Chapter One

Mary Kingsley, Travel Writing and Imperialism

> What this book wants is not a simple Preface but an apology, and a very brilliant and convincing one at that . . . I beg to state that I have written only on things that I know from personal experience and very careful observation. I have never accepted an explanation of a native custom from one person alone, nor have I set down things as being prevalent customs from having seen a single instance. I have endeavoured to give you an honest account of the general state and manner of life in Lower Guinea and some description of the various types of country there. In reading this section you must make allowances for my love of this sort of country, with its great forests and rivers and its animistic-minded inhabitants, and for my ability to be more comfortable there than in England. Your superior culture-instincts may militate against your enjoying West Africa, but if you go there you will find things as I have said. (*Travels in West Africa* 3)

When I first went through the aforementioned excerpt from Mary Kingsley's preface to *Travels in West Africa*, I was really fascinated not by what Kingsley wrote but by the way she expressed herself in an apologetic tone. While the preface sounds as though it is an apology, she depicts herself as an authority on West Africa and "its animistic-minded inhabitants," so assimilated to the indigenous lifestyle of Africa that she feels considerably more comfortable in that locale than she is in her native country-- England. Her constant focus that her work is based on a careful observation of Africa-- "I have never accepted an explanation of a native custom from one person alone, nor have I set down things as being prevalent customs from having seen a

single instance--" posits that her writing is true like any other scientific texts, characterized by scientific objectivity. The way she has prefaced *Travels in West Africa* suggests that she is concerned more with making her travelogue credible even to those with "superior culture-instincts" than expressing her observations of the Fan tribe and the geographical features of West Africa. In other words, she is more concerned with impressing and convincing her readers than expressing herself convincingly. Through the adoption of a tone of factual reportage presenting useful information, she concludes her preface with "if you go there you will find things as I have said." Despite furnishing the preface with apologetic expressions, her pose under the veneer of an objective observer, and an authority on West Africa claims and insists on one thing – factual accuracy of the work that follows.

However, Kingsley's insistence on the accuracy of information intrigues me in two ways: first, it whets my interest to read the text and, second, it triggers several questions in my mind. Is Victorian travel narrative devoid of author's subjectivity? Is there no difference between travel writing and scientific writing? Does the travel writer use scientific vocabulary? Is there any relationship between travel writing and British imperialism during the nineteenth century? Is the Victorian travel writer naïve about the implausibility of achieving true objectivity in travelogue? As opposed to Kingsley's repeated claim about the factual accuracy, I ask if *Travels in West Africa*, in the orchestration of information, echoes colonial and Orientalist gestures as other eighteenth and nineteenth century European explorations invariably do.

With these questions in my mind, I began to read Kingsley's popular work several times with special attention to the justification she disperses throughout the text. Her technique of justification consists of suspending preconceived ideas, maintaining a pliant mind, observing closely and surrendering to the feelings of

disorientation. A close reading of the text shows that Kingsley's work is not a true reflection of facts as claimed by her but what Susan Noakes calls travel literature is: "A primarily rhetorical genre which historically masks itself as primarily mimetic" (139). Upon further scrutiny, I have found that Kingsley's rhetoric smacks of racism; the description of landscape has imperial overtones; Kingsley projects herself as an Orientalist in the representation of African land, people and natural resources. These undertones invite me to deploy the concepts and theories developed by Pratt, Spurr and Reisigl and Wodak as a methodological tool to read the discourse of imperialism in the travelogue. But before that in the following few paragraphs a review of literature is provided.

Basically devised along the lines posited by David Spurr's *The Rhetoric of Empire*, Mary Louise Pratt's *Imperial Eyes*, and Martin Reisigl and Ruth Wodak's critical discourse analysis, this dissertation provides an analysis of *Travels in West Africa* by Mary Kingsley that falls within the genre of travel writing, currently a flourishing and highly popular literary genre. It deals with nineteenth-century travel writings--literature about Africa which provides an insight into the colonial mindset. In *Women Explorers: Mary Kingsley: Explorer of the Congo*, Heather Lehr Wagner informs that by the time Kingsley was ready to voyage to western Africa, "much of the continent was officially under European control" (40). Barring Liberia, whole Western Africa "had been partitioned and was designated as under the governance of one or another European nation" (40). Wagner gives a detailed description of how Africa was divided: "France controlled the largest portion; the second largest belonged to Britain; a total of four colonies separated by portions of French territory. Germany governed the colony of Togo and Cameroon. Portugal . . . now governed the considerably smaller territory of Portuguese Guinea" (40).

At a time when major European nations were in competition with one another to appropriate the "newly found" lands in Asia and Africa, the idea that travel writing is the objective description of what the traveler sees is nothing more than a myth created to hoodwink the world. Dorothy Carrington observed half a century ago: "If English travel literature tells how Englishmen have looked upon the world, inevitably it tells how they acted in it. That is the story of the empire" (qtd. in Steve Clark 3). Kingsley's *Travels in West Africa* as the Victorian travel narrative is a text through which an imperial power is exercised, making those Africans be seen inferior to the observer's own culture.

Mary Kingsley, whom the world knows as a Victorian travel writer, did not have an easy and favourable childhood as she was denied formal education. She was compelled to stay at home, looking after her bedridden mother. The only opportunity for education she got was the time when she was tutored in German to translate articles her father wanted to read. Notwithstanding unfavourable circumstances, Kingsley managed to educate herself by reading travel books and legends of the African continent from her father's library while he was away. Unmarried throughout her life, she strictly followed the custom of her day for unmarried women by staying with her parents. When her parents passed away, she found herself alone and free. Liberated by the death of her parents, she surprised everyone by buying a ticket to the Canary Islands with her inheritance. Kingsley, as a matter of fact, made two trips to West Africa, the first to Sierra Leone between 1893 and 1894 and the second to the area between Gabon and Cameroon in 1895. This second trip was the source of her work in *Travels in West Africa.*

Ever since it was published in 1897, *Travels in West Africa* has drawn critical commentaries, responses and interpretations from different scholars. These critical

responses can be roughly categorized under the following thematic headings: religion, gender difference, discourse of difference, trade and ethnology, psychology and female subject. Rosalind I. J. Hackett, in a five-page review published in *Journal of Religion in Africa* explores the theme of religious belief in *Travels in West Africa.* Replete with sensational and uninformed accounts of bizarre and heathenish rituals, Mary Kingsley's travelogue, Hackett observes, "is a refreshingly insightful and informative account of this Victorian woman explorer's adventures and forays into West and Central African culture and quest for fauna and flora" (78). Specifically referring to five chapters from XII to XVI, Hackett remarks:

> Built on the foundations of courage, common sense and wit, this work provides readers with substantial data (five chapters at least) and reflections on traditional African beliefs and practices (birth and death customs, witchcraft, ancestors, pantheons, secret societies, magic) from a number of ethnic groups from Sierra Leone to Angola. Of value is her sleuth-like investigation of religious phenomena and behavior. Seeking out a diversity of interpretations from the local populace, witch-doctors, injured parties, colonial authorities and missionaries (her own version of the current emphasis upon multivocality in the human and social sciences), she attempts to unravel the mysteries and raison d'être of crocodile spirits, human leopards (of the much feared leopard societies, [Kingsley, 538-9]) and rites of initiation, to name just a few. (79)

Kingsley's examination of religious activities in Africa shows her existential concern for spiritual matters and "reflects the influence of Goethe and Spinoza" (79).

