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PAUL SCOTT'S *THE JEWEL IN THE CROWN*: A NOVELIST'S PHILOSOPHY OF
HISTORY AND THE END OF THE BRITISH RAJ

by

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Bachelor of Arts, Bethel University, 1989

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Submitted to the Graduate Faculty

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for the degree of

Master of Arts

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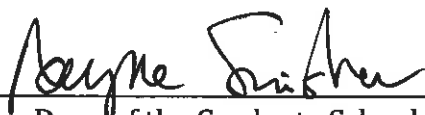
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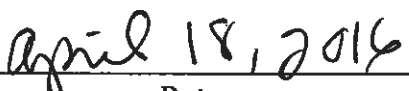
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To

Miranda, Lauren, and Kevin
(Each one a Pippin, Merry, and Sam),

Ken and Nora

and

Dr. Gordon Iseminger

ABSTRACT

This thesis is a study of Paul Scott's best-known novel *The Jewel in the Crown*, published in 1966. Scott noted that much of the research and writing on the British Raj that ended in 1947, lacked an adequate understanding of the union that had endured for more than three centuries. Scott believed too that many interpretations of why the Raj ended relied too heavily on monolithic categories of "us and them" and that they over-emphasized the socio-political and economic influences of empire. He also believed that many scholars of the Raj ignored the love that existed among all the people who lived in India (including Hindu, Muslim, British, and Eurasian) and that, by failing to acknowledge the love, writers deprived their readers of the joy inherent in those memories. Therefore, they were unable to offer satisfactory explanations of why the Raj ended the way it did.

With his skill as an author, Scott used his novel to explain his philosophy of history and to discuss the end of the British Raj by including the voices of the individuals who experienced the Raj, those who represented it in all its complexity. He placed his characters in a setting in northern India where they, and not the socio-political and economic climate, played center stage. Through their interpersonal exchanges, the characters revealed the thoughts, feelings, and emotions that explained why they acted as they did during this period. The places in which they did so retained their history and influenced the thoughts and behaviors of those who followed, connecting past to present and having an impact on the future.

Scott used symbols and metaphors to reveal these connections, the two most prominent being the MacGregor House and Bibighar Gardens. Both reflected important aspects of Indo-British history, and they helped to explain the relationship that existed at the end of the Raj. By relating the actions of those who inhabited and visited these places, together with the histories of the places, Scott allowed his readers to experience the past and, thus, to understand, not only how the Raj had ended but, more significantly, why it had ended.

Paul Scott not only used his unique philosophy of history to explain why the Raj ended the way it did, but also showed that decency and integrity were the acme of human interaction and that both could be found in all humans, no matter their race or their station in life. In his novel the characters revealed their intentions and character and Scott believed that both were foundational to history because the consequences at the nexus of personal interactions could not be predetermined. They could only be recorded by the places in which they occurred and then remembered by people in the future who frequented these places.

Scott was not dogmatic in his approach, but he metaphorically guided his readers through the novel in order to explore, not only what had happened, but also why. By revealing his unique philosophy of history, he succeeded in sharing with his readers the joy of the Indo-British relationship, with all of its love, complexities, and concurrent difficulties.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION AND HISTORIOGRAPHY

TIME AND PLACE: PAUL SCOTT'S PHILOSOPHY OF HISTORY AND THE MACGREGOR HOUSE AND BIBIGHAR GARDENS AS SYMBOLIC METAPHORS

"The historian will tell you what happened. The novelist will tell you what it felt like."¹

Time and place are two fundamental elements of history, and historians seek to interpret the events that occur within these elements. To Paul Scott, there was no greater event in time and place than the end of the British Raj in India. His best-known novel, *The Jewel in the Crown*, explored the Indo-British relationship at its close. Yet his philosophy of history was unique. Rather than concentrating on the greater socio-political and economic influences of empire and how they contributed to conflict and divergence, Scott focused on individuals and personal connections. As one of his biographers, Janis Haswell, wrote, Scott "carefully placed his characters in various relationships to their environment, to each other, and ultimately to the reader."²

For Scott, places were "rooted in the physical order, but also embedded in psychological, intellectual, and emotional context as well as in time, with a specific

¹ E.L. Doctorow, *TIME Magazine*, July 21, 2006.

² Janis Haswell, *Paul Scott's Philosophy of Place(s): The Fiction of Relationality (Studies in Twentieth-Century British Literature, Vol. 5)* (New York NY: Peter Lang Publishing, Inc., 2002), 65.

relation to past and future.”³ As such, the locations and buildings in which he placed his characters were symbolic and they served as metaphors through which both he and the reader could share what he called a “moral dialogue.”⁴ The two most prominent examples in *The Jewel in the Crown* are the MacGregor House and the Bibighar Gardens. Scott used both to describe the history of the Indo-British relationship and his philosophical approach to history. Yet the author did not impose his position. He had an intrinsic belief that people choose to hate or to love and to act (and treat others) with dignity. But, he explained, “a novel cannot effectively be built on dogma. For myself, the act of writing a novel is an act of asking questions, not answering them.”⁵ This thesis explores Scott’s unique philosophy of history by focusing on these two places and the way in which Scott used them to symbolize the history and the end of the Indo-British relationship in India.

Scott asked his questions in ways that did not eschew the historical context. Indeed, historical context was the setting for his work and he strove for historical accuracy. Scott immersed himself in primary research on India, focusing on the Quit India Movement and the Indian National Army as it existed in the 1940’s.⁶ But for Scott, what happened in the wider world, at any point in history, merely set the stage upon which individual actors played the parts of their choosing. Scott saw the

³ Haswell, *Paul Scott’s Philosophy of Place(s)*, 73.

⁴ Haswell, *Paul Scott’s Philosophy of Place(s)*, 11.

⁵ Paul Scott, *My Appointment With the Muse*, ed. Shelley Reece (London: Heinemann, 1986), 114.

⁶ Haswell, *Paul Scott’s Philosophy of Place(s)*, 66.

actors' lives as unscripted, and he believed that the way in which they chose to act and react revealed their characters. That could only happen through encounters with others, and it was for this reason that Scott explored personal connections. He assumed neither optimistic nor pessimistic outcomes from these engagements. Scott considered his readers to be "participants in an exploration not only of the British in India, but of humanness itself."⁷ Scott held no particular political affiliations. He was "more concerned with the spiritual pilgrimage of individuals than with the fate of nations" and he saw his role as being that of a narrator, revealing only what he observed through his experiences.⁸

For Scott, time, place, and the events that occurred within them encapsulated metaphors that applied to individual lives. He believed that many of the events occurring in peoples' lives affected them not so much as passive victims but as unsuspecting passers-by, thrusting them into a grand design to which they had to adapt, whatever their power or powerlessness. When events occurred that explained and defined peoples' lives, they became metaphoric, that is, the events chose the person rather than the person choosing them. Scott's metaphor was the end of the Raj, and, as a result, he interwove his personal life and his knowledge of history inextricably into his novel *The Jewel in the Crown*.

The specific locations in which the events took place during this time were significant to Scott. He believed places shaped and defined the people who inhabited them. Yet he also saw the histories of these locations as transcending

⁷ Haswell, *Paul Scott's Philosophy of Place(s)*, 4.

⁸ Haswell, *Paul Scott's Philosophy of Place(s)*, 172.

individual experiences because places endured long beyond a human lifespan. Thus they had rich, complex histories connecting the past to the present and to the future.

For Scott, these connections were not harmonious points. He observed and recorded their reality, then undertook to interpret them. From this, his unique philosophy of history revealed itself. Scott disapproved of the stigmatization of one group or person by another. Haswell believed that for Scott, “group alignment, role differentiation, labels of identity and value” were “the evils of his day.” Dignity came from the fact that “each individual was an ‘I.’”⁹ Scott believed that the choices individuals made during their encounters and exchanges with others revealed their character, and these choices created the historical record. The places in which events happened absorbed and retained this history, transcending individual moments in time and continuing as ongoing points of connection. Scott used accounts of the MacGregor House and the Bibighar Gardens to exemplify the history of the Indo-British relationship.

Scott eschewed labels and categories, and, by doing so, he escaped historiographic definition. Scott wrote, Haswell believed, because

allowing his countrymen to forget their past would mean following “the path that led from the desert of uncertainty back on to the well of bitterness. I had in mind a more positive and useful geography.” That geography involved examining the past, recognizing the legacy of empire, and discerning the place that India had in contemporary English life. Simply put, Scott attempted to put India back on England’s map of awareness and in doing so, hoped to share with readers “a kind of joy.”¹⁰

⁹ Haswell, *Paul Scott’s Philosophy of Place(s)*, 171.

¹⁰ Haswell, *Paul Scott’s Philosophy of Place(s)*, 68.

Scott's *The Jewel in the Crown* was published in 1966. By that time in Britain, peoples' view of empire had shifted from the ideals of empire set by Rudyard Kipling and E. M. Forster to the more critical view of those writing New Imperial History.¹¹

By the time Scott wrote *The Jewel in the Crown*, many in England felt shame over the country's imperial past as depicted by Kipling and Forster.¹² As a result, Haswell noted, Scott's novels were marginalized by the "artistic, cultural, and

¹¹ Tillman W. Nechtman, "The New Imperial History: A Pedagogical Approach" *Middle Ground Journal* 5 (Duluth, MN: St. Scholastica UP, Fall, 2012): www.css.edu/app/depts/his/historyjournal/index.cfm?cat=6&art=100

Professor Nechtman described New Imperial History as "an effort to tell British history as a matter of global interactions." For Scott, this approach was problematic because "in allowing Indians, Native Americans, Australians, Canadians, etc. to narrate British history, the only voices missing were those voices once labeled as voices from the center." This thesis argues that Scott denounced classifications and the labeling of people, disregarding arguments based in binary categories such as "center" and "periphery."

¹² Igor Burnashov, "Rudyard Kipling and the British Empire: Methodological Innovations in Classes on British Foreign Policy." http://www.kiplingsociety.co.uk/facts_burnashov.htm
George Orwell, "Essay of Kipling." http://www.georgeorwell.org/Rudyard_Kipling/0.html

Rudyard Kipling was an Anglo-Indian, born of British parents living in Bombay in December of 1865. He moved to England at the age of five to attend school. Kipling considered India his home and biographer Igor Burnashov wrote that in 1902 Kipling wrote in a letter to a friend that England was "the most marvelous foreign country" he had ever known. Kipling's loyalty to Great Britain came from his deep love for British India, and, in his "Essay on Kipling," novelist George Orwell touted him as the "prophet of British Imperialism."

E. M. Forster wrote *A Passage to India* in the early 1920's. He was born in London in 1879, and his father died before he was two years old. He had a traditional English upbringing and eventually graduated from King's College, after which he travelled continental Europe with his mother. In 1914 he visited Egypt, Germany, and India for the first time. Six years later, he became the private secretary to the Maharajah of Dewas and began writing *A Passage to India*. Published in 1924, it was his most successful novel.

Based on his personal experiences on the subcontinent, the book reflected a fictional accounting of the rise of the Indian independence movement in the 1920's. Forster used this novel to explore themes of the Indo-British relationship, race, and identity through the interactions of his multi-national cast of characters.

Forster was the first author to overtly define the Indo-British relationship as an intimate one by using themes of marriage and sexual tension. His emphasis on sexual assault elevated readers' awareness of the emotional actions and reactions underpinning the administration of the Raj in India. Paul Scott also addressed this tension in *The Jewel in the Crown*.

political mood” of the 1950’s, 1960’s, and the 1970’s.¹³ Scott nevertheless passionately believed in his work. Through it, he denounced labels and classifications that perpetuated the images of colonizers and colonized, found not only in New Imperial History, but also in Post-Modern and Post-Colonial discourses. Such fixed and oppositional categories were antithetical to his philosophy that all walls and boundaries were of human construction and, therefore, they could be dismantled.¹⁴ His philosophy was fluid and incongruous with rigid constraints.

Historians and literary critics have debated what the impact of the British Empire was on India after it gained independence. But, until 1986, few scholars had examined the works of English novelists who lived in India after the end of the Raj. David Rubins, an Anglo-Indian author and professor of modern Indian languages, reversed that trend in his study *After the Raj: British Novels of India Since 1947*. Four of the seven chapters in his work were devoted to three post-independence writers, including Paul Scott, whom he lauded above all other Anglo-Indian novelists.¹⁵ Rubins believed that Scott was among the few writers who did not portray Indians as “morally bankrupt, stiflingly traditional, and oppressively mediocre.” Scott was able to capture the complexity of the Indo-British relationship through his characterization and realism.¹⁶ In 1990, Sujit Bose wrote that Paul Scott’s *The Jewel in the Crown* and the three later novels making up *The Raj Quartet*

¹³ Haswell, *Paul Scott’s Philosophy of Place(s)*, 66.

¹⁴ Haswell, *Paul Scott’s Philosophy of Place(s)*, 136.

¹⁵ Harveen Sachdeva Mann, review of *After the Raj: British Novels of India Since 1947* by David Rubin, *Modern Fiction Studies* 33 (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins UP, Winter 1987).

¹⁶ Mann, review of *After the Raj: British Novels of India Since 1947* by David Rubins.

were “historically sound” and they “presented the events of the turbulent years between 1942 and 1947 with commendable honesty.”¹⁷

Like Rubins, Bose began his assessment with writers such as Kipling, Forster, and others who had written their work to cover the era before 1847 and Indian independence. Both scholars agreed that racism was a factor in empire building and that “the monster of Indian nationalism” was “a creation of the British themselves.”¹⁸ Those who read these novels could also discern that the British Empire imploded precisely because the administration of the Raj trained Indians to become freedom loving, independent people. Both authors also agreed that Scott’s work captured the multiplicity of events and personalities that led to the end of the Raj.

This examination of Anglo-Indian novels resulted from a reaction to earlier historiographies that, after 1947, studied not only what events had occurred, but also how. Much of the history written after the end of the Raj included binary categories such as colonizer and colonized, white and black, superior and inferior. Most of the discussions focused on the seats of political power and the actions taken by political leaders. In 1974, R. J. Moore wrote *The Crisis of Indian Unity 1917-1940*, which included copious amounts of information on issues such as the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms, the debate over Dominion status for the subcontinent,

¹⁷ Sujit Bose, *Attitudes to Imperialism: Kipling, Forster and Paul Scott* (Delhi, India: Prakashan, 1990), vii.

¹⁸ Bose, *Attitudes to Imperialism: Kipling, Forster and Paul Scott*, 85.

whether and when the government should offer that status, and the problems involved with partition.¹⁹

In 1979, Moore published another study, titled *Churchill, Cripps, and India, 1939-1945*, covering the era that followed the one in his earlier work. “The theme of this book,” he wrote, “is the long conflict over that principle between Sir Stafford Cripps as the protagonist with Labour Party support, and Winston Churchill, as the colossus astride the War Cabinet, spokesman for Conservatism, and the defender of the Empire.”²⁰

In this work, Moore revealed the post-Empire liberal pulse of this era by quoting Karl Marx: “Force is the midwife of every old society pregnant with a new one.”²¹ By quoting Marx, Moore reflected the contemporary, post-independent beliefs that Empire developed with the use of subjugation and force and this dynamic almost certainly led to the end of the Raj. By focusing exclusively on oppositional forces, including power differentials and racism, scholars during this time published histories that did not reflect the complexity of the Indo-British relationship. That is not to say that power differentials and racism did not occur. Rather, it is to say that those postulates were brittle, rigid and, therefore, lacking. Further, these writers attempted to explain what happened and how it happened, but they failed to explain why the Raj ended the way it did.

¹⁹ R. J. Moore, *The Crisis of Indian Unity 1917 – 1940* (Oxford, UK: Clarendon Press, 1974), inclusive.

²⁰ R. J. Moore, *Churchill, Cripps, and India* (Oxford, UK: Clarendon Press, 1979), v.

²¹ Moore, *Churchill, Cripps, and India*, v.

By 1990, critics such as Rubins and Bose acknowledged the greater complexities in the Indo-British relationship, but they still wrote mostly in binary categories, using racism, sexism, and subjugation as the means with which to frame their arguments. Such issues deserved exploration, yet scholars began to acknowledge the limitations of post-independent histories. Historians, economists, politicians, and others used their skills to explain the interaction between India and Britain, as well as their parting. Yet, by naming Cripps as a “protagonist,” it seemed that even Moore had subconsciously acknowledged the need for a less polarized method of historical discovery than could be found in traditional means of documentation. Scholars, therefore, began mining Anglo-Indian novels as source material to better answer the question of why the Raj had come to an end.

Many years before Moore and his contemporaries did, Paul Scott understood the need to investigate the individual personalities that made up the Raj and their contribution to its history. He sought a more sympathetic understanding of the Indo-British relationship and its poignant end. He wanted to examine the emotions and beliefs that underscored the actions that resulted from them. He wanted to share with his readers the love, hatred, fear, comfort, and complexity that made up the people whose actions and reactions contributed to the history of the Raj. It was not surprising, then, that scholars began to look to Scott and other Anglo-Indian novelists to enhance their knowledge.

Almost two decades after its publication, *The Jewel in the Crown*'s popularity surged. Three days after its publication in 1966, Scott wrote to his good friend Dorothy Ganapathy (to whom he dedicated the novel), “Wouldn’t it be great if some

producer decided to make a film of the *Jewel*?"²² In 1984, six years after Scott's death, Grenada Television produced a television miniseries based on the novel for ITV network. Filmed mostly on location in north-central India, the series fed the appetites of a new generation whose members had a keen interest in revisiting the question of India and the British Empire. There was, as noted by members of The Museum of Broadcast Communications, "a cycle of film and television productions which emerged during the first half of the 1980's which seemed to indicate Britain's growing preoccupation with India, Empire and a particular aspect of British cultural history."²³ These productions included *Gandhi* (1982), *Heat and Dust* (1983), and *The Far Pavilion* (1984) as well as an adaptation of E. M. Forster's *A Passage to India* (1984), and particularly *The Jewel in the Crown* (1984). The BBC also adapted Scott's *The Jewel in the Crown* for radio in 2005.

By 1994, Professor Elazar Barkan embraced the points of view Scott expressed in the 1960's in *The Jewel in the Crown* when he wrote,

Participating in the discourse while self-examining and reflecting from afar at present may be the characteristic mode of writing "better" history while maintaining essential skepticism. Even from a firm contestational ideological posture one cannot talk about a singular perspective. "The Empire has many voices for whom the First World is only one oppressor."²⁴

²² Harveen Sachdeva Mann, review of *Paul Scott: A Life of the Author of the Raj Quartet* by Hilary Spurling: https://muse.jhu.edu/login?auth=0&type=summary&url=/journals/modern_fiction_studies/v037/0

²³ Granada Television, *The Making of The Jewel in the Crown* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1983).

²⁴ Elazar Barkan, "Post-Anti-Colonial Histories: Representing the Other in Imperial Britain" in *Journal of British Studies*, 33, (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge UP, April 1994), 185.

