even at the end of British colonialism in several colonies, one might see that the promise made by the white man is only a delusional justification of the colonizer to confine native for his own benefits. Thus, how Jim disregards his relationship with Jewel could be interpreted as how the colonist fails to fulfil his mission of the white man's burden and such promise is only a lie to restrain Jewel. Uttering with her broken English, Jewel cries to Jim "Do you remember the night I prayed you to leave me, and you said that you could not? That it was impossible! Impossible! Do you remember you said you would never leave me? Why? I asked you for no promise. You promised unasked—remember" (319). Jewel's complaining does reflect the voice of the native given the "unasked" promise that allows the colonizer to adopt the role of an ideal male hero giving hope and providing provisions, while the native unconsciously adopts the role of a dependent female subordinate seeking for the promised constancy. Giving the promise and later turning her down and disregarding that he is her master with the "possession of her happiness" (317) could be seen as an act of betrayal of the colonizer to the shriveled native. Jim did the same to Jewel when he decided to leave Jewel when it comes to choose between his or her happiness. He easily decided to neglect the woman who once provided him a comfort zone in the unfamiliar environment and also helped Jim to get

through hardship in Patusan. Devaluing himself “not be worth having” (319) does not really signify that Jim believes he is worthless, on the contrary, he believes that he is invaluable that “his spirit seemed to rise above the ruins of his existence” (317); it is the reinforcement of the colonial delusional and face-saving discourse to protect the colonizer as a sacrificing hero of the damned native. Moreover, this belief emphasizes how Patusan and the people are exploited as a background locale to glorify Jim that he is able to defeat the wilderness of the barbaric land and transcend to be a gargantuan hero.

The fates of the Patusanians as well as Jim’s decision would make one recognizes Jim as a static character. He is still the same Jim on the Patna because he chooses to abandon the people of Patusan in the same way as when he jumped off the Patna. Patusan becomes another Patna as both Patusanians and the passengers on board need Jim’s protection, but Jim chooses to flee leaving both groups of people to their demises. Jim chooses to leave or eliminate what might be an obstacle to his prosperity, so he refuses when Tamb’ Itam begged him to “look back” (319) and reconsider his decision. His death leaves a suspense whether it is a personal or a common interest, “he passes away under a cloud, inscrutable at heart, forgotten, unforgiven, and excessively romantic. Not in the wildest days of his boyish visions could he have seen the alluring shape of such an extraordinary success!” (321) What Jim leaves behind is the question of what is the meaning of his death and what does it lead to? Jim “goes away from a living woman to celebrate his pitiless wedding with a shadowy ideal of conduct. Is he satisfied quite, now, I wonder?” (321) His death might be futile; he is probably an anti-hero who never achieves a true heroic act. The lives of the Patusanians affected by the death of Jim is still not elevated,

> A hush had fallen upon the town after the outburst of wailing and lamentation that had swept over the river, like a gust of wind from the opened abode of sorrow. But rumours flew in whispers, filling the hearts with consternation and horrible doubts. The robbers were coming back, bringing many others with them, in a great ship, and there would be no refuge in the land for any one. A sense of utter insecurity as during an earthquake pervaded the minds of men, who whispered their suspicions, looking at each other as if in the presence of some awful portent. (317)

Put differently, Jim is also a victim who is obliviously bamboozled and trapped in the colonial discourse.

Conrad's ambivalence towards the British Empire and its colonialism is portrayed through the story of Jim that though Jim as well as his ideal white man's burden are able to be perceived as the success of the white colonist in being a romantic hero; however, the discourse of the white man's burden is made up to deceive both the British readers who fantasize the life in the cities they see as the wilderness. Conrad avers his ambivalence quite clear through Marlow's recount of Jim, "… there are days when the reality of his existence comes to me with an immense, with an overwhelming force; and yet upon my honor there are moments, too when he passes from my eyes like a disembodied spirit astray amongst the passions of this earth, ready to surrender himself faithfully to the claim of his own world of shades." (322) Conrad once looked up to the Empire as the great power without flaws, but what he witnessed disillusioned him; the Empire takes whatever means to reach its goals and accomplish its mission though such means would demolish the others and to make the Empire "rotten at its heart." Through the image of Jim, the British Empire is very successful in fulfilling its

promise of the white man's burden and be seen as the peak of British colonialism; however, such success also comes with the deterioration of the Empire as well. The Empire extends its power through a paradoxical relationship; it corrupts itself and others just to reach opulence as David Dowd put it,

> [Colonialism] meant a net decline in the peasants already unfortunate position.... Though he had perhaps been ruled autocratically or even cruelly since time began, the native was now subject to foreign rules, who scorned not only his welfare, but frequently his culture and the color of his skin.... The vigor of western technology and its accompanying military power, led to the disintegration of what had been a high level of culture and social unity. Security was replaced by insecurity; dignity by degradation, a low level of wants by poverty, autonomy by dependence. (122)

For the British reading public, Jim would represent the fulfillment of the white man's burden; he becomes a white male hero, the peak of British colonialism. On that premise, the character Jim would be another apparatus for the Empire to reinforce the white man's burden mentality in which, as Conrad suggests at the end of *Lord Jim,* such mentality is a deception to justify its cunning enterprise and conceal its hollowness. The peak of the Empire also comes with the glimpse of its failure as well. Jim takes up the white man not to "seek another's profit" or to "work another's gain" but only to "reap his [very own] old reward."

In conclusion, *Lord Jim* could be read as a novel the reflects western colonialism at its peak. This notion starts with Jim's sense of self-superiority that forms Jim's perception towards himself as superior and such superior worldview determines him to successfully establish hierarchical relationships with other characters where he

positions himself as superior, while the others assume subordinate positions. His interactions reflect the peak of western colonialism in a way that he freely enters Patusan even though he is first captured as Rajah Allang's prisoner. However, after defeating Sheriff Ali, he becomes revered by Patusan locals and positions him as their "Tuan." After that, Jim freely exploits Patusan and its people as a locale for self-redemption and a place to perform his own heroism. This reflects the peak of western colonialism when the western powers successfully conquered native lands and exploit these lands and their people for financial, environmental, and personal purposes.

Jim's success is even more pronounced in his interactions with the native characters in a way that the latter group of people yield their passive consent and allow Jim to establish a master-slave relationship. They give Jim a superior status as "Tuan Jim," while they passively assume subordinate roles such as his "second in command," his native mistress, and his servant. This successful establishment of a hierarchical relationship between Jim and the native characters also reflects the success of western colonialism because some western nations intruded and conquered native lands and successfully instilled native people with a mindset that a westerner is superior to a native. In consequence, the natives fell into such mentality by perceiving themselves as a slave to their white masters. Therefore, they yield their passive consent to the white colonizers to perform and act freely to their lands, their bodies, and their minds.

As mentioned earlier, Jim is studied as a critique to western colonialism that the character foreshadows the decline of western colonialism, and this thesis finds that such statement is partially true because as Jim interacts with other characters in pursuits of his self-redemption, his interactions reflects not only the peak but also a decline to his superior power as well. Jim may perceive himself and his white man's mission as a

success; however, it is based on his own perception which, to some extent, is an illusory perception seeing himself as superior and omnipotent. In reality, his actions are egocentric that solely aimed for Jim's personal purposes not true benefits to the natives as in the white man's burden concept. Therefore, the more Jim perceives himself as successful and ignores the fact that his relationships with other characters are exploitative, the more the decline to his power and status is accelerated.

Jim's ignorance echoes with what happened to western powers. Westerners established exploitative relationships with native people while claiming that they were civilizing the natives. These westerners' self-perception resembles Jim's. They ignored the fact that they exploited and suppressed the natives; therefore, in the success of western rules in native lands, there was a hint of an overlapping decline. In the later decades, the western powers dramatically decreased as the native refused to give up their consents and put themselves in to a subordinate position. In the decades after the publication of *Lord Jim*, the long-established power of the west started to be dismantled. The decline of western colonialism foreshadowed in *Lord Jim* will become more obvious and inevitable. The power that Jim has established starts to lose its balance and control through John Flory's relationship with other characters in *Burmese Days.*

Chapter Three: George Orwell's *Burmese Days* as a Reflection of Western Colonialism at its Decline

> This is a story without heroes, a story of mendacity, treachery and hypocrisy, of racial and social repression and hatred. It is a story of the empire.
>
> - George Orwell

Introduction

As demonstrated in the previous chapter, where Joseph Conrad's personal history could be seen to play a crucial role in the understanding of his novel *Lord Jim;* therefore, in order to approach George Orwell's *Burmese Days,* the life and personal experiences of Orwell should also not be neglected. This importance of an author's biography is as Orwell proposes in his essay *Why I Write* (1946) asserting that one should not assess a writer's motive without knowing his or her backstories. Orwell believed that a writer as well as his subject matter are determined, either consciously or unconsciously, by the social forces and experiences he lived in,

> "His subject matter will be determined by the age he lives in at least this is true in tumultuous, revolutionary ages like our own but before he ever begins to write he will have acquired an emotional attitude from which he will never completely escape. It is his job, no doubt, to discipline his temperament and avoid getting stuck at some immature stage, or in some perverse mood but if he escapes from his early influences altogether, he will have killed his impulse to write." (Orwell "Why I Write" 3)

Orwell himself did follow up on what he proposed; his essays and novels, such as *Burmese Days* (1934), *Animal Farm* (1945), and *1984* (1949), can be seen as products of his personal experiences of imperialism and class inequality.

In 1903 in the West Bengal province of Northeastern British India, a boy named Eric Arthur Blair was born to a middle-class family. A year after his birth, his mother brought him back to Britain leaving Orwell's father stationed as a British civil servant at the Opium Department of Indian Civil service. In Great Britain, the boy developed mental trauma and a sense of skepticism when he experienced class inequality in schools; enrolled at St. Cyprian's elite private preparatory boarding school, he was treated in a poorer manner than other wealthy and aristocratic students. At boarding school, Orwell suffered from two major issues: public humiliation and a mental and physical pain as Orwell had been publicly humiliated at St. Cyprian's because he was a scholarship boy, and the school's headmaster, Mr. Wilkes, worsened the situation by "fawning over the richer children and constantly reminding Eric of his second-class standing and the relative poverty of his parents." (Leith) The headmaster did not humiliate Orwell only for his poverty; he offered the boy a dolorous experience by caning him as a punishment for his chronic bed-wetting. Edward Quinn, one of Orwell's biographers, states in his *Critical Companion to George Orwell a Literary Reference to His Life and His Work* on Eric's childhood experience, "…and worse than the pain and humiliation of the caning was the sense that his oppressors were right. He did wet the bed, and he had no control over it. In one part of his mind, he was guilty and got what he deserved. Therefore, he saw himself as a victim, but not an innocent one" (Quinn 5). Such dilemma trapped Orwell between social rules he needed to comply and an uncontrollable drive of himself, and this dilemma was channeled through the

protagonist of his first published novel *Burmese Days*. John Flory was trapped and, to some extent, forced to choose between his colonial rules and the personal desire to fully be amicable with the Burmese people.

After years of education in Britain, Orwell registered into the Imperial Police and was sent back to his birth country, Burma. As a member of the Imperial Police, Orwell vacillates between an attempt to fulfill the British's high-expectation social rules and personal desires was intensely developed. Orwell's self-conflict was based on the fact that he had to fight between his love-hate feelings towards his Empire and the Burmese people. His hatred towards the colonial practices of the Empire became more and more intense; on the other hand, despite the fact that he became more passionate with Burmese people; he also resented the Burmese as when he stated his wish to "drive a bayonet into a Buddhist priest's guts" (Quinn 79) because those monks made Orwell's job as a colonial police harder as they demonstrated against colonial officers. Prior to the publishing of *Burmese Days*, Orwell wrote an essay entitled *Shooting an Elephant* (1936) to recount his hardships in Burma saying "I was young and ill-educated and I had had to think out my problems in the utter silence that is imposed on every Englishman in the East… I was stuck between my hatred of the empire I served and my rage against the evil-spirited little beasts who tried to make my job impossible" (2). Orwell had to keep his resentment towards the Empire in "utter silence" because most of the Englishmen who served in the colonial service were nurtured to uphold the pride of being a colonist: a pride to take on the white man's burden. Most of them could not be skeptical about the colonial practices in the colonies and indeed the Empire needed a man like "Lord Jim" who is naïve and never questions the ideology of the white man's burden to run its colonizing project. Thus, the young Orwell had no alternative but to

remain silent and keep his dissention to himself. His loathing towards the native people and the British Empire became tantamount, and the realization that he could do nothing but to comply made him even more hateful of the system, the people, and ultimately himself. On one hand, he was resentful towards the Burmese that they were unwelcoming to him because he was white; he revealed his racist and imperialist worldview by calling the Burmese "little beasts," a view that perceived the native people as non-human beings, which is off the league to a white man. On the other hand, what Orwell resented most was the exploitative system of the British colonization that did not only corrupt the native people but, in Orwell's opinion, the British power itself. Orwell as a member of the Imperial Police was plague by several self-conflicts, the problems that occurred to him seemed to contest beliefs that he had been holding on throughout his life. In "*Shooting an Elephant*," Orwell reflects on his experiences that results as Orwell's self-conflict that he started to cast doubt on the Empire because, as a naïve and powerless police officer, he is forced to shoot an elephant even though the elephant had been already been pacified by the time he arrives at the scene. According to Orwell's judgement, he does not have to kill that elephant because it no longer causes harm to any person, but the reason that he could not quit his so-called duty is because of the Burmese natives who swarmed by expected him to shoot the elephant (Orwell *Shooting an Elephant and Other Essays* 5). It was not just a simple swarm but an "oan," a collective curiosity that attacked Orwell. Orwell is forced through that oan to shoot the elephant because shooting in such a context does not mean to save the native people who would be harmed by the elephant, but to fulfill the native's expectation to see the British policeman exercises his power through shooting. In this sense, such collective curiosity could be seen as representing the power of the oppressed having over the

oppressor; it could be seen as a challenge to the colonial power that Orwell, who could be seen as a representative of the enforcement of colonial power, was performing. Therefore, in order to gain control of the situation and to sustain the colonial power, Orwell is ultimately forced to shoot the elephant despite the fact that it was a senseless murder to save the image of the "Great British Empire." From such an event, it could be interpreted that Orwell had experienced the hollowness of the Empire and its dark enterprise; to help improve the lives of the natives as the white man's burden proposes is nothing but a discourse of the Empire to justify its thirst for power and its invasion of the country. Referring to the event in *Shooting an Elephant*, though Orwell declared that he was upset with what he was forced to do, his action could be seen that this young police officer himself could not escape the imperial mentality in a way that he would do anything to secure the Empire's power even to the point of killing an innocent life.