Among scholars who have probed into the text from the perspective of gender is Ulrike Brisson, who in the article "Fish and Fetish: Mary Kingsley's Studies of Fetish in West Africa," asserts that "Kingsley had not come to West Africa as a missionary's wife to Christianize the natives or as a colonialist to cultivate foreign soil but to do scientific fieldwork, an activity which stood in stark contrast with the more traditional image of a woman's place in the Victorian home" (326). Brisson was aware of the fact that women travelers such as Flora Tristan, Isabella Bird-Bishop and Gertrude Bell had dissociated themselves from the ideal of domestic womanhood although not without ambiguity. Interested to explore the way these women balanced ideals of femininity with their interests in science, Brisson places the spotlight on "the nineteenth-century woman traveler and travel writer Mary Kingsley, who broke traditional gender rules and adhered to ideals of femininity at the same time" (326). Brisson's paper particularly lays emphasis on Kingsley's "study of fetishism in West Africa as a way to explore the ways in which women in the nineteenth-century invented themselves, contrary to traditional role models, as scientists and travelers" (327).

Another text revolving around the theme of gender is Alison Blunt's *Travel, Gender, and Imperialism: Mary Kingsley and West Africa* which was reviewed by Karen Morlin. It is in this book that the mobility of Kingsley's gendered subjectivity is mapped out in relation to British imperialism, trade, nationalism, West African society and physical landscape. Delineating the role of Kingsley both in Britain and away from Britain, Karen Morlin observes:

> Blunt begins with the thesis that at home Kingsley's subjectivity was primarily constructed around gender difference and thus as subordinate in British patriarchal society, but the farther she moved away from

> Britain the more she was able to share in the authority of white male colonizers, in places constructed by them primarily around racial difference. (754)

Karen Morlin further states that while Mary Kingsley's subjectivity was the product of fundamentally ambivalent, conflicting social interactions in disparate locations, "women's private and public selves were always gendered in ways men's were not, because "home" meant different things to women and men in Victorian society, and also because women and men had unequal access to travel, material resources, the publishing industry, public forums of political debate, and so forth" (754).

Partly dealing with women's issue and partly dealing with colonial discourse, Sara Mills in *Discourses of Difference: An Analysis of Women's Travel Writing and Colonialism*, states that Kingsley's *Travels in West Africa* lacks a stable position. She argues that in many ways, "Mary Kingsley transgresses both colonial discourse norms and the norms of femininity" (172). Illustrating this contention, Mills further writes:

> Whilst arguing against practical changes to her feminine clothing, and stating that 'men are undoubtedly more gifted in foresight than our sex' (ibid.: 527), and 'A great woman either mentally or physically will excel an indifferent man, but no woman ever equals a really treat man' (ibid.: 659), she nevertheless presents a strong subversion of the feminine and at the same time a subversion of the colonial discourses. Thus, Kingsley's text, rather than being a 'feminine' text or a 'colonial' text or for that matter a 'feminist' text, seems to be caught up in the contradictory clashes of these discourses one with another. (172)

Laura E. Ciolkowski, however, explores the theme of English womanhood in "Travelers' Tales: Empire, Victorian Travel, and the Spectacle of English Womanhood in Mary Kingsley's *Travels in West Africa*." She argues:

> Mary Kingsley's *Travels in West Africa* does not endeavor to undercut bourgeois womanhood by dramatically recounting a Victorian lady's spectacular story of female liberation so much as it works to establish it. The female subject of *Travels in West Africa* is made through the very imperial rituals and African cultural terrains that, ironically, have been celebrated by many readers of Kingsley's text as the determining scene of Kingsley's feminine un-making. (338)

She further contends that Kingsley's identity as a specifically English woman depends both on "the racial and political dynamics of West Africa" and "the nineteenth-century production of the English female body . . . clearly surrounded" (338).

In addition to examining the themes of gender, religion, and womanhood, critics have also delved into psychoanalytic aspects of the travelogue. One such critic engaged in psychoanalytic analysis is Dea Birkett who probes into the text from the perspective of unconscious devised by Sigmund Frued. Birkett interprets young Mary Kingsley as a repressed woman who, like Charlotte Bronte's most famous literary prisoner, "sat in the attic rooms [of her home] plotting to escape" before finally liberating herself by fleeing to Africa (17). Jennifer Tobin in "Discourse and Psyche: Three Women's Texts of Empire," discusses the text in terms of mirror image. She specifically deploys the concept of mirror image as developed by Homi Bhabha and Lacan. But prior to illustrating how the trope of colonial mirror operates in the text, she draws the readers' attention towards a scene in which, Kingsley, while the other members of her traveling team stop to rest from their march through a dense inland

forest, accompanies Wiki, a man of the notorious Fan tribe, to the edge of a clearing, where both lay flat, just out of sight of five gorillas. Quoting Kingsley, "I put out my hand and laid it on Wiki's gun to prevent him from firing, and he, thinking I was going to fire, gripped my wrist" (267), Jennifer Tobin concludes, "Kingsley and Wiki each reach out to restrain the other's violence . . . they are depicted as mirror image of each other" (42).

Mary Kingsley has also attracted scholars' attention towards her engagement in trade and her interest in different human cultures. One such critic drawn to the study of Kingsley as a trader and enthologist is Shelly Vye who defies *Travels in West Africa* as merely an account by a female traveller. According to Vye, "Kingsley identifies herself primarily as a trader and ethnologist and sees herself as more of an economic and scientific subject than a woman abroad" (89). To substantiate this point, she refers to the preface in which "Kingsley aligns herself with the "Agent," the European or African trader, without whose guidance she could not have travelled" (89). Taylor and Francis, the publishers of *Folklore*, treat this memoir from both scientific and psychological perspectives. The publishers, rejecting the idea that Kingsley's visit to Africa is motivated by desire to hunt, refute:

> She went to Western Africa not to hunt the gorilla, but to stalk "the wild West African idea," to study in its native haunts, untamed, the Negro conception of life and death, of this world and the next, determined thoroughly to understand the Ethiopian mind. Her object was psychological, scientific. "A beetle and fetish-hunter" she calls herself, for certain departments of zoology were included in her purview. (163)

As the above-mentioned analyses attest, *Travels in West Africa* by Mary Kingsley has been examined from various perspectives-- psychoanalytic, theological, scientific, psychological, economic, ethnological, gender and even postcolonial. What has not been fully explored, however, is how Kingsley's descriptions of her relationships with Africa, her people, animals and place express colonial and Orientalist thinking about the latter. The travelers such as Kingsley were motivated by the desire to expand European power before, during, or soon after their travels. The present study moves away from a preoccupation with the supposedly real or authentic experiences of travelers during their sojourns toward a consideration of the larger imperial patterns that appear in the textual materials the travelers produced themselves. It examines the ways imperialism was conceived and practiced. It focuses on what their representations of the places and people tell us about political, intellectual and cultural developments in the metropolitan areas from which the travelers came and to which they returned.