Barkan noted that issues such as feminism and anti-colonialism had their place in the scholarship, but “the increased social, ethnic, and gender diversity among contemporary scholars, as well as the eagerness to compensate for past wrongs, had led some critics to replace analysis by communal guilt and intellectual paralysis.”²⁵ Through these discussions, the idea of “us” and “them,” he argued, caused critics to shift ideologically from being participants in “us” to advocates of “them,” creating a new “them,” which he called “DWEMs,” “Dead White European Men.”²⁶

Barkan moved closer to Scott’s philosophy because he believed, as did the novelist, that binary categories were an incomplete means by which to study the past because of their failure to acknowledge the intricacies of human interaction. Barkan argued that the people many scholars in the past had referred to as a subaltern group “were an Indian elite educated largely in leading First World schools.”²⁷ Professor Gyan Prakash believed that “it was difficult to overlook the fact that all of the third-world voices spoke within and to discourses familiar to the ‘West’ instead of originating from some autonomous essence.”²⁸ This exemplified why Scott argued that rigid binary categories were anathema to understanding the Indo-British relationship.

²⁵ Barkan, “Post-Anti-Colonial Histories: Representing the Other in Imperial Britain,” 181-82.

²⁶ Barkan, “Post-Anti-Colonial Histories: Representing the Other in Imperial Britain,” 183.

²⁷ Barkan, “Post-Anti-Colonial Histories: Representing the Other in Imperial Britain,” 183.

²⁸ Gyan Prakash, “Writing Post-orientalist Histories of the Third World: Perspectives from Indian Historiography” in *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 32 (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge UP, 1990), 403.

Scott was largely alone in his beliefs in the 1960's, but, by the 1990's, historiographers began to understand the need to abandon binary categories and explore the complexity of the personal interactions that occurred during the Raj. Historians had begun to realize that the "third world, far from being confined to its assigned space, had penetrated the inner sanctum of the first world."²⁹ Scott saw all people as being both actively and passively involved with their environment, and that "despite the fundamental power imbalance, social and individual tensions could be represented *only in their specificity*."³⁰ Scott explored the Indo-British relationship, taking into account the multiplicity of actions and reactions of the *individuals* involved in the relationship, whether racist, liberal, anticolonial, or otherwise. He placed his characters in a verifiable historical setting. Through him, scholars learned at the close of the Raj what Barkan argued they learned at its height:

Its representatives disclosed diversity, that images have a meaning which could be contextualized and could be understood a century later, that *intentions* mattered, and that, beyond a very general characterization of the imperialism or Victorianism, detailed investigations could still salvage communications in the fluid and subjective postmodern world. Imperialism was no longer a unidimensional DWEM's pastime but a diverse phenomenon.³¹

Scott treated all his characters as equals long before historians did, and he did so whether or not they had been treated equally during the timeframe about which he wrote. Scott used these characters to pose questions in his novels that

²⁹ Prakash, "Writing Post-orientalist Histories of the Third World: Perspectives from Indian Historiography," 403.

³⁰ Barkan, "Post-Anti-Colonial Histories: Representing the Other in Imperial Britain," 191.

³¹ Barkan, "Post-Anti-Colonial Histories: Representing the Other in Imperial Britain," 190.

communicated his philosophy. He recognized that labels and categories did not define individuals and that their actions and reactions affected the course of history. For instance, was the character of Harry Coomer, aka Hari Kumar, whose Indian father determined would be entirely English except for the color of his skin, British or Indian? Was it not Harry himself who should decide? These questions, and the others Scott used to communicate with his readers, may explain why his contemporaries were reserved in the way they received his work.

Readers and scholars in the 1960's and 1970's were not yet ready to accept Scott's unique philosophy of history. By the 1990's, however, historians began to realize the need to integrate the study of complex human interactions and their impact on the historical record into their research. They also realized the need for new ways to explore these interactions. "The overall impression from new cultural histories of imperialism," Barkan wrote,

was that adopting an *a priori* anti-colonialist, anti-Western perspective was no longer sufficient. Given the universal rejection of racism, a new differentiation of colonialism and victimization took place to explain the nature of colonialism and its legacy. The new agenda had to recognize the partial victimization among those ruled who supported or benefitted from colonialism as legitimate Others, not merely as Quislings who enjoyed forbidden fruits.³²

Barkan also noted that, "we were left without a model, an ideology, or a straightforward way to explain representations" when both colonizer and colonized became active participants in their world.³³ Scholars sought some point of reference from which to understand the events occurring at the end of the Raj in India.

³² Barkan, "Post-Anti-Colonial Histories: Representing the Other in Imperial Britain," 193.

Scott believed that stories, bound by valid historical context, demonstrated the diversity and intricacies of people's actions and reactions, which were the building blocks of the historical record. Barkan noted that "resistance, adaptation, or rejection can rarely be foretold."³⁴ But, they can be examined after the fact. Scott's genius was his ability to observe peoples' interactions, record the places in which they occurred, and to use these to expose the unfolding history in which people participated. He ignored predetermined designations based on race, gender, socio-economic status, or other markers. He favored characters who reflected integrity, despite their station in life. As a result, and in accord with his beliefs, he defied, and continues to defy, historiographic categories. He was neither liberal, conservative, feminist, imperialist, post-modernist, orientalist, nor anti-colonialist. He believed, quite simply, in having a moral dialogue with his reader and also that personal choice, including integrity or its absence, created the historical record. He best revealed this philosophy of history by using the symbols of the MacGregor House and the Bibighar Gardens in his best-known work, *The Jewel in the Crown*.

³³ Barkan, "Post-Anti-Colonial Histories: Representing the Other in Imperial Britain," 193.

³⁴ Barkan, "Post-Anti-Colonial Histories: Representing the Other in Imperial Britain," 192.

CHAPTER II

SCOTT'S (AUTO)BIOGRAPHY

“Ultimately it makes little sense to talk about Scott the author apart from Scott the man.”³⁵

“Writers are the exorcists of their own demons.”³⁶

Paul Scott published *The Jewel in the Crown* in July 1966. He originally meant to have the book stand alone, but, upon its completion, he realized that he had more about which he wanted to write. As a result, three additional volumes followed, making *The Jewel in the Crown* the first in a series titled *The Raj Quartet*.

The Jewel in the Crown encompassed a plethora of influences from Scott's life. Historically the book explored the Indo-British relationship in India at the end of the Raj, but the story was inextricably interwoven with the author's personal experiences, many of which were unrelated to the time he spent on the subcontinent in His Majesty's Service during World War II.

Scott's life began in 1920. Paul Mark Scott was born on March 25 at home in Palmer's Green, London. He was the second of two sons born to Tom and Frances Scott. He rarely saw his father, who was a graphic artist for the fashion industry. Tom Scott worked with his three unmarried sisters in the studio above their home, a ten-minute walk from the family residence. He and his sisters sketched images of

³⁵ Janis Haswell, *Behind Paul Scott's Raj Quartet: A Life in Letters, The Early Years (1940 – 1965)*, 1 (Amherst, NY: Cambria Press, 2001), xvi.

³⁶ Mario Vargas Llosa, “Mario Vargas Llosa”: wordporn.com/author/mario-varga-llosa/

the latest fashions as free-lance artists, selling their work to stores and ladies' journals. He was especially adept at drawing furs, which Frances sometimes modeled for him. Tom's sisters completed the works by finishing the backgrounds and human elements of the design. Paul's father left early in the morning for work and often returned late at night. Paul rarely visited the studio, but, when he did, he found it an enchanting place, spacious enough in which he could explore his own creative artistic talents.

Tom Scott was born in the agricultural region of the more northerly Yorkshire Dales. The first in his family to achieve a professional career, he relocated to London where his talents were more marketable. Tom married Frances Mark, a native of south London and a member of a family whose achievements had never exceeded those of domestic service. On marrying Tom and moving to Palmer's Green, strong-willed Frances forbade her family of origin to visit. "To anyone born and brought up in the grimy, teeming, tightly-packed streets of Deptford and Brixton," biographer Hilary Spurling wrote, Palmer's Green "must have seemed another world."³⁷ Despite having escaped her lower-class status through marriage, Frances was never quite accepted into Tom's family.

³⁷ Hilary Spurling, *Paul Scott: A Life of the Author of the Raj Quartet* (New York, NY: W. W. Norton & Co., 1991), 9.

Both Haswell and Spurling wrote excellent biographies of Paul Scott, and many other scholars and critics contributed to the volumes of information on his works and life. This chapter drew heavily on Spurling because she was considered his chief biographer and she provided the intimate details of his day-to-day life. However, this and the other chapters of this thesis reveal that, although it "Ultimately makes little sense to talk about Scott the author apart from Scott the man," in order to understand his unique philosophy of history, it also makes little sense to talk about Scott the man apart from Scott the author.

Besides the dissimilar class distinctions (and although Tom, at the apex of his career, was middle-class at best) there was also a significant age difference between Tom's sisters and his wife. "Tom was fifty the year Paul was born," Spurling explained, and

the eldest of his three sisters was getting on for sixty. "My father had two homes," Paul wrote, "Or rather one and a half. He rented the houses which from time to time my mother, my brother and I lived in – and he slept in – and paid half the rent of another house where he had his studio."³⁸

Paul's mother was irascible, tempestuous, driven, immensely pragmatic, yet also prone to unpredictable flights of fancy. Various facets of her personality found their way into the female characters in Paul's works.

Though younger, Paul proved the brighter and more adventurous of the two boys. His brother Peter was two and one-half years older than Paul and began his formal schooling in 1924. Paul would not follow until later, but, once he began his education, he quickly caught up to and surpassed Peter. Describing their relationship, Spurling wrote, "Peter, like his father, preferred to keep his head down. So long as Paul was prepared to take the lead, Peter seemed content to cede both the privileges and the pains of seniority."³⁹ Peter and Paul were great friends as well as brothers throughout their lives. Their camaraderie lacked the dramatic appeal necessary to Paul's later writings and, as a result, very little of either Peter's influence or that of Paul's father (who shared the same relaxed demeanor as his eldest son) made it into Paul's novels.

³⁸ Spurling, *Paul Scott: A Life of the Author of the Raj Quartet*, 9.

³⁹ Spurling, *Paul Scott: A Life of the Author of the Raj Quartet*, 14.

The younger Scott enjoyed academics. His teachers described him as “gifted, artistic, engaging, and sensitive.” Paul excelled at his studies, preferring intellectual and creative pursuits to physical education.⁴⁰ At age six he read his first adult book, *Three Weeks* by Elinor Glyn. Spurling believed that “only an exceptionally liberal and easygoing family would have allowed a child of six access to this notorious shocker, generally held to be one of the most scandalous stories of sexual misconduct in the language” at that time.⁴¹ Upon completion of his primary studies, Pauls’ parents enrolled him in Winchmore Hill Collegiate School in 1929, where he joined Peter.

Winchmore was a relatively inexpensive private school established in London shortly after the First World War. Its proprietors, John and Jessie Temblett-Wood, lacked formal university educations, but both “were enthusiasts of genuine conviction and principle,” offering both social and intellectual education.⁴²

Paul was aware of his family’s social standing and described their position in Palmer’s Green:

In this middle to lower-middle-class residential area, I was very early aware of social distinctions. Most of the children who went to the college lived in grander houses. I and my brother, living at 130 Fox Lane, went there because my father was the only professional man in that part of the road. He couldn’t afford it. But we went.⁴³

⁴⁰ Spurling, *Paul Scott: A Life of the Author of the Raj Quartet*, 13.

⁴¹ Spurling, *Paul Scott: A Life of the Author of the Raj Quartet*, 25.

⁴² Spurling, *Paul Scott: A Life of the Author of the Raj Quartet*, 28.

⁴³ Spurling, *Paul Scott: A Life of the Author of the Raj Quartet*, 29.

Tom's investment in his sons' education was driven in part by Paul's performance in school. Paul had a photographic memory and could memorize anything after reading it only once.⁴⁴ By the age of ten he was reading Shakespeare, intrigued that something written centuries before so aptly applied to the contemporary environment.⁴⁵

At the age of fourteen, Paul confounded his teachers by repeatedly submitting to them ten- to twelve-page essays of his work. His English teacher, Charles Drakes, referred to Peter and Paul as "Scott 1" and "Scott 2." After submitting an eighteen-page paper to Mr. Drakes, Paul overheard him remark to another teacher "Scott 2 could be an author if he wanted to be."⁴⁶ This remark inspired Paul and proved to be prophetic.

As photography began to overtake graphic illustration in the fashion industry, business for Tom Scott and his sisters waned. Simultaneously, John Temblett-Wood died, leaving his Cambridge-educated son Kenneth to run the school. In order to stay competitive, Kenneth raised standards and tuition.

Paul was thirteen at the time. His family moved from their home on Fox Lane into his aunts' residence to save money. There was chronic tension between his mother and aunts in the home, leading to a volatile environment to which Paul later attributed his inability to express himself with confidence in any form other than the

⁴⁴ Spurling, *Paul Scott: A Life of the Author of the Raj Quartet*, 44.

⁴⁵ Spurling, *Paul Scott: A Life of the Author of the Raj Quartet*, 43.

⁴⁶ Spurling, *Paul Scott: A Life of the Author of the Raj Quartet*, 45.

written word.⁴⁷ He enjoyed the peaceful refuge of the school and he put his emotional energy into his artistic endeavors and writing. Nevertheless, and even though Peter finished school at age seventeen and worked to supplement the family income, Paul was forced to leave school at age fourteen. “The thing is,” he wrote,

that because I was bright academically, and the school was fairly progressive and not absolutely tradition-bound, I was in the top form at the age of thirteen, or fourteen, I can’t remember which. I ought really to have stayed longer at school, I suppose, to learn about unselfishness and working with others, and not always thinking about myself and of trying to make it, alone – but just before I was fifteen the family money ran out.⁴⁸

The school had no more that it could teach Paul, and his family could no longer afford to send him there. Paul’s formal education ended, and his working life began.

Hari Kumar was one of the main characters in *The Jewel in the Crown*. Paul Scott wrote that Hari was based in part on real people he had met, but that he was largely autobiographical. Hari was one of Scott’s most prominent metaphors and his story one of the most heart wrenching. Biographer Janis Haswell related that Scott wrote to his readers as “participants in an exploration not only of the British in India, but of humanness itself.”⁴⁹ Hari’s character and story were examples.

Hari Kumar knew himself as Harry Coomer. He had been born on the subcontinent, but, when he was two years old, his father Duleep moved the two of them to London and saw to it that Hari was raised as an Englishman. Duleep was a wealthy widower who embraced English ideals and culture. He believed that the best life for Hari was an English life, and he determined to raise him that way.

⁴⁷ Spurling, *Paul Scott: A Life of the Author of the Raj Quartet*, 99.

⁴⁸ Spurling, *Paul Scott: A Life of the Author of the Raj Quartet*, 48.

⁴⁹ Haswell, *Paul Scott’s Philosophy of Place(s)*, 4.

Duleep changed his son's name to Harry Coomer and provided him with wealth, nannies, and tutors. Harry attended an elite private school and was English to the point that, when he answered the phone, the caller had no inkling that the person talking was Indian by birth. Duleep achieved his goal. The only connection Harry felt to India was what he had learned in school with his peers.⁵⁰

Soon after Harry came of age, his father lost his wealth and, unable to face the humiliation and a return to India, committed suicide, leaving his son without the means to remain in England and attend university. Harry was forced to leave for the subcontinent to live with Duleep's sister Shalina, whom he knew only by name. In India, Harry became Hari. Scott conveyed the pain he felt when leaving Winchmore College and the hope of an academic career through this episode in Hari's life. Scott continued to share his personal history through Hari by describing the young man's arrival in India.

Hari detested the way the Indian people lived and he longed for a place among the English who lived on the military cantonment. Without financial means, but optimistic that he could reach this goal, he found work as a reporter for the local Indian newspaper. This position placed Hari in the same social stratum as Scott's when he took an accountancy job after leaving Winchmore College. In the same way that Scott began to write poetry as a means to work towards his dream of becoming an author, Hari also continued to seek out more and better ways to improve his life in order to attain the social status to which he was accustomed in England.

⁵⁰ Paul Scott, *The Jewel in the Crown* (New York, NY: William Morrow and Company, Inc., 1979), 226.

Hari's writing job allowed him access to the areas where the whites lived. These were the people he understood and to whom he related. On his first visit to the cantonment, he came upon the *maidan* where Englishmen were practicing polo. Hari entered India with the same disdainful view shared by most upper class, well-educated, and well-travelled Englishman of his era, and he found beauty in the scene and felt peace for the first time since his arrival. Hari's initial reaction to India mirrored Scott's upon his arrival years later, as did Hari's relief at discovering the polo players. Scott wrote about Hari's hope for the future:

Half closing his eyes he could about imagine himself on the common near Didbury. He wanted to mount and ride and feel the air moving against his face. Could one hire a pony from somewhere? He felt that he would only have to speak to one of them to be recognized, to be admitted. He knew that here at last he was in the company of people he understood.⁵¹

Inspired by this encounter and perceived connection with his fellow Britons, Hari attempted to reassert his Englishness and proceeded to an English shop to buy a basic, and thoroughly English, necessity, Pears' soap. This was one of the most distressing episodes in *The Jewel in the Crown*.

Award winning Pears' soap – purely British, purely refined, already popular in America - became a symbol of British nationalism, superiority, and pride. Pears' advertising campaign perpetuated the belief that Britons were responsible

⁵¹ Scott, *The Jewel in the Crown*, 237-39.

for civilizing and uplifting the people of the world as shown in their posters.⁵² This legacy had remained in Britain, which, by the time about which Scott wrote in *The Jewel in the Crown*, had an empire spanning almost twenty-five percent of the earth. Hari's attempt to purchase the product is worth retelling in full.

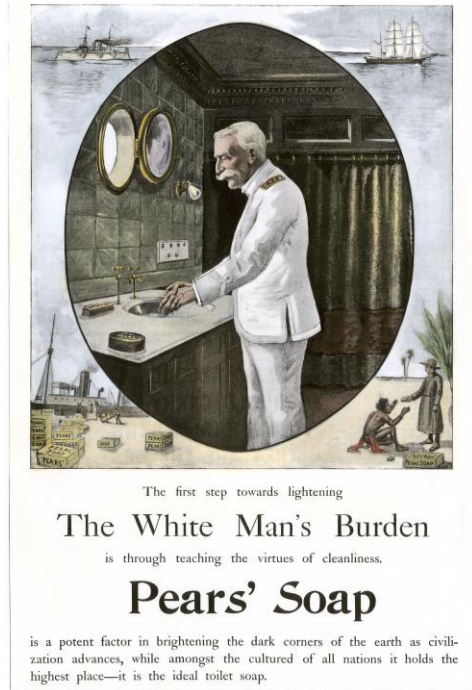
In the window there were brand goods so familiar, so Anglo-Saxon, he felt like shouting for joy. Or in despair.

He could not tell which. He entered. At one end there was a counter. There were several English women walking round, each attended by an Indian assistant. There was a man as well, who looked a bit like his best friend's father Mr. Lindsey. Kumar found himself trembling. The Englishman's clothes showed his own up for what they were. Babu clothes. Bazaar stuff. The English were talking to each other. Kumar stood at the counter and waited for the assistant to finish serving the Englishman.