His bitter experiences led him to disapprove of the ideology behind "the White Man's Burden" and to resist Rudyard Kipling's ideas presented through his poems and novels. For Orwell, the idea of the white man's mission is somehow a trap that does not only cause harm to the natives, but self-destruction to the white colonizers as the discourse leads several well-intended white men to set sail and cross the frontier to help others but finally are hit by the ugly truth of the Empire they perceive to be great. To this point, one could assume that Orwell and Conrad are in agreement in their disapproval of Kipling's "the White Man's Burden" when it is blindly acted on. Like Conrad, Orwell perceived Kipling as a writer whose novels praised the white men mission to civilize other races and thus legitimize the white man's rule over the natives. Such novels of Kipling never include an exploitative system constructed by the British officials in British colonies, and, most of all, never mention the struggles of the white

men who try to fulfill the expectation of the British people who lay their back in Britain dreaming of an exotic journey to other part of the world. Therefore, in his short essay *Rudyard Kipling* written in order to commemorate Kipling's death, Orwell starts his writing by decrying Kipling as a "jingo imperialist" and that he could not be considered as "the most humane" or "the most progressive" person due to his support for the expansion of imperialism in other parts of the world. Kipling's view on imperialism, according to Orwell, is irrelevant to reality; he is ignorant and delusional of the real enterprise of colonization,

> Kipling was quite acute enough to see this. The virtue had gone out of the classes he idealized, the young were hedonistic or disaffected, the desire to paint the map red had evaporated. He could not understand what was happening, because he had never had any grasp of the economic forces underlying imperial expansion. It is notable that Kipling does not seem to realize, any more than the average soldier or colonial administrator, that an empire is primarily a money-making concern. Imperialism as he sees it is a sort of forcible evangelizing. (Orwell *Shooting an Elephant and Other Essays* 1)

For Orwell, Kipling did not pay close attention or show sensitivity to what the Empire and its wily business would have done to the British colonists such as Orwell who decided to serve as the imperial police following the ideal of the white man's burden. As Kipling considered himself to the point of an official class in an imperialist system, Orwell felt that it was unjustified for Kipling to spread the idea of the white man's burden towards the western readers as it would greatly impact the mind of a young colonist who had think he needed to go to the East for such a noble project. Kipling did not suffer the same dilemma that Orwell and other men had undergone in

their service of the Empire service, facing the dilemma in which the white man's goals to civilize other people are obstructed by the real-life conditions of an imperial officer who have to encounter hardship and problems in their interaction with the natives. Moreover, the clash between the colonial ideal and its practices ultimately became an exhibition of hypocrisy and lies for instead of helping the natives, the imperial officers were often assigned to savage the natives in the sense that they took resources from Burma not for the prosperity of the native Burmese people but for the Empire's. Such an act consequently destroyed the initial goal of the young colonists and their youthful ideals,

> They have internationalist aims, and at the same time they struggle to keep up a standard of life with which those aims are incompatible. We all live by robbing Asiatic coolies, and those of us who are 'enlightened' all maintain that those coolies ought to be set free; but our standard of living, and hence our 'enlightenment,' demands that the robbery shall continue. A humanitarian is always a hypocrite, and Kipling's understanding of this is perhaps the central secret of his power to create telling phrases. (2)

By and large, Orwell could foresee that the corruption of the Empire comes from nowhere else but from the inside; the policy the Empire employs does fail their British subjects rather than the others. The white man's burden Kipling avers, as Orwell himself experienced, turns instead to be nothing but a "slimy white man's burden humbug." (Orwell "Rudyard Kipling")

His experience in Burma quite disappoints him with the Empire's colonizing project; in the later years, he would devote his writing career to shed some light on the downfall of the Empire as can be seen from *Burmese Days*. Roughly speaking, this third

chapter propounds that the relationships of the protagonist John Flory and other characters in the novel exhibit the struggle of the Empire and its people to sustain their power within colonial Burma; the struggle could be seen through Flory's vacillation in maintaining his relationships with both his British peers and the natives; the power and image of the British Empire are challenged to the extent that it is refused, and such refusal brings upon a destruction to the Empire at both the national and individualistic levels. The analysis of this chapter will center on the discussion of how the attempt of the British Empire to retain its power by creating a cosmopolitan society where everyone is equal regardless to their races in order to come to term with the natives; however, the chapter will further provide a study on how such attempt of the Empire eventually affects itself not only not on a national level that loses its balance of power but also on the individual level that causes Flory, who struggles to establish his position in this society, to lose both his identity and eventually his life: all these things reflect Western colonialism at its decline.

The Kyuaktada European Club as the Early Establishment of British Cosmopolitan Society

The Kyuaktada European Club could be considered as the British "hill station," where the British people residing in British colonies gathered and enjoyed social activities such as a ball. This clubhouse provides a space for the Westerners to escape an estranged weather of Burma, to avoid interacting with the Burmese people, and to retain the English atmosphere through the design of the clubhouse that is constructed with a library, tearoom, and a garden with English flowers. In other words, this clubhouse could be seen as a mini-British Empire in its Burma colony. The European

Club in Kyuaktada provides a microcosmic outlook for readers to perceive British's response to the tide of time, when the British Empire and its people barely take absolute control over the Burmese people; the Club's building is in its deteriorating stage indicating a declining wealth and imaging the Empire as a power decaying from Burmese physical and political landscape. At the beginning of the novel, the European Club in Kyuaktada is illustrated not only as a place for social gathering for the British people but it also represents how the British Empire has always been the center of power "the spiritual citadel, the real seat of the British power, the Nirvana for which native officials and millionaires pine in vain" (Orwell *Burmese Days: A Novel* 15). Both spatial and temporal localities also reveal that the Empire has reached its peak and deeply-rooted its power in the land of Kyuaktada. Located by the Irrawaddy, the scenery from the Club is quite spectacular that one could see a river "glittering like diamonds," (18) and the vast of paddy fields beyond the river. The location of the club illustrated shows how the British have succeeded in conquering the land physically by having a building of the European Club set in Kyuaktada; as a conqueror of the land, the Empire and its colonizers also receive what is tantamount to the "glittering diamonds" as this land would bear the fruitful natural resources to contribute towards the prosperity of the Empire. This metaphor works the same way as what has been discussed in the previous chapter how Jim earns "jewel" as a reward in Patusan after he gains respect and popularity from the Partusanians and lives his life in relative affluence. Most of all, positioning itself on top to be able to have a panoramic view and to see everything from the Club means the one who has the right to this breathtaking scenery has access to the power of control.

At the time *Burmese Days* is set, which is during 1920s Imperial Burma, British colonialism has started to encounter some changes that have caused the Empire to lose its power balance towards the natives. On one hand, the Empire and the British colonizers have intensified the actions that could be seen as racist, sexist, and a reflection of several types of exploitation; these acts could be seen as an augmentation of a strong boundary between the white and the native that the whites hold the natives as their slaves, referring to them with such derogatory and discriminating terms as "nigger" or a "dog," and refusing never to grant membership of the European Club to any Burmese. In the novel, Ellis, a European manager of a local company, reflects the strong colonial mindset underscoring that "here we are, supposed to be governing a set of damn black swine who've been slaves since the very beginning of history" (25). On the other hand, the change the Empire encounters lies in the social structure that it could be seen as an effect of British colonization itself. The social structure in Kyuaktada is changed as the British may not be the only one who takes control of the power. Out of the four thousand population, Kyuaktada's social landscape acquires multiethnic and multicultural dimensions which include "a couple of hundred Indians, a few score Chinese, and seven Europeans," with a plus of "two Eurasians" (18), the natives outnumber the Europeans which could be seen as a potential risk that the natives would any time start to protest and be bold enough to overthrow the British colonial power. A sign of resistance occurs when the colonizers start to lose their control over the natives, the power in which Mrs. Lackersteen, the wife of Mr. Lackersteen the local manager of the timber firm, senses its attenuation that they, the colonizers, "seem to have no authority over the natives nowadays…In some ways they are getting almost as bad as the lower classes at home" (29). Her observation is affirmed in the event when the

rickshaw-man pretends to be sick and refuses to give her the proper service that she tries to regain control by telling Mr. Macgregor to give the man “a good thrashing and bring him to his senses” (28). The decline of the control power is inevitable that eventually the colonizers themselves have to admit that “the old type of servant is disappearing…those days [the peak of the British colonialism] are gone forever” (29). The change is yet to come; therefore, in order to sustain its power, Britain decides to negotiate the power with the native government and people. As a result, the Club eventually consents to granting membership to a chosen native which could be seen as an introduction of the concept of equality where the white men and the natives are equal members of the same society.

Taking the aforementioned into account, through making the contact between the Europeans and the native, the European Club itself seems to be an attempt of the British Empire to position itself as a friend not a master. The order to grant membership to a chosen native of European Club in Kyuaktada could be seen as an establishment of the cosmopolitan society as Eduardo Mendieta defines the term that, “…cosmopolitanism, at the very least, is a way of relating to the world…” (242); in *Burmese Days*, the representatives of the British Empire try to reach out and associate with the natives through this European Club. If successful, it might make the native people feel that they are equal to the white people who have been their masters for centuries. This means it could be seen that there might be a change in power relations between the white man and the native people that their relationship is no longer a vertical master-slave relationship, but it is in fact only a “less hierarchical” master-slave relationship as one of the natives would be selected from three thousand residents in Kyuaktada. The entry of the native to the club still depends, however, on the white

men's consent.

Living in social changes of power and structure, the European Club needs to consider itself to go with the flow that they have to re-position itself in an emerging society contending that the white colonizers are no longer "the masters and you [the natives] beggars" (32). Admittance of the natives as members into the Club could be seen as the Empire's attempt to re-establish its identity as a friend or, at the least, a being who shares a fraternal bond with his "Arayan Brother" (30), who are equal beings as the white Europeans living in the same society. Another way to put it, the concept of equality is introduced into Kyuaktada and the natives by the British Empire that the order to accept the natives is passed on unquestionably to Mr. Macgregor by the Commissioner; it is an official order made by the government, and it could thus be interpreted as an act to reconcile the white colonizers and the natives that everyone can participate in rather than being participated in the game of power.

However, such notion of equality has its own limitations and exceptions. A utopian cosmopolitan society where both the European and the native population would perceive each other as equals is hard to achieve in practice. In fact, the society in which the European Club in Kyuaktada tries to offer is in itself exclusive which contrasts to the ideal proposal the Empire promoted and ultimately contributes towards the decline of the Empire. The society that the British Empire tries to establish through the European Club in Kyuaktada follows what Eduardo Mendieta describes as "Kant's Imperial Cosmopolitanism" which aims towards what Kant terms as the "Perpetual Peace," the unfluctuating peace between two or more groups of people, and such peace could be achieved through the following idea,

> …that a powerful and enlightened people can constitute itself as a republic (which according to its nature necessarily tends toward perpetual peace), then this republic provides a focus point for other states, so that they might join this federative union and thereby secure the condition of peace among states in accordance with the idea of international right and gradually extend this union further and further through several such associations. (Mendieta 247)

Though Kant's proposal on the Perpetual Peace could be seen as modern that this peace would bring about the equality among human beings; however, the aforementioned means to achieve the peacefulness reveals an imperialistic mindset that, in order to be accepted in such society, cultures have to undergo the process of selection to measure "the capacities of culture to meet the requirements of such a cosmopolitan legality and politics" (Mendieta 244). The attempt of the Empire to establish the European Club in Kyuaktada as a caring foreign friend, taking the natives as an equal, and providing the natives a space to have a power in the governing power is itself a failure, since the Club and its members actually do not really integrate themselves to Kyuaktada society. The Club is political in that it is aimed to sustain the British power over the colony rather than to promote the equality among the people residing in Kyuaktada with one governed by the British. The way in which the order to admit the natives into the Club is political that it is "passed on" to Mr. Macgregor, the commissioner of the Club; the order is not initiated by consent of the people in the Club that even Mr. Macgregor who is "deeply fond" of the natives feels "awkward" to defend this order against Ellis who disapproves of the idea. Moreover, the admittance the Club grants is not of individual approval as Ellis recounts that other European Clubs in so

many cities including India have started to accept the natives into the clubs. This manner of the Empire across Asia could be assumed that it is a political reaction to the decline of its power. To admit the natives into the club is to allow the native's access to a prestige and power that the Europeans have held for years that eventually the accessibility to such prestige and power would lessen the tension between the oppressor and the oppressed. Therefore, this admittance is an opportunity for the British Empire not to lose its power in Burma as it "shall simply leave India" (32). However, the Empire's cosmopolitan proposal to admit the natives to the club is in itself a failure that indicate how the Empire really clings on to its power. Instead of including its members to the multiracial society of Kyuaktada, the Empire chooses to exclude itself by selecting one of the Kyuaktada natives into the Club. By this means, it could be seen that the Empire does not really share its power with the natives, but it elevates itself that it is such a privilege for a native to become one of its members. In other words, while the Kyuaktada society has changed and become more openhearted with people of other races, the British Club fences out people and insists on its imperial power.