The nub of the study is its focus on the discursive construction of British imperial identity in Mary Kingsley's *Travels in West Africa.* The critical discourse analysis of the travelogue builds on the concept of mainstreaming in which Kingsley's gaze at the Africans is shaped by an overriding ideology of High Colonialism of the Victorian Age. By linking the micro analysis of the text to the macro analysis of the colonizer-colonized relations, the dissertation explores internal and external relations of texts: the study of Kingsley's communicative resources through which she has constructed the identity, role, activity, community, emotion, stance, knowledge, belief and ideology. The significance of the study derives from the fact that it neither marginalizes literary language nor does it overlook the political valences of the

language. The study accounts for the language of travel literature in use-- in its affective, cognitive, situational, and cultural contexts.

In view of the nature and scope of enquiry, time factor, availability of funds and precisions required, I have limited my study to the analysis of Mary Kingsley's *Travels in West Africa.* To show how this nineteenth-century English travel writing remains threaded with the rhetoric of metropolitan culture and imperial politics, I deploy a number of theoretical books, more particularly about the rhetoric of colonial thinking. To begin with, it draws on Mary Louise Pratt's seminal book *Imperial Eyes*. It also makes use of David Spurr's *The Rhetoric of Empire,* and Reisigl and Wodak's critical discourse analysis because my primary text lends itself to these studies, thereby facilitating a consideration of the larger sociopolitical impact of recurrent paradigms that appear in travel literature. I particularly use Pratt's concepts of monarch-of-all-I-survey, anti-conquest, planetary consciousness and contact zone. Besides these, I also draw on Reisigl and Wodak's discourse historic approach and some of the rhetorical tropes devised by David Spurr in *The Rhetoric of Empire*-- surveillance, appropriation, aestheticization, classification, debasement, negation, affirmation, idealization, insubstantialization, naturalization, and eroticization. The following section provides the bird's eye view of each chapter.

As seen already, chapter 1 basically sets the scene against which my dissertation is developed. This beginning section provides the readers with an overview of the research study, and of the key factors which were influential in its inception. This chapter dwells on a brief discussion on travel writing in the nineteenth century England, justifies the issue raised, and the methodology selected to study the chosen text. It also incorporates all the available researches on my primary text, clearly showing a departure from them. As well as giving an overview of each chapter

as I am doing right now, I also shed light upon the wider significance of the research with the explication of the context of the research.

Entitled as “Imperial Eyes,” chapter 2 presents one of the three theoretical frameworks of this project as a critical study of language--imperial stylistics, specifically in the production and deployment of politicized identities. In this section, I particularly introduce and elaborate on the major concepts such as imperial stylistics, anti-conquest, transculturation and interior movements. Drawing on these methods, I depict how Kingsley is involved in the marginalization and dehumanization of the Africans despite sporadically expressing and behaving herself in an egalitarian way.

Chapters 2 and 3 follow the same method of presenting ideas-- first the discussion of the major conceptual framework devised by Spurr and its application to the text. It commences with the presentation and explanation of the colonial tropes. Whereas David Spurr examines colonial discourse in journalism, travel writing and imperial administration, this section remains limited to the analysis of travel writing only namely *Travels in West Africa*.

The penultimate chapter draws on the idea of Martin Reisigl and Ruth Wodak, particularly discourse historic approach with the contention that linguistic analysis of texts such as Kingsley’s increases our understanding of how they become rhetorical and serve in the reproduction of racist discourse. I explain how the discourse historical approach is used to perform such an analysis, discussing the specifics of its methodology and the manner in which it identifies certain linguistic features and their rhetorical function at various levels of the text. I adopt a close reading approach as I apply the methodology of the discourse historical approach, particularly five questions to examine the linguistic construction of identity.

In the final chapter, I draw together the threads of the major arguments discussed in the entire dissertation and examine whether the hypothesis envisaged in the introductory chapter has been validated. I also discuss the contemporary implications of *Travels in West Africa*, looking at the way the whites behave and use language in relation to the blacks in maintaining and reproducing racist and hegemonic discourses. This chapter sums up its point by assessing the effectiveness of the discourse historical approach with regard to the project as a whole, and the potential benefit of adopting similar practices of discourse analysis to other pressing issues of English society dealing with racism and inequality.

Chapter Two

Imperial Eyes

In this chapter I introduce the key concepts formulated in *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* by Mary Louise Pratt and deploy them as a theoretical lens to study how Mary Kingsley's *Travels in West Africa* is threaded with the rhetoric of empire, despite Kingsley's claim that she has written it with scientific objectivity. In particular, I apply Pratt's four concepts – "monarch-of-all-I-survey," "anti-conquest," "planetary consciousness" and "contact zone."

Described as a study in genre as well as a critique of ideology by Pratt herself, *Imperial Eyes* has established itself as an influential work in the study of travel literature and the field of postcolonial criticism. In this book, she probes into the ways in which European explorers produced discourses about non-European parts of the world for a European audience. Laying an emphasis particularly on the Americas and Africa, she also examines the relation between European travel narratives and European political and economic expansion. She particularly discusses the ways in which both the colonial centres and their peripheries took part in the processes of making meaning of themselves and each other. Transculturation is the term that describes this process. Taking place in the space Pratt labels the contact zone, "transculturation" refers to the extent to which subjugated people used and transformed the materials transmitted to them by a colonial metropolis and, in turn, how they represented themselves back to Europe (7). Thus the act of travelling was not merely about how Europe defined non-Europeans but also how Europe was constituted through those definitions and how much those definitions were used and shaped by non-Europeans.

In the section that follows, I introduce Pratt's aforementioned major concepts in a greater detail and show how they apply to Mary Kingsley's most popular work, *Travels in West Africa* published in 1897. As the Victorian travel narratives testify, most of their authors were adept at describing the picturesque to depict the newly won "discoveries" for Europe. Mary Kingsley was not an exception to this expertise. Similar to David Spurr's surveillance in *The Rhetoric of Empire*, Mary Louise Pratt developed a trope that goes by the name of "monarch-of-all-I-survey" which is constituted by estheticization, density of meaning and mastery (200). In *Travels in West Africa*, Kingsley employs these three strategies in order to portray her newly conquered discoveries. During the Victorian period, the notion of discovery was partly rooted in the heroics the traveller endured in order to reach the site. The hardships and rigour of the journey would then contribute to the valorization of the mundane act of observation. Consequently, the discovery would be made real by its transformation into European-referenced, written word and its subsequent publication in the mother country.

Estheticization, one of the qualities of the picturesque narratives, was achieved through the portrayal of landscapes as paintings. The symmetrically described objects were organized into binary oppositions. As a matter of the fact, they were contrasted with each other: heavy with light, symmetrical with asymmetrical, large with small, and background with foreground. The value of the journey lay in the observation of the alluring scene unexplored before. The predicaments experienced by the travellers during the journey were rewarded through the pleasure derived from the vision of the discovery. In other words, the landscape painting was invested with the aesthetic value, notwithstanding the hardships. Another imperial trope constituting the "monarch-of-all-I-survey" syndrome is density of meaning which was achieved

through the use of vivid colours and noun-derived, adjectival modifiers that peppered the objects of description. Both of these linguistic utilizations also relied on some referents from the home culture to describe the landscape. The last strategy, mastery, is one that has been employed consistently in travel writings during European colonialism. This strategy considers the author to be the final authority on the visual construction of the landscape. The travel writer is the sole interpreter of the site which remains fixed and determined by his or her gaze. In producing the vision for the home audience, the author can also evaluate what is missing.