When the Englishman had gone Kumar said, "Have you got some Pears' soap?"

The assistant, a man several years older than himself, waggled his head from side to side, and went away. Kumar could not be sure that he had understood. Another assistant came through the doorway, but he was carrying a package which he took over to a woman who was studying the articles for sale in one of the glass cases. Kumar waited. When he next saw his own assistant the man was opening another of the glass cases for a group of white women.

Kumar moved away from the unattended counter and took up a position from which he judged he would be able to catch the assistant's eye. He was right. He did. But the assistant's expression was that of someone



⁵² Pears' Soap Company, "Lightening the White Man's Burden" (1899): www.advertisingarchives.co.uk

who did not remember ever having been spoken to about Pears' soap. Kumar wished that the assistant's new customers had been men. He could have interrupted their conversation, then, without putting himself in the wrong. Instead, he found himself in the ignominious role of watcher on the sidelines, in a situation another man was taking advantage of: hiding, as Kumar put it to himself, behind the skirts of a group of women. He looked around and saw the man who had come from the dispensary going back in there. He said to him, "I asked someone if you had any Pears' soap."

The man stopped: perhaps because Kumar's voice automatically arrested him with its *sahib* inflections. Momentarily he seemed to be at a loss, assessing the evidence of his eyes and the evidence of his ears. "Pears'?" he said at last. "Oh, yes, we have Pears'. Who is it for?"

It was a question Kumar had not expected, and one he did not immediately understand. But then did. Who did this fellow think he was? Some babu shopping for his master?

"Well, it's for me, naturally," he said.

"One or two dozen?"

Kumar's mouth was dry.

"One bar," he said, trying to be dignified about it.

"We only sell it by the dozen," the man explained, "but you could get it in the bazaar, I expect," and then added something in Hindi, which Kumar did not understand.

He said, "I'm sorry. I don't speak Hindi. What are you trying to say?"

Other people in the shop were watching and listening. He caught the eye of one of the Englishwomen. Slowly she turned away with a smile he could only attach two words to: bitter, contemptuous.

"I was saying," the man replied, "that if you are only wanting one bar of Pears' soap you will find it cheaper in the Chillianwallah bazaar because there they are taking no notice of regulated retail prices.

"Thank you," Kumar said. "You have been most helpful," and walked out.⁵³

This scene stood in stark contrast to Hari's relief and pleasure at watching the polo players on the *maidan*. His hope at obtaining his dreams and expectations, for which he was fully qualified and which were not unreasonable, slowly eroded, echoing Scott's personal despondency at being forced to give up his own education and academic career as a child to support his family.

⁵³ Scott, *The Jewel in the Crown*, 239-41.

Through this character and event, Scott revealed more of his philosophy of history. Although his peers felt shame concerning Britain's role in empire building, Scott was unmoved by the contemporary political climate. He showed no contempt for the fact that Hari was a well-bred Englishman from London. Scott knew Pears' soap was a symbol of the British belief in civilizing and uplifting the people over whom they ruled, and he saw nothing intrinsically harmful in that belief.⁵⁴ But he found the racism and bigotry both he and Hari encountered to be troublesome, and he helped his readers do the same by weaving the emotional pain of his own experiences into those of his characters. Doing so allowed his audience the opportunity not only to read about, but also to experience through Scott's "moral

⁵⁴ R. Volney Riser, "The Burdens of Being White: Empire and Disfranchisement" (MA thesis, *Between Scylla and Charybdis: Alabama's 1901 Constitutional Convention Assesses the Perils of Disfranchisement*, University of Alabama, 2000), 251.

The caption used by the Pears' soap company in its advertising was a line from Rudyard Kipling's famous poem of the same name, "The White Man's Burden." University of Alabama alumnus R. Volney Riser (MA) explained the seeming contradiction found in Kipling's poem, revealing the paradox at the heart of New Imperial History by contrasting the first and fifth stanzas:

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 people,
Half devil and half child.

Take up the White Man's Burden,
And reap his old reward-
The blame of those ye better
The hate of those ye guard-
The cry of those ye humour
(Ah, slowly!) toward the light-
"Why brought ye us from bondage,
Our loved Egyptian night?"

Riser wrote,

Kipling's was a call to sacrifice and suffering, a demand that Anglo-Saxons should provide the tools of civilization to far-flung corners of the globe, giving their lives in the process. This was not a call for an unlimited supply of cheap, uneducated labor or for the proscription of the civil and political rights of hundreds of thousands. To the contrary, Kipling believed in preparing the colonials for the exercise of such rights. Empire was a thankless responsibility and the Anglo-Saxons should not expect gratitude from the "uplifted."

dialogue,” the poignant outcome of their encounters, thus better understanding the characters’ actions and reactions that followed.

Another struggling autobiographical character emerged from the period following Scott’s departure from school, but the character did not do so until long after Scott began working for C. T. Payne. During this time, Scott also took bookkeeping classes in the evening and began writing poetry in spare moments as a means to work towards his dream of becoming an author. The position with C. T. Payne was an important aspect of Scott’s personal development, because it eventually led to his exploration of hetero- and homosexuality.

This began when his employer, Mr. Payne, sent the young prodigy out on his own to audit clients throughout London. As Scott’s wages increased, so did his confidence, both with himself and others. Spurling wrote, “After years of pinching self-denial, success produced in him an upsurge of generosity, the desire for promiscuous spending, a liberal impulse to treat himself and others to luxuries he could not afford.” She also wrote that by the age of seventeen, Scott “was becoming more sure of himself with girls.”

The last year or two before the war was, for Paul, a springtime when anything seemed possible. At the office there was a doubling of wages, talk of promotion, dreams of a junior partnership, even perhaps one day taking over the practice. He was enjoying himself and the responsibility Payne gave him. He was also working seriously for his intermediate accounting examinations, and doing so well that the decision whether or not to enter the profession struck him, looking back afterwards, as a close-run thing.⁵⁵

⁵⁵ Spurling, *Paul Scott: A Life of the Author of the Raj Quartet*, 60-62.

During the same period in Scott's life, he also "drove himself unmercifully." Spurling wrote that he "worked five days plus Saturday," and,

after putting in a full day at the office, he studied book-keeping at night, going to classes three evenings a week, working at English and maths in an attempt to matriculate on his own, and adding a correspondence course as well.⁵⁶

Despite the immense pressure of work and his burgeoning social life, Scott continued to write.

Writing was Scott's escape. Spurling recalled a letter in which Scott wrote,

Sallying forth for a day's auditing in Streatham with my sandwiches in my brief-case, and in the evening immersed in the mysteries of double-entry, depreciation and wear and tear I never once, never once convinced myself of my impersonation. I did not feel like an accountant. I was now quite clear in my mind that I felt like a writer.⁵⁷

Spurling rightly noted that the young Scott, fresh from school and lacking formal university education, was "ripe for guidance, starved not only of companionship but of criticism and advice." One of Payne's clients resided in Streatham. He was a much older man named Gerald Armstrong, who had an expansive knowledge of the world at large and who had close knit ties to the artistic community, especially the theatre. Young Scott, Spurling believed,

urgently needed someone like Armstrong, a more sophisticated older man with whom he could talk about books, theatre, the arts, and to whom above all he could submit his own plays and poems. Armstrong as a confidant *had the advantage* of knowing Paul in his official capacity, and understanding the constraints it put on him, and being *only too anxious* to help him throw them off.⁵⁸

⁵⁶ Spurling, *Paul Scott: A Life of the Author of the Raj Quartet*, 54-55.

⁵⁷ Spurling, *Paul Scott: A Life of the Author of the Raj Quartet*, 62.

⁵⁸ Spurling, *Paul Scott: A Life of the Author of the Raj Quartet*, 63.

Scott readily accepted Armstrong's tutelage.

Scott's literary works took a divergent turn after his relationship with Armstrong developed, as did his social life. Armstrong became Scott's first same-sex partner, and Scott thereafter cultivated homosexual liaisons in both his writing and friendships, until he met and married his wife Penny.⁵⁹ His relationships in the literary community helped to further his writing career. Five years after leaving school, Scott wrote the play *Young Woodley* and the novel *Rachel*.

In 1940, during World War II, Scott was conscripted into the army and assigned to the Eighth Battalion, the Buffs. He was not immediately deployed and continued writing and socializing. The next year he met and married Nancy Edith Avery, whom he called Penny, while attending training for the army in Torquay on the southeast coast of England. That same year he published a collection of three religious poems under the title *I, Gerontius*. In 1942 he wrote two plays, *Brilliant City* and *Pillars of Salt*.⁶⁰ In a pattern that would haunt him throughout his life, the works received less than enthusiastic reviews. Scott attempted to write plays in 1943, but the first, *After Our Labours*, was never published and he left the second, *The Pilgrim Michael*, unfinished. This was because in March 1943 his writing career was cut short by his deployment to India.

⁵⁹ Spurling, *Paul Scott: A Life of the Author of the Raj Quartet*, 65-66.

⁶⁰ Haswell, *Behind Paul Scott's Raj Quartet: A Life in Letters, The Early Years (1940 - 1965)*, 1, xxvii - xxviii.

Scott received a posting to the No. 1 Indian Air Supply Company in 1944, after being selected as a cadet officer. He received his commission and was promoted to Captain in November.⁶¹ “The work,” Spurling wrote,

required diligence, steadiness, detached concentration and organising ability. At the height of the battle, the supply system had reckoned to process four hundred aircraft a day, and to ‘turn around’ (unload, reload and refuel) each plane in ten minutes flat.⁶²

She noted that Scott found the job “fascinating. Inglorious. But memorable.”⁶³ The work occupied nearly all of Scott’s thoughts and time, leaving only enough time to write occasional letters home to his wife, family, and friends.

In one letter, Scott wrote to his long-time friend Clive Sansom. Clive and his wife Ruth were Quakers and conscientious objectors who stayed in England during the war, setting aside their own writing careers to raise crops in support of the families in England. According to Haswell, on July 5, 1944, Scott divulged to Clive that he was unable to write while deployed. “I feel at the moment that no more achievement is possible until the war is over – the years are at last telling on the mind, and the many and varied illusions of great things are now disappeared.” In the postscript of this letter, Scott penned, “Kapinsky is dead. I cannot let myself be unfaithful to my wife, for there can be only one woman in the world for me – I strongly believe this.”⁶⁴ Kapinsky was the name of one of many alter-egos Scott and

⁶¹ Spurling, *Paul Scott: A Life of the Author of the Raj Quartet*, 139.

⁶² Spurling, *Paul Scott: A Life of the Author of the Raj Quartet*, 136.

⁶³ Spurling, *Paul Scott: A Life of the Author of the Raj Quartet*, 136.

⁶⁴ Janis Haswell, *Behind Paul Scott’s Raj Quartet: A Life in Letters, The Early Years (1940 – 1965)*, 1, 45.

his friends created to describe the various parts of their personalities. Kapinsky was Scott's homosexual self.

Clive and Ruth knew Scott before he met Armstrong and Scott with them discussed his liaisons. Scott's mother, friends, wife and, eventually, children were also aware of his past. His letters revealed that he was overt about his sexual orientation and about sex in general. Haswell believed this fact called into question Spurling's arguments that Scott was conflicted and shameful about his sexual preferences, as well as her belief that he married Penny as a "front" in order to keep himself free from public ridicule.⁶⁵

Haswell believed that Spurling's biography "was helpful in terms of providing Penny's perspective," but

it was misleading in terms of its portrayal of Paul and Penny's relationship. It was not the case, as Spurling tried to argue, that Scott had married Penny "for protection and safety" – that is, for protection from persecution for his homosexual activity and "from elements in his own temperament."⁶⁶

Haswell noted that, during an interview, Scott's daughter Sally stated that she believed such a notion was contrary not only to what she knew about her father, but about the army as well, believing that they were so badly in need of soldiers they were not terribly interested to know people's personal predilections in almost all

⁶⁵ Janis Haswell, *Behind Paul Scott's Raj Quartet: A Life in Letters, The Early Years (1940 – 1965)*, 1, and Janis Haswell, *Behind Paul Scott's Raj Quartet: A Life in Letters, The Quartet and Beyond (1966 – 1978)*, 2 (Amherst, NY: Cambria Press, 2011).

This paragraph referred to the biography given throughout both texts. Haswell's argument concerning Scott's sexual orientation was found specifically in Vol. 2, 295.

⁶⁶ Haswell, *Behind Paul Scott's Raj Quartet: A Life in Letters, The Quartet and Beyond (1966 – 1978)*, 2, 295.

areas of their lives.⁶⁷ Sally also witnessed evidence of the steadfast fidelity and devotion Scott expressed towards Penny in the letters he wrote to his family and to his friends.

Spurling coupled her examination of Scott's sexual orientation with his early army career, though the two may be unrelated. What was certain was that, as Scott became interested in Penny, and prior to his leaving for India, Gerald Armstrong became acerbic and cruel in his assessment of both Scott's work and of Scott himself.⁶⁸ Around this time, Scott suffered an existential crisis for reasons he did not disclose, citing only "betrayal" by a friend. He was granted a short leave by the army, during which time Ruth Sansom visited to help him contend with his torment. Scott was just entering his twenties, and it was at this time he wrote that his homosexual self, Kapinsky, was dead, and he cited utter devotion to Penny.

Many of Scott's letters were self-revelatory, but others were deliberately self-concealing and, as a result, the mysteries underlying Scott's sexual journey and existential crisis remain shrouded. After serving as an army officer during the Second World War, and despite his fidelity to his wife, Scott recounted both his homosexuality and role as a military man through the character of Sgt. Ronald Merrick. "Merrick," Spurling wrote, "would provide a means of opening up unmapped territory," allowing the exploration of "the dark illiberal authoritarian

⁶⁷ Haswell, *Behind Paul Scott's Raj Quartet: A Life in Letters, The Quartet and Beyond (1966 – 1978)*, 2, 295-96.

⁶⁸ Spurling, *Paul Scott: A Life of the Author of the Raj Quartet*, 94.

instincts without which there could be no true understanding of the Imperial past. Paul said that Merrick, like all other characters, came from himself.⁶⁹

After reading *The Jewel in the Crown*, his friend James Leasor said that he recognized the Paul he had known in the army in India through Merrick's character.⁷⁰

Merrick was the British District Superintendent of Police, who had shown an interest in Daphne Manners, the young English woman in love with Hari Kumar. In a posthumous journal entry, Daphne wrote about Merrick to her aunt. "Do you remember," she asked,

my saying in a letter that with Ronald I never felt there was any real candour between him and the person he was dealing with? He took his job so seriously, and I think he felt he had to prove his worth all the time, so that nothing came naturally to him, nothing came spontaneously, or easily, or happily.⁷¹

Unbeknownst to Daphne and the rest of the British people living in the Punjab, Merrick, although representative of the Raj, was abusive and harbored homosexual yearnings. During interrogations, he took these out on the Indians he sometimes falsely arrested.⁷²

⁶⁹ Spurling, *Paul Scott: A Life of the Author of the Raj Quartet*, 304.

⁷⁰ Spurling, *Paul Scott: A Life of the Author of the Raj Quartet*, 366.

⁷¹ Scott, *The Jewel in the Crown*, 392.

⁷² Merrick's character persisted throughout the entirety of *The Raj Quartet*. He eventually received a commission as an officer, but he was increasingly disliked and he became physically deformed. He gained the rank of Lt. Colonel, but was later murdered.

Despite Merrick's "homosexual sadism," D. C. R. A. Goonetilleke believed, "it was difficult to discern Scott's own homosexual proclivities in *The Raj Quartet*."

"Merrick's homosexuality," he wrote,

was presented in an orthodox view, as deviant and repelling. Yet Scott's suppression of his adolescent homosexuality fits in perfectly with the fascinated revulsion of his seemingly cool presentation of Merrick. On the other hand, the undeveloped and unfulfilled heterosexual attraction of Sarah and Ahmed (in *A Division of the Spoils*) was presented attractively, strongly and in depth. Scott was, after all, in real life both a homosexual and a heterosexual.⁷³

The tension between Hari and Merrick was profound.

In *The Double: A Psychoanalytical Study*, Otto Rank wrote that Hari and Merrick were "uncanny doubles," defined as "actual figures of the double who confront each other as real and physical persons of unusual similarity."⁷⁴ "The lives of these two characters," he added,

were so closely linked, that their difference in skin color was only a minor factor. As an uncanny double, Hari was the rival of his prototype in anything and everything – education, athletics, accent – but primarily in the love for woman.⁷⁵

Haswell reiterated that Hari did not mimic the English. He *was* English. In *The Jewel in the Crown*, Scott described Hari in part when he wrote that "English was the only world he knew, and he hated the black town on this side of the river as much as any white man fresh out from England would hate it."⁷⁶ Further, "It struck Daphne after

⁷³ D. C. R. A. Goonetilleke, "Paul Scott's Later Novels: The Unknown Indian," *Modern Asian Studies*. 41, (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge UP, July, 2007), 823.

⁷⁴ Otto Rank, *The Double: A Psychoanalytical Study*, ed. Harry Tucker, Jr. (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1971), 12.

⁷⁵ Rank, *The Double: A Psychoanalytical Study*, 75.

⁷⁶ Scott, *The Jewel in the Crown*, 52.

her first conversation with Hari: 'Except for the colour of his skin he wasn't an Indian at all.'"⁷⁷

When Hari resided in England, people judged him, not on the color of his skin, but on the fact that he was raised "in privilege and power."⁷⁸ Yet, in India, both Britons and Indians assumed cultural alliance primarily through people's skin color. Haswell wrote that in India, at the end of the Raj, "English was not a cultural way of being," and Hari's accent would have been "interpreted only as mimicry."⁷⁹

Merrick was the reverse to Hari's obverse. In England, many people would have scorned Merrick because of his socio-economic position. But, in India, the color of his skin elevated him to a higher status. Haswell believed that Merrick "had to rely on his white skin" to be "superior to anyone."⁸⁰ According to Rank, the characteristic that made Hari and Merrick uncanny doubles was that "they were metaphorically opposite reflections in a mirror, both sharing 'twin darknesses.'"⁸¹ Hari Kumar was a victim of racism. Ronald Merrick was a perpetrator of it.

Like Merrick, Hari was "determined to reject," and had an antipathy, for all things Indian. To Hari, natives were spineless, sickening, "never 'we' but always 'they.'"⁸² However, when Hari and Merrick encountered each other, the

⁷⁷ Scott, *The Jewel in the Crown*, 369.

⁷⁸ Scott, *The Jewel in the Crown*, 137.

⁷⁹ Haswell, *Paul Scott's Philosophy of Place(s)*, 214.

⁸⁰ Haswell, *Paul Scott's Philosophy of Place(s)*, 214.

⁸¹ Rank, *The Double: A Psychoanalytical Study*, 12.

⁸² Haswell, *Paul Scott's Philosophy of Place(s)*, 215.

foundational differences in their characters emerged. Merrick delighted in the indiscriminate, sadistic, homoerotic torture of Indian males. Later in *The Raj Quartet*, he regularly, covertly, dressed himself as an Indian, seeking out the company of young Indian men to fulfill his painfully deviant sexual appetite.