Moreover, the description of the European Club in the novel portraying the Club in a picturesque style conveys the hierarchical status between the Western people and the local people. In the novel, the natural setting of Kyuaktada is portrayed as a background or a frame to the European Club. The way this European Club described that it is surrounded by bungalows, English cemetery, the great waste of paddy fields, blackish hills, and, most of all, the glittering diamond-like Irrawaddy portrays the attempt to elevate the position of the white men to be superior that they are the one to conquer natural resources of the native as well as the native setting to be only a background and to saturate and highlight the vivid color and image of the European

club.

The European club is made to be more physically and metaphorically central to power when the image of the native town and administration buildings are “over to the right and mostly hidden in the green groves of peepul trees” (18). Apart from being exactly located as the center of Kyuaktada, the club is described to be the center through a religious juxtaposition of the image of the British cemetery and the native city covered in peepul trees. The tree of Enlightenment which the Buddha attained his knowledge and is regarded as important to Burmese Buddhists is placed aside from the center. Moreover, the religiously connoted description of the city that “had not changed greatly between the days of Marco Polo and 1910, and might have slept in the Middle Ages for a century more if it had not proved a convenient spot for a railway terminus” (18) could be interpreted that the native religion is old and backward that it could not improve the life of the natives, but rather that the helping hands that come and extend help are that of the western people. The real and helpful enlightenment does not derive from the old spiritual Buddhism but rather from the Western Enlightenment that ultimately led to technology and material advancement. Moreover, this Western Enlightenment does not only convey the material superiority of the West, but also alludes to the spiritual advancement of the West as reflected in the depiction of the British cemetery described in the novel as well-planned and structured within a white wall that the technology implying that the knowledge of the West are way more advanced than that of the East, and it enhances the beauty and scenic view over the cemetery suggesting that the Western religion is more spiritual and advanced rather than the old and backward “shadowy” Buddhism. Though the club may look dilapidated and in its old and declining stage, the way in which it has been revealed to the readers still conveys a

picturesque style that the focus point on the picture would always be placed in the end or at the center in order to position the club as the "real center of the town" (17). It might be implied that the European club could be interpreted as even though the club was a living entity dwelling as a part of the natural setting of Kyuaktada and its people; however, to look towards Kyuaktada as a picture, the heart of the city lies at the European club which could be seen as the administrative power is still placed in the westerner's hands. All location, construction, and interior ironically reveal that the British Empire affirms its refusal to assimilate with Burma and the natives despite its proposal to accept the natives as equal. The location of the European Club metaphorically shows the hierarchical relationship between the Europeans and the natives.

The Club's interior is another matter used to affirm this notion of extension of power through pedagogy. Though the club's library is described as in its declining stage as a "forlorn library with five hundred mildewed novels" (20), the existence of the library within the club could be interpreted that the club, as the representative of the Empire power, insists on sustaining and clinging on to its position of cultural superiority as well as isolating the same hegemonic power from the natives by making this library accessible only to British users only. The club also features a billiard-table, and cardroom which are traditional forms of British leisure found in most pubs. The lounge is made to appear "homelike" despite of its "unhomelike" description that it is furnished by the "Bonzo" picture of a British fictional cartoon character. On one hand, this Bonzo the Dog provides the club's members with a familiar sense of the British Empire that it is a personified dog that imitates the British code of etiquette and conduct such as wearing a top hat and being a perfect gentleman treating ladies with good manners. On

the other hand, the images of Bonzo reflect the attempt on the part of the club and its members attempt to sustain their colonial powers since Bonzo the Dog not only is a fictional character entertaining the British people, it could be seen as a portrayal of the British colonial epoch at its peak when the Empire is successful at land conquering and trading as the Bonzo series includes an image entitled "Bonzo in the Wool Trade Series" with the subtitle "Bonzo doing the Work of the World" in which the image features Bonzo as a personnel working in a post station receiving and sending messages from mail and telegraph. The image could be interpreted as such that the "Work of the World" that occupies Bonzo with is nothing but a colonial project as known as a "wool trade;" those mails and telegraphs representing the high demands of the British wool that upheaves the Empire to become one of the great powers during colonial times. The images of Bonzo could heighten the feeling of being "at home" for its British viewer to see the picture of a familiar being performing familiar tasks with an addition of the sense of superiority and success over the natives. Moreover, the "skulls of sambar" that are furnished within the club's lounge also represent the yearn for power and control as a sambar deer is known as a native species to Southeast Asian countries. Collecting the sambar skulls could be elucidated as a form of Western control over the body of the native: the former is the hunter, while the latter is the hunted. Apart from that, the two beings, a personified dog and a carcass of a deer, could be seen as symbolic representatives of the Westerners and the natives, respectively. The two are being juxtaposed within the same sphere of the British club's lounge, the sphere of the West, this could be analyzed that, in the world of the British people, the native people are beings without evolution and could reside and be identified with wilderness; whereas, the British is a domesticated animal that has been culturally cultivated and civilized.

Surrounded by such environment, it could be seen the British members of this Kyuaktada European club preserve themselves within their own sphere which makes the club, according to Ellis, "a place where we [the British people] come to enjoy ourselves;" in this sense, the club is exclusive in that it does not welcome other users to make an entry and interfere in this space as Ellis declares that "we don't need natives poking in here" (30).

Apart from the club itself, the members of this club also reveal their arrogance which conveys a sense of insincerity of the British Empire and its people towards the idea of issuing the Cosmopolitan-based admittance of the native to the club. The British members of the club insist on retaining their intense hierarchical master-slave relationship with the natives. The character of Westfield, the British District Superintendent of Police, could be seen as a reflection of an attempt of the British Empire as well as its officials to hold on to the governing power. In his first appearance in the novel, he addresses Flory with the phrase "Lead on, Macduff," a dire of reference to Shakespeare's *Macbeth*, in order to lead Flory into the club. On the surface, this would be a simple daily greeting for the club's members; however, the phrase could be analyzed on so many levels in order to see how the phrase creates a binary opposition between the West and the East and reinforces the colonial mentality with the former as a the superior and the latter as the inferior. First of all, Macduff, a character from Shakespeare's *Macbeth,* may be intentionally put into context to portray the image of an Englishman as a moral hero. In *Macbeth*, Macduff is juxtaposed with Macbeth in term of morality. Macduff is identified with an image of "some holy angel" (Shakespeare 3.6.46) who will save Scotland from the "hand accursed" (3.6.48-9) of the evil Macbeth. The two images of Macduff and Macbeth create a binary opposition

of an angel and the devil. Therefore, when Westfield addresses Flory comparing him with the character of Macduff, it could be seen that he reinforces the colonial mentality that any Englishman residing in the native land of Kyuaktada is a holy Macduff who fights against evil as the native Macbeth. Referring to Flory as Macduff could be seen as a way to accentuate the image of a white man like Flory armored with holiness and humanity, a righteous Macduff, who "takes up the White Man's burden," serves his captives' needs, and purges the native lands accursed by the hands of Macbeth disguised under the form of half-devil and half-child natives.

Apart from Westfield, who could be seen as a subtle resistance towards the acceptance of the natives as an equal regardless to the creation of the cosmopolitan society, other characters like Ellis and Mrs. Lackersteen could be seen as explicit resistances towards the admittance of the natives. Ellis does not agree with the order to issue an admittance of the natives into the club because he does not wish the natives to "poke around" the club. On the other hand, Mrs. Lackersteen grumbles about how the natives start to ignore and disobey her orders. Thereupon, their resistance could be analyzed as being an affirmation of the British colonizers to maintain the mechanism of the binary opposition between the West and the East and to sustain the established master-slave relationship. Ellis speaks out explicitly that the relationship between the colonizers and the natives must have only two poles: "the masters" and "beggars;" there should be no intermingling between these two groups. Not only that, Mrs. Lackersteen is upset by the native rickshaw-man whom she believes is pretending to be sick in order not to serve her; therefore, she suggests that the natives who try to resist their own white masters should be whipped as a way to punish and "bring him to his senses" (28). Mrs. Lackersteen's stance also emphasizes the same mentality Ellis has already suggested

that the boundary between the West and the East should remain strong and not be intertwined; the "senses" she refers to could be analyzed as the colonial paradigm where the whites are dominance, and the natives are the subordinates. Whoever tries to challenge or shift the paradigm should be managed or handled with a violent "good thrashing."

The description of the club as well as the relationship between the colonizers and the natives also provide the scenario whereby the Empire's power is in its declining stage; despite the decline, there is a sign of an insistence by the Empire to remain constant and unaltered including the preservation of an old deteriorating construction of the club as well as the club member's disagreement of the admittance of the natives which convey their ignorance towards the change of time, and, simultaneously, such insistence also reveals a last-ditch effort on the point of the Empire to cling onto its dominant power before it runs out of time. With such insistence to change and adapt, John Flory, the protagonist of the novel, seems to be different or, to the least, tries to establish himself to be different from his white colleagues; he, could be seen as a representative of the Empire power, trying to find his position in the midst of a changing world where an Imperial Cosmopolitanism no longer fits.

"Comes now to search your Manhood": Flory's relationship with other characters as a reflection of the Western power

To fight the tide of the changing world, the resistance against the British colonizers rises all over as the European club's members experience; in other words, Imperial Cosmopolitanism is challenged that the whites might not be the only dominant race in the multicultural society. John Flory, the protagonist of the novel, could be seen

as an attempt of the white colonizer, as well as the British Empire, to find a new position in order to maintain the power of the Empire and its people; Flory could be seen as a character with a "dialogical" cosmopolitan mind who introduces the concept of equality to the native people in a way that he nurtures a "friendly" relationship with the native people and gives them the opportunity to enjoy an equal status with him. However, Flory's concept of equality has its limitation that he would only befriend with the natives who are able to have a quality accepted by British society. Juxtaposing Flory's relationships with Dr. Veraswami and Ko S'la, these relationships are not different in a way that it is hierarchical because though Dr. Veraswami is a doctor, he is a native Indian who reveres the British Empire and its people. He, as read in the novel, professes his awareness that he "belonged to an inferior and degenerated race" (40). Latently concealed, the passive hierarchical relationship between Flory and Dr. Veraswami is maintained; both Flory and the doctor know that, by no chance, the power in which British people is superior would not be challenged. The doctor knows his status as well as Ko S'la that they both are inferior and could not compete with the white men but rather to serve them as humble servants of sort. Enjoying the company of Dr. Veraswami and Ko S'la as his "humble and obedient" friends, Flory could not escape the colonial mentality that eventually he still holds on the white man's burden mentality to see that the white man is supreme to the natives. Therefore, it could be said that his relationships with other characters in the story reflect British colonialism in Southeast Asia in its decline as Flory could not re-establish himself as a real friend of the natives in much the same way that the Empire that could never share its power with the natives as well.

How the Empire reaches its decline could be seen through Flory's birthmark imprinted on his face. With his prominent birthmark, Flory could be seen as a subject to criticize the insincerity of the Empire to share their controlling power to the natives. Flory's birthmark individuates Flory from other people both the Westerners and the native, and that marginalizes him into a liminal space where he could examine the status of the white men in Kyuaktada clearly and probably re-establish himself with a new position within the changing scenario of Kyuaktada. In the western eyes, Flory's birthmark is seen as a visual deviance, a defect at birth; its "dark blue" color apparently makes him not entirely "white;" therefore, Flory is always reminded of this inferiority to other British men and causes him to act in a deviant manner since "there is a sidelongness about his movements, as he manoeuvred constantly to keep the birthmark out of sight" (17). Moreover, his prominent birthmark also makes Flory feel inadequate to others in a way that he evidently lacks confidence, self-awareness, and courage as seen during his conversation with Ellis where he is "unable to meet Ellis's eyes. At the best of times his birthmark made it difficult for him to look people straight in the face. And when he prepared to speak, he could feel his voice trembling — for it had a way of trembling when it should have been firm; his features, too, sometimes twitched uncontrollably" (23). In the eyes of the natives, his birthmark does not make him fit with them as well; his "dark blue" birthmark would draw attention to his face, and when one recognizes it, nobody would neglect the fact that Flory is from the Western world; though part of his face is "dark" but it could not be refused that he is a westerner, not "one of them," the natives. Likewise, the birthmark is also disgusting for the native's sight that Ko S'la, Flory's native servant, feels pity for Flory that he also considers this birthmark as a "dreadful thing." From both angles, the Western and the Eastern, it could

be said that this birthmark casts Flory off as an outsider, certainly not “one of us” for either of these two cultures. Apart from the physical perspective, the birthmark also affects Flory mentally and makes him even more pushed into the liminal space. In the novel, the birthmark is a shame indicator in a way that when Flory does something he considers anomalous inhumanely, “he always remembers the birthmark when he has done something to be ashamed of” (54). In this way, it could be seen that the birthmark gives Flory a status of a subaltern, an outsider within the two cultures. Gayatri Spivak propounds that the “subaltern” is the one who is positioned in a subordinate position within the society and unable to re-establish a voice or locus of agency of their own (Spivak "Can the Subaltern Speak?"). Moreover, in her own interview with Leon de Kock from *ARIEL: A Review of International English Literature,* Spivak specifies the definition of the subaltern that it does not only define indigenous people but may include the colonizer who cannot have access to the dominant hegemonic discourse and is thus unable to articulate a voice of his own (36). Flory, in this sense, becomes a subaltern that he cannot identify himself with the two societies; he is, therefore, pushed into a liminal space where he could witness the flaw of the Empire and how he could re-establish his status between the clash of these two societies. In this liminal space, Flory attempts to act justly by deciding whether what the Empire should do such as granting the admittance of Veraswami, an Indian doctor, to the club, and what the Empire should quit such as calling other races with insulting terms like “niggers.” Flory could explore and become conscious of the real treatment of the British Empire towards the natives, and that makes Flory different from Jim in *Lord Jim* in a way that the latter never acknowledges the privileges of being a white man in the native land.