Pratt's analysis of Richard Burton's *Lake Regions of Central Africa,* leads her to the following conclusion, "No one was better at the monarch-of-all-I-survey scene than the string of British explorers . . . the Victorians opted for a brand of verbal painting whose highest calling was to produce for the home audience the peak moments at which geographical 'discoveries' were 'won' for England" (197). My study of Mary Kingsley's travelogue, a Victorian writing, shows that her technique of verbal painting parallels that of Richard Burton's. In the very beginning of her journey from Liverpool to Sierra Leone and to the Gold Coast, Mary Kingsley renders the dramatic moment of her discovery of the Peak of Teneruffe:

> It was on the 23rd of December, 1894, that we left Liverpool in the *Batanga*, commanded by my old friend Captain Murray, under whose care I had made my first voyage. On the 30th we sighted the Peak of Teneriffe early in the afternoon. It displayed itself, as usual, as an entirely celestial phenomenon. A great many people miss seeing it. Suffering under the delusion that El Pico is a terrestrial affair, they look in vain somewhere about the level of their own eyes, which are striving to penetrate the dense masses of mist that usually enshroud its

> slopes by day, and then a friend comes along, and gaily points out to the newcomer the glittering white triangle somewhere near the zenith. On some days the Peak stands out clear from ocean to summit, looking every inch and more of its 12,080 ft.; and this is said by the Canary fishermen to be a certain sign of rain, or fine weather, or a gale of wind; but whenever and however it may be seen, soft and dream-like in the sunshine, or melodramatic and bizarre in the moonlight, it is one of the most beautiful things the eye of man may see. (6-7)

As the aforementioned quote illustrates, the landscape is invested with high voltage aesthetic power. The sight of the Peak of Teneriffe is seen as a painting, "an entirely celestial phenomenon" and there is a whole binary rhetoric at work playing off bottom and top as in "from ocean to summit," fine weather and rough weather as in "fine weather, or a gale of wind" and day and night as in "in the sunshine, or melodramatic and bizarre in the moonlight." In this context, I find Mary Louise Pratt's statement worth quoting. She notes that "within the text's own terms the esthetic *pleasure* of the sight singlehandedly constitutes the value and significance of the journey" (200). Mary Kingsley's elation at the surveillance of the mountain is expressed through phrases such as "an entirely celestial phenomenon" and "one of the most beautiful things the eye of man may see." This esthetic pleasure of the sight continues throughout the journey of the traveler. Kingsley describes the temptation and the lure of the mountain in the chapter XVII:

> So great is the majesty and charm of this mountain that the temptation of it is as great to me to-day as it was on the first day I saw it, when I was feeling my way down the West Coast of Africa on the S.S. *Lagos* in 1893, and it revealed itself by good chance from its surf-washed

> plinth to its skyscraping summit. Certainly it is most striking when you see it first, as I first saw it, after coasting for weeks along the low shores and mangrove-fringed rivers of the Niger Delta. Suddenly, right up out of the sea, rises the great mountain to its 13,760 feet, while close at hand, to westward, towers the lovely island mass of Fernando Po to 10,190 feet. But every time you pass it by its beauty grows on you with greater and greater force, though it is never twice the same. Sometimes it is wreathed with indigo-black tornado clouds, sometimes crested with snow, sometimes softly gorgeous with gold, green, and rose-coloured vapours tinted by the setting sun, sometimes completely swathed in dense cloud so that you cannot see it at all; but when you once know it is there it is all the same, and you bow down and worship. (198)

Similar to other Victorian travelers, Mary Kinsley takes resort to the use of adjectives in order to show that she is aesthetically delighted at the sight of the mountain. She uses adjectives in all possible forms-- positive, comparative and superlative. In the passage above, the majesty, charm and temptation of the mountain is first described as "great," the positive form of adjective. Its beauty grows "with greater and greater force," as the onlooker reiterates the act of gazing at the mountain. "Most striking" is the adjective in the superlative deployed to show the scene as having the capacity to transfix the viewer. That the beauty is "never twice the same" is indicated through the series of color expressions such as "indigo-black tornado clouds," "crested with snow" and "gold, green, and rose-coloured vapours." The following passages-- one from the beginning of Kinsley's journey and the other towards the close of her journey-- further exhibit how density of meaning is sought:

> Soon after sighting Teneriffe, Lançarote showed, and then the Grand Canary. Teneriffe is perhaps the most beautiful, but it is hard to judge between it and Grand Canary as seen from the sea. The superb cone this afternoon stood out a deep purple against a serpent-green sky, separated from the brilliant blue ocean by a girdle of pink and gold cumulus, while Grand Canary and Lançarote looked as if they were formed from fantastic-shaped sunset cloud-banks that by some spell had been solidified. The general colour of the mountains of Grand Canary, which rise peak after peak until they culminate in the Pico de las Nieves, some 6,000 feet high, is a yellowish red, and the air which lies among their rocky crevices and swathes their softer sides is a lovely lustrous blue. (6-7)

Analyzing Victorian 'discovery' rhetoric, particularly the density of meaning, Pratt speaks of the landscape as being represented "as extremely rich in material and semantic substance. This density is achieved especially through a huge number of adjectival modifiers-- scarcely a noun in the text is unmodified . . . Of particular interest in this respect are a series of nominal color expressions" (200). This is true of Kinsley's excerpt quoted above. The profuse use of colour adjectives "deep *purple* [my italic] against a serpent-*green* [my italic] sky, separated from the brilliant *blue* [my italic] ocean by a girdle of *pink* [my italic] and *gold* [my italic] cumulus," "fantastic-shaped sunset cloud-banks," "a *yellowish red*" [my italic] and "a lovely lustrous *blue* [my italic]"add material referents into the landscape of Lançarote and the Grand Canary. That Kingsley is adept at the use of the colour imagery is further attested by the following spectacular description:

> The whole scheme of colour is indescribably rich and full in tone. The very earth is a velvety red brown, and the butterflies -- which abound -- show themselves off in the sunlight, in their canary-coloured, crimson, and peacock-blue liveries, to perfection. After five minutes' experience of the road I envy those butterflies. I do not believe there is a more lovely road in this world, and besides, it's a noble and enterprising thing of a Government to go and make it, considering the climate and the country; but to get any genuine pleasure out of it, it is requisite to hover in a bird- or butterfly-like way, for of all the truly awful things to walk on, that road, when I was on it, was the worst. (199)

The picturesque scene displays Kingsley's ambivalent attitude towards Africa. On the one hand, she treats the sight, the African earth as being extremely rich through the use of colour expressions such as "velvety red brown" and "canary-coloured, crimson, and peacock-blue liveries." She derives "genuine pleasure" from looking at the birds and butterflies. But on the other hand, she describes Africa in terms of what she lacks, good roads. By portraying Africa in the negative "of all the truly awful things to walk on, that road, when I was on it, was the worst," Kingsley actually justifies European intervention for modernizing the regions of West Africa.

The seer-seen relation of mastery is of a special interest here. The metaphor of painting itself is emblematic: Kingsley is both the seer who receives pleasure, judges and appreciates the painting, and the verbal painter who produces it for others. In addition to this suggestion, the scene is deictically set with reference to her vantage point, and is static. The viewer-painting relation also implies that Kingsley has the power to evaluate the scene apart from being the visual possessor of the site. This

combination of power and pleasure gives the commanding view a special role in travel writing, especially in colonial situation, as it conveys a sense of mastery over the unknown and over what is often perceived by the Western author as the uncanny and the bizarre. As well as presenting himself or herself as the “monarch-of-all-I-survey,” the European travel writer evokes a stance of “anti-conquest.”