Conversely, Hari, though victim of Merrick's hatred, became a critical observer of the end of the Raj, and he "formed the moral cornerstone of *The Raj Quartet*."⁸³ In *The Day of the Scorpion*, Merrick interrogated Hari. Afterwards, Hari was left alone in a room where he found his torturer's mirror and broke it. Later in the story, Hari related that, while looking in the mirror, he decided he "wasn't to be compared. I was myself, and no one had any right in regard to me."⁸⁴ Haswell wrote that, "Kumar was a unique, singular individual, autonomous and free (even within an adversarial situation) to define himself," represented by the broken glass.⁸⁵ Conversely, Merrick was beholden to his peers' approval, thereby self-enslaved and always hiding. Using these two characters, Scott revealed his personal struggle, and recognized these sorts of interactions as part of the metaphor that described the Indo-British relationship. Goonetilleke wrote that, "Scott's basic attitude to life was existential and non-political," and he believed that Scott "focused an ordinary human point of view on the world around him, valuing integrity and decency above everything else."⁸⁶ "Perhaps more than any other single moment in *The Raj Quartet*,

⁸³ Haswell, *Paul Scott's Philosophy of Place(s)*, 216.

⁸⁴ Paul Scott, *The Day of the Scorpion* (New York, NY: William Morrow and Company, Inc., 1979), 303.

⁸⁵ Haswell, *Paul Scott's Philosophy of Place(s)*, 219.

Scott showed his own hand,” in the scene in which Hari broke the mirror, Haswell noted, “articulating how human beings should be defined.”⁸⁷ Chapter three of this thesis discusses exactly how contact zones, personal choices, and the places in which they occurred formed the bedrock of Scott’s philosophical interpretation of history.

Both Scott’s correspondence and characterization of Sgt. Ronald Merrick may point to a sexually abusive relationship in his late adolescent years. Possible evidence of this included Spurling’s admission that Scott was in a vulnerable and submissive position to Armstrong, and Scott’s admission that “details of Kumar’s incarceration and torture by Merrick closely resembled accounts” of sexual persecution divulged by Lawrence of Arabia to E. M. Forster, which Scott read.⁸⁸ “The Turks did it to me by force,” Lawrence wrote, “and since then I have gone about whimpering to myself, ‘Unclean, unclean.”⁸⁹ The existential crisis that occurred simultaneously with the betrayal of a friend and the end of his relationship with Armstrong, the creation of Merrick’s character, Scott’s deep devotion to Penny, and Sally’s belief that her father’s demotion early in his army career was in no way related to his sexual habits further suggest this possibility. Extant manuscripts provide no concrete solutions to this enigma. Whatever his preferences and the catalysts behind them, Scott’s view of the history at the end of the Raj cannot be

⁸⁶ Goonetilleke, “Paul Scott’s Later Novels: The Unknown Indian,” 827.

⁸⁷ Haswell, *Paul Scott’s Philosophy of Place(s)*, 216.

⁸⁸ Spurling, *Paul Scott: A Life of the Author of the Raj Quartet*, 342.

⁸⁹ T. E. Lawrence, *The Letters of T. E. Lawrence*, ed. Malcolm Brown (London, UK: J. M. Dent Publishing, 1988), 360.

understood without considering the relationship between Hari and Merrick, as well as the places in which their history took place. These places will be discussed further in chapter three of this thesis.

Scott's time in the army and his first trip to India were important because of the self-revelations manifested in the novel through the characters of Hari and Merrick. But many of the people he met on both his first and subsequent visit to the subcontinent also directly inspired characters in *The Jewel in the Crown* and his other works. Tony Colegate was Scott's immediate superior in No. 1 Air Supply Company. Spurling wrote that Scott described him as "cocky, piratical, blue-eyed with a challenging stare and a hat with the brim jammed down."⁹⁰ Colegate became the fictional hero of one of Scott's earlier stories, *Johnnie Sahib*. When then Lieutenant Paul Scott arrived on the scene, one of Colegate's first commands was for Scott to relieve him during a lull in hostilities, so that Colegate could take some much-needed leave.⁹¹ Scott's first act as commander, though seemingly inconsequential at the time, became, in time, the primary catalyst for writing *The Jewel in the Crown* twenty years later. Scott selected a new First Sergeant, or Halvidar, named Narayan Dass, whom Spurling described as "industrious, efficient, unswervingly loyal ever afterwards to Lt. Scott, who enjoyed both his devotion and his rare, dry wit."⁹² Years later, Dass invited Scott to his home. Scott accepted, and the visit inspired him to write his most famous work.

⁹⁰ Spurling, *Paul Scott: A Life of the Author of the Raj Quartet*, 135-36.

⁹¹ Spurling, *Paul Scott: A Life of the Author of the Raj Quartet*, 136.

⁹² Spurling, *Paul Scott: A Life of the Author of the Raj Quartet*, 136.

Scott was eventually promoted to Captain and received his first platoon command in 1944. The command included 130 men made up from a variety of Hindu castes, Muslims, Sikhs, Christians, and Nepalese. "Paul," Spurling wrote, supervised his men's

different diets, inspected their drinking water, sorted out family problems, inquired after their children and sent his respects to their wives. He flew with them when he could, making a point of going on the next sortie after a crash to encourage the ejection crews, and enjoying the occasional landing "somewhere in Burma," so long as he could pop back by nightfall in time for a drink in the mess.⁹³

Scott remained in command positions until the end of the war.

From 1943 to 1946, Scott served in different areas of the subcontinent and Southeast Asia, including locations in India, Burma, Malaya, and Singapore. His response on reaching his initial post in India after leaving Britain was one of total shock. "For miles outside Bombay the water was churned yellow with mud," Spurling stated. "Nothing had prepared them for the stupendous press of numbers."⁹⁴ Many of the cadets were headed to Officers' Training School at Belgaum. Near the end of his life, Scott wrote, "I hated Belgaum. I've been back there several times in recent years. I don't hate it now. How could I? But when I'm there I remember how much I hated it."⁹⁵ Scott felt time itself in India was changeless and he feared he would stagnate there.⁹⁶

⁹³ Spurling, *Paul Scott: A Life of the Author of the Raj Quartet*, 139.

⁹⁴ Spurling, *Paul Scott: A Life of the Author of the Raj Quartet*, 120.

⁹⁵ Spurling, *Paul Scott: A Life of the Author of the Raj Quartet*, 121.

⁹⁶ Spurling, *Paul Scott: A Life of the Author of the Raj Quartet*, 127.

By 1945, Scott had been in India and away from England for two and one-half years. As his platoon helped to retake Malaya from the Japanese, news reached them that the United States had dropped atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki. The war ended for Scott with the unconditional surrender of the Japanese and he was soon sent back to England. As he began the return journey, Scott found that India held one last surprise for him. Spurling described it using Scott's letters.

Paul felt unbearably homesick not for England but for India. He missed its sticky heat, its dusty hills, its vast spaces and teeming populations: "It was at that last moment I realised that I had fallen in love with India. All I wanted to do was get back and gaze at those barren plains."⁹⁷

Scott's feelings as he left the subcontinent stood in stark contrast to the shock he felt when he first arrived in India.

Haswell quoted Scott's explanation:

"A place grows into your bloodstream," he explained. "A person responds to a place – the place where he was born – the place where he was born a second time. After just three years – this country was in my bones."⁹⁸

Through these experiences, Scott realized the importance that places played in the history of the Raj. As a result of his longing, places, in conjunction with characters, became foundations upon which he built his philosophy for understanding history. Scott's self-proclaimed vocation to write about the Raj as a metaphor for his own life came to fruition twenty years later with the publication of *The Jewel in the Crown*.

After returning to England in May 1946, Scott worked as an accountant for Falcon and Grey Walls Press and resumed writing. The first of his two daughters,

⁹⁷ Spurling, *Paul Scott: A Life of the Author of the Raj Quartet*, 145.

⁹⁸ Haswell, *Paul Scott's Philosophy of Place(s)*, 66.

Vivien, was born in March 1947, and the play *Pillars of Salt* was published the following year. His second daughter, Sally, was born in May 1948.

In 1949, seventeen publishers rejected Scott's first full novel, *Dazzling Crystal*, although in 1950 the BBC published another of his plays titled *Lines of Communication*. In that year, Scott also left his job as an accountant to become a literary agent for Pearn, Pollinger, and Higham. He increasingly found himself realizing his boyhood dreams of becoming a literary artist, as his earlier published works, job, and professional connections proved. Scott continued to write in his spare time, but began to do so in earnest. He stayed on as a literary agent to support his family, but became determined to leave this occupation to begin writing as a full-time career.

In 1952, he won his first literary distinction for a novel. Captain Colegate inspired his character Johnnie Sahib in the play *Lines of Communication*, which had proved popular enough to warrant its adaptation by the BBC to both radio and television. Though its financial success was short-lived, Scott expanded the play into his first successful full-length novel, named after the main character. For the novel he won the Eyre and Spottiswoode award for literature.

Inspired by this success, Scott followed the novel with another titled *Alien Sky*, published in 1953, which was also adapted for radio by the BBC in 1954. Between 1953 and 1959, Scott continued to work as a literary agent and his novels and plays met with modest success. Between 1953 and 1960, Scott published four novels: *Alien Sky* (titled *Six Days in Marapore* in the United States, 1953), *A Male Child* (1956), *The Mark of the Warrior* (1958), and *The Chinese Love Pavilion* (1960).

Retrospectively, the novels seemed to be studies towards, and informing, *The Raj Quartet*. *Alien Sky* explored topics of race and gender in India through a female character who, although Eurasian, pretended to be white and married a white man. *A Male Child* returned the setting to London to explore the effects of losing a son in the military service of the Empire. *The Chinese Love Pavilion* investigated international events, beginning in India, and ending with the Japanese occupation of Malaya. It also highlighted the interconnectedness of Great Britain, India, and China and sought to further describe and thus understand the Empire *writ large*. *The Raj Quartet* later synthesized these refracted themes, exploring them through intra- and inter-related associations in an attempt to better understand the Indo-British relationship at the close of the Raj. Scott also began lecturing in 1959 at the Swanwick Writer's Summer School in Derbyshire, England and, though not financially well off, left David and Higham Associates in March 1960 to become a full-time writer.

Scott wrote, he said, because he felt compelled to do so, and because he had "a natural aptitude for it, a sense of vocation."⁹⁹ He wrote about India in particular, because his longing to return never left him and because he believed it was a metaphor that had presented itself to him in a way that made sense of all life and its inherent relational complexities, especially those between people and places.¹⁰⁰ He

⁹⁹ Haswell, *Behind Paul Scott's Raj Quartet: A Life in Letters, The Quartet and Beyond (1966 – 1978)*, 2, xi.

¹⁰⁰ Haswell, *Paul Scott's Philosophy of Place(s)*, 68.

returned to India in 1964 for two months to experience it as an independent country, to rekindle old friendships, and to work at making new ones.

Scott returned to India on three separate occasions in 1964, 1969, and 1972, but the first of the three trips proved to be at the same time the most traumatic and inspiring. He arrived, intending to reacquaint himself with the environment and to observe the people and places differently from how he had seen them during his service in World War II. The Raj had ended, and Scott no longer felt representative of its authority. He planned a long visit including time with his old friend Dass, making new friends, and gathering material for what he thought would be a short novel.¹⁰¹ His itinerary included excursions to Bombay, Madras, Calcutta, and Delhi.

Scott's position in the 1940's as an army officer had submerged him in the Anglo-Indian culture, but as a symbol of the authority inherent in the Raj. Scott hoped that, by 1964, the end of British rule in India would allow him to establish genuine, non-politicized friendships.

By 1942, (only months before deploying to India, and the year that Scott chose as the timeframe for *The Jewel in the Crown*), the resentment against colonial rule in India and a growing spirit of Indian nationalism were thriving. This same year, the British were defeated in Burma and Gandhi was preaching "sedition." "The English," Scott wrote,

had to admit that the future did not look propitious. They had faced bad times before, though, and felt that they could face them again, that now they knew where they stood and there could be no more heart-searching

¹⁰¹ Haswell, *Paul Scott's Philosophy of Place(s)*, 110.

for quite a while about the rights and wrongs of their colonial-imperialist policy and administration.¹⁰²

Britain also faced pressing issues at home and in other parts of the world. Especially during the interwar period from 1919 to 1939, for example, unemployment and poverty had increased dramatically and foreign issues, such as two world wars, the threat of Russian expansion and aggression, and political, economic, and cultural issues with their colonies all had to be dealt with.

The result was that, though the people of Britain saw India as their “Jewel in the Crown,” the metropole paid attention and devoted time to some issues on the subcontinent, but paid little attention to other legitimate grievances. At times, however, people or groups in India also wrongly misconstrued Parliamentary actions and used this as an excuse to resist when they were displeased with a decision that did not support their particular program. Given the vast array of political, economic, and social issues in India, it was inevitable that not all interests would be accommodated, whether those decisions were made in London or India, and despite the diversity of the advisors informing the final results. The inability to accommodate all individuals occurred because individuals, with their various outlooks, formed like-minded groups, many of whom vied for resources, control, and places of prominence.¹⁰³

Scott’s return to India in later years placed him in a different role, that of an investigator and novelist. He wanted to “encounter an India devoid of white faces”

¹⁰² Scott, *The Jewel in the Crown*, 3.

¹⁰³ Moore, *Churchill, Cripps, and India*, inclusive.

in order to establish his regard for Indian people as his “social, racial and cultural equals.”¹⁰⁴ Scott was uncomfortable with the artificial constraints intrinsic to the governance of the Raj and he had looked forward to his return as a visitor and guest.

Between 1946 and 1963, Scott’s First Sgt. Narayan Dass had repeatedly invited him to visit his home in the village of Timmapuram. Scott had been unaware of the impact that Dass’ promotion had had on the former Havildar’s future. The promotion had given him prestige, power, and wealth, in the form a house, a rice mill, and a dowry.¹⁰⁵ Once he was able to return to India, Scott enthusiastically accepted Dass’ invitation. Dass had described what Scott could expect during his visit and had asked him to stay for at least a month. “It will be summer when you come to India,” Dass wrote,

but it will be cool in my village. There are very big trees in my village. We have table-electric fans in my home. When you come to my home we will both go to the next village riding a double bullock cart; when the bullock cart is going – garland of brass bells to neck of the bull which will give sweet sound.

Scott, according to Haswell, had looked forward to his time in Timmapuram. Scott had envisioned, Haswell wrote,

“rice fields and a jungle full of parrots, and the sea not far off.” Because his plans included bustling, big cities and long stints with strangers who had agreed to put him up for a few days, Scott counted on his reunion with Dass to serve as an emotional and artistic respite. “I have reasons for wanting a bit of rustication – apart from the fact that I shall hope to put down a few things on paper, and a village seems the ideal place in which to do it.”¹⁰⁶

¹⁰⁴ Haswell, *Paul Scott’s Philosophy of Place(s)*, 109.

¹⁰⁵ Haswell, *Paul Scott’s Philosophy of Place(s)*, 110.

¹⁰⁶ Haswell, *Paul Scott’s Philosophy of Place(s)*, 111.

Scott enjoyed meeting and befriending the strangers who agreed to provide accommodations for him on his journey, but he wrote in his sometimes twice-daily letters to Penny that the social aspects could be grueling. His hostess, Dorothy Ganapathy, offered her home as a base from which to set out on his excursions and Scott found her especially interesting. The two became life-long friends and it was to her that he dedicated *The Jewel in the Crown*.¹⁰⁷

Scott's letters to Penny revealed that the reality of Dass' village was far from what he had expected. Though Dass lived in relative luxury compared with the other inhabitants of the village, Scott found the conditions primitive. A baby born to Dass and his wife died only three weeks prior to his arrival, and that they placed the importance of his visit above their grief was disquieting for Scott. Scott was the only white man many had ever seen, and it also bothered him that the village children kept peering through his windows to watch him. He also became ill with amoebic dysentery, and because there were no toilets, he had to relieve himself in the rice fields as was customary for the natives. The house had one electric fan, which Dass insisted Scott use, though the cost of the electricity to run it was beyond the family's financial means. The eldest daughter silently waited on Scott during his solitary

¹⁰⁷ Haswell, *Behind Paul Scott's Raj Quartet: A Life in Letters, The Quartet and Beyond (1966 – 1978)*, 2, 36-38.

Dorothy Ganapathy gave Scott a statue of the Hindu god Ganesh, the god she claimed was her namesake. Ganesh was considered to be the guardian of writers, and Scott kept the statue on his desk as inspiration when writing *The Jewel in the Crown* and the rest of *The Raj Quartet*. Scott believed that the god "adopted" him. He had many references to Dorothy and the statue in *The Jewel in the Crown*. Dorothy was his inspiration for Lady Lili Chatterjee. He named the mixed race child to whom Daphne gave birth, Parvati, the same name as Ganesh's mother in the Hindu canon.

meals, and he did not see Dass' wife until the last day of his visit, which he cut short.¹⁰⁸

Most disconcerting to Scott was the way Dass treated him. He had come to India as Dass' equal, the army days far in the past, yet Dass still acted as his Havildar. On March 11, Scott wrote to Penny, "Poor Dass. I'm sure he is as anxious as hell to do everything right and to make me comfortable and welcome, but he still calls me 'sir' and treats me as an officer and I have no one to talk to." The next day he wrote to Penny about the village children who never left him alone. "They are very sweet," he wrote,

but, oh God, how they stare. No wonder the old nineteenth century English became eccentric. When I'm fed, the elder daughter stands against the wall *behind*, waiting for me to finish. The self-effacement of these village women is most embarrassing. Makes you feel like some sort of slave-owner. The daughter is sometimes made by Dass to pour the water on my feet for the re-entry into the "clean" part of the home.¹⁰⁹

Despite his yearning and his attempts to teach the village children English, Scott could not bridge the gap between white and Indian. Dass preferred the rigid social conditions that Scott had hoped no longer existed. Dass would not let go of the divisions imposed by rank during their army careers two decades earlier.

Scott struggled with feeling as if he were a *sahib*, not only because of the structure Dass imposed on their visit, but also because he realized his own desire for the comfort and modernity he had been accustomed to in England, which Dass could not provide. Scott was ashamed for his feelings towards the way Dass treated

¹⁰⁸ Haswell, *Paul Scott's Philosophy of Place(s)*, 112.

¹⁰⁹ Haswell, *Paul Scott's Philosophy of Place(s)*, 111-12.

him, but he was also disappointed that his old Havildar would not consider him an equal.

Scott cut short his visit with Dass because of the emotional and physical misery he experienced in the village. Nevertheless, the two continued to correspond throughout their lives and after gaining some distance from the event, Scott realized that the time he had spent there had been both terrible and inspiring. While still in Timmapuram, he wrote to Penny,

Living here I am reminded how essential it is for the European's peace of mind to make himself comfortable and to insist on his own ways and customs. At the push, the old prejudices work. Basically it is due to fear. I experience it myself here. Sometimes it is a stark terror. I could feel my "sahib's face" getting fixed like a mask & I found myself thinking Havildar (not Mr.) Dass. Anyway, the whole thing has given me an idea for a short novel.¹¹⁰

Scott wrote that the experience of Timmapuram formed a dark scene in his imagination, borne by "the trauma of the Indian village experience, the desire to get away, to run, the knowledge of the dangers that exist when you attempt to cross bridges."¹¹¹ He envisioned, in that landscape, a girl, running through the darkness. This image became the opening scene in *The Jewel in the Crown* and the rest of the novel evolved from it.