However, in this liminality, Flory oscillates and vacillates between the imperial mindset that the whites are the superior race over the natives and the egalitarian mindset that human beings of all races are equal; his relationships with the white men and the natives are discrimination based on race, education, and sexuality which these relationships reveals that instead of sustaining the power of the Empire within Kyuaktada, they actually contribute towards expediting the decline of the Empire. Flory does, however, acknowledge these privileges of being a white man because, to some extent, he exploits his relationships with these native people. His sense of inadequacy is relieved through the companion of Veraswami and Ko S'la because these people provide him with a sense of superiority. At least, he is superior to the Indian doctor and the Burmese servant. Firstly, Flory has a good intention not to discriminate others based on their race or skin color that he befriends Dr.Veraswami, an Indian doctor and always remains impartial every time Ellis asks for his opinion on the admittance of the natives into the club. Flory's action on this part could be seen as an attempt to lessen the intense master-slave relationship between the white men and the native. However, when it comes to the time that he has to choose between his own white men and the natives; Flory makes the crucial decision to choose his own kind. He does not have the courage to voice out his own opinion towards his Englishmen, Ellis and Westfield, when they are so angry about an insulting article towards Mr. Macgregor. Personally, though he does not feel vexed by the article, he decides to "pretend to be angry enough to satisfy them [Ellis and Westfield]" and finally is forced to undersign a notice of the European club that will result in rejecting Dr.Veraswami from the club and insulting the Indian doctor using the derogatory term calling him a "nigger." In this sense, one would see that despite Flory's good intention to befriend the natives, he could not resist the peer

pressure from others in the club; in other words, he acknowledges the superior power of the white men in the club and easily complies to them. This could be interpreted as, in fact, Flory does care only to himself. His decision to acknowledge the power of Ellis and Westfield and not to be against them and his decision to sign in the club's notice underscore the fact that Flory might not want to re-establish himself with a new role or status of a changing world, but to survive and establish himself in the world where the Empire's power is fading.

Flory's relationships with other Western and native male characters also reveal how he vacillates between an imperialist mentality and an egalitarian mentality. As for Flory, the relationship with Verrall, a young man sent to head the Military Police, could be seen as an ideal British man that Flory longs for. In the novel, Flory compares himself with Verrall that in the end "somehow, Verrall had filled him with a horrible sense of inferiority" (168). This could be interpreted in such a way that Flory actually idolizes Verrall for the way that Verrall could achieve a role of military chief in his young age to the point that he is entitled "Lieutenant the Honorable," while Flory is middle-aged in habits and appearance with no spectacular achievement in his career. Moreover, Verrall effortlessly makes Elizabeth Lackersteen, the English woman whom Flory is romantically pursuing; while Flory has to put all his effort to win her heart. Most importantly, he might admire Verrall because of the young man's courage to be himself. Verral is not afraid to express his disdain towards the European people at the club; while Flory could not even say his own mind with a firm voice to other people. The character of Verrall embodies the qualities that an ideal white colonizer should have. He is capable of leading the army; he has a reserved manner; and he is able to control and to resolve the chaos caused by the natives against the white colonizers while

Flory is beaten down to the floor. Verrall, in other words, has the attributes of a white man who can well sustain the mentality of the white man's burden" to "check the show of pride," and by his "open speech and simple, an hundred times made plain." Therefore, comparing himself with all the aforementioned attributes of Verrall, it could be interpreted that, deep in his heart, Flory also upholds such colonial attributes.

The vacillation seems to be more frustrated through Flory's relationship with Dr. Veraswami, an Indian Civil Surgeon and the superintendent of the jail of Kyuaktada. On one hand, it could be recognized as how Flory has an egalitarian mind that he befriends the doctor and tries to lend his support for the doctor as a candidate to the admittance of the club. Their relationship could be seen as a mutual relationship that each of them gain benefits from each other. For Flory, Dr. Veraswami provides a space for Flory to speak his mind out. In his first appearance in the novel, Dr. Veraswami responses to Flory's joke about the Empire quite abruptly,

> 'Well, doctor, and how are things? How's the British Empire? Sick of the palsy as usual?'
>
> 'Aha, Mr Flory, she is very low, very low! Grave complications setting in. Septicaemia, peritonitis and paralysis of the ganglia. We shall have to call in the specialists, I fear. Aha!' (54)

Under the roof of Dr. Veraswami's house, there exists a free space that Flory could freely express his true feeling as,

> …what a joy to be here after that bloody Club. When I come to your house I feel like a Nonconformist minister dodging up to town and going home with a tart. Such a glorious holiday from THEM' — he motioned with one heel in the direction of the Club — 'from my beloved fellow

> Empire-builders. British prestige, the white man's burden, the pukka sahib sans peur et sans reproche — you know. Such a relief to be out of the stink of it for a little while. (54-5)

In return, befriending Flory would secure the doctor from attack or harm caused by the white colonizers or even the natives because there is a rule in Kyuaktada that one "cannot hurt an Indian if he has a European friend. (23)" Apart from a guarantee of security, Flory would also elevate Dr. Veraswami's status from a regular Indian doctor to a person that has an equal rights and voice to the British people.

However, within the relationship of Flory and Dr. Veraswami, there is a notion of discrimination that re-creates the binary opposition of the West and the East in which the former is always be the superior and the latter is the inferior. While enjoying their mutual relationship, the two might not recognize that their relationship is based on a hierarchical relationship and educational segregation. Their relationship is hierarchical one in which Flory is placed higher than Dr. Veraswami. As mentioned earlier, to befriend a European means that the Indian like Dr. Veraswami is guaranteed to be saved from harm; therefore, intentionally or not, Flory performs the role of a protector for Dr. Veraswami, at least from U Po Kyin the Burmese police official who planning to plot against the doctor. Such protection could be analyzed as an explanation why Flory enjoy to commute with the doctor; it may be because of the superior feeling that the doctor provides that fulfils Flory's sense of inferiority caused by the people in the European club. Above and beyond, their relationship is based upon an educational discrimination as well. Flory reveals his imperialist mentality through his selection of friendship; he chooses to befriend a man whose education and profession meet Flory's standards. In other words, he befriends a man whose profession is acceptable to the

Western world such as a medical doctor. Despite his racial difference, Dr. Veraswami has the attributes of a doctor; he appears as a man of wisdom, and that makes him different from other natives such as Ko S'la, who is only a simple native servant in the eyes of Flory. Flory treats Ko S'la as a companion, as someone he has grown up with; however, he also judges the latter with the colonialist stereotypes. He deems Ko S'la as "lazy and envious" person waiting only for an order from him. Flory, therefore, puts Ko S'la into an inferior position, with himself as a superior. As a result, Flory's relationship with Ko S'la can be seen as a vacillation between "mutual interdependence and colonial servitude." Additionally, a profession also plays a major part as well. Flory treats Ko S'la as his inferior because Ko S'la is only a servant; his employment, in no manners, indicates honor or British social value, unlike Dr. Veraswami, whose professions are medical, the acceptable and honorable professions within English society. This exemplifies how the British Empire really sees its colony and the people in it; therefore, no matter how hard it tries to maintain a benign image with Burma, it cannot get rid of the latent colonialist mentality.

Flory's vacillation could be seen again through his love and sexual relationship with two female characters, Elizabeth Lackersteen, an English lady and a niece of Mr. Lackersteen, and a native Burmese woman, Ma Lha May. In a love and sexual relationship, Flory also reveals that the concept of equality has an exception and he is trapped in his imperialistic mindset; he always prefers a British woman as his legal wife such that he expresses that "he would live a year in a civilized society, he would find some girl who did not mind his birthmark — a civilized girl, not a pukka memsahib — and he would marry her and endure ten, fifteen more years of Burma" (137). This reveals Flory's deepest desire, and such desire also indicates how Flory actually carries

or has a colonialist mentality in a way that he values a British woman more than a native one. Flory' desire to marry Elizabeth might be seen as an attempt for the British to maintain its power in Burma sphere because Elizabeth represents what Rosemary Marangoly George terms as "Public Domesticity," which is "a new social sphere for women to move within the masculine sphere of public life as well as contribute domestic skills." This public domesticity, by extension, provides the sense of a desired 'British home;' where the potential marriage with Elizabeth will set up the British atmosphere for Flory who is actually residing in Burma. On one hand, Flory's marriage to Elizabeth will also provide him with the sense of proper Britishness within Burma boundary, and to the greatest extent the marriage would assure Flory's full entry into the British club.

On the other hand, Ma Hla May is another example that illustrates how the British power excessively imposes its power over the native people. Flory becomes the one who exploits Ma Hla May sexually; however, Ma Hla May seems good enough to be his mistress but never his wife. In the novel, Flory's relationship with Ma Hla May could only be seen as a sexual pleasure; in contrast with Elizabeth, Flory exploits Ma Hla May's body using her as nothing but a release for sexual tension treating her as his sexual slave not his partner; their relationship is mainly physical not emotional. Ma Hla May needs to serve him in a way a slave treats one's master, "Go away," he [Flory] said, pushing her back. "I don't want you at this time of a day…Fetch some cigarettes and give me one" (52-3), read the novel. Then, when Elizabeth comes on to the scene, he decides to dismiss Ma Hla May by giving her some token monetary compensation. His decision to choose Elizabeth as a wife over Ma Hla May is evidence that Flory himself cannot escape his colonialist mentality. Though he tries so hard to act

impartially, he always slips back into his colonialist persona. He fears being rejected from the British club as, during that time, there is the enactment of the “Crewe Circular of 1909,” which “dictates the British government’s objections to concubinage and the impediment it presents to the work of imperialism” (Jayasena 19). In this triangular relationship between Flory, Elizabeth, and Ma Hla May, Flory’s desire for Elizabeth echoes how Flory is trapped within his imperialist mentality that, according to Spivak’s “female individualism” (Spivak "Three Women’s Texts and a Critique of Imperialism" 49), he perceives Elizabeth, in dichotomy with Ma Hla May, the superior one.

Nevertheless, the sexual relationship between Flory and Ma Hla May that appears to be symbolic of the Empire’s power over the natives does not seem to be as such; Flory is not the only one who is in the controlling position; the power of the Empire is contested through this relationship. The novel reveals that Flory is carnally aroused by Ma Hla May’s breast that he finally lies with her. He detests his sexual relationship with Ma Hla May as he bends it morally reprehensible and legally wrong. It is legally wrong that his practice is against the Crewe Circula of 1909; henceforth, it is morally reprehensible for Flory not only that he acts against the law, but it always reminds him that in a relationship that he supposed to be in a dominating status, he, in fact, is an inferior one. Ma Hla May is the one who exploits Flory and uses his status as a white man to gain her financial stability and social status. She knows that Flory could not resist her seduction because she had the sexual power and allure to turn him on. She “believed that lechery was a form of witchcraft, giving a woman magical powers over a man, until in the end she could weaken him to a half-idiotic slave. Each successive embrace sapped Flory’s will and made the spell stronger” (56). According

to the aforementioned reference, it could be seen that Flory is dependent to Ma Hla May that he becomes a sexual slave, and by retaining such relationship with her, the one who gains benefits is Ma Hla May that she is able to gain money from Flory and elevate her social status by boasting around on being a white man's wife. He could not resist and dismiss her openly as it would publicly admit that Flory has a love affair with the native woman. Ma Hla May, therefore, becomes a thorn in Flory's side as her name "Ma Hla May" implies. In Burmese, Ma Hla May literally means "Mrs. Beautiful Thorn;" Ma Hla May could be seen as a femme fatale, a thorn that seduces with the beauty of the native that could disrupt and destroy Flory. On one hand, she proves that she is capable of bringing about the destruction of Flory when she reveals herself as his native mistress. Her action could bring about not only the destruction of Flory in the European's club society but the Empire as well because her action reveals the fact that the Empire exploits the natives and the land as a "bosom" to serve their industrial, financial, and sexual greed. Instead of elevating the lives of the natives as suggested in their ideal white man's burden, they turn the natives and the land into prostitution; paying a cent in exchange for a greater compensation.

Through the revelation of their relationship, she unintentionally dismantles a dichotomy between the colonizers and the natives and a man and a woman, which indicates the deprivation of the Empire's power. The binary opposition where the colonizers are identified with masculinity and strength is contested by the natives who are once identified with femininity and weakness. The male colonizer is now challenged by the female native, and every time these two interact, the former becomes even weaker. Flory could not prevent Ma Hla May from revealing his weakness; this serves to underscore even more the position of decline of the Empire over the native people.

The more the colonizers try to impose power over the natives, the resistance hits back harder. Flory, as a British subject, is stuck in a crack between two societies; he attempts to re-establish his status within the disputing society, but Ma Hla May's action turns out to fail Flory's endeavor. In this case, it could be seen that Flory is a representative of the British Empire, which wants to reconcile with the natives even though it does not want to discard its power, and Ma Hla May represents a native who reacts aggressively toward the Empire when she recognizes that it exploits and takes advantage of her. Therefore, Flory's fate implies the eventual doom of the Empire if it insists to lay its imperious relationship and power over the native people.