A crucial concept developed in Pratt’s influential text is the anti-conquest pose of the traveler. Meaning “opposed to” or “against,” the prefix “anti” in the phrase “anti-conquest” gives the impression that European travel writer’s visit to Asia or Africa is not motivated by the desire to conquer the land and its people. But in fact, it is a European tactic of claiming innocence while consolidating hegemonic control. It involves glorifying the Other in a way the Other is denied real power at the same time. It amounts to a kind of false naiveté. The seeing-man is the protagonist of the anti-conquest; he is usually a European male subject “whose imperial eyes passively look out and possess" (9). Anti-conquest presents itself as a benign paternalism that puts the Other on a pedestal-a gesture of respect that is also an exclusion, an isolation, and a fixing of the Other into a historical space separate from the modern. Anti-conquest is, therefore, a part of conquest in no way antithetical, but only masquerading as different by operating backwards.

Anti-conquest is described by Mary Louise Pratt as “the strategies of representation whereby European bourgeois subjects seek to secure their innocence in the same moment as they assert European hegemony” (9). It is a subconscious act, which is often unrealized by those practicing it. Colonizers usually perceive it as paying genuine respect to the local culture, and would take offense if one were to confront them by suggesting that their gracious acts were in fact modes of power. This rhetoric, explains Pratt, “differed sharply from overtly imperial articulations of

conquest, conversion, territorial appropriation, and enslavement" (38). Instead, it was "a utopian, innocent vision of European global authority" (38).

Innocence, deterritorialization of indigenous peoples, rendering of landscapes as empty, and creation of myths of reciprocity are what constitute the anti-conquest vision of the explorer. Wearing a veneer of innocence, the travel writer composes texts which aim at deterritorializing and anthropoligizing indigenous peoples. The sight is described in a way that involved no human habitation. Examining writings authored by late-eighteenth century natural history writers in South Africa, Mary Louise Pratt exemplifies how these texts underwrite colonial expansion by using the aforementioned tropes of anthropological descriptions and empty landscapes. Based on the Linnaean classifications of the human races, natural history writers write about the indigenous peoples whom they encountered during their travel. For example, Carl Linne or in Latin, Linnaeus is the naturalist who, having classified all the plants on earth according to the characteristics of their reproductive parts, also categorizes humans onto a six-level grid in which Africans are classified as "Black, phlegmatic, relaxed. Hair black, frizzed; skin silky; nose flat, lips tumid; crafty indolent, negligent. Anoints himself with grease. Governed by caprice," whereas Europeans are grouped as "Fair, sanguine, brawny; hair yellow, brown flowing; eyes blue; gentle, acute, inventive. Covered with close vestments. Governed by laws" (qtd. in Pratt 32). Indigenous people are portrayed as inhabiting an atemporal space; their culture is timeless and without history and their bodies are reduced to lengthy and detailed descriptions. Sometimes, the traits or characteristics assigned to them by European travelers become emblematic of their entire community. Indigenous communities become imprisoned in their places or singularly identifiable traits. Rarely do local people have access to reproducing their own narratives or conveying their stories to

the authors for reproduction. The experiences of the contact zone are interpreted and retold wholly from a European perspective.

Deterritorialization, the process of removing time, history and context from a culture and reducing it to an inventory of attributes is a favourite device of Mary Kingsley. In the chapter entitled “Fernando Po and the Bubis,” Kingsley depicts the Bubis as lacking definite time. According to her, “Divisions of time the Bubi can hardly be said to have . . . this is a point upon which all West Africans are rather weak, particularly the Bantu” (28). Kingsley deploys an adverb “hardly,” a negative marker to define the Bubi as lacking calendar, as opposed to the writer Kingsley herself, a Westerner, who follows specific timetable as shown by her diary like travel narrative. Any form of individuality is erased from members of the tribe and a set of static traits is ascribed to all West Africans. She makes a fallacious statement “all West Africans are rather weak,” a generalized conclusion made on the basis of her observation of few tribes. Her conclusion, moreover, is very much subjective as she does not cite any local people to substantiate her point. Indigenous people are presented as nameless and timeless anthropological resources to be consumed by the Western reader. The consequence of this portrayal is that indigenous people become trapped in a timelessness that is seen as intrinsic to their culture and way of life. Unlike Westerners, indigenous people do not experience time and change.

Similar to deterritorialization, empty landscapes are a reoccurring trope in the anti-conquest narratives. During the journey, the team of European travelers were constantly accompanied by local guides and slaves. However, the local helpers are noticeably absent in the descriptive images of the landscapes which are described in terms that depict them as unpossessed, unhistoricized and unoccupied. They are continually in a state of lacking, only to be fully realized through the advent of

European commercialism and capitalist expansion. Visual descriptions contain a Linnaean quality; they are peppered with technical and classificatory information. Even the political and cultural significance of various locations is rendered obsolete. The following scene taken from the fourth chapter is described as devoid of people:

> All day long we steam past ever-varying scenes of loveliness whose component parts are ever the same, yet the effect ever different. Doubtless it is wrong to call it a symphony, yet I know no other word to describe the scenery of the Ogowé. It is as full of life and beauty and passion as any symphony Beethoven ever wrote: the parts changing, interweaving, and returning. There are *leit motifs* here in it, too. See the papyrus ahead; and you know when you get abreast of it you will find the great forest sweeping away in a bay-like curve behind it against the dull gray sky, the splendid columns of its cotton and red woods looking like a façade of some limitless inchoate temple. (43)

Details such as the symphony-like quality of the river Ogowe and artistic forests dominate this description, while any mention of locals using the river is noticeably absent. Instead, the river is offered up as a gift from the Africans to the Western travelers who find it tantalizingly tempting.

The last trope that constitutes the anti-conquest stance is the myth of reciprocity which relates to the human interactions Europeans had with indigenous peoples on their travels. It centers on the European desire to achieve egalitarianism and impartiality in their relationships with the local people. When the European traveller arrived in Africa or America, his or her actions were based on “exchange” which took many forms: it could involve the exchange of material resources or it could be organized around a cross-cultural encounter. In all cases, the traveller sought

to organize his or her relationships through reciprocal arrangements between himself or herself and his hosts. The ensuing narratives are filled with drama and emotions that depict the depth of the narrator's experiences and the nature of his interactions with the local people.

Like his natural history compatriots, the sentimental travel writer seeks to affirm his innocence through his narrative, an innocence that prevailed in his image of himself as a humanitarian. He depicts his journeys as located outside the milieu of conquering and invading. As a humanitarian, he is open to experiences and events as they unfold on his journey. He is aware of his needs in order to travel and seeks to fulfill them through egalitarian exchanges. In many ways the sentimental writer fulfills the role of the vanguard entrepreneur. He makes initial contact with indigenous peoples through a bartering of European goods, and paves the way for further capitalist expansion.