Scott's experiences in the village (being shaved without soap; sitting by the edge of the road in a chair and being waited on by village children; drinking cow's urine at the village temple) found their way into the novel in a variety of characters.

¹¹⁰ Haswell, *Paul Scott's Philosophy of Place(s)*, 115.

¹¹¹ Haswell, *Paul Scott's Philosophy of Place(s)*, 122.

Scott also wrote his internal struggle, his “*sahib’s* face,” into the characters. Haswell agreed that Scott explored parts of himself in most of the characters, but she also agreed with Rank that Scott’s most autobiographical characters were Hari and Merrick. Scott used Hari to describe what would happen to an “Englishman who was exiled forever in such a village,” “capturing the agony of the kind of cultural and economic imprisonment he experienced in Dass’ village.” Conversely, he “consciously and brutally” revealed “the Scott who might have refused to examine his fears” through the character of Merrick: “the side of Scott that addressed his friend as ‘Dass,’ who felt superior and distrustful, who could only feel shame at the thought that his Indian hosts might feel defiled by his intrusion.”¹¹² Compelled to interpret the metaphor of the end of the Raj in India, Scott explored these themes first for himself, using a plethora of symbols, but he invited the reader to do the same.

Scott’s compulsion to write about India and the end of the Raj grew into an obsession when he returned to London and he immediately began to write *The Jewel in the Crown*. Always a hard drinker, he unfortunately became obsessively so, as he sought to escape the physical discomforts brought on by his chronic amoebic dysentery, and he increasingly withdrew into himself.

Fixated on his work, Scott sequestered himself in his home office when writing and he became angry when interrupted. Peter Green, his close friend and

¹¹² Haswell, *Paul Scott’s Philosophy of Place(s)*, 119-20.

colleague, described the toll the writing took on his friend. “The physical and emotional cost,” he wrote,

was appalling. It was, essentially, as his daughter Carol saw, the principle cause of his alienation from Penny, the break-up of his long marriage. By the end he was (as he told a doctor) eating little, sleeping less, and drinking a quart of vodka a day. When I finally saw him again, after the completion of *The Raj Quartet* – we had invited him to a lecture at the University of Texas – I was shocked by the change in his appearance. In 1975, though still only in his mid-fifties, he was a dying man, and he knew it. The completion of that vast and complex project had exacted a horrendous price, of which perhaps the saddest aspect was that Paul never lived to enjoy the fame and success that it brought him.¹¹³

On July 15, 1976, Penny left Scott. He was devastated and made repeated attempts to save the marriage.

In September 1977, Scott was diagnosed with cancer and underwent surgery in Oklahoma, where he was lecturing at the University of Tulsa. His condition was terminal. In December he returned to his home in London, welcomed by Penny, who had returned to nurse him, and his two daughters. On February 14, 1978, Scott underwent a second surgery, but he died two weeks later, on March 1. Penny and his daughters were with him, and Sally said that her father had died happy in the knowledge that they were there by his side.¹¹⁴

Scott discerned the uniqueness of the Indo-British relationship and, over the course of his life, felt a growing need to explore it through the thoughts, feelings, attitudes, and beliefs he had witnessed during his time on the subcontinent.

Although his works were fiction, Scott wrote that the events, places, and people in

¹¹³ Peter Green, “The Origins of Paul Scott’s Vast Masterpiece” *The New Republic*, (May 27, 2013): <http://www.newrepublic.com/article/112966/origins-paul-scotts-vast-masterpiece>

¹¹⁴ Spurling, *Paul Scott: A Life of the Author of the Raj Quartet*, 410-13.

the novels had to be historically accurate.¹¹⁵ Therefore, he referred to many well-known occasions and people, such as Amritsar, the Sepoy Mutiny, Quit India Campaign, General Reginald Dyer, Mahatmas Gandhi, and Jawaharlal Nehru, Queen Victoria, and Sir Winston Churchill. Although his research was meticulous, these events, places, and people were not the center of the novel, nor were they central to the lives of the characters in the story. Set against the backdrop of established historical facts, the characters, their relationships, and the places in which the action occurred were key to understanding the historical realities of why the British Raj came to an end in India and also the key to understanding the metaphors Scott employed in *The Jewel in the Crown*.

¹¹⁵ Goonetilleke, "Paul Scott's Later Novels: The Unknown Indian," 801.

CHAPTER III

THE MACGREGOR HOUSE AND BIBIGHAR GARDENS

“Reactions are the most essential things in life. The present the most important phase – the past the happiest and the future the most glamorous or forlorn.”¹¹⁶

The Jewel in the Crown, and the three volumes of *The Raj Quartet* that followed, were Scott’s best-known works. The first novel was published in July 1966; the second, *Day of the Scorpion*, in September 1968; the third, *Towers of Silence* in October 1972; and the fourth, *A Division of the Spoils*, in May 1975. Scott wrote an epilogue to *The Raj Quartet* titled *Staying On*, which was published in March 1977.

Readers originally received *The Jewel in the Crown* with polite, but subdued, enthusiasm. The BBC broadcast of the story, however, which aired in 1986, sparked resurgence in the sales of Scott’s novel, and it sold millions of copies after the release of the miniseries. Sales were not restricted to Britain alone. The novel received good reviews in the *New York Times* and it also fared well in an interview with actor Charles Dance, who played the part of Sgt. Guy Perron onscreen.

Commenting on the series’ lasting appeal he said,

I think that aired here [Great Britain] in 1983, and there are people still to this day who assemble in each other’s houses and have *The Jewel in the*

¹¹⁶ Haswell, *Behind Paul Scott’s Raj Quartet: A Life in Letters, The Early Years (1940 -1965)*, 1, 37.

Haswell was quoting part of a letter from Scott to his friend Ruth Sansom.

Crown weekends and watch all fourteen hours, mostly in America. I have people stopping me in the street now saying that they watched *The Jewel in the Crown* again a couple of months ago, and I think, “Bloody hell, did you really?”¹¹⁷

Indeed, the series was shown in over seventy countries, propelling the novel into the international market. In 1983, the Book Marketing Council in Britain chose the books in Scott’s *The Raj Quartet* as four of its thirteen “Best Novels of Our Time,” along with his sequel *Staying On*. The interest in Scott’s *The Jewel in the Crown* indicated that people were enthralled by the tumultuous relationship existing between India and Britain during this time. The novel captured people’s attention and imagination. The novels remain celebrated today.

Scott used the three basic elements of history, (time, people, and places), to share an historical dialogue with his readers. The time and place he chose was the end of the Raj in India. Scott stated, “When I write about the India of the Raj, as I do, I’m using it, always have used it, as a metaphor. I wrote about it, as accurately as I can, but it is always a metaphor.”¹¹⁸ *The Jewel in the Crown* was rife with symbolism, which he used to reveal his metaphor. Nearly every one of Scott’s nouns seemed to have a double meaning. Chapattis, a form of Indian bread, might have represented the bread eaten at Christ’s Last Supper. Roofs, parasols, and shadows suggested protection.¹¹⁹

¹¹⁷ Bryan Reesman, *Attention Deficit Delirium: Charles Dance Talks Neverland, Underworld: Awakening and Game of Thrones*: <http://www.bryanreesman.com/blog/2011/12/04/charles-dance-talks-neverland-underworld-awakening-and-game-of-thrones>

¹¹⁸ Scott, in Haswell, *Paul Scott’s Philosophy of Place(s)*, 6

¹¹⁹ Scott, *The Jewel in the Crown*, 459.

The second chapter of this thesis explored two characters who illuminated the inner workings of Scott's personal psyche. This chapter explores the symbolism found in two of the places about which he wrote, the MacGregor House and the Bibighar Gardens. The history they recall and the meaning behind their connection are the point of this thesis. Both were dominant symbols manifesting Scott's contribution to an understanding of the history of the Raj, and they attest to his unparalleled skill as an author.

Scott devoted much of the novel's first chapter to relating that by 1942, when his story opened, England was questioning her domination of India. To represent this, Scott used, among other objects, an allegorical picture titled "The Jewel in Her Crown." In this painting, Queen Victoria was seated under a canopy on a throne surrounded by the Indian people and landscape. The scenes were a vision of what England had hoped to attain. The Indians in the picture were much more representative of "the servants and other officiating natives of the cantonment" than of the realities of life outside the confines of British rule.¹²⁰

The differences Scott revealed between the two Indias were significant. Those Indians who served the British were symbols of some of the boundaries that had been erected between the two cultures. The government and people of Britain had, in effect, cultivated these Indians to use them as barriers between themselves and the truth. In so doing, the reality of the squalor of life on the subcontinent that existed beyond those barriers was obscured. The Indians who cooperated with the British were represented in the picture as officiating natives in the Raj. Counted

¹²⁰ Scott, *The Jewel in the Crown*, 9.

among them were the soldiers who voluntarily fought for the Empire in the First World War, as well as agents of all Indians who, like Hari's father Duleep, had embraced the trappings of the westernized world – clothes, education, manners – in the hope of one day achieving independence from the Crown.

Scott reinforced this idea when he introduced a chapter devoted to and describing the MacGregor House, home of one of his other characters, Lady Lili Chatterjee. British not only in name, but also in style, the MacGregor House, like the Queen in the picture, was attended by “soldiers, statesmen, and clergy.”¹²¹ “The house stood in the middle of the garden, protected from the outside world by close-formed battalions of trees.” Scott made clear that the trees represented Indians because their species were native to India: “neem, pipul, gol mohur, tamarind, casuarina, and banyan.” Scott, however, intimated that this era was coming to an end. “In the shadows,” he wrote,

there were dark blue veils, the indigo dreams of plants fallen asleep, and odours of sweet and necessary decay, numerous places layered with the cast-off fruit of other years softened into compost, feeding the living roots that laid under the garden massively, in hungry immobility.

An Indian Hindu prince built the MacGregor House in the eighteenth century for a woman with whom he had fallen in love. He visited her morning and evening and she sang to him, not to please him, but to guard her honor, Scott wrote. “He became enamoured finally only of her voice and was content to listen,” and, when

¹²¹ Scott, *The Jewel in the Crown*, 19.

she died, he grieved, then died of a broken heart. He closed the house and, “like the state, it decayed, fell into ruin.”¹²²

The prince ensconced his true love in this abode and showered her with comforts and wealth. She received them and reciprocated with her song. Scott used this metaphor to describe the early state of the Indo-British relationship that began when Queen Elizabeth I granted a royal charter to the East India Company (originally known as The Company of Merchants of London) in 1600 to conduct trade in India. The Indian princes welcomed and encouraged this trade. By 1668, the East India Company had established factories in Goa, Chittagong, Bombay, Madras, and in an area renamed Calcutta in 1690. Competing with many European East India Companies, the British East India Company eventually overcame its rivals and became the dominant, and lasting, European company within the subcontinent’s borders.

The India of this era remarkably resembled Scott’s fictional depiction that described Victoria’s later role in the allegorical picture “The Jewel in Her Crown,” but with an Indian Shah sitting on the throne. Historian Lawrence James described the official architecture of India in the seventeenth century using almost exactly the same terms that Scott used when describing the picture of Queen Victoria, though her reign occurred much later in the nineteenth century. “The formal processions,” James wrote,

in which a ruler presented himself to his subjects and undertook his devotions, and the *durbars* (assemblies) where great men met, exchanged

¹²² Scott, *The Jewel in the Crown*, 66-67.

gifts and compliments and discussed high policy, required settings appropriate to what was, in effect, the theatre of power.

When Shahjahan held durbars for his subjects, dispensing justice and settling quarrels, he overlooked them from a high, canopied dais with a delicately painted ceiling. If he glanced upwards, he saw a panel which portrayed Orpheus playing his lute before wild beasts who, bewitched by his music, were calmly seated around him. The scene was a reminder to the emperor and his successors that they were Solomonic kings. Like the Thracian musician, they were bringers of harmony, spreading peace among subjects who, if left to their own devices, would live according to the laws of the jungle. It was a nice and revealing conceit, a key to the nature of the Mughal kingship and, for that matter, its successor, the British Raj.¹²³

Like the unnamed prince in Scott's story, Shahjahan (1592-1666) became enamored with and, for five years, wooed a woman named Mumtaz Mahal before marrying her. He was deeply in love with her, though their marriage was political. When she, like Hari's lover Daphne, died in childbirth, he was grief stricken, just as was the unknown prince who lost his singer in Scott's fictional history.¹²⁴ Shahjahan was responsible for the golden age of architecture on the subcontinent, and, again, like Scott's prince, he built a beautiful place in which to ensconce his wife, albeit after her death – the Taj Mahal. But this golden age did not last.

After Scott's prince died, his son succeeded him on the throne. The new Shah "despised his father for his futile attachment to the singer," because their relationship remained unconsummated. The prince was nothing like his father. "He was a voluptuary. He emptied the treasury. His people starved."¹²⁵ He used the

¹²³ Lawrence James, *Raj: The Making and Unmaking of British India* (New York, NY: St. Martin's Press, 1997), 4.

¹²⁴ Fergus Nicoll, *Shah Jehan: The Rise and Fall of the Mughal Emperor* (London, UK: Haus Publishing, 2009), 177.

¹²⁵ Scott, *The Jewel in the Crown*, 66.

money to build another house, away from his father's, in which he installed his courtesans, naming it "Bibighar," which, translated, meant "house of women."¹²⁶ The prince was corrupt. Among his atrocities, he poisoned an Englishman who frequented his court, after which he was "deposed, imprisoned, his state annexed, and his people were glad of it until time lay over the memory of the old bad but not the badness of the present," presumably under the British East India Company's orders.¹²⁷

A Scotsman named MacGregor assumed authority over the province, burning the Bibighar to the ground and rebuilding on the nearby foundations of the singer's home. He combined the Indian verandahs, high ceilings, and wide arches with British brickwork, a gravel driveway, and cultivated plants, including red, white, and hybrid bougainvillea. Janet MacGregor was his young wife. Scott wrote that she later haunted the verandah, nursing an absent baby at her torn and bloodied bodice. She, a Muslim servant protecting her, and her husband died in the Sepoy Mutiny in 1857.

Just as Scott used the story of the prince and his singer as a metaphor for the early Indo-British relationship, he used the deposed prince and MacGregor's tale to highlight the association between India and Britain as it entered the nineteenth century. In 1848, another Scotsman, James Andrew Broun-Ramsay, the Earl of Dalhousie and colonial administrator of British India, was keen to introduce the

¹²⁶ Scott, *The Jewel in the Crown*, 138.

¹²⁷ Scott, *The Jewel in the Crown*, 66.

advancements of the Industrial Revolution to India.¹²⁸ Though he intended these reforms to improve efficiency throughout India for the long-term, the short-term ramifications proved a further strain on taxation policies already enacted and on Indo-British relations.

In 1856, the East India Company acquired its richest state through Dalhousie's "Doctrine of Lapse." This doctrine went against the traditions by which Indians obtained princedoms when a ruler left no direct heir. These claims to inheritance were often contested, resulting in conflict. Whether a legacy was obtained through direct paternal lines or violence, the East India Company could not always rely on the new ruler to cooperate with it. Dalhousie, therefore, implemented the Doctrine of Lapse, which allowed the Company to annex any principality formerly governed by an Indian ruler who died without heirs or by one who was considered incompetent, such as MacGregor did in Scott's novel. In so doing, the Company expanded its domain and gained control over a larger area to use as a tax base without having to concern itself with the personalities involved. In 1856, the Company declared the ruler of the very rich principality of Oudh incompetent. Though corrupt and willing to accumulate wealth by working with the British, the Indian prince was well liked by his people, and, notably, by a majority of the sepoys who came from his territory. Many of the people of Oudh were alarmed and angered by Dalhousie's measure, over which they had no recourse.

¹²⁸ James Andrew Broun-Ramsay (22 April 1812 – 19 December 1860) was a Scottish statesman and the tenth Earl of Dalhousie from 1838 to 1849. His other titles included the Lord Ramsay until 1838, and the First Marquess of Dalhousie. He was the Governor General of India from 1848 to 1856.

The first swashbuckling traders of the East India Company (mercenaries who lived lives of adventure and danger, traits that were admired by the Indians with whom they traded), were gradually replaced by businessmen from Britain who were driven by the moral impulse to civilize the world and obtain the wealth they believed was due them for their hard work. With them came military men who were intent on making a name for themselves, mostly officers who found that buying a commission in a British military unit serving in India cost much less than one in units serving in Britain or in other imperial colonies.

These were men who wanted to settle in India, making it home for themselves and their families. Their wives and children, represented by Scott's Janet MacGregor, accompanied them. Generations followed. The early traders needed to learn the different languages and dialects of the people with whom they traded in order to survive and succeed. This new generation did not have to do so because they could hire others to translate for them. Besides the changes brought about by Dalhousie's reforms, interpersonal relations between many Indian and British people began to show the signs of strain brought about by these cultural shifts.

This moral drive to civilize the world came, not only through the changes brought about by industrialization, but also through the efforts found in the works of various Christian faiths. Churches established missionary schools with the belief that they had a moral obligation to uplift the indigent, but also with the intention of "saving pagan souls" through conversion to their respective Christian denominations. Scott wrote that MacGregor "feared God and favoured Muslims,"

was “afraid of temples,” and burned the Bibighar “because it was an abomination.”¹²⁹ Hindus and Muslims alike viewed Christianity as a threat to their cultures. By the 1850’s, both attributed this threat not only to the schools and missionaries, but also to the cultural practices they observed in British families and in the colonial administrators. The days of the intrepid trader were past. The Indo-British relationship slowly changed as a result of administrative reforms, technological advancements, demographic shifts, and religious evangelization. The result was an escalating sense of unease and mistrust among all involved.

In the late 1840’s, the armies of the East India Company annexed the Punjab and Sindh. There were also conflicts in Burma, and Britain and India engaged in the Anglo-Sikh wars. From 1854 to 1856, Britain fared badly in the Crimean War, losses that marred its global reputation as a superior military power. Stretched across many fronts, Britain’s army was losing both battles and prestige. Coupled with economic abuses, annexation, and missionary pressure, mistrust and tension escalated among the ranks of sepoys, eventually erupting into rebellion against the British in Bengal in 1857.

For Scott, the mutiny’s defining moment occurred in June 1857. Major-General Sir Hugh Wheeler, who had served in India for fifty-four years, commanded the garrison stationed at Cawnpore. Nana Sahib, the adopted son of a former prince, lived nearby. The British defeated the elder prince in battle, and the young prince inherited his late father’s title, personal army, and all the *accoutrements* of Indian royalty. He expected also to inherit the monetary allowance the British paid his

¹²⁹ Scott, *The Jewel in the Crown*, 66.

father. Bitter that the British government did not continue to allot him his father's exorbitant pension, Nana nevertheless befriended Wheeler and his Indian wife. Wheeler trusted Nana and considered him an ally, despite Nana's protestations about his pension.