To conclude, Flory's relationships with the characters in the novel can be seen as reflecting the decline of Western colonialism in a way that the power relation between the white men and the native people has been changed. The relationship between the colonizer and the colonized becomes less hierarchical; the white men are no longer the center of the power; western power is challenged, and, most of all is corrupted by the hands of the white men themselves. The master-slave relationship seen in *Lord Jim* has been replaced by a more equal and amicable relationship, the oppressed has a power to negotiate with their oppressors, to the extent that they have more power than the oppressors; however, despite the descent of British colonial power in Burma and other parts of the world, Flory could be able to display that he could meet the expectation of the white man's burden in helping the natives from their demise. Succinctly, there is an alteration in the hierarchical relationship; John Flory and his relationships with people in Kyuaktada might be seen as a reflection of western colonialism in Southeast Asia at its decline as the European colonialism. However, in the novel, the concept of equality also has its own limitation and exception. At the time

that *Burmese Days* is set, which is during 1920s Imperial Burma, Western colonialism, specifically, British colonialism has started to unveil its dark side such as racism, sexism, and several types of exploitation. Flory, as a British subject, sees these vices of British power in Kyuaktada, and he cannot fully identify himself with people at the British club. At the same time, however, Flory also cannot fully identify himself as non-British because he still perceives the racial other as inferior and uncivilized. Flory, therefore, finds a solution to negotiate between these two groups of people by positioning his status as a 'friend' to both British and non-British people in order to maintain harmony within the society of Kyauktada. His status as a friend and role as a supporter of Dr. Veraswami reflects how the British colonization of that time attempts to negotiate its power with local people in order to maintain its authority; however, the attempt fail as the Burma gains agency and tries to seek independence from British rule. Flory cannot remain impartial because, in fact, he must admit that he cannot escape an intrinsic colonialist mentality that he finally sees himself superior than the other non-British characters. The decline of British colonialism does not mark the end in Burma alone, in another part of the Southeast Asian region, a love-triangle between a British man, an American espionage, and a native Vietnamese female would reflect what can be seen as a breakdown of European powers and the rise of American Imperialism in Southeast Asia.

Chapter Four: Graham Greene's *The Quiet American* as a Reflection of Western Colonialism in Transition

I am persuaded no constitution was ever before so well calculated as ours for extensive empire and self government.

- Thomas Jefferson

Introduction

This part would render some comprehension of how Graham Greene's childhood, the depression he was plagued with, and his ambivalence towards political and religious stance shape his views towards others and himself and are reflected through the novel's protagonist Thomas Fowler and his relationship with other characters.

To begin with, one should look at Greene's childhood as it is the time where views towards himself and others were shaped. In 1904, Henry Graham Greene was born into a large and influential family and unlike Conrad and Orwell, Greene acquired nobility as his birthright. His father was a headmaster at Berkhamsted boarding school; his uncle also named, Graham, was one of the statesmen working with Winston Churchill and a founder of the Naval Intelligence. His family owned the renowned Greene King Brewery, which is still running up until this day. With such a family background, the young Graham Greene was therefore raised as a member of the privileged class. He once recalled that members of the Greene family were regarded by others as "the intellectual and the rich" (Greene *Collected Essays* 16). By intellectual, such fame was acquired by Greene's obsession with vast reading, and this reading had profoundly affected him since childhood that later he explained in his essay *The Lost*

Childhood that "perhaps it is only in childhood that books have any deep influence on our lives" (1).

Greene's selection of readings in his childhood seems to be a source which shaped his imperialistic views towards the foreign others and himself, and such views are also reflected through Greene's actions in his adulthood. The books that might have instilled in him an imperialistic mindset are mentioned in *The Lost Childhood,* while he recalls books that arouse his excitement and his imagination such as H. Rider Haggard's *King Solomon's Mines*, the lost world novel that has its background in an exotic location. The book seems to follow a colonial trope using an exotic land as an unexplored and seductive place waiting to be discovered and conquered, and, most of all, a place where imaginary enchanting creatures are real. Such fantasy towards exotic lands provoked Greene's impulse to travel several parts of the world. As a result of his successive travels, he produced a lot of travel writings including *Journey without Maps* and *A Lawless Road* in which even the names of these books seem to reflect the impulse on the point of Greene to explore an unknown land. In addition to these travel writings, Greene also employs foreign lands as a backdrop for his novels including *The Power and the Glory*, *The Comedians,* and *The Quiet American* where the protagonists wander and are fascinated by the lands they had resided.

Another imperialistic mindset set by Greene's childhood reading is the sense of Western technological superiority. In *The Lost Childhood*, the novels he claims to have profoundly affected him are those of Percy F. Westerman, an English writer who published his works in the Children's literature genre. Westerman's novels, such as *The Flying Submarine,* have their plot centered around a westerner using an imaginary yet innovative technology to help solve problems, most of them are political, of the natives.

As would be discussed in this chapter, the effect of technological tension is present in the writing of his novel that the westerners in Greene novels oftentimes appears as a bearer of modern technology and weapons aiming to help solve the natives' problems. Alden Pyle, Fowler's love rival *The Quiet American,* could be an evidence of this case that he a western man carries a time bomb to the city square aiming to secure Indochina from the invasion of Communism. Apart from Pyle, the French army in the novel could also be seen as a bearer of technology and also the provider of such technology to the Vietnamese natives who fought in Vietnam War. Whether with good or bad intentions, the westerners in Greene's novels often appear to represent technological advancement.

The last, yet most important, imperialistic mindset that could be interpreted as imperialistic set through his reading during his childhood is the duty of a white man towards the world, in other words, the white man's burden. This is revealed through Greene's favor of Frederick Sadleir Brereton's novels. Brereton wrote children's books that concern a "heroic deed conducted in the name of the Empire" (Paris 39). This subject matter could be perceived as contributing to how the young Greene adopts a view towards himself as well as others in a way that he, as a westerner, could help others, especially those perceived as inferior native others. The effect of such view reveals itself through Greene's implicit and explicit involvement in several political uprisings. For example, Greene helped Fidel Castro as a secret courier to deliver warm clothes and food items to Castro's rebels assembling on the high hills of Cuba; aside from that, he also wrote an essay telling of his meeting with Ho Chi Minh, the founder of the Viet Cong army, reflecting not only his sympathy towards the Viet Cong leader but also President Ngo Dinh Diem that despite their political stances, they are people who devote themselves fighting for their country's autonomy sacrificing their ordinary

way of life and becoming larger-than-life figures. Greene even imagines that he would entitle President Diem's portrait as "The Patriot Ruined by the West." The writing of this essay could be seen as Greene's latent effort to help these native leaders by providing a space to tell the world of how the West, America to be specific, has ruined the lives of the local persons as reports of real injustice actions conducted by the American army towards the native people are censored to American citizens. Greene's help could be seen as an empathic and humane action towards humanity; however, his action, too, could be seen as what Rudyard Kipling propounds in the "White Man's Burden." A white man, at some point, always plays a part to help the native people.

Even though he sympathizes with those native political figures, Greene's political stance also attests to his imperialistic mindset. It is true that he was once a member of the Communist Party and lent his assistance to the Communist movement all over the world, including Cuba and Vietnam, but once he left the Party and denounced Communism as inhumane, his political stance became ambivalent. However, his detestation towards Communism is not as strong as his abhorrence for American Imperialism as he was concerned that American materialism would worsen the world's poverty situation (Capshaw 1). He also opposed the American intervention in Vietnam; he protested such intervention in his writings and also give interviews to denounce the Americans. Ironically, his moves could be seen as a form of intervention into Vietnam politics as well because he tried to be the voice of Vietnam, the voice that could not represent Vietnam as a nation because there are some Vietnamese who preferred to side with the Americans. His imperialistic mindset of a white colonizer was revealed as Greene assumed the role of a protector to protect Vietnam from the Americans through his own voice and that rendered Vietnam and its people voiceless.

Greene thus assumed the role of a white man who has the duty to protect the native others who assume the role of his subordinates. Greene's frame of mind, in other words, could be seen as a successor of the propagation of Kipling's "The White Man's Burden" and the philosophy behind the poem. Greene's imperialistic perception is rendered through Thomas Fowler, the protagonist of *The Quiet American,* and his relationship with other characters in the novel. Therefore, this chapter would analyze the novel propounding that Thomas Fowler's relationships with other characters are based upon his self-inflicted imperialistic mindset that consequently leads to his own rack and ruin; such relationships metaphorically symbolize the transition of Western colonialism from European colonialism to American Imperialism.

This thesis defines the European colonialism and American Imperialism according to Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri's book *Empire.* The characteristics of European colonialism differ from American Imperialism in three main perspectives that are territorial boundary, power and social structure, and mechanisms to extend and maintain its power. European colonialism relies its sovereign power with a territorial boundary in which a territorial center of power decentralizes and exerts its power to its foreign territories. Therefore, each European nation-state have fixed and clear territorial boundaries to exercise and maintain its power as Hardt and Negri argue, "all the world's territories could be parceled out and the entire world map could be coded in European colors: red for British territory, blue for French, green for Portuguese, and so forth" (Negri and Hardt xii). In their foreign territories, European states establish a hierarchical social structure and territorial boundary in order to "police the purity of its own identity and to exclude all that was other" (xii). By hierarchical social structure, it means that colonial officers and subjects are on top of a social structure, while people

from other races are posited in lower ranks. By territorial boundary, it means that a colonial rule would be centered in a particular colonial city not the whole region. To succeed in the aforementioned extension of power, European colonialism employs wars and military as their mechanisms. Europeans directly imposes its weapon power to locals which consequently makes the locals become aware of the European powers as threatening.

American Imperialism is quite the contrary. Its power does not rely on a fixed boundary as Hardt and Negri's definition of it as a "decentered and deterritorializing apparatus of rule that progressively incorporates the entire global realm within its open and expanding frontiers" (xiii). In other words, America extends its power pervasively. It does not construct its own power in an explicit hierarchical structure as European colonialism but its expansion of power is based on immanence. With Protestant ethics and its past colonial experience, America believes that "power is not something that lords over us but something that we make" (165). The notion of egalitarian society and the concept of equality is introduced through American Imperialism. Everyone can be successful as long as they are productive. In consequence, it creates "hybrid identities, flexible hierarchies, and plural exchanges" (xiii). American Imperialism does not forcibly impose its politics, cultures, and economics to natives; therefore, the natives adopt and exchange cultures, lifestyles, and worldviews at their own choices. This allows the natives to combine their own native identity with the new American one and establish a new hybrid identity. The concept of an egalitarian society also leads to flexible hierarchies among Americans and native people as they, to some extent, perceive each other as equals. Lastly, American Imperialism does not expand its power through war and military, but its main mechanisms are materialism and culture.

America took hold of global market spreading its merchandise all over the world as well as releasing its culture through Hollywood films and pop music. In other words, America spread its imperial power through material and cultural consumption in which native people discursively identify with American cultures and hardly recognize that such means are a new form of western colonization.

Go Send Your Sons to Exile to Serve Your Captives' Need: Fowler's Relationship with Pyle

Representing the old form of European colonialism, Thomas Fowler, a British journalist in his fifties who is sent by an English newspaper to report about the news of an insurgency in Vietnam, constantly identifies himself with impartiality that provides a space for him to form his superior self-perception. Fowler exerts himself as superior to others in the novel, especially the westerners residing in Vietnam, by claiming himself to be impartial, not involved with any party. Despite the fact that journalists who were based in the Indochinese region would usually be called "correspondents," Fowler never subjects or defines himself and his works with such a term. Instead, he prefers to call himself as a "reporter," who accurately and objectively delivers what he considers to be factual information. The importance of being called a reporter is not only a more accurate professional term but also is his moral creed as seen in his conversation with Vigot, a French police officer who is responsible for the investigation on the murder of Alden Pyle, an American agent, "I repeated. It had been an article of my creed. The human condition being what it was, let them fight, let them love, let them murder, I would not be involved. My fellow journalists called themselves correspondents; I preferred the title of reporter. I wrote what I saw: I took no action even an opinion is a kind of action" (Greene *The Quiet American* 21). His self-assertion

in the dialogue reveals how Fowler positions himself as the omnipotent figure; he draws a line between binary spheres of "I" and "them." Fowler occupies a superior sphere that he would not have himself tainted with dirty businesses, namely fighting, taking sides, and murdering, committed by the ones he sees as "them" including the westerners and natives in Vietnam. Apart from evading a criminal involvement, Fowler's assertion of his impartiality also suggests that the omnipotence he draws himself into is that of a God-like omnipotence in which he transcends "human conditions" that cause humans to wage war. Either way, Fowler reflects his omnipotence as an independent who is not under any restraints or influence of anyone.

Pyle is one of "them" Fowler perceives as his inferior. Pyle is subordinate to Fowler in terms of the lack of immunity towards a newly exposed society of Vietnam, Fowler also values Pyle as his second fiddle because he sees that Pyle's political beliefs are naïve and ignorant. In the novel, Pyle explicitly reveals his political stance to Fowler that he is a democracy enthusiast; he believes that American democracy would liberate Vietnam and its people from repressive French colonizers and Communism as York Harding, a writer whom Pyle admires, suggests in his book, *The Way of the West*. Pyle also holds an extremely liberal view that one could take whatever means to establish Democracy even though it means killing innocent people. The night he dies, Pyle reflects his indifference toward the dead victims who died of his car-bomb plan, Pyle's liberal means to achieve Democracy, "they were only war casualties," he said. "It was a pity, but you can't always hit your target. Anyway, they died in the right cause" (171). Pyle believes that he is doing the right thing to save the native people, especially Phoung, from the rages of the war; and that Democracy is the best solution to end the war started by the French and the Communists. Fowler is upset with Pyle's stance

because it shows that the young American is ignorant of human's life; moreover, Pyle also naïvely thinks that his radical liberal view, which determines his car-bomb plan, is based on a lack of true understanding of the whole scenarios and conditions of the war. All the things Pyle knows are from a secondary source, York Harding's book. Compared to Pyle, Fowler considers himself as more mature and humane. At this point, Fowler's impartiality comes into play that he becomes omnipotent and superior to Pyle. Claiming himself as an impartial reporter gives him the opportunity to gain access to primary sources of the war's incidents including a real battlefield and direct interviews war commanders. Fowler experiences the war through real incidents such as a night spent at Phat Diem where he witnesses firsthand what the war brings about, casualties of war, homeless people, and those who knock themselves out to help the victims. While Pyle perceives the war as the fight of his ideology, Fowler becomes more humane perceiving the human side of it: he sees people's lives torn between the clashes of ideologies, and he sympathizes with the loss ones. How Fowler perceives himself as more mature and humane than Pyle is evident in his conversations with the young American a few nights before the latter is murdered, "we are the old colonial people, Pyle, but we've learnt a bit of reality, we've learned not to play with matches" (149).