Reciprocity initially associated with the barter system allowed European commercial elites to establish economic hegemony over the regions. Reciprocity is defined as the experience of authentic interaction with indigenous people. Akin to the sentimental writers of the eighteenth and nineteenth century, travel writers of the nineteenth century seek friendly and hospitable relationships with the local people to enrich their travel experience. The following excerpt from chapter VIII entitled "From Ncovi to Esoon," corroborates this desire:

> A certain sort of friendship soon arose between the Fans and me. We each recognised that we belonged to that same section of the human race with whom it is better to drink than to fight. We knew we would each have killed the other, if sufficient inducement were offered, and

> so we took a certain amount of care that the inducement should not arise. (99)

The aforementioned passage reflects the reciprocity between Kinsley, the Westerner and the Fans who are the indigenous people. By characterizing the nature of the relationship as friendship, Kingsley's travelogue fulfills the myth of reciprocity. The opening sentence "a certain sort of friendship soon arose between the Fans and me" presupposes that Kingsley has already had sufficient interactions with the Fans. The second expression "we belonged to that same section of the human race" shows Kingsley's desire to achieve egalitarianism and impartiality in their relationships. Kingsley's attempt to identify and equalize herself with the local people makes me remember what Rob Pope says in *The English Studies Book*, "when travel writing in some sense 'goes native' by sympathizing and identifying with its objects, it ceases to be travel writing" (181). This relationship continues through different activities such as greeting, guiding, hosting and thanking. The Fans play host to Mary Kingsley: she gets a guided tour of villages, bars, family life. Mutual benefits of friendship "they told me their manes for things, while I told them mine" (100) persist. As a guest, Kingsley is informed of and shown local things: "They also showed me many things: how to light a fire from the pith of a certain tree, which was useful to me in after life" (100). It is through the conversation between Wiki and Kiva, two friends that "one of the chiefs had his house cleared out for [Kingsley]" (103). The following extract further illustrates the relationship between the host and the guest:

> I shook hands with and thanked the chief, and directed that all the loads should be placed inside the huts. I must admit my good friend was a villainous-looking savage, but he behaved most hospitably and kindly. From what I had heard of the Fan, I deemed it advisable not to

> make any present to him at once, but to base my claim on him on the right of an amicable stranger to hospitality. (103)

Kingsley's shaking hands with and thanking the Fan chief, her portrayal of her good friend as behaving "most hospitably and kindly" appear to give the impression of true or genuine relationship between them, but a close examination of the way the language is used clarifies that the reciprocity is a disguised form of the colonial relation. Her expression "my good friend was a villainous-looking savage" reminds one of the Orientalist attitude towards Africa. This expression clearly subverts her earlier egalitarian statement: "We each recognised that we belonged to that same section of the human race" and projects her colonial ambition. Moreover, in her preface to the reader, Kingsley claims, "I have never accepted an explanation of a native custom from one person alone, nor have I set down things as being prevalent customs from having seen a single instance" (II). By saying so, Kingsley asserts that her travel account is marked by factual description, scientificity and logic. But her statement about the Fans--"From what I had heard of the Fan, I decided it advisable not to make any present to him at once--makes us doubt the validity of her logic.

Ironically, the authentic interactions between the European travellers and locals are often in the form of commercial transactions. Both parties stand to gain something from the interaction. The extract "I also bought some elephant-hair necklaces from one of the chiefs' wives, by exchanging my red silk tie with her for them . . . . I saw fish-hooks would not be of much value because Efoua was not near a big water of any sort; so I held fish-hooks and traded handkerchiefs and knives" (103) shows the relationship based on commerce or exchange of material resources. The particular sentence "fish-hooks would not be of much value" reveals Kingsley's economic rapaciousness covered up by the rhetoric of reciprocity. The following

assertion of Jamaica Kincaid further hints at the impossibility of having genuine relationship between them, despite the fact that during the traveler's journey to Africa, the Africans play host to the Westerner:

> But some natives-- most natives in the world- cannot go anywhere. They are too poor. They are too poor to go anywhere. They are too poor to escape the reality of their lives; and they are too poor to live properly in the place where they live, which is the very place you, the tourist, want to go- so when the natives see you, the tourist, they envy you, they envy your ability to leave your own banality and boredom, they envy your ability to turn their own banality and boredom into a source of pleasure for yourself. (19)

Put it succinctly, the rhetoric of friendship, reciprocity, describing and ethnography have the under-structure of imperial ambition.

A similar undercurrent of nefarious colonial motives underlies the foregrounding of planetary consciousness. "Interior exploration and the construction of global-scale meaning through the descriptive apparatuses of natural history" are two points highlighted in Pratt's concept of planetary consciousness (15). These two events -- interior exploration of the colonial peripheries and the emergence and spread of the natural history as a system of knowledge -- marked a new phase in European travel. Scientific reports, statistical summaries, as well as survival literature-- these formed the corpus of the narratives that emerged from the La Condamine expedition. Signaling a shift from navigational to inland travel and exploration, this expedition marked a new phase in European collaboration in the name of science.

One part scientific and several parts adventure, the various published narratives include both scientific measurements and mappings, interspersed with tales

of hardship and rigour, marvels and curiosities. Although an unsuccessful voyage, the La Condamine's expedition comes to articulate a new rationale for European inland travel and subsequent colonial expansion-- the cause of science. Complementing the rise of the scientific expedition are the narratives produced through these voyages and the effects they had on defining the rest of the world for the Europeans. Pratt points out:

> In the second half of the eighteenth century, scientific exploration was to become a magnet for the energies and resources of intricate alliances of intellectual and commercial elites all over Europe. Equally important, scientific exploration was to become a focus of intense public interest and a source of some of the most powerful ideational and ideological apparatuses through which European citizenries related themselves to other parts of the world. (23)

Inland travel and its subsequent tales became a novel European obsession that produced new forms of European knowledge and identity, new forms of European contact in other parts of the world, and intensified ambition towards imperial expansion and colonial conquest. The desire to move to inland travel is corroborated in the following extract from the third chapter of Kingsley's text:

> The interior of the island is composed of high, rocky, heavily forested hills, with here and there a stream, and here and there a swamp; the higher land is towards the up-river end; down river there is a lower strip of land with hillocks. This is, I fancy, formed by deposits of sand, etc., catching in among the rocks, and connecting what were at one time several isolated islands. There are no big game or gorillas on the island, but it has a peculiar and awful house ant, much smaller than the

> driver ant, but with a venomous, bad bite; its only good point is that its chief food is the white ants, which are therefore kept in abeyance on Lembarene Island, although flourishing destructively on the mainland banks of the river in this locality. I was never tired of going and watching those Igalwa villagers, nor were, I think, the Igalwa villagers ever tired of observing me. Although the physical conditions of life were practically identical with those of the mainland, the way in which the Igalwas dealt with them, *i.e*. the culture, was distinct from the culture of the mainland Fans. (77)

As the very opening sentence of the extract "The interior of the island is composed of high, rocky, heavily forested hills, with here and there a stream, and here and there a swamp; the higher land is towards the up-river end; down river there is a lower strip of land with hillocks" shows, Kingsley is motivated by the desire to chart "unknown" interior spaces, not frequented by the earlier European explorers. As a traveler, Kingsley explores the composition of the island, the indigenous people and creatures inhabiting it and the distinction between the cultures of the inland and the mainland. The following description echoes the pride of the explorer at having discovered the previously unexplored inland territories:

> The rivers of the great mangrove-swamp from the Sombreiro to the Rio del Rey are now known pretty surely not to be branches of the Niger, but the upper regions of this part of the Bight are much neglected by English explorers. I believe the great swamp region of the Bight of Biafra is the greatest in the world, and that in its immensity and gloom it has grandeur equal to that of the Himalayas. (37)