As the rebellion spread towards the large station, Wheeler asked Nana to help him protect the many European and mixed blood families under his charge. Wheeler had only sixty British troops at his command, the rest were Indians whose loyalties were questionable under the circumstances. Wheeler assessed the situation and made two decisions that became his undoing. First, he took an indefensible defensive position in some barracks. Next to a wide road and surrounded only by a shallow entrenchment, the buildings were in the open and far from the river that could have been used as an escape route. Second, he turned the magazine, containing a large number of weapons and a supply of ammunition, and the treasury over to Nana Sahib, relying on him to protect the community with the army he had inherited from his father.

On June 4, 1857, the sepoys mutinied, burning buildings and looting the treasury. Wheeler's own Second Cavalry of sepoys mutinied the next day. On June 6, Nana's army surrounded and attacked the barracks with weapons from the magazine. Two hundred forty men and three hundred seventy-five women and children had sought protection in the barracks. By the end of June 1857, their ammunition was nearly spent, food was gone, and the only path to the well lay in the open, making anyone who tried to obtain water an easy target for the sepoy infantry.

As those in the barracks faced imminent death, Nana offered terms for their surrender on June 25. Wheeler was opposed the offer, but he relented in hopes of saving the women and children. The terms stated that the men were to surrender, although each would be allowed a handgun and sixty rounds of ammunition. Nana promised to provide boats to transport the sick and the women and children across the river.

The surrender occurred on June 27. As the sick and the women and children began to board the boats, someone fired a shot and confusion ensued. Suspecting treachery, the British opened fire. Nana's men reacted, setting the boats ablaze. Only one boat, carrying four people, succeeded in making the crossing.

The sixty British men who survived the siege and ensuing skirmish were killed outright. The remaining women and children were imprisoned, first in a large house, then in a smaller house that had been built by an English officer for his mistress. The name of the house was "Bibighar."¹³⁰ The women and children remained imprisoned there until July 15.

On July 15, Nana Sahib learned that British reinforcements were approaching Cawnpore. For reasons not recorded, he ordered his sepoys to execute the remaining two hundred ten women and children. The troops appeared to comply but, in reality, the men fired over the heads of their captives. Angered, Nana sent to the bazaar for butchers. He commanded three or four of his private soldiers to

¹³⁰ Scott deliberately chose names for places in his novels that denoted significant historical events. Recalling the emotions and actions integral to these moments informed scenes without having to fully articulate them in a lengthy novel. He assumed a certain amount of curiosity and intelligence on the part of the reader, thereby interacting with them across space and time.

accompany the butchers into the house, ordering the slaughter of all the prisoners. Without hesitating, they complied.

The British reinforcements under General Henry Havelock arrived two days later, on July 17, beleaguered by dysentery, cholera, and heatstroke. Despite their condition, and intent on releasing the captives, they proceeded to the Bibighar and discovered what had occurred. The bodies had been disposed of in a nearby well, and the house was strewn with blood-soaked clothes, ripped Bibles, and the leaves and remains of a book titled *Preparation for Death*.¹³¹ Sir Michael Edwardes quoted a nameless officer's letter: "I am not exaggerating when I tell you that the soles of my boots were more than covered with the blood of these poor wretched creatures."¹³² Fresh troops from England entered the region to put down the rebellion, but General Havelock's men left the room as an example of what incoming troops could expect to encounter and as a reminder of the strong nerves they would need to have as they carried out their duties. For the same reason, they filled only half of the well with dirt.

The acts against the innocent in the Bibighar incited British anger. On July 25, the acting commander at Cawnpore, Brigadier General James Neill, issued the order that all captured rebels were to "be taken down to the house and forced to clean up a small portion of the bloodstains. The task will be made as revolting to his feelings as possible. After properly cleaning up his portion, the culprit will be

¹³¹ Sir Michael Edwardes, *The Indian Mutiny*:
www.britishempire.co.uk/forces/armycampaigns/mutiny/mutiny.htm

¹³² Edwardes, *The Indian Mutiny*.

immediately hanged.”¹³³ There was no description as to who was to be considered a rebel.

Because the mutineers were loyal to a single region of the subcontinent, British rule in India was in no real danger. Troops were able to retake Bengal and to quell the uprising. Britons had also been taken captive in the Residency of Lucknow, along with some loyal Indian soldiers and local Indian people. Havelock proceeded to Lucknow and discovered that the three thousand prisoners, mostly civilians, had held out against two thousand rebels. They were eventually rescued, although the fighting proved to be fierce. The majority of sepoys in India remained loyal to British rule and the rebellion could not have been put down without their help. In the end, the results of war were evident throughout Bengal. Thousands had died, cities and villages were in ruins, and, according to estimates, £30,000,000 would be needed for reconstruction.¹³⁴ Most significantly, it was evident from the mutiny that the British government had to take the control of the subcontinent away from the East India Company. It did so by Royal Proclamation on November 1, 1858. With the Sepoy Mutiny the Raj had begun.

In his letters, Scott wrote that he made deliberate reference to the Bibighar in his novel because it was one key to understanding the history of the Indo-British relationship, especially in regards to its contribution to the Sepoy Mutiny and its impact on the actions taken during the Amritsar Massacre in 1919.¹³⁵ Indeed, he

¹³³ Edwardes, *The Indian Mutiny*.

¹³⁴ Edwardes, *The Indian Mutiny*.

¹³⁵ Haswell, *Paul Scott's Philosophy of Place(s)*, 280.

devoted 106 pages to the last chapter titled “The Bibighar Gardens,” (almost one quarter of the book), and he mentioned it in the first sentence of the novel and many other times throughout. But, Scott also wrote, “Janet MacGregor was a private ghost, an invisible marginal note on the title deeds of the MacGregor House that passed from European to Indian ownership when Sir Nello bought it in the early nineteenth-thirties.”¹³⁶ As significant as the mutiny was, Scott recognized it as a single point in time. He used the Bibighar Gardens in *The Jewel in the Crown* to delineate that era from the end of the Raj.

The hybrid bougainvillea planted at the MacGregor House represented the end of the Raj, as well as the new owners, Sir Nello and his wife, Lady Lili Chatterjee. Sir Nello was a wealthy industrialist from Bengal who had been knighted for founding the Mayapore Technical College. Lady Chatterjee was a Rajput princess, and his widow. Like the MacGregor House, Lady Chatterjee represented the confluence of the Indo-British relationship. She was Indian nobility and a Lady of the British Realm. She lived in a British house, surrounded by native trees and servants. She dressed in native garb, while taking English tea. She entertained both Indian and English, usually at the same time.

The Sepoy Rebellion taught three valuable lessons. The first was that more trust was needed between and among the Indian and British people. The second was that princes and large landowners had remained loyal to the Crown during the mutiny and the government could rely on them as allies and friends. Finally, the British government realized how deeply entrenched Indians were in their religious

¹³⁶ Scott, *The Jewel in the Crown*, 74.

traditions and customs and it made few social changes thereafter as a result.

Although the Crown realized its limitations, it also made better use of its means to assist those living in India.

After the mutiny, the Raj improved the subcontinent's infrastructure by attempting to bring order through more formalized English law practices. From 1860 to 1880, it also created the first offices of public records in India to record births, deaths marriages, adoptions, property deeds, and wills. The first India-wide census took place between 1868 and 1871.

Indian natives began attending the Indian universities established just before the rebellion, mostly in the areas of law and the liberal arts. By 1890, 60,000 Indians had enrolled. Approximately one-third of those graduating became lawyers, and one-third entered the Indian Civil Service. By 1887, Hindus held 45 percent of the mid-level civil service jobs, Muslims held 7 percent, Anglo-Indians held 19 percent, and Europeans 29 percent.¹³⁷ The Raj increased this beneficial arrangement by opening an additional 186 colleges and universities by 1911. The number of British-sponsored universities in India doubled by 1939 and together they matriculated 145,000 students. The curriculum was based on English standards, but "by the 1920's, the student bodies had become hotbeds of Indian nationalism."¹³⁸

¹³⁷ R. J. Moore, "Imperial India, 1858–1914" *The Oxford History of the British Empire: Volume III, the Nineteenth Century*, ed. Andrew Porter (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 1999), 431.

¹³⁸ Moore, "Imperial India, 1858–1914," 431.

This had not been so when universities had been established. In the mid-nineteenth century, the industrialization of the country through railways, roads, telegraph systems, and the postal service meant that goods were more easily imported and exported. The economies of India and Britain had moved from trade alliances to interdependency on raw materials and markets. As industrial technology took root in the subcontinent, the high paying jobs involved in maintaining it appealed to upper caste Hindu men. A job in the Indian Civil Service (ICS) began to carry prestige for those it employed. These Hindu men often came from princely or land-owning families, and, therefore, the ICS was politically neutral in matters concerning its administration. Indian society was beginning to resemble British society. A middle class had emerged through the university and ICS systems. With it, however, came a growing discontent with British occupation and the administration of British law. In 1867, Great Britain granted Canada dominion status and watched as Canadians established their own democratic constitution and institutions. Encouraged by this, many Indians looked forward to doing the same for their country.

Historian Percival Spear believed that it was the partial reversal of the Ilbert Bill of 1883 that spurred this discontent into political action. In 1858 Queen Victoria had proclaimed, "We hold ourselves bound to the natives of our Indian territories by the same obligation of duty which binds us to all our subjects."¹³⁹ The Ilbert Bill would have given judges in Bengal the same power as their British counterparts. When Viceroy Lord Ripon rescinded this action, seventy university

¹³⁹ Percival Spear, *A History of India, Volume 2* (London, UK: Penguin, 1990), 298.

intellectuals and middle-class professionals formed the Indian National Congress in December of 1885 with the goal of changing British political policies and administration in India. As political activism grew, rifts occurred between moderates and extremists who were often divided along Hindu and Muslim religious lines.

During his time as Viceroy of India, Lord Curzon (1899 – 1905), elected to divide Bengal. He intended to make East Bengal and Assam into a Muslim-majority province and West Bengal into a Hindu-majority province. Many of the Hindu elite resided in and owned large amounts of land in East Bengal, and they vigorously opposed the partition. Latent fears that the Raj was attempting to undermine their religious beliefs, as well as concern that this was a strategic move to quell their growing political assertiveness, the Hindu Bengali middle classes protested. The protests took the form of the *Swadeshi*, or “Buy Indian,” campaign, boycotting British goods. Protests also served to aid the creation of national conscience on the subcontinent, for, although *Swadeshi* cloth was more expensive and less comfortable than Lancashire textiles, the boycott successfully lowered British import revenues by 25 percent and, thus, the Indian people wore their homespun cloth with pride.¹⁴⁰

In response to these protests and the partition of Bengal, the elite Muslim classes organized the All India Muslim League in 1906. Unlike their Hindu neighbors, members of the Muslim League supported the partition of Bengal because it made them a majority in the eastern half of the province. Around the

¹⁴⁰ Stanley Wolpert, *A New History of India* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2004), 275-76.

time that the Hindu and Muslim populations were organizing themselves into political bodies, John Morley, the Secretary of State for India, and Viceroy Minto enacted the Indian Councils Act of 1909. This act helped to advance the elective principle for both Hindus and Muslims. It granted Indian natives roles in both the central and provincial legislatures and it also made the Muslim population a separate electorate, granting them double representation. Soon after, in 1911, the Partition of Bengal was rescinded.

Despite the ongoing intra- and inter-cultural tension among the various religious sects and races, many contentions within India were laid aside with the onset of the First World War. Almost one and one-half million British and Indian soldiers joined forces to fight. Indian forces became known worldwide for their bravery and for their loyalty to the Crown. By 1920, Indian prestige led to the subcontinent's becoming a founding member of the League of Nations, though still as British India.

Summarizing the state of the Empire following these events, Sonja Hathaway noted that the “interwar period in Great Britain, 1919 – 1939, was one of transition,” and that,

As a result of World War I and the Great Depression, the Victorian ideals and values that had given meaning and a sense of purpose and stability to peoples' lives were shattered, to be replaced by paradoxes, uncertainties, and despair. Nationalism and isolationism stymied the activities of the League of Nations. Rearmament programs contradicted the agendas of disarmament conferences. In Britain, Conservative governments pursued socialist and egalitarian policies and members of the Labour Party espoused conservative policies.¹⁴¹

¹⁴¹ Sonja Hathaway, “George Orwell’s ‘Depression’ Novels: Laying Bare the Emotional Cost of the Great Depression in Britain” (MA thesis, University of North Dakota, 2010), 1.

Hathaway's statement revealed that the war had effected changes in Great Britain as well as in other nations. Great Britain's problems radiated out to the areas it administered and governed.

By 1942 (the year that Scott chose as the timeframe for *The Jewel in the Crown*) the resentment against colonial rule and a growing spirit of Indian nationalism were thriving. This same year the British had been defeated in Burma and Gandhi was "preaching sedition."¹⁴² "The English," Scott wrote,

had to admit that the future did not look propitious. They had faced bad times before, though, and felt that they could face them again, that now they knew where they stood and there could be no more heart-searching for quite a while about the rights and wrongs of their colonial-imperialist policy and administration.¹⁴³

But Scott also exposed the post-independence Indian view when, through Lady Chatterjee, he wrote,

I have a feeling that when it was written into our constitution that we should be a secular state we finally put the lid on our Indian-ness, and admitted the legality of our long years of living in sin with the English. Our so-called independence was rather like a shot-gun wedding. The only Indians who don't realise that we are now really westerners are our peasants. I suppose they'll cotton on to it one day, and then they'll want to be westerners too, like practically everyone else in the East and Far East.¹⁴⁴

Lady Chatterjee's sentiments intimated that both Indians and the British had become too enmeshed with each other to return to their old identities. Like the MacGregor House, they were hybrids of their shared pasts. Scott believed that these

¹⁴² Paul Scott, *The Jewel in the Crown*, 3.

¹⁴³ Paul Scott, *The Jewel in the Crown*, 3.

¹⁴⁴ Paul Scott, *The Jewel in the Crown*, 70.

juxtapositions and points of contact were the fundamental elements of the historical record. His fiction, Haswell wrote,

provided a means for readers to consider the barriers and bridges erected between characters and cultures. He pulled together what seemed resolutely estranged and thereby breathed life into the human landscape, making fluid and harmonious what was thought to be unalterably divided.¹⁴⁵

But Scott did not eschew divisions among people as a means to argue unification. Instead, he observed the actions and reactions that took place between them and wrote about the ensuing consequences. He believed that the places in which these interactions happened were the nexus of history, enveloping and retaining the events. Places, therefore, were principal components of his work. The MacGregor House exemplified this philosophy.

According to Scott, “walls” (including race, class, gender, and religion) that divided cultures were artificially imposed and they could, therefore, be torn down. “To depict such estrangement,” Haswell wrote, “Scott created a series of topographical and structural dualities that initially seemed to map inherent and insurmountable antithesis.”¹⁴⁶ These included England and India, the military cantonment and native town, and, preeminently, the Bibighar Gardens and MacGregor House, each of which had its own chapters out of the seven in the book.

Originally the two places stood opposed to each other and were distinctly Indian. Between the time that they were constructed and the end of the Raj, they remained in conflict, but racially and culturally divided. Finally, at the time depicted

¹⁴⁵ Haswell, *Paul Scott's Philosophy of Place(s)*, 135.

¹⁴⁶ Haswell, *Paul Scott's Philosophy of Place(s)*, 141.

in the novel, the Bibighar Gardens had become wild and uninhabited by both Indian and British, while the other provided a place in which all were welcome. “The MacGregor House, it was said, was the one place where English and Indian came together as equals.”¹⁴⁷ The Anglicized Lady Chatterjee opened her home to both.

Lady Chatterjee had a close English friend named Lady Ethel Manners. When Lady Manners told Lady Chatterjee that her niece, Miss Daphne Manners, was moving to India, Lady Chatterjee suggested that Daphne reside with her at the MacGregor House. Lady Manners accepted the offer.

Daphne’s name was derived from Greek mythology, but as written by the Roman Ovid.¹⁴⁸ Her surname, “Manners,” stood juxtaposed to her given name. Scott used Daphne’s name as a literary device to reveal how he believed the natural state of humanity, which would not include the imposed use of “manners,” was the purest form of existence and, therefore, the most desirable.

Scott also used Daphne to introduce readers to the tenets of the Epicurean school. Epicureanism was one of the ancient classical philosophies explored in scholasticism. Epicurus (c. 341-271 BCE), one of the major philosophers during the Hellenistic period, believed that humans lacked an immortal soul. He preached a gospel of freedom from fear of the gods and from death and emphasized his belief that the point of human existence was to attain personal happiness, which he defined as pleasure and tranquility, through the moderation of one’s interests and

¹⁴⁷ Scott, *The Jewel in the Crown*, 33.

¹⁴⁸ Edith Hamilton. *Mythology: Timeless Tales of Gods and Heroes* (Boston, Massachusetts: Little, Brown and Company, Inc., 1969), 114-15.

the cultivation of friendships.¹⁴⁹ Epicurus' school in Athens was known as "The Garden," a direct reference to, and symbol of, Scott's Bibighar Gardens.¹⁵⁰

There are many parallels between Ovid's and Scott's stories. Ovid's Daphne was an "independent, love-and-marriage hating young huntress."¹⁵¹ This Daphne felt that exile was worse than death. Apollo, the god of truth and war, pursued her. Women whom he impregnated had either to kill their children or kill themselves, a choice Scott's Daphne faced as well. "But at last Apollo saw her, and everything ended for her."¹⁵² Both Daphnes wore dresses that showed their knees. Both also bared their arms and wore their hair in disarray.

Ovid's Daphne was also associated with a garden. In her final attempt to remain unmarried by fleeing from Apollo, she cried out to her father for help. Her father, the river god Peneus, turned her into a laurel tree, symbol of eternity and victory.

Scott described his Daphne as being good-natured, big, and clumsy, the antithesis of the Victorian model. While picking marigolds, a Victorian symbol of pain and grief, she trampled the garden, metaphorically trampling on convention. Daphne was honest and earthy. She exhibited no fear, thus personifying Epicurean ideals. Indeed, she seemed to fulfill the Epicurean goal of happiness: she was not a

¹⁴⁹ J. M. Rist, *Epicurus: An Introduction* (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1972), 127-39.

¹⁵⁰ A. J. Festugiere, *Epicurus and His Gods* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1956), ix.

¹⁵¹ Hamilton, *Mythology: Timeless Tales of Gods and Heroes*, 14-15.

¹⁵² Hamilton, *Mythology: Timeless Tales of Gods and Heroes*, 14-15.

virgin, drank gin, showed her legs, and was short-sighted and generally unconcerned with the future, as symbolized by her glasses.¹⁵³

Daphne further reflected Epicureanism in her moderation of self-aggrandizement and through the cultivation of friendships. Her best friends were unconventional and honest as well: Lady Chatterjee; Sister Ludmilla (an enigmatic character who, having been married, was neither chaste nor a nun); and Hari Kumar. Daphne eschewed dishonesty and unnaturalness. When Sgt. Ronald Merrick courted her and proposed marriage to her, she, like Ovid's Daphne, ran from him.