Fowler's sense of superiority is developed hand in hand with a revelation he actually takes side. The already-stated hierarchical relationship between Fowler and Pyle could be observed as a conflict of individuals; however, this relationship reflects the clash of two political stances between two regional forces, Europe and America, where the former positions itself as superior. Fowler and Pyle's conversations are mostly concerned with political reflection that Fowler sides with European colonialists; whereas, Pyle is an American Imperialist. In spite of the fact that Fowler often asserts

himself as politically impartial that he does not side with the European colonialists, he slips his political partiality by referring to himself as a European colonialist and perceiving the American Imperialists like Pyle as inferior in terms of their impracticality. His partiality is evident in one of his political conversations with Pyle the night they find themselves in Phat Diem that he has lived long enough to see what mistakes the European colonialists have made by ruining the lives of the natives in India and Burma under the cause of "good conscience;" however, he lends a view that he sides with these European colonialists in terms of their practicality that "I'd rather be an exploiter who fights for what he exploits, and dies with it" (88). Fowler admits that he, together with the Europeans, may do things wrong with the natives and their lands, but at least he has learnt from such mistakes that he should be more humane. With this same reason, Fowler again draws the line differentiating himself from Pyle that he is morally superior for his humanistic view that he does care about "the individuality of the man in the paddy field" (89), while Pyle does not. In that same night in the battlefield of Phat Diem, Fowler approaches the war in the humanistic view that there are lives, include those of two soldiers sitting nearby Fowler and Pyle, hanging on a thread; while Pyle harps on a "fight for liberty" (88), ignoring the lives of the individuals. Pyle, in Fowler's point of view, is morally inferior since the young American is unable to go beyond his bullheaded political view to see the lives affected by western ideologies and aware of his own white privilege,

> I think the fact of our sitting there talking encouraged the two soldiers: perhaps they thought the sound of our white voices for voices have a colour too, yellow voices sing and black voices gargle, while ours just speak-would give an impression of numbers and keep the Viets away. They picked up their pans and

began to eat again, scraping with their chopsticks, eyes watching Pyle and me over the rim of the pan. (88)

The quotation reveals how Fowler shows that he is aware of being white and how his whiteness connotes political importance that would affect the lives of others, while Pyle fails to observe such hierarchy by dwelling on his own thought of liberty and Democracy. Moreover, Fowler also denounces Pyle and his American fellows' belief that, apart from their inhumane actions towards the native people, they are also immature and innocent as they have never fought in a real battle, "I haven't seen any Americans fighting around here" (89), their beliefs and actions are not in tune with reality. Through their conversations, Fowler represents the idea of a European colonialist who is better than Pyle who embodies the idea of American Imperialism; the Europeans learn it the hard way from their mistakes and try to improve themselves; while, the Americans ignorantly do it the hard way and learn nothing. While justifying his superiority through the rightfulness of European colonialism, Fowler secures his omnipotence that Pyle uneasily finds no way to rebut Fowler's argument on this political ground.

Fowler's sense of self-superiority and partiality are highlighted through the love triangle between Pyle and himself over a female Vietnamese native, Phoung. In the novel, Fowler resides in Saigon not by himself but with Phoung, his Vietnamese mistress, whom he cannot officially marry because Fowler fails to file his divorce with Helen, his London-dweller wife. Everything between Fowler and Phoung change since Pyle's appearance in Saigon as this young American steals Phoung's affection by offering her an official marriage, which means a better way of life and a ticket to escape the struggling life in Vietnam to see "skyscrapers and the Statue of Liberty," the same

way that Fowler promises to Phoung but fails to do so. Therefore, Phoung leaves him to stay with Pyle for such reasons. In the ruin of his love relationship caused by Pyle, Fowler seeks his victory in his love rival through pointing out the repressive life Phoung has to lead by living with Pyle; implying that life with Fowler is more independent. To live with Pyle, Phoung will be contained in a domestic sphere that she needs to fit in the American society that, in Fowler's eyes, would be tough as Pyle, once again, ignores the individuality and human feelings by affirming to Fowler that after bringing Phoung to the States he would have to leave her with his family for he has to finish his project democratizing the world. He reveals to Fowler that his mother would "kind of fit her in" (148), Fowler expresses his concern;

> I didn't know whether to feel sorry for Phuong or not she had looked forward so to the skyscrapers and the Statue of Liberty, but she had so little idea of all they would involve. Professor and Mrs. Pyle, the women's lunch clubs; would they teach her Canasta? I thought of her that first night in the Grand Monde, in her white dress, moving so exquisitely on her eighteen-year-old feet, and I thought of her a month ago, bargaining over meat at the butcher's stores in the Boulevard de la Somme. Would she like those bright clean little New England grocery stores where even the celery was wrapped in cellophane? Perhaps she would. I couldn't tell. (148)

Through his concern, it also shows Fowler's sense of superiority in the way that Pyle's offer does not truly mean a better life merely an illusion of it. Phoung will be repressed to take and fulfill the wife duty that Mrs. Pyle would ready her. The women's lunch club would be a burden for Phoung as she has to be there as Mrs. Pyle, representing her husband and not herself. Moreover, she would suffer from social

pressures that she could be alienated from the club because of her Vietnamese ethnicity as the Americans regard the Vietnamese as their enemy and also their subordinate. Thus, her wifely duties would not be easily fulfilled as crossing beyond the regional line would place her in a new hostile environment, and Pyle fails to recognize this suffering he is going to put Phoung through. In this scenario, Pyle seems to be self-centered as he does not really think of Phoung's advantage but only his ideological fulfilment to help the poor and helpless woman from Communist rivals.

On the other hand, Phoung's life with Fowler will be better. In the same quotation, Fowler believes that Phoung will lead a more independent life in Vietnam. Without crossing beyond the Vietnamese border, Phoung, in Fowler's eyes, would remain as an independent "eighteen-year-old" girl, which, the English norm, is the "coming of age" time where a girl can legally exercise her own agency including voting, buying alcohol, as well as getting married without consent from her parents. For this same reason, staying with Fowler in Vietnam would enable Phoung to exercise her own agency that she does not have to bear a burden that Pyle and his parents expect from her. Moreover, she can bargain the price of meat with sellers from the butchers' stores in the Boulevard de la Somme at a satisfying price because she is able to speak native language or French, which she has been internalized with; whereas, in the US she may not express her dissatisfaction of buying the celery wrapped in cellophane because she is not fluent in English. Such language barrier would even suppress Phoung's agency that she may hardly find true happiness in America. Fowler elevates himself to be higher than Pyle that he takes Phoung as a human being who would suffer from Pyle's offer, which obviously is an ideological liberal means that neglects individuality. Fowler recognizes the sufferings Phoung may encounter while Pyle does not by saying,

“don’t force things. She can be hurt like you or me” (148).

In addition, Fowler perceives that he is more humane than Pyle in a way of their perceptions towards Phoung. Fowler perceives Phoung as independent that she is strong and mature; while Pyle innocently assumes a role of a white colonizer who still perceives native people as a child in need of protection. This could be evident in the scene where Fowler is hospitalized and Pyle visits him,

> “She's a human being, Pyle. She's capable of deciding.”
>
> "On faked evidence. And a child at that."
>
> "She's no child. She's tougher than you'll ever be. Do you know the kind of polish that doesn't take scratches? That's Phuong. She can survive a dozen of us. She'll get old, that's all. She'll suffer from childbirth and hunger and cold and rheumatism, but she'll never suffer like we do from thoughts, obsessions-she won't scratch, she'll only decay." (124)

From their conversation, Pyle reveals that he has his mentality firmly held with the concept of the white man’s burden as he perceives Phoung as a “child” his subordinate who is in need of his protection; while Fowler treats and perceives her as an equal being who is capable to exercise her own agency. Their perceptions could be seen as a juxtaposition to illustrate between Fowler and Pyle that an old man is able to transcend and escape the old colonial mentality not to suppress a native people while the young man, representing a new liberal force, is reinforcing the old colonial mentality to suppress the native people instead of treating them as equals. Fowler’s reflection on Phoung even more illustrates how he as the old colonial power has learnt

a lesson from the past,

> But even while I made my speech and watched her turn the page (a family group with Princess Anne), I knew I was inventing a character just as much as Pyle was. One never knows another human being; for all I could tell, she was as scared as the rest of us: she didn't have the gift of expression, that was all. And I remembered that first tormenting year when I had tried so passionately to understand her, when I had begged her to tell me what she thought and had scared her with my unreasoning anger at her silences. Even my desire had been a weapon, as though when one plunged one's sword towards the victim's womb) she would lose control and speak. (124-5)

Fowler's reflection in the aforementioned quotation reflects how he has transcended his old colonial predecessors because he has learnt that to fully understand in order to live with the native people, a colonizer must not repeat a same old mistake by forcing or ripping off natives' will. Fowler is aware of his white privilege that his desire could be both physically and psychologically violence. On the other hand, Pyle still reinforces the old colonial mentality perceiving that Phoung, as a native, is fragile and immature unable to make her own will. He neglects that she has feelings. To the furthest extent, he insists on using physical violence as a "bicycle bomb" to protect Phoung. Pyle's means seem to be ironic to his own liberal means which propose human rights and equality. What America proposes, through Pyle's character, is nothing but a new colonizer who comes in a new attractive and youthful form yet full of the old violent colonial suppression to native people.

In the aforementioned, Fowler's ambivalence leads him toward a space where

he could create a binary opposition between himself and others. Such ambivalence elevates Fowler's existence to the point that, to some extent, he is confident that he is omnipotent, not subjecting himself to any philosophy. However, this ambivalence also lends another view on Fowler's self-perception that he often slips his discursive partiality to take sides as well. His discursive partiality could be explained through Sigmund Freud's psychoanalysis concept of "negation." Freud proposes his observation on negation as a communication that a person's purpose of negation is to "prevent social existence from being unduly disrupted, something could not be said or done. No matter how strong such impulses may seem, they tend to be repressed by way of 'proper behavior,' 'good manners,' or straightforward consideration for others" (Cobley 112-3). As for Fowler's case, he is able to repress his partiality and keep his proper behavior by claiming explicitly with everyone that he is not involved. He would not allow himself to comment on any war incidents and to report only facts back to his British newspaper. Engaging with no one means staying out of the problem; this is the way to keep an old expat like him to comfortably maintain a home in this foreign land, the land where he could find as an escape from Helen, his wife back in England who refuses to divorce him. Moreover, staying impartial also means he can stay with Phoung, whom he expects to be his last resort before his departure. However, when Pyle appears, Fowler's repressed partiality is spurred that his life starts to shatter; Fowler's omnipotent status of controlling both his life and also Phoung's is shaken. In order to regain his controlling power, there comes an event that he could no longer hold his impartiality: the murder of Alden Pyle. His impartiality is broken. Not that he sides with one particular party for the sake of the people of Vietnam, but he becomes partial as he wants to save his own benefits of having Phoung. Fowler's negation could be seen

as a parallel to European discursive attempt to retain its controlling power in Vietnam. In 1949, France officially announced the State of Vietnam as independent under Bảo Đại's government. As such, Vietnam did not really receive true autonomy over itself as it was still an associated state within the French Union. France's negation could be recognized through its use of language that created an illusion of freedom towards the Vietnamese people. Such negation is brought upon in order to retain France's control over Vietnam.

Regardless of Fowler's moral justification of his ownership over Phoung, he cannot resist the rise of American power over Vietnam which consequently lead to his loss of Phoung. America brings technological advancement embedded through cultural medium, and such technological improvement could be seen as superior and better than the European version of technology. First of all, American films that became popular to moviegoers in Saigon come in, as Fowler refers to, a "Technicolor" style; a more advanced version of Britain's "Kinemacolor." The technicolor is a film color process developed from the Britain's kinemacolor by Hollywood. It comes in a more saturated color that appeals and stimulates audiences' emotions. Phoung is one of the moviegoers who favors American films. This could imply how America discursively spreads its consumerism by appealing native people through entertainment. Moreover, in these American films, there is a reinforcement of the same white man's burden mentality as these films star Tyrone Power, an American actor, acting in a manner of a white colonizer who comes to the native land and courageously defend helpless native women, "…it may have been Tyrone Power (I don't know how to distinguish them in tights), swung on ropes and leapt from balconies and rode bareback into technicolor dawns. He rescued a girl and killed his enemy and led a charmed life" (173-4). In

addition, these films present an American man with courage, youthfulness, and passion to really help other people; these elements also match an image of Pyle, the image that is in contrast with Fowler who is an old man and cannot offer Phoung a prosperous life in the future.