The obsession with classification and the European project of measuring, collecting, catalouging and publishing made up the second characteristic of Pratt's planetary consciousness. Connected to the rise and spread of the natural history project, classification provides Europe with the tools to understand the rest of the world on its own terms. David Spurr's contention that the Western need to classify Third World people is never free of subjective evaluation is reflected in the hierarchical relation between the white and the black (71):

> Prof A. H. Keane says – 'their inherent mental inferiority, almost more marked than their physical characters, depends on physiological causes by which the intellectual faculties seem to be arrested before attaining their normal development'; and further on, 'We must necessarily infer that the development of the negro and white proceeds on different lines. While with the latter the volume of the brain grows with the expansion of the brain-pan; in the former the growth of the brain is on the contrary arrested by the premature closing of the cranial sutures, and lateral pressure of the frontal bone.' You will frequently meet with the statement that the negro child is as intelligent, or more so, than the white child, but that as soon as it passes beyond childhood it makes no further mental advance. Burton says: 'His mental development is arrested, and thenceforth he grows backwards instead of forwards.' (qtd. in Kingsley 252)

The above-mentioned description reeks of racism, colonialism and imperialism, clearly laying out the subjective, Eurocentric and arbitrary nature of the categorization. The description of the mental development and behavior distinctly posit European white as superior to the African black. Kinsley's travelogue presumes that Africans can be and should be labelled as abnormal being whose mental development grows backwards.

Chapter Three

Rhetorical Construction of West Africa

In this chapter, I accept David Spurr's invitation in *The Rhetoric of Empire: Colonial Discourse in Journalism, Travel Writing, and Imperial Administration* to employ his critical reading strategies to investigate European, particularly British ethnographic discourses of African cultures. Published by the Duke University Press in 1993, *The Rhetoric of Empire* is David Spurr's richly eclectic and innovative work in the postcolonial studies. Designed as "a general introduction to modern European colonial discourse" (1), the book identifies and explores "a series of basic tropes which emerge from the Western colonial experience" (3). The series of tropes of colonial discourse entails surveillance, appropriation, aestheticization, classification, debasement, negation, affirmation, idealization, insubstantialization, naturalization, and eroticization. These rhetorical conventions are epistemological lenses through which the West produces the knowledge of, and subsequently establishes a claim over the non-West. Such symbolic dominance served the colonial enterprise in the past and it is still far from being extinct today. According to Spurr, these eleven modes constitute "a kind of repertoire for colonial discourse, a range of tropes, conceptual categories, and logical operations available for purpose of [colonial] representation" (3).

Similar to Mary Louise Pratt, David Spurr recognizes colonial discourse in his reading of Western travel, journalistic and administrative writings about other non-Western cultures both in the modern period of European colonialism and in the more recent period of decolonization. Drawing examples from nineteenth and twentieth century British, French and American writings, he emphasizes on rhetorical analysis rather than historical narrative. The examples show how the western writers rely

heavily on signifiers such as dirt, disorder, disease, unfavourable climate, grave, and dire poverty to convey the message.

With a brief discussion on the term rhetoric, the following section places the spotlight on how Victorian travel writing contributes to the continuation of colonial discourse. The term rhetoric elicits diverse responses. It has been eclectically used to refer to the study of human communication, the mode of altering reality, the art of warrantable beliefs, the connective tissue to civil society, the study of misunderstandings and their remedies, the application of reason to imagination for the better moving of the will, and the art of expressing clearly, ornately and persuasively. In *Ancient Rhetorics for Contemporary Students*, Sharon Crowley and Debra Hawhee mention ancient rhetoricians' division of their art into five canons: invention, arrangement, style, memory, and delivery which respectively correspond to the part of rhetoric that helps rhetors find arguments, the appropriate ordering of proofs within a discourse, sentence composition, memorization of a completed discourse or a series of prompts, and appropriate management of the voice, gestures, and appearance (36).

Rhetorical critics contend that rhetoric is not merely words of embellishment or figures of speech. According to Lloyd Bitzer, "Rhetoric is a mode of altering reality, not by the direct application of energy to objects, but by the creation of discourse which changes reality through the medium of thought and action" (qtd. in Booth 8). Rhetoric refers to literary devices or language that speakers use to accomplish their goal of persuasion. Spurr discusses rhetoric "as being not just the study of tropes and figures, but also a procedure that suspends the internal logic of a given trope in order to place it within a larger narrative framework which includes the history of literature and of philosophical thinking" (8). Here, rhetoric is connected to the human thoughts and basic assumptions the speakers and listeners live by, perhaps

without questioning how their persuasive functions have guided human action. According to Spurr, rhetoric has its pattern of persuasion. The rhetorical strategy is usually repetitive, and therefore can be carefully deconstructed. Consequently, rhetorical strategy can be understood as the science or art of using language in a careful yet predictable way in order to accomplish certain goals that determine social action.

The first relevant rhetorical convention with which begins David Spurr's *The Rhetoric of Empire* is surveillance, or visual observation of the Oriental landscape and bodies. The word "surveillance" indicates looking which according to Spurr "is never innocent or pure, never free of mediation by motives which may be judged noble or otherwise" (27). Spurr further contends that "The writer's eye is always in some sense colonizing the landscape, mastering and portioning, fixing zones and poles, arranging and deepening the scene as the object of desire" (27). Bearing a strong connection to Foucault's panopticon, a metaphor of the encompassing eye of power, surveillance of landscape paintings, architecture, sites of tourism, scientific research and hypnotizing places offers the onlooker aesthetic pleasure on the one hand, knowledge and authority on the other. For the observer, the "sight confers power; for the observed, visibility is a trap" (16). The examination of the sweeping Oriental landscape and the staring-down of Oriental peoples by Western travelers reveal the colonial desire to establish knowledge of and authority over the cultural Other.

Spurr discusses the rhetoric of surveillance with regard to landscapes, interiors and bodies. "Monarch-of-all-I-survey" is what Mary Louise Pratt calls this rhetorical gesture based on the sweeping visual mastery of a scene, an important feature of the nineteenth century travel narratives. On the 20th of September 1895, Mary Kingsley surveys the scene with aesthetic valorization of the landscape:

> This road is quite the most magnificent of roads, as regards breadth and general intention, that I have seen anywhere in West Africa, and it runs through a superbly beautiful country. It is, I should say, as broad as Oxford Street; on either side of it are deep drains to carry off the surface waters, with banks of varied beautiful tropical shrubs and ferns, behind which rise, 100 to 200 feet high, walls of grand forest, the column-like tree-stems either hung with flowering, climbing plants and ferns, or showing soft red and soft grey shafts sixty to seventy feet high without an interrupting branch. Behind this again rise the lovely foot hills of Mungo, high up against the sky, coloured the most perfect soft dark blue. (199)

In the extract above, Kingsley uses nouns qualified by adjectives mostly in the positive and superlative forms and followed by modifiers in the forms of gerund to express her aesthetic pleasure. To describe the road in West Africa, she deploys adjectives such as "the most magnificent," and "banks of varied beautiful tropical shrubs and ferns." She equates this African road with the road in England in terms of its breadth, "as broad as Oxford Street." Her description of the landscapes moves with the mathematician's eye suggested by "100 to 200 feet high walls of grand forest . . . showing soft red and soft grey shafts sixty to seventy feet high without an interrupting branch." The last phrase "the most perfect soft dark blue" invests the scene of foothills of Mungo with aesthetic value or power.