Daphne did not, however, run from Hari. Neither did she avoid the Bibighar Gardens. "There all is greenness," she wrote in a letter.

Even in the hottest months, there is a feeling of greenness, wild and overgrown, a walled enclosure of trees and undergrowth, with pathways and sudden open spaces. At the back of the grounds the wall is crumbled and broken and gives on to waste grounds. At the front of the garden there is an open archway on to the road but no gate. So the garden is never closed.¹⁵⁴

It was here that Daphne cultivated her friendship with Hari.

Daphne was, as Lady Chatterjee said, "different." Contemporary values dictated that members of the Raj should not "dirty their hands" with the lower classes of Indians, including those in the positions that Hari occupied. "But," Lady Chatterjee continued, "Daphne didn't ever shrink from getting grubby. She flung herself into everything with zest. The more afraid she was of something the more

¹⁵³ Scott, *The Jewel in the Crown*, 67, 113.

¹⁵⁴ Scott, *The Jewel in the Crown*, 378.

determined she was not to shrink from experiencing it.” Daphne was drawn to Hari because he represented the danger one risked when refuting convention. In her diary, she wrote,

Hari and I got into the habit of going to the Bibighar because it was the one place in Mayapore where we could be together and be utterly natural with each other. Going in there, through the archway, or standing up and getting ready to go back into the cantonment – those were the moments when this feeling of being about to hide or about to come out of hiding was strongest.¹⁵⁵

Bibighar was a wild place where the two lovers could be alone. In the cinema they had had to sit among the Indians, which made both of them uncomfortable. When they were in public together, people stared at them. Only in the Bibighar were they able to be themselves. One time when she and Hari were together in the Bibighar, it rained. The rain, she recalled, “came fresh and clean, wild, indiscriminate. And changed the garden, changed Mayapore, the whole landscape. That awful foreboding colourlessness was washed out of the sky.”¹⁵⁶ Scott used the rain to represent the change from dishonesty and convention to honesty and integrity, which, he believed, was the acme of human character.

Epicurus’ garden was a place of learning, and Scott used Bibighar to teach his readers as well. As with many symbols in his novel, Bibighar had more than one meaning. Bibighar was a Garden of Eden to Scott’s young Adam and Eve. It was, as in the most popular definition, paradise: a place of surpassing beauty, supreme bliss, and the final abode of the righteous. Daphne described it in “other worldly” terms. “This is what I got from the Bibighar,” she wrote.

¹⁵⁵ Scott, *The Jewel in the Crown*, 378-79.

¹⁵⁶ Scott, *The Jewel in the Crown*, 394.

It was a place in which you sensed something having gone badly wrong at one time that hadn't been put right but could be if only you knew how. It was typical of no place, but only of human acts and desires that leave their mark in the most unexpected and sometimes chilling way.¹⁵⁷

When he wrote of "human acts and desires that leave their mark," Scott was referring to the effects of the complexities of the Indo-British relationship. Scott cleverly used this statement to relate three layers of meaning. The first was the slaughter at the Bibghar House preceding the Sepoy Mutiny of 1857. Certainly the fear and mistrust resulting from those events, that later influenced the actions taken during the Amritsar Massacre in 1919 and eventually led to the end of the Raj, had not "put it right." By 1942, no one, Indian or British, knew how to do so. The second layer was the history of Scott's Bibghar Gardens, which reflected the same results.

The third layer was the most poignant. "It was typical of no place, but only of human acts and desires that leave their mark in the most unexpected and sometimes chilling way." In this single sentence, Scott summarized his unique philosophy of history. He did so by placing Hari and Daphne in various relationships in this scene. The first was to each other. The second was to the Bibghar Gardens, the place in which they consummated their love. The third was to the reader. Through the events that the narrator was investigating that had occurred between Hari, Daphne, and their assailants in the Bibghar Gardens, Scott shared the psychological, intellectual, and emotional context underpinning his characters' feelings. "This," Scott began his novel, "is the story of a rape, of the events that led up to it and followed it and of the place in which it happened. There

¹⁵⁷ Scott, *The Jewel in the Crown*, 398.

are the action, the people, and the place; all of which are interrelated but in their totality incommunicable in isolation from the moral continuum of human affairs.”¹⁵⁸ The garden set the stage upon which Scott examined the intentions, emotions, and beliefs at the heart of the couple’s union. He used that examination to share with his readers the love, fear, and other complex responses felt by people who lived in India at the end of the Raj. The Bibighar became a repository of the lovers’ story just as it had the stories of the Shah, his son, and the MacGregors, linking the past with the present and affecting the future.

Because Scott believed that all people were both actively and passively involved with their surroundings, and that “social and individual tension could be represented only in its specificity,” contact between people and the places in which it occurred were fundamental to *The Jewel in the Crown*. Scott explored the Indo-British relationship by creating places that symbolized the history of the Raj and, by placing his characters in them, allowed the reader to examine and explore the actions and reactions of the people representing those who lived it. He used Hari’s and Daphne’s time in the Bibighar as a device to give his readers an understanding not only of how the Raj ended, but also of why it did.

But the lovers’ paradise could be defined in at least two other ways. In the West, specifically with the English, paradise was an English park in which foreign animals were kept. In this view, Scott suggested that some people believed India was held captive by Britain. In the East, however, paradise was an oriental pleasure-ground enclosing wild beasts for hunting. The night that Hari and Daphne

¹⁵⁸ Scott, *The Jewel in the Crown*, 1.

consummated their love in the place they believed was a refuge was the same night and place that Hari was bound and Daphne was raped. To the angry Indian assailants, Hari had betrayed their culture and Daphne represented the oppression of the Raj.

Relational themes were the core of Scott's work, and the rape was relevant because of what it signified. In 1986, David Rubin wrote that, "The relationship of Britain and India, as Scott portrayed it, was allegorised as a sexual embrace."¹⁵⁹ An anonymous reviewer of *The Jewel in the Crown* in 1966 interpreted the rape scene as a symbol of the British rape of India. But as Goonetilleke noted, this theory would be valid had the action Scott described taken place during the heyday of the Raj, but it occurred at the end of the Raj. He wrote that, "The rape in Scott's *Quartet* symbolically suggested the change in power relations, the growing strength of the Indians and the effeteness of the British Empire at that time."¹⁶⁰ This idea of British "effeteness" was contrary to the generally accepted notion of Oriental India as feminine and Occidental Britain as masculine.

The idea of Western masculinity had roots in the work of Captain Sir Richard Francis Burton. A mid-nineteenth century English explorer, geographer, diplomat, polylinguist and author, Burton was renowned for, among other things, his English translation in 1885 of an Indian work known as *The Book of the Thousand Nights and a Night*. Though not the first to translate the work, Burton's collection was the

¹⁵⁹ David Rubin, *After the Raj: British Novels in India since 1947* (Hanover, MA: University Press of New England, 1986), 121.

¹⁶⁰ Goonetilleke, "Paul Scott's Later Novels: The Unknown Indian," 818.

first to be explicitly sexual and it was considered pornographic at the time of its publication. In one of his footnotes he made the outlandish claim that “the venereal requirements and reproductive powers of the female greatly exceed those of the male,” especially in what he termed the “Sotadic Zone,” which were “hot-damp climates: as found in Egypt, Persia, and India.”¹⁶¹ Rana Kabbani believed that the popularity of Burton’s translation was the reason that India and the East were viewed as being “feminine.”¹⁶²

The unrestrained sexuality of the women Burton described in his exploits and translation stood in contrast to that of the ideals expressed in Victorian England. In 1986, Kabbani wrote that the “Orient for Burton was chiefly an illicit space and its women convenient chattels who offered sexual gratification denied in the Victorian home for its unseemliness.”¹⁶³ This interpretation fitted historiographic interpretations of the imposition of British culture on the East. Kabbani, according to Professor Dane Kennedy, agreed with what had been written for some time concerning the history of the Raj; “that Burton constructed an orientalist interpretation of desire, identifying the Orient in terms of unrestrained feminine sexuality.”¹⁶⁴ Burton did not champion women’s causes, because, he said, “I never pretended to understand women,” although he did understand that women

¹⁶¹ Richard F. Burton, trans., *The Book of the Thousand Nights and a Nights*, 1 (Benares, India, 1885-86), 241.

¹⁶² Rana Kabbani, *Europe’s Myths of Orient* (London, UK: Pandora Press, 1986), 66.

¹⁶³ Kabbani, *Europe’s Myths of Orient*, 66.

¹⁶⁴ Dane Kennedy, “‘Captain Burton’s Oriental Muck Heap’: The Book of the Thousand Nights and the Uses of Orientalism” *Journal of British Studies*, 39, No. 3 (July, 2000), 331.: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/175975>

in India were uninhibited sexually.¹⁶⁵ The way in which he portrayed that knowledge in his writings led to the classification of the subcontinent and its people as being feminine.

The change in the power relations at the end of the Raj, as noted by Goonetilleke, challenged Kabbani's interpretation. Hari asserted himself with Daphne who, in turn, chose to "surrender" to him. This was contrary to the traditional view of an effeminate India. Or, as stated by Salman Rushdie, "If a rape must be used as the metaphor of the Indo-British connection, then, surely, in the interests of accuracy, it should be the rape of an Indian woman by one or more Englishmen of whatever class."¹⁶⁶ Thus, a more accurate interpretation of the event was necessary.

Scott provided the interpretation later in *The Raj Quartet* when a character named Major Mackay, who was unrelated to the people involved in the earlier "Bibighar Affair," theorized that people in love would make love if marriage was untenable.¹⁶⁷ This described Hari's and Daphne's situation. Goonetilleke illuminated this passage when he wrote that, "The deeds at the Bibighar were of dual significance. In the first place, the sexual penetration of Daphne by Hari, not a rape as such but an act of love, symbolized the element of love in Indo-British

¹⁶⁵ Richard F. Burton, trans., *The Book of the Thousand Nights and a Nights*, 6 (Benares, India, 1885-86), 439.

¹⁶⁶ Salman Rushdie, "Outside the Whale" *Granata*, (London, 1984), 127.

¹⁶⁷ Paul Scott, *Towers of Silence* (New York, NY: William Morrow and Company, Inc., 1979), 89.

relations.”¹⁶⁸ The second was an act of violence, illustrating the power and aggression fomenting in India that would play its part in Indian independence.

Despite being raped, Daphne never incriminated the men who bound Hari and violated her, and neither did Scott. He treated his characters as equals, despite their race, political tendencies, or virtues. He believed that the actions resulting from their intentions were of paramount importance because they influenced the course of history, that lading these points of harmony or contention with preconceived judgments led to oppositional categories and a superficial treatment of the past. He used his skill as an author to convey this unique philosophy of history in order to help his readers experience the tumultuous exchanges resulting from individual choices that caused the Raj to end the way it did.

After being assaulted, Daphne fled to the protection of the MacGregor House. This was the vision that came to Scott’s mind after his time with Dass, inspiring him to write *The Jewel in the Crown*. “Imagine, then, a flat landscape,” he wrote, “dark for the moment, but even so conveying to a girl running in the still deeper shadow cast by the wall of the Bibighar Gardens an idea of immensity.”¹⁶⁹ Daphne wrote in her journal that, leaving the garden that night, “Hari tried to take hold of my arm. I moved away from him. I said, ‘No, let me go.’ He wouldn’t listen. He caught me, tried to hold me close, but I struggled. He said, ‘I’ve got to be with you. I love you. Please let me be with you.’”¹⁷⁰ Daphne continued to run, but Hari caught her. She

¹⁶⁸ Goonetilleke, “Paul Scott’s Later Novels: The Unknown Indian,” 817.

¹⁶⁹ Scott, *The Jewel in the Crown*, 1.

¹⁷⁰ Scott, *The Jewel in the Crown*, 417.

begged him to let her go, held him close, and then fled. It was the last time she touched him.

Because of the rape, Daphne realized that she was a symbol of the Raj in the eyes of the Indians. In loving Hari she thought she had severed her connection to English *morés*. But, beyond his skin color, Hari was not Indian, and so, in all honesty, she had not.

Ovid's Daphne also ran away. Apollo, like Hari, pursued her. "Do not fear," he called. "Stop and find out who I am. I am the Lord of Delphi and I love you."¹⁷¹ Scott's Daphne, in her lament, wrote, "There was love. Oh, somewhere, in the past, and now, and in the future, love as there was between me and Hari."¹⁷² This was one of the most compelling statements in Scott's book. It defined the troubled nature of the Indo-British relationship at the end of the Raj.

Scott's Daphne became pregnant, but Scott did not reveal whether the pregnancy was the result of the consensual act of love or the act of violence. Through Daphne, he conveyed his belief that the way by which the child came into being did not matter, but his hope was the same as Daphne's – that the child was Hari's.¹⁷³

Despite her British neighbors suggestions that she abort the baby, Daphne chose to die in childbirth so that her offspring could live. Scott's story

¹⁷¹ Hamilton, *Mythology: Timeless Tales of Gods and Heroes*, 114-15.

¹⁷² Scott, *The Jewel in the Crown*, 444.

¹⁷³ Lady Chatterjee wrote to Daphne's aunt that, as the child grew, she looked more and more like Hari. This further reflected Scott's conscious or subconscious hope for the future of the Indo-British relationship.

metaphorically suggested promise for the future through the birth of Daphne's daughter. The young girl was the culmination of the hopes and dreams of many in India and England. Through her, the barriers between cultures were breached and the hope of conciliation achieved.

Scott used the material images and juxtaposition of the Bibighar Gardens and MacGregor House as metaphors that revealed not only Indo-British history, but also his beliefs and ideas about what shaped the history of the end of the Raj. His philosophy of history did not look for what divided people and countries or for what unified them. He was unique in that he looked at what happened between individuals at the nexus of borders, bridges, and walls. He believed that their choices and actions were catalysts that made up the events of history. The love-struck Shah built gilded walls for his singer, who responded with song, but not with marriage. His son reacted by burning those walls and erecting others, the interior of which reflected his personality and choices. And so the story continued. "Rigid bifurcation was for Scott a matter of amenable choices more than irreversible forces," Haswell wrote. He was "more concerned with the spiritual pilgrimage of individuals than with the fate of nations and the end of empires."¹⁷⁴ In Scott's view, individuals exerted power and shaped their existence, culminating in the historical record. He believed that nationalism, cultural identity, socio-economics, and race were products, not stimulants, of those choices.

Scott wrote the Bibighar Gardens and MacGregor House into his novel as symbols revealing the history of the Indo-British relationship. The Bibighar

¹⁷⁴ Haswell, *Paul Scott's Philosophy of Place(s)*, 172.

Gardens, both historical and fictional, decayed into ruin because they did not reflect the reality of the subcontinent in 1942. The MacGregor House remained, however, because it did. The building stood as a metaphor for Scott's belief that anything constructed by humans could be dismantled by them as well. He symbolized this by integrating hybrid bougainvillea, cultivated English-style gardens planted with native flora, multi-racial parties, the Chatterjees, and a plethora of other symbols, too numerous to include here, into the history of the structure.

The results of the impact of the British Raj on the subcontinent are still debated with great emotion. "In the Bibighar Gardens case there were several arrests and an investigation," Scott observed through his narrator. "There was no trial in the judicial sense. Since then people said there was a trial of sorts going on."

Scott's *The Jewel in the Crown* was his deeply moving inquiry into

the affair that ended with the spectacle of two nations in violent opposition, not for the first time not as yet for the last because they were still locked in an imperial embrace of such long standing and subtlety it was no longer possible for them to know whether they hated or loved one another, or what it was that held them together and seemed to have confused the image of their separate destinies.¹⁷⁵

As Goonetilleke wrote, however, Scott's work "was not a 'tragedy,' but a requiem for the Raj. Paul Scott accepted what had transpired and was saddened by it in a dignified way." Scott ended *The Raj Quartet* with a poem written in Indian style that, according to Goonetilleke, "communicated how things died and continued. It accepted change as survival."¹⁷⁶

¹⁷⁵ Scott, *The Jewel in the Crown*, 1, 3.

¹⁷⁶ Goonetilleke, "Paul Scott's Later Novels: The Unknown Indian," 836.

Just as the *The Raj Quartet* was not a tragedy, neither was its first book, *The Jewel in the Crown*. Scott inserted a morning raga, or Indian wedding song, into the last chapter of his narrative. The person singing the song was the mixed-race daughter of Hari's lover Daphne. The child was torn from her mother's womb and Daphne died soon afterwards. She named the baby Parvati and entrusted her to Lady Chatterjee.¹⁷⁷ Both resided at the MacGregor House.

Dooliya le ao more babul ke kaharwa.
Chali hoon sajan ba ke des. Sangaki sakha
Saba bichchuda gayee hai apne re apne ghar jaun.

Oh, my father's servants, bring my palanquin.
I am going to the land of my husband. All my
companions are scattered. They have gone to
different homes.¹⁷⁸

Far from being a requiem, Parvati's song was a symbol of beginnings.

The investigator noted at the end of the story that the young child, having been classically trained under privileged circumstances in the care of Lady Chatterjee, would someday sing her Indian songs in the great capitals of Europe, no longer confined by the constraints of the past. All the reader knew of Parvati was how she came into being. In Scott's work, she represented the new India, born of both love and violence, but he did not answer the question inherent in the song. Parvati had no family to leave and no father's palanquin to carry her away. Where, or to whom, would she go? What would she become? She was named after the Hindu god representing love, loyalty, and fidelity. But to whom, or to what, was

¹⁷⁷ See footnote 107.

¹⁷⁸ Scott, *The Jewel in the Crown*, 470.

Daphne's daughter bound? When the investigator first saw her, Lady Chatterjee asked, "Well of course you've seen her. But have you understood yet who she is?"¹⁷⁹ At the end of the novel, the investigator wrote, "She was another story, a girl admirably suited to her surroundings where there was always the promise of a story continuing instead of finishing."¹⁸⁰

Scott longed for his readers to explore the intricate relationship that India shared with Great Britain during the time of the Raj, hoping they would embrace the joy he felt for the countries' shared past. In *Parvati*, the new India, there was much yet to discover about the imperial embrace from which she was born. He wanted people to understand not only what had happened, but to experience it as well. He wanted them to understand why the relationship between the two countries ended the way it did, and he used the Bibighar Gardens and MacGregor House as metaphors to convey the complex past, bittersweet present, and hopeful future they represented.

¹⁷⁹ Scott, *The Jewel in the Crown*, 73.

¹⁸⁰ Scott, *The Jewel in the Crown*, 469.

CHAPTER IV

CONCLUSION

How did this middle-class suburbanite – who left school at fourteen, had no experience of diplomacy or the civil service, and never set foot inside a British university in his life – suddenly, after a solid but hitherto no more than middling literary career, acquire the vision that brought the world of the fading Raj to unforgettable life, in a quartet of novels that for range and power have been compared to Tolstoy?¹⁸¹

Paul Scott became fixated on India after serving there with the British Army during World War II. This preoccupation inspired him to write *The Jewel in the Crown* and the other novels making up the *The Raj Quartet*. In his quest for historical accuracy, he avidly researched the scholarship that explained the historical and political climate on the subcontinent during the Raj. He also revisited India as an observer and as a writer. Influenced mostly by his time spent with his former Havildar, but also by the people he encountered while there, Scott returned to England and began to write, unfortunately at the cost of his health, his friendships, and his marriage.