Secondly, American technological advancement that surpasses European technology comes in the form of a lavatory. The scene when Fowler goes to the American Legation seeking for Pyle is the moment he realizes how he has been directly and discursively defeated by Americans,

> I went into the passage. There was a door opposite me marked Men. I went in and locked the door and sitting with my bead against the cold wall I cried. I hadn't cried until now. Even their lavatories were air-conditioned, and presently the temperate tempered air dried my tears as it dries the spit in your mouth and the seed in your body. (139)

The legation's air-conditioned lavatory is an embodiment American technological advancement as an American inventor, Willis Carrier, is the one who invents the modern air conditioning machine. This is one of the comforting tools that could be appealing to Vietnamese people as the country is located in a tropical and temperate zone. Moreover, placing an air-conditioner in a lavatory could indicate American's superfluous wealth as well that it is rich enough to be able to spend money extravagantly. These facts eventually hit Fowler and that makes him feel helpless and even insubordinate to the American power to the point that it does not conquer his thoughts that he becomes an inferior to an American, but his body is also suppressed and defeated as well. In short, European colonialism could now be seen as giving in to

American Imperialism in the way that it cannot compete with American technological advancement. The technological advancement has always been an excuse of westerners to conquer native lands, and in *The Quiet American* one could be able to see that this same strategy is used but it is the American technology that is able to conquer both the native land and people's hearts not the European technology.

Fowler's involvement in the murder of Pyle could be seen as his attempt to resist the transition of power; however, it turns out to be a trigger that leads to Fowler's self-destruction. After the death of Pyle, instead of finding his peace towards the secured omnipotence that he no longer has a competitor in terms of love and politics, Fowler discovers that his morality is shaken by the decision to kill Pyle. Fowler's concept of self-superiority is disrupted as Paul Cobley proposes in his *Narrative* that "when the aggressors are most certain of their omnipotence, or most assured of the unity of their identity and its superiority over others, they are, paradoxically, at their most impotent" (119).

Fowler's destruction could be seen as a reflection of the destruction at the individual level as well as that of European colonialism in Vietnam; it is evident through Fowler himself and his sexual relationship with Phoung. Fowler's self-destruction could be seen as self-inflicted. He falls into a trap he set by himself; the plan he plots to get rid of Pyle also returns to hit him so hard as well that he comes to the realization that he actually is hypocritical and certainly not impartial, and he also epitomize a repressive colonialist like Pyle. After Pyle's death, Fowler is struck by a moral guilt as his involvement does disrupt his morality and also his principles of not getting involved, "I had betrayed my own principles; I had become engage as Pyle, and

it seemed to me that no decision would ever be simple again" (175). Fowler's self-disappointment could be seen as a disruption of Fowler's omnipotent status that he, in the first place, perceives himself as God-like who is able to transcend the "human conditions;" however, he could not because he is full of sentiments. He cannot keep his calm and tolerate political differences, and he also envies Pyle for the fact that the latter is the one who wins Phoung that he cannot control himself and goes to the American Legation and discloses Pyle's affair with Phoung to other people. Therefore, in the end, he needs to suffer from his self-inflicted moral dilemma that "no decision would ever be simple again." Moreover, the binary pole that Fowler always positions himself to be morally higher than Pyle is now shaken because he is in fact is at the same level with Pyle in the lack of humanity. Fowler becomes hypocritical that he does not actually care for the life of a person who would have lost something in the war; he justifies the loss of Pyle's life for the sake of humanity by referring to the French bomber pilot Captain Trouin's words, "one has to take sides. If one is to remain human" (166): the same reason with Pyle who justifies his liberal means as the means for humanity. The two are equal on the same ground that they try to be heroes helping save Vietnam, whom to them is like a damsel in distress. In the end, for Fowler, Pyle becomes "only the war casualties." The omnipotent self of Fowler, to some extent, becomes impotent that he actually subjects himself with his own sentiments.

Apart from the destruction as an individual, Fowler's self-destruction could be seen as a metaphorical destruction of the European colonialism in Vietnam too. The conversation between Fowler and Pyle the night before the latter is murdered lends a view on the decline of European colonialism and the rise to American Imperialism. Pyle comes to seek reconciliation with Fowler after he has taken Phoung from Fowler and

after the old English journalist finds out of his involvement in the car bombing, “I know you disagree with me, but we can disagree, can’t we, and be friends?,” Pyle asks to which Fowler replies “I don’t know. I don’t think so” (169). This reveals a difference in two ideological views: Democracy and European colonialism. Democracy as Pyle represents is more open-minded which will tolerate a political difference that one can believe and act according to one’s belief freely. On the other hand, Fowler’s reply reflects the mentality of a colonizer like those the British colonizers in the European Club in *Burmese Days* that they would not tolerate any political differences, any revolutionary acts that come in a way of the colonizers would be removed or eradicated away like Fowler’s murder plan towards Pyle. Fowler’s reaction could be seen as unsuitable with a change in political scenario in Vietnam that there are movements set to against the French repressive colonial rule in Vietnam; therefore, Fowler’s intolerance of political difference could be seen as a destruction of the close-minded European colonialism; whereas Pyle’s point of view would be more welcoming to Vietnam as reflected in Pyle’s tolerance of Fowler’s stubborn imperialist mindset.

Fowler’s Loved Egyptian Night: Fowler’s relationship with Phoung

Apart from Fowler himself that inflicts his own destruction, Fowler’s sexual relationship with Phoung has pushed his destruction even worse, and, through this love relationship, the end of European colonialism has become even obvious that it finally gives way to American Imperialism. First of all, Fowler’s relationship with Phoung could be seen as a subversion of European imperialism. As in the aforementioned of Fowler’s sense of superiority that he is superior to Pyle in a way that he truly cares for Phoung, in reality, he is also perform the same suppressive acts as Pyle does that he

positions himself as a dominant and Phoung as his subordinate. Their hierarchical relationship is evident during the time of Pyle's murder investigation. Fowler insists that Phoung would not talk or be investigated by anyone without permission, "…I refused to allow him to question Phoung without me…" (8). On one hand, this act could be seen as Fowler's self-protection covering up his guilt, but on the other hand, it could be seen as Fowler's attempt to show his ownership over Phoung to everyone. Fowler's refusal reflects his attempt to regain patronizing ownership toward Phoung and to rip off her agency deciding whom she can converse with: a servant should listen to her master and must have to be allowed to do things according to her master's consent. Moreover, he creates a power structure whereby Phoung needs to remain in domestic area and fulfil wifely duties: the expectation that would make Fowler no different from Pyle. He enjoys the comfort of the home Phoung makes for him that she prepares his opium pipe when he gets back from work or even loosens mail envelops for him; from this perception, Phoung is also subservient through her relationship with Fowler that restricts her in a domestic sphere expected to fulfil her master's needs in order to avail of the opportunity to leave Vietnam. All Fowler's possessive acts as well as his master-slave relationship with Phoung reflect the mentality of the European colonialism also reflected in the two previous novels in a way that the European colonizer never really sees the native people as equal. As for a woman, things are even worse that the status of a native woman is lesser than a human being or equal to an object that can be possessed. It is evident when he metaphorically compares Phoung with an indigenous herb, "I thought that if I smelt her skin it would have the faintest fragrance of opium, and her colour was that of the small flame. I had seen the flowers on her dress beside the canals in the north, she was indigenous like a herb, and I never wanted to go home"

(7).

However, Phoung subverts the hierarchical position between herself and Fowler through an exercise of her own agency. With regard to an economic constraint that a native woman could leave the country if she has to accompany her foreign legal husband, Phoung employs such constraints as her weapon to disrupt Fowler's power structure and emancipate her power. She dismisses Fowler who fails to deliver her a more prosperous life as he is unable to file a divorce from his wife back in England; therefore, she goes for Pyle, who is single and promises to provide her an opportunity to leave Vietnam. Phoung's free decision could be seen as a reinterpretation of the roles available to woman under all constraints. They may not escape the custom to marry a man in order to elevate their social and economic status; however, they, to some extent, can choose who they are going to marry; the decision is not Fowler's per se but of Phoung's too. Her decision subverts the hierarchy constructed by Fowler that it reveals to him that Phoung is owned by nobody. Moreover, Fowler's sense of superior by assuming the role of the protector of Phoung becomes even more impotent through Phoung's decision to leave: Fowler becomes the subordinate one who depends on Phoung, "I want to keep the sights of those silk-trousered figures moving with grace through the humid noon, I wanted Phuong and my home had shifted its ground eight thousand miles" (18).

Moreover, losing Phoung to Pyle could also be seen as how the old colonial power is losing its ownership towards its colony. In *Lord Jim*, Jim teaches Jewel his English language, in that way he acquires his ownership over her. That also means he could penetrates his controlling power over her mind and body through his language.

However, in *The Quiet American*, Fowler's relationship with Phoung works on the contrary. Fowler loses his ownership over Phoung as evident in a scene where he is devastated when he finds out that Phoung has a love affair with Pyle,

> Loneliness lay in my bed and I took loneliness into my arms at night. She didn't change; she cooked for me, she made my pipes, she gently and sweetly laid out her body for my pleasure (but it was no longer a pleasure), and just as in those early days I wanted her mind, now I wanted to read her thoughts, but they were hidden away in a language I couldn't speak. I didn't want to question her. I didn't want to make her lie (as long as no lie was spoken openly I could pretend that we were the same to each other as we had always been), but suddenly my anxiety would speak for me; and I said, "When did you last see Pyle?" (132)

Fowler has no ownership over Phoung at all. There is no lingual bond between the two to make these two communicate and fully understand each other, so Fowler cannot communicate his thoughts and his ideas to Phoung. Therefore, this could be seen that despite of Fowler's superior status as a colonizer is also disrupted as well because it is Fowler himself who become Phoung's subordinate. His thoughts and anxiety are centered around Phoung's issues, and it is revealing to himself that he cannot control her both physically and mentally.

Phoung's agency and superior status over Fowler could also be seen through the meaning of her name. In Vietnamese the name "Phoung" translates as "Phoenix" in English, and the use of this name bears a connotation on so many levels. First of all, a phoenix is a bird that symbolizes a natural being that born free; the more one tries to

pursue it, the further it will fly away. This could well explain the relationship between Fowler and Phoung as it is revealed in the novel that even though he tries so hard to keep her with him, he still could not really capture her heart. Secondly, Phoung could symbolize a modern woman who rejects male domination. According to Greek mythology, a phoenix is a bird that rises from the ashes of its predecessor; the means of reproduction is therefore changed from a normal process. It needs only one to reproduces oneself; that means Phoung can gather herself and rise freely without male involvement. In this light, portraying Phoung as well as Vietnam could be seen as an emancipation of women, especially native women, and Vietnam that it would no longer tolerate an abusive system of the west. Phoung's independence could be recounted as in the same manner as the novel of Charlotte Bronte *Jane Eyre* with the titular character saying, "I am no bird and no net ensnares me: I am a free human being with an independent will" (Brontë 216).

Fowler's relationship with Phoung does not stop only at the subversion of the strict hierarchical relationship between the colonizer and the colonized, it also reveals the rise of American Imperialism as well. Such rise of the American power comes through Phoung's knowledge of the West when she confuses the knowledge of the west by replacing the landscape of the British Empire, the old colonial power, with the landscape of America,

> 'The skyscrapers. The Empire State Building.'
>
> She said with a small hesitation, 'I want to see the Cheddar Gorge.'
>
> 'It isn't the Grand Canyon.' (180)

From Fowler and Phoung's conversation, this reveals how American Imperialism has crept in and placed its power over the old European power. Phoung,

representing Vietnam, is now under the discursive power of America. The American means to lay its power is unlike the direct establishment of physical administration in the land of its colony; instead, it is a crypto-colonialism that comes in the form of culture and entertainment. The fact that London back at the time had no skyscrapers, and the Empire State Building is American is the obvious fact that Phoung's mentality is now dependent on the knowledge of America. Moreover, the act of replacing one's landscape over another land could be seen as a colonial tradition that the colonizer would replace his homeland's architectures upon the colonized land that, on one hand, it is an emancipation of his power, and, on the other hand, it lends him the familiar sense of home within the border of the foreign land he dwells in. Therefore, Phoung's confusion could be seen as representing America's victory over the old European colonialism that it successfully instills its landscape in the mind of Phoung. Even though Pyle is dead, Fowler still has to contend with what Pyle has left with Phoung: the knowledge about America. The replacement of the picture of home even turns Fowler impotent that he even feels insecure that "everything has gone right with me since he had died, but how I wished there existed someone to whom I could say that I was sorry" (180). From Fowler's reflection, his plan to remove Pyle from everyone's life becomes a failure as he realizes that Pyle has left as a physical form, but his thoughts and ideas remain. Moreover, Pyle becomes like a ghost within his heart that would haunt Fowler to a self-doubt of his morality.

In conclusion, Graham Greene's *The Quiet American* explores a transition of Western colonialism from European colonialism to American Imperialism. As in the novel, the transition is made and illustrated through a love triangle between Fowler, Pyle, and Phoung. Pyle represents the American Imperialism that comes in a youthful

and attractive form that appeals Phoung to the point that she agrees reside with him and leave Fowler. Fowler, on the other hand, represents the old colonial power, who encounters the decline of his own life and his colonial power. Fowler, in the end, finds out that the one who pulls the trigger to his own failure is no one but himself. Fowler's false perception of himself also reflects not only the downfall of the novel's protagonist, but it also represents the downfall of the European colonialism that to the last minute stubbornly holding on its imperialism towards the western others as well as the native others that it insists to retain its vertical hierarchical relationship with the others. In conclusion, it can mildly say that *The Quiet American* reflects the transition of western colonialism from European form to American Imperialism. As the novel reflects, European colonialism has to give way to American Imperialism, though repressive in a disguise but it offers more technological advancement and pervasive friendly relationship with others.

Chapter Five: Conclusion

This thesis examines the three British novels as reflections of three phases of western colonialism in Southeast Asia through the protagonists' interactions with western, non-western, male, and female characters in which these relationships are based on the concept of the white man's burden. *Lord Jim* reflects the peak, *Burmese Days* reflects the decline, and *The Quiet American* reflects the transition from European colonialism to American Imperialism. However, the thesis found that from the peak to the decline, the western paradigm of the white man's burden which forms the crux of Rudyard Kipling's "The White Man's Burden*"* is still in place.

Lord Jim might be as a reflection of western colonialism at its peak in the way that Jim, the protagonist, fully believes in the concept of the white man's burden, and therefore acts accordingly. His interactions with other characters are based on that worldview which consequently enables him to successfully conquer the hearts of the native people in Patusan. On the other hand, *Burmese Days* is seen to reflect western colonialism at its decline. John Flory, the protagonist, questions but cannot escape the white man's burden mentality, and his interactions with other characters, both white and non-white, are based on such mentality which is incompatible with Kyuaktada society where resentment towards western colonizers becomes pervasive. *The Quiet American* might reflect western colonialism at its transition where European colonialism gives way to American Imperialism. Thomas Fowler, the protagonist, and his love triangle with Alden Pyle and Phoung reaffirms the notion of the white man's burden. However, such mentality is sustained not by a direct and hierarchical European power but discursive American Imperialism.

The three phases could be read through the changing roles and power of the white male protagonists. In *Lord Jim*, Jim represents the peak as he perceives himself as the embodiment of the white colonizer who firmly believes in the task that a white man should take in order to help helpless native people from peril. Symbolically portrayed in outstanding outfits and postures, Jim also reveals the mindset of a romantic hero who wanders into an unknown land, defeats a demon, and conquers the land. Jim does succeed with his mission of saving a native land, even at the risk of sacrificing his life, and this act transcends him to be a larger-than-life figure who is revered by the natives he rules over. In the end, Jim does secure the status of a white man in a native land by establishing a master-slave binary pole with the natives a subordinate role and the white colonizers assuming the role of the protector, the leader, and the conqueror of the land. This obvious status of Jim reflects the success of the colonizer w… at and such success reveals the peak of Western colonialism over its colonies that it is able to establish its superior status as the true conqueror of the land.

A role and power of the white male protagonist become weak in *Burmese Days*. Flory represents Western colonialism at its decline with native people of Kyuaktada starting stage their rebel against their white colonizers. The obvious master-slave relationship seen in *Lord Jim* becomes less palpable and hierarchical, and Flory attempts to befriend native characters like Dr.Veraswami and Ko S'la, introducing the concept of equality to Kyuaktada. However, his success turns to failure as Flory could not really escape his deeply rooted imperialistic mentality viewing the natives as his subordinates. He befriends Dr.Veraswami because the doctor is a professional accepted by westerners, and also the doctor provides Flory with a sense of superiority as he is always influential towards the westerners. Ko S'la also provides Flory with a similar

sense of superiority readily accepting the subordinate role of a servant. Moreover, even though Flory tries to remain impartial by reconciling between the two forces of the British Empire, exercising through the European Club of Kyuaktada, and the natives; eventually, he takes sides. His impartiality becomes apparent through his relationships with two female characters, Elizabeth and Ma Hla May. His sexual and romantic desire towards these two women is significantly different as it represents a clash between the mind and the body pursuing Elizabeth because she connotes a social norm that one must follow; whereas, Ma Hla May could only satisfy him with physical pleasure. His suicide at the end of the novel is a statement of how he eventually does take sides because if he is an egalitarian as he perceives himself to be, he should not even care about his status at the European Club and could happily live among the natives. Flory and his relationship, therefore, affirms the imperialistic mindset of the white man's burden that a white man should never give up his imperialistic mentality to occupy the position of most superior one; however, the affirmation of this imperialistic mindset is a self-inflicted destruction of the Empire because such mentality traps both the white man who is instilled with such mentality as well as the Empire itself which does not make any concessions with the natives.

In *The Quiet American*, the transition of western colonialism from European colonialism to American Imperialism is reflected through the changing roles and power of Fowler and Pyle. Even though both men fail to perform a protecting role to Phoung; however, in comparison, the dead Pyle seems to be more successful in transplanting American cultures than the living Fowler who is powerless to Phoung and cannot diminish her favor towards American cultures. Both Fowler and Pyle try to exercise their own powers over Phoung which could be seen as a battle between two western

powers, Europe and America, over territorial and ideological dominance in Vietnam. Their attempts fail and such failures are inflicted by their sense of self-superiority. Fowler's sense of self-superiority is reflected through his constant claim of his impartiality that he would not get engaged in the insurgency taking place in Vietnam; he is omnipotent, not dependent on particular parties or ideologies. On the other hand, Pyle's sense of self-superiority is evident in his firm belief in democracy that determines him to carelessly violate other's rights. The two men attempt to exercise their power and self-superiority through their love triangle with Phoung in a way that they try to patronize her. Their attempts fail because it is Phoung who succeeds in exercising her own power over these two men. However, when Pyle, the American spy, comes into the scene, Fowler's impartiality together with his omnipotence becomes shaken and are reduced to the state of impotence. At first, Fowler perceives himself as superior to Pyle because he does not take sides and is more humane than the American; however, he oftentimes slips his partiality by polarizing Pyle and himself that the American is too naïve and stubborn, while the British subject like him is more mature and experienced. Like Flory, Fowler cannot escape an imperialistic mentality that he finally sets his own destruction that he finally takes side with the Communist to get rid of Pyle; the moment he decides to give up his impartiality is the moment that his omnipotent status becomes impotent. Fowler's love relationship with Phoung also erodes his superior status as it reveals his imperialistic idea that he perceives the native female as his object, the weak that is in need of protection. He puts Phoung in a subordinate status perceiving her as an inferior by comparing her with a native herb, a status of an object not human being. Like Fowler, Pyle also fails to establishes a status of a savior to protect Phoung as he naively believes in Democracy that finally puts an

end to his life. However, that is not a complete failure as Phoung internalizes with American cultures while she is staying with Pyle. Phoung's internalization with American culture and her disloyalty to Fowler could be seen as the transition of western colonialism when native people start to favor American culture over former colonial rules.

Apart from the changing roles and powers of the protagonists, the exercise of female agency in the selected novels could be seen as a reflection of the three phases of western colonialism as well. In *Lord Jim*, Jewel's agency reflects the peak of western colonialism because her character embodies an inferior status of a colonized subject. For Jim, Jewel completely belongs to him; he replaces her Malay name into an English object as Jewel; this gives Jim the sense of ownership over Jewel and such action reflects a mentality of the colonizer who often claims its ownership over the land he disembarks on. Apart from that, Jim also masters Jewel through the suppression of her own tongue as he teaches her to speak English that consequently Jewel has to speak in Jim's accent. This could be seen as how patriarchal power suppresses the female power. Moreover, the sexual relationship between Jim and Jewel also reflects the colonial norm the creates a power structure through an unofficial marriage between a white male colonizer and a female native. To sum up, Jewel's agency has been suppressed by Jim, and through this relationship, it could be seen as a metaphor of how western colonizers suppress their colonized subjects' agency.

In *Burmese Days*, a woman's agency reveals the better condition of female autonomy which disrupted the patriarchal power that is a base of western colonialism in Kyuaktada, thus the advance of female autonomy reflects the decline of the western colonialism. In the novel, the patriarchal power is disrupted by female autonomy

through a native female character, Ma Hla May as she voices out her resentment in her own native language. Flory represents the dominant power since he belongs to the colonial police force that has control over the native people. However, his power is disrupted the moment Ma Hla May speaks out in her native Burmese language revealing their prohibited sexual relationship. Ma Hla May's action could be seen as a disruption of patriarchal power at two levels. First, it destroys Flory's controlling power that he, as a man, could not control his own female subject; Ma Hla May, unlike Jewel, is not submissive and controllable. Moreover, speaking Burmese could be interpreted as a rebellious act against the controlling power. In *Lord Jim*, as a colonized subject Jewel's autonomy is diminished because she has to communicate with Jim in his language, but for Ma Hla May, she exercises her own agency that she voices out in her native tongue breaking the English narrative of the story, revealing Flory's secret that he has committed adultery against the British norms. The outburst out of Ma Hla May's voice could be interpreted as a rebellious act on the part of the colonized Burmese people who try to revolt against the British power that is too suppressive holding the natives as inferior, second-class citizen.

In *The Quiet American*, women's agency could be seen as a reflection of western colonialism at its transition. Phoung's autonomy is portrayed to be less repressive than the other two native female characters because she can freely exercise her own will: making her own choice whether to stay with Fowler or Pyle. Even though the two white men perceive her as fragile and dependent, Phoung's relationship with these males reveals that she could bring the power of these two men to destruction through her delicacy. She brings Pyle's life to an end as she makes Fowler jealous of her that he eventually makes the decision to get involved in Pyle's murder. Through

this murder, she also leaves Fowler in distress because getting involved is against his own morality. Apart from the literal destruction Phoung brings upon the two white men, she also brings about a symbolical transition of Western colonialism in a way that her knowledge and interest of the West is no longer of European but American: she internalizes with American cultures she exposes through American films and the time she lives with Pyle. She, therefore, confuses America and the Great Empire knowledge and replaces British geographical and architectural landscape with an American one. Phoung's interest could be seen as reflecting how the European direct control power over the native land has started to fade, and it gives way to American Imperialism that has spread its influence directly and discursively: a direct contact between American men and an indirect cultural medium such as films.

Along with the protagonists' relationships with other characters, one of the main focus of this thesis is the ideology of the white man's burden, as propounded, through these three novels is the major force which determines the protagonists' actions. The White Man's Burden as seen in these three novels is persistent in a way that the protagonists perceive themselves higher than other characters, especially the native characters. However, in such persistence, there is fluctuation of such mentality which could be observed through the protagonists' interaction with others, and this fluctuation also reflects the three phases of western colonialism. Jim could be seen as an embodiment of a white colonizer who firmly adheres to the white man's burden concept. He acts accordingly to what a white colonizer should do with the natives to the point that he never questions this mentality and also his actions; his decisions are based on what he deems to be a good white man bearing the burden to defend the natives without questioning that whether his actions are truly beneficial for the natives. In the

end, Jim fulfills his duty as a white colonizer as proposed in the burden, and his success symbolizes the peak of western colonialism in a way that a white man comes and conquers not only the physical land but also the heart of the native people. However, his eventual death could be interpreted as how the white man's colonization is only for his own good as Jim decides to die in order to redeem his lost honor; the fact is that he chooses himself rather than the natives who object him to give up his life. While Jim holds firmly of the White Man's Burden worldview, Flory in *Burmese Days* is confused and trapped in this mentality. He sees a fallacy of this White Man's mentality, so Flory starts to question this idea because he witnesses that it is inapplicable with the social context he lives in. He sees that the westerners living in Kyuaktada treat the natives badly, so the native people become disobedient and rebellious. However, he could not escape such mentality fully because, first of all, he stills perceives himself higher than the natives that he befriends with the natives that make him feels superior. Moreover, he assumes the role of the protector to defend Dr. Veraswami in order to secure this native a place in the European Club. In the end, Flory's attempt to befriend and to negotiate a power between the colonizers and the native become a failure as the novel reveals that he still sees the natives as superior, and what he has done is only for his own prosperity as he wants to win a favor of both the westerners and the natives. Flory's failure reflects the western colonialism at its decline as it shows how the British Empire still clings so much on its power and would not really want to let loose. In *The Quiet American*, both Fowler and Pyle carry the White Man's Burden mentality because they claim to try to protect Phoung in accordance with the political philosophy they believe in, and this reflects the transition of western colonialism from European colonialism to American Imperialism. Both men perceive Phoung as their subject, weak and in need

of protection; obviously, their mentalities could be considered as the white man's worldview. Moreover, their justification in protecting Phoung is only to fulfill their personal desire and not really for the benefit of the native woman's prosperity. Both men's shared worldview reflects the transition of western colonialism in a way that Phoung assumes the role of the protected, but her favorable attitude shifts from European colonialism to American Imperialism because she perceives that the latter one can offer her a fresh and modern way of life rather than the old one as of Fowler's old British colonial power.

Through these three novels, the concept of the white man's burden becomes a major force that determines the three protagonists' motivations. They consciously and unconsciously hold on to such belief that it actually becomes these white men's burdens. The protagonists encounter with physical, mental, and spiritual threats in order to fulfill the burdens which turn out to be hollow and yield nothing in return. Henceforth, these burdens become the burdens of the native people too because they become victims who are exploited by the white male protagonists to ensure the success of their white man's mission. In conclusion, both the white men and the native people become victims who are trapped in this deep-rooted mentality. In the end, there is no "proffered laurel and ungrudged praise" for these white men because the "real threat of terror" might be when they "take up the White Man's burden."

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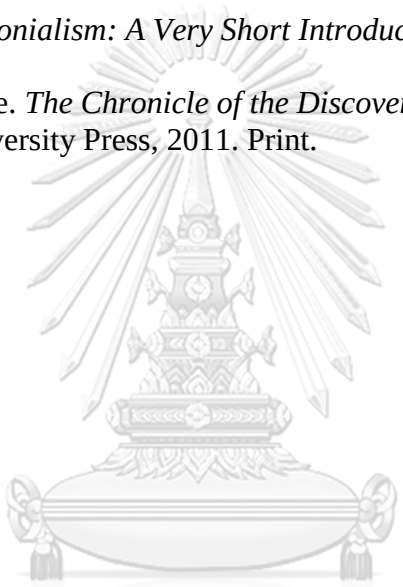

APPENDIX

VITA

Navarach Khamsuwan is a graduate student in English literature at Chulalongkorn University. She has gradually developed her interest in British and American literature while she was a bachelor student in English at Mahidol University. Her area of interest includes post-colonial literature, post-colonialism, and women's studies. She received TRF Master Research Grant (TRF-MAG) in 2017.