Unlike contemporary historical investigators, Scott explored the question of the Indo-British relationship as an observer, narrator, and writer. He sought to answer the question at the heart of research on the Raj – *why* did it end the way it did, rather than *how* it ended. He used major political figures, socio-economics, and political movements to frame the settings for his novel.

¹⁸¹ Green, “The Origins of Paul Scott’s Vast Masterpiece.”

The places in which interactions took place between his characters symbolized real places and events, retaining the synergy of those encounters and becoming ineffaceable historical archives. Even though in ruins, the places told a story that united the past and present. Scott displayed his unique philosophy of history through symbolism in his novel. Most prominently, he used the MacGregor House and Bibighar Gardens, built in juxtaposition to each other, to illustrate his historical perspective. Scott used these two symbols as metaphors to describe the long Indo-British history.

Scott shunned labels and categories, which were prevalent in the historical scholarship. He juxtaposed the MacGregor House and Bibighar Gardens precisely to illustrate what he believed to be the folly of that position. Scott refused to accept the idea that British Imperialism in India was monolithic and wholly oppressive. Through his philosophy he denounced the historiographic tendency to “frame discussions of colonizer and colonized in stable and essentialized classifications of good and evil,” Haswell noted, “with first and third worlds fixed in binary categories.”¹⁸² Nearly one-half century later, scholars understood the need to work to reclaim the complexity found at the heart of the Indo-British relationship during the heyday of the British Empire, and, consequently, historiographic trends became aligned with Scott’s philosophies. Scott rejected prejudices and the labels that accompanied earlier historical categories. He believed that all people inherently possessed value and he affirmed their dignity by recognizing that they were free to define themselves, just as Hari had done when he broke Merrick’s mirror.

¹⁸² Haswell, *Paul Scott’s Philosophy of Place(s)*, 66.

In this way, Scott saw British Imperialism in India as a positive force. His “view of British Imperialism,” wrote Goonetilleke, was that it “ensured equity and safeguards in the interests of its subjects, unlike the autocracy which was often a feature of princely rule,” prior to the creation of the Raj in 1857.¹⁸³ Although there were those who perpetuated atrocities during this era, those serving the British also brought humanitarianism, education, modernization, and sound judicial practices to India. Concurrently, there were also those on the subcontinent who committed barbarous acts, as well as others who sought to coexist peaceably. This was precisely Scott’s point for erecting and using the Bibighar Gardens and MacGregor House as symbols of his metaphor. The Gardens represented things gone wrong, based on the rebelliousness of a self-centered, vindictive prince. The House represented the intricacies of relationship, including the ramifications that occurred when people’s actions and reactions did not align. Ultimately, however, the Gardens fell into decay, and the House remained. Scott’s message was clear: only those who sought both the good of the self and the other would endure. He believed all people could possess this integrity, but that the only way to discern their character was through their actions, actions that could only be revealed when encountering others.

Scott “focused an ordinary human point of view on the world around him, valuing decency and integrity above everything else.”¹⁸⁴ He believed people who did not “seek to impose their will or control,” whether Briton or Indian, escaped the “disempowerment,” often signified in historiographic studies, as the “colonial

¹⁸³ Goonetilleke, “Paul Scott’s Later Novels: The Unknown Indian,” 812.

¹⁸⁴ Goonetilleke, “Paul Scott’s Later Novels: The Unknown Indian,” 827.

encounter.”¹⁸⁵ Those who sought control, represented in *The Jewel in the Crown* by characters such as Merrick and the men who raped Daphne, perpetuated racism, anger, and hostility.

Describing not how the Raj ended the way it did, but why it did, Scott sought to expose the motives underpinning people’s choices and the actions and reactions that followed. Scott’s aim was to “probe into the contradictory nature of existence and the random, unpredictable nature of suffering.”¹⁸⁶ His characters were based on his life and experiences and on those of the people he knew. They were “never projections of disembodied ideas, but rooted in real life.”¹⁸⁷ Scott portrayed the many different voices speaking at the end of the Raj through these characters. He did so to share what he referred to as a “moral dialogue” with his readers.¹⁸⁸

Peter Childs noted that Scott provided a multiplicity of perspectives as a result, giving the reader the means to understand the various social, moral, religious, historical, and political views on display during this time.¹⁸⁹ Because the narrator reviewing the “Bibighar Affair” presented *The Jewel in the Crown* to the reader as a partner in the investigation, the reader became an active participant, sharing Scott’s observations and perspectives. For example, as an investigator, the

¹⁸⁵ Goonetilleke, “Paul Scott’s Later Novels: The Unknown Indian,” 834.

¹⁸⁶ Goonetilleke, “Paul Scott’s Later Novels: The Unknown Indian,” 815.

¹⁸⁷ Goonetilleke, “Paul Scott’s Later Novels: The Unknown Indian,” 801.

¹⁸⁸ Haswell, *Paul Scott’s Philosophy of Place(s)*, 46.

¹⁸⁹ Peter Childs, E. M. Forster’s *A Passage to India: A Routledge Study Guide and Sourcebook* (Florence, KY: Routledge, 2002), 46.

narrator interviewed the characters and read both official and personal letters dealing with the rape and shared what he learned with the reader.

Scott cared more about people's individual journeys than he did about the state of nations. He believed, as Goonetilleke noted, that his characters were "caught in the tides of history, but they were not necessarily its victims."¹⁹⁰ Because Scott believed in people's intrinsic value and dismissed labels and categories, the "rigid bifurcation" resulting from people's prejudices and actions was a "matter of amenable choices more than irreversible forces."¹⁹¹ Merrick and Daphne both exemplify this belief.

Merrick planted evidence against Hari in order to provide a reason for arresting him, and, by doing so, appeased the jealous rage he harbored because of Hari's breeding and Daphne's affections for Hari. Merrick's actions aggravated racial tensions in the region for both Indians and Britons. Conversely, Daphne chose not to reveal the identities of her assailants and she kept her mixed-race child despite the difficult circumstances under which her daughter had been conceived. She also gave up her life to save the life of the child. The intentions underscoring these actions by Merrick and Daphne revealed their natures.

For Scott, dignity and the paradox of individuality, as illustrated through Merrick and Daphne, created cohesion, though not necessarily harmony. Haswell wrote that Scott "saw more clearly what connected than what divided." He used connections as a means to expose people's genuine characters. He did so by

¹⁹⁰ Goonetilleke, "Paul Scott's Later Novels: The Unknown Indian," 834.

¹⁹¹ Haswell, *Paul Scott's Philosophy of Place(s)*, 172.

“enacting moments of mutual recognition of one human being for another,” whether that was the “twin darkneses” shared by Hari and Merrick, or the love that Hari and Daphne had for each other. By doing so, he explored the “emotional correspondence of a shared moment in human experience” with his readers.¹⁹²

The places in which these “emotional correspondences” occurred were paramount in his work. They were repositories of the past and storehouses for the future. Places were more than empty stages on which Scott’s characters played their parts. Besides being physical locations, they were social spaces whose histories impressed upon people’s psyches the memories of those who lived in and frequented them. These histories influenced the characters’ behaviors. The most prominent of these histories in *The Jewel in the Crown* were those of the Bibghar Gardens and the MacGregor House.

People avoided the Bibghar Gardens, precisely because they associated the place with the events leading up to the Sepoy Mutiny almost a century earlier. For Hari and Daphne, this collective memory allowed them an abandoned and wild place in which they could be uninhibited and “natural” with each other. Here, they were freed from the rigid social constraints manifested in the stares and whispers from people they met outside of the Bibghar Gardens. But, the unnamed assailants who attacked the two lovers, also sought out the privacy the place offered and thus were able to commit their violent acts.

Hari and Daphne and the unnamed Indians chose the Bibghar Gardens for similar reasons, but their actions revealed their intentions, exposing their

¹⁹² Haswell, *Paul Scott’s Philosophy of Place(s)*, 182.

characters. Hari and Daphne consented to and shared passionate sex with each other. The gang members forced themselves on the couple with the intention of humiliating and violating them. By investigating this rape in tandem with his reader through the voice of the narrator, Scott drew the reader away from the question of what had happened and to the one that asked why it happened. He used his skill as an author to require the reader to ask the more existential questions inherent in human interactions.

Scott used the MacGregor House in the same way, but the people who interacted there revealed the characteristics that Scott esteemed – integrity and decency. Unlike the Bibighar Gardens, a history of repeated examples of love and conciliation metaphorically made up the foundation of the MacGregor House, symbolized not only by the Shah's devotion to his singer, but also by the Indians who died with the MacGregors as they attempted to shield Janet and her baby from mutineers. For this reason, the house remained standing. The leaves of the native trees surrounding the Indo-British MacGregor House were decaying, foreshadowing the end of the era, but hope for the future was emerging, brought about by a new generation and symbolized by Parvati's birth inside the MacGregor House.

Through the juxtaposition of the Bibighar Gardens and MacGregor House, and of the sex acts born of both love and hatred, Scott helped his readers to perceive the end of the Raj with metaphors to which they could relate. But, by doing so, he made it more difficult to answer the question of why the Raj ended the way it did. Scott skillfully revealed that the past and the present were commingled and, though

he believed in hope for the future as symbolized by Parvati, he was ultimately unconcerned with the outcome. According to Haswell, Scott believed that,

Our lives were merely sites of excavation, fighting our way “through the layers of dream which seem to promise sight of something inside,” without certainty that we would “crack the nut.” You were simply committed to acts of trying. Perhaps it was less important to crack the nut – define it, weight it, measure it, compare it – than it was simply to *be* it.¹⁹³

The Jewel in the Crown was not a novel that advanced the reader through a timeline, objectively considering possible causes of, and effects based on, oppositional categories to explain what happened to bring an end to the Indo-British relationship. It was a literary mineshaft into which readers continued to descend as they unearthed an incredible array of political, spiritual, personal, and ethnic voices found at the nexus of past and present histories, voices of those who lived during this cycle of disintegration and reintegration.

Scott used the histories embedded in the Bibighar Gardens and MacGregor House to “wrestle with the psychology of the Raj, both in its ostensible altruism and self-serving brutality,” within and without. The characters in *The Jewel in the Crown*, “unexpectedly found themselves in a world morally troubled,” following two World Wars. The characters, Haswell wrote,

were spiritual orphans with a superficial or non-existent sense of value and identity, who were losing not only their vision of right and wrong, but their sense of purpose as well. Scott dissected a society in a state of moral collapse and watched his characters struggle to find meaning and purpose beyond merely human understanding and designs. In this light, Scott’s decision to illustrate that view of life by using the metaphor of the last days of the Raj is neither accidental nor arbitrary. Why does the Raj work as such an appropriate metaphor for the human condition? The end days of the Raj

¹⁹³ Haswell, *Paul Scott’s Philosophy of Place(s)*, 108.

paralleled the nihilism of post-war years that Scott struggled within and against. Before any knowledge of the Holocaust, before the fear of atomic annihilation, this population witnessed the work of generations vanish entirely in 1947. The values and beliefs that had informed their work and their lives, cloaked their action with a noble purpose, guaranteed the illusion of dignity, and formulated both a collective and personal identity, disappeared with the stroke of a pen. They were thrown back on themselves, alone in their own hollowness and in their own fragile, personal dignity, inevitably experiencing a sense of profound spiritual dislocation. Through Scott's narratives, we were shown the capacity of the human person for cruelty and hatred, for hope and despair, and for wholeness and connection, which typified the human condition.¹⁹⁴

The places in which this happened shaped and defined the people who inhabited them. The histories of the places simultaneously retained and transcended individual experiences, and Scott used those experiences to link the past to the present, and to the future.

Scott demonstrated his unique philosophy of history through the juxtaposition of the Bibighar Gardens and the MacGregor House. These places combined the history of the Indo-British relationship, not as a conglomeration of stagnant moments, but as continuing and ongoing points of connection. The meaning of the two domiciles did not lie in their singularity or opposition. Neither did they share harmony. Their contribution to history was constructed through the actions and reactions of those who dwelt in them. But, because they outlasted their inhabitants, they displayed a richer and more thorough history to the investigator than a singular perspective provided.

Scott did not focus on the socio-political and economic influences of Empire. Neither did he examine the political, military, nor civil leaders in power at that time.

¹⁹⁴ Haswell, *Paul Scott's Philosophy of Place(s)*, 37, 41-42.

He wrote about everyday individuals in various relationships to each other, to their environment, and to the reader. He wrote of them as real people, based on autobiographical and biographical informants, and he placed them in an historically accurate setting. But the Bibighar Gardens and MacGregor House were preeminent symbols in *The Jewel in the Crown*. He embedded within them the psychological, intellectual, and emotional histories that informed the characters. He used this history and the events at the end of the Raj to denounce the labels and classifications that kept people from embracing the reality of their imperial past, with all of its attendant sorrows and joys.

Scott saw that people's embarrassment over Britain's imperial past impeded them from sharing in its joys. It also perpetuated oppositional categories that stymied or slowed conciliatory efforts. He disliked "dishonesty" and "unnaturalness" and believed that placing people in binary categories that ultimately judged them as good or evil was a dishonest view that ignored the complexity of their character, choices, and the actions and reactions resulting from them. Scott knew that addressing the question of why the Raj had ended meant addressing the need to disregard labels, categories, and prejudices on the part of his readers. Through the histories of the Bibighar Gardens and the MacGregor House, including those of the people in his story, he showed his readers the way to do so.

The end of the Raj was Scott's metaphor. He used it to disclose his unique philosophy of history through the symbols in *The Jewel in the Crown* and to ask the question of why the Raj ended in ways that the historiographic record had not addressed. Scott's philosophy was unique for two reasons. First, it was well ahead

of its time. The historiographic record reveals that scholars are just now beginning to embrace a post-anti-colonial attitude in their research on Empire. Like Scott, they do not ignore the brutality that occurred during this era. They are, however, beginning to accept that cruelty depended less on policy than it did on those who interpreted and carried it out and that cruel acts were not confined to any particular race or political faction. That is precisely why Scott used the Bibighar Gardens as one of the preeminent edifices in *The Jewel in the Crown*. It was a strong statement that inhumanity, like all human actions, was not confined to any particular race, but rather to one's personal choices. Current scholarship is beginning to question the "rigid bifurcation" of its own past. Scott lived his life without this rigidity and he reflected it in his work.

Using his skill as an author, Scott guided his readers into the thoughts, feelings, and beliefs that motivated his characters' actions and away from static, binary categories by which to judge them. The investigator went to Mayapore to examine the "Bibighar Gardens case," but left questioning the "spectacle of two nations in violent opposition" that were "locked in an imperial embrace," no longer knowing whether they hated or loved one another.¹⁹⁵ Inferred in the investigation was the question of whether or not a rape had occurred. During the investigation, the complexity and extent of the responses underlying the events surfaced, contextualized by the histories repositied in the Bibighar Gardens and MacGregor House, and the question, therefore, changed. No longer were readers asked to make inquiries about a rape. Instead, as they imagined the "flat landscape, dark for the

¹⁹⁵ Scott, *The Jewel in the Crown*, 1.

moment, but even so conveying to a girl running in the still deeper shadow cast by the wall of the Bibighar Gardens an idea of immensity,” they were compelled to ask, as Daphne did, “Was there love?”¹⁹⁶

In the last few pages of Scott’s novel, Daphne, in a posthumous letter to her aunt, correlated the events occurring that night in the Bibighar Gardens to the Indo-British relationship. She questioned whether the people of the British Empire had violated India and asked whether it could be a violation if they intended no malice. “Perhaps there was love,” she wrote,

Oh, somewhere, in the past, and now, and in the future, love as there was between me and Hari. But the spoilers are always there, aren’t they? The Swinsons. The bitches who travelled as far as Lahore. The Ronald Merricks.¹⁹⁷

Nick Robins argued that during their earliest encounters with Indian traders, the East India Company’s employees “generated a fusion of lifestyles, with English merchants adopting local clothes, and some even embracing Hindu and Muslim religion.” Robins believed that a “clash of civilisations” was “not inevitable, that East and West were not irreconcilable.”¹⁹⁸ Using a term with which Scott would likely agree, Robins noted that, for over a century, trade between the British and Indians was “largely consensual.”¹⁹⁹ Both Daphne’s and Hari’s characters symbolized the “fusion” found at the end of the Raj as a result of the foundations laid early in the

¹⁹⁶ Scott, *The Jewel in the Crown*, 1.

¹⁹⁷ Scott, *The Jewel in the Crown*, 452.

¹⁹⁸ Nick Robins, *The Corporation That Changed the World* (New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), 15.

¹⁹⁹ Robins, *The Corporation That Changed the World*, 171.

Indo-British relationship. Their consensual lovemaking represented this metamorphosis, each becoming a part of the other in an open, honest, and natural setting that represented the integrity and decency that Scott valued above all human characteristics. Integrity and decency were necessary for the Indo-British relationship to mature with love and conciliation, as represented through the prince and his singer, the MacGregor House, and Hari and Daphne.

The “spoilers” did not ultimately exhibit these traits. The violent, non-conciliatory actions taken by Nana Sahib at the Bibighar House and the selfish voluptuary who used people and killed a British representative for his own gain in Scott’s Bibighar represented people lacking the morality necessary for conciliation. Though initially able to mask their intentions, their lack of integrity and their dishonesty eventually surfaced. For Scott, Merrick exemplified the egocentrism and violence that resulted from dishonesty and indecency. Merrick’s role as a police superintendent meant to maintain peace put him in a position of power over the people he sought to abuse and allowed him opportunities to carry out his sadistic acts undetected. He also disguised himself as an Indian in his personal life in order to gain access to young Indian men to torture.

Through his novel, Scott succeeded in sharing a “kind of joy” with his readers by revealing that there was profound love between India and Britain, but he also acknowledged that it could be found only in those people who lived lives of integrity, who treated all people with the dignity inherent to their humanity. By helping his readers overcome perceptions based on the “rigid bifurcation” that had led some of his characters to act in violent ways that perpetuated fear and

dissension, Scott guided his readers from the question of rape to an understanding of the deep love that existed amid the variety of complicated human emotions throughout the Indo-British relationship. Scott invited his readers to embrace the “honesty” and “naturalness” found at the nexus of complex personal encounters and the places in which they occurred, despite the personalities involved and the outcomes of the exchanges.

This was Paul Scott’s unique philosophy of history, and the Bibighar Gardens and the MacGregor House were the symbols he used to relate this philosophy to his readers. For him, it was important to remember the wholeness of the Indo-British relationship, with all its complications, sorrows, and joys. Through *The Jewel in the Crown*, he sought to share this history by establishing a “moral dialogue” with his readers. Scott wanted readers to remember that yes, there *was* love, with its accompanying patience, kindness, and care for others, a love which the “spoilers” could neither understand nor eradicate, despite the suffering they caused. And, because there was love, there was hope for the future.

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