Part of the sentence "I hope I may be pardoned for entering into this subject," the subject of the trade of the West African Coast inaugurates Kingsley's twenty first chapter entitled "Trade and Labour in West Africa." Linguistically speaking, the word "pardon" in this context presupposes that the user has done something

disallowed to her and therefore is asking for excuses or forgiving. Kingsley's expression posits that her visit to West Africa is invested with economic interest. She makes it clear when she says:

> Africa does not possess ready-made riches to the extent it is in many quarters regarded as possessing. It is not an India filled with the accumulated riches of ages, waiting for the adventurer to enter and shake the pagoda tree. The pagoda tree in Africa only grows over stores of buried ivory, and even then it is a stunted specimen to that which grew over the treasure-houses of Delhi, Seringapatam, and hundreds of others as rich as they in gems and gold. Africa has lots of stuff in it; structurally more than any other continent in the world, but it is very much in the structure, and it requires hard work to get it out, particularly out of one of its richest regions, the West Coast, where the gold, silver, copper, lead, and petroleum lie protected against the miner by African fever in its deadliest form, and the produce prepared by the natives for the trader is equally fever-guarded, and requires white men of a particular type to work and export it successfully - men endowed with great luck, pluck, patience, and tact. (227)

Kinsley's expression "waiting for the adventurer to enter and shake the pagoda tree" hints at the fact that travel writers during the nineteenth century made their frequent visits to Africa and India to amass the riches available there. The way she surveys the West Coast postulates that it has economic value, with gold, silver, copper, lead, and petroleum lying protected against the miner by African fever in its 'deadliest form.' In this particular scene, Kingsley creates two-facet-image of Africa--one in the positive--replete with rich minerals and the other in the negative– infested with disease. She

necessitates a situation in which white intervention is indispensable, only white men with great luck, pluck, patience and tact is capable of extracting and exporting the riches from the deadliest place called Africa.

The second visual terrain through which the European traveler's eye travels is the interior of the non west. Mary Louise Pratt elaborates on this issue of interior under the rubric of planetary consciousness. Having descended from the pinnacle of the mountains, the surveillance of the European traveler penetrates the inner parts of human habitation, exploring the bodies of the travelee minutely. Referring to how the policing eye of the Western travel writer surveys the world other than the West, David Spurr observes, "The eye of the writer and its technological extension, the camera, take us inside the dwelling places of the primitive and exotic: a night club in Saigon, sacred caves in India, a terrorist enclave in Beirut, the winding alleys of the Algerian casbah, a prison in Uganda, a peasant hut in El Salvador" (19). It is in these interior spaces of non-European peoples that the confrontation of cultures takes place face to face.

Kingsley transports the readers to the street of Free Town in Sierra Leone, where she surveys with her imperial eyes the lifestyle of a man, particularly the way he dresses, "The ordinary man in the street wears anything he may have been able to acquire, anyhow, and he does not fasten it on securely" (9). Whereas Kingsley does not take us inside the night clubs, she does take us inside the interior part of Africa, where she shows the possibility of confrontation between the colonizer and the colonized. She writes: "If the white trader goes into the interior, he has to face, first, the difficulty of getting his goods there safely; secondly, the opposition of the native trader who can, and will drive him out of the market, unless he is backed by easy and cheap means of transport" (230). Just a few paragraphs following this description,

Kingsley equates her native country England with European rivals France and Germany in terms of audacity and endeavour required for the penetration of the inland of Africa: “The Niger Company has broken through, and taken full possession of a great interior, doing a bit of work of which every Englishman should feel proud, for it is the only thing in West Africa that places us on a level with the French and Germans in courage and enterprise in penetrating the interior” (213).

Human body is the last field that is surveyed by the traveler. According to Spurr, “the body of the primitive becomes as much the object of examination, commentary, and valorization as the landscape of the primitive” (22). Spurr further adds, “Under Western eyes, the body is that which is most proper to the primitive, the sign by which the primitive is represented. The body, rather than speech, law, or history, is the essential defining characteristic of primitive peoples” (22). In colonial discourse, the body is said to have various kinds of values such as aesthetic value of body as object of artistic representation, the material value of body as labour supply, the ethical value of body as a mark of innocence or degradation, the humanitarian value of body as a sign of suffering and the erotic value of body as the object of desire. The imperial eyes treat the body as though it is a landscape, proceeding from part to part, noting colour and texture and finally passing an aesthetic judgment.

In the following description of the Igalwa women, Kingsley minutely observes different parts of women such as hands, feet, teeth and eyes although she is far more interested in recording her dealings with Fan chiefs and Kru-boys. She writes:

> [The Igalwa ladies are] the comeliest ladies I have ever seen on the Coast. Very black they are, blacker than many of their neighbours, always blacker than the Fans, and although their skin lacks that velvety pile of the true negro, it is not too shiny, but it is fine and usually

> unblemished, and their figures are charmingly rounded, their hands and feet small, almost as small as a high-class Calabar woman's, and their eyes large, lustrous, soft and brown, and their teeth as white as the sea surf and undisfigured by filing. (223)

Particularly interesting thing in this ethnographic description of African women is the authority Kingsley exhibits. Referring to this visual survey, Laura E. Ciolkowski in the article entitled "Travelers' Tales: Empire, Victorian Travel, and the Spectacle of English Womanhood in Mary Kingsley's *Travels in West Africa*" comments, "Kingsley's detailed catalogue of the relative merits and charms of African women is not simply an expression of an English woman's unsanctioned exercise of the gender-coded visual power from which she is traditionally excluded; it is, in fact, one of the generic requirements of Western ethnographic descriptions of foreign peoples" (343). Kingsley's orientalist assessment of African women unselfconsciously displays the racial privilege with which she is invested to describe her culture's "others." Using racionyms repeatedly "black," "blacker," "always blacker" and "negro," Kingsley projects her racist attitude towards the Afro-Americans.

The second rhetorical trope David Spurr introduces in *The Rhetoric of Empire* is that of appropriation which has to do with inheriting the earth. Introducing the trope of appropriation, Spurr maintains, "Colonial discourse takes over as it takes cover. It implicitly claims the territory surveyed as the colonizer's own; the colonizer speaks as an inheritor whose very vision is charged with racial ambition" (28). This possessive vision of the colonizer, nonetheless, simultaneously masks itself by transforming it into a response to an appeal made by the colonized. This appeal may manifest itself in at least three forms—chaos, absence and profusion of natural resources that respectively call for order, affirming presence and creative hand of technology from

the west (28). In order to substantiate this contention, Spurr quotes the governor general of French Indochina during the early twentieth century, Albert Sarraut who shows an uneven distribution of nature's twin abundance of material and intellectual resources owing to which one is cut off from the other. He writes:

> While in a narrow corner of the world nature has concentrated in white Europe the powers of invention, the means of progress, and the dynamic of scientific advancement, the greatest accumulation of natural wealth is locked up in territories occupied by backward races who, not knowing how to profit by it themselves, are even less capable of releasing it to the great circular current that nourishes the ever growing needs of humanity. (qtd. in Spurr 29)

In the quote above, Sarraut clearly bestows positive qualities—powers of invention, scientific advancement and means of progress on the Europeans which are required to unlock the world's greatest natural wealth lying buried in the "territories occupied by the backward races."

In chapter twenty one, Kingsley presents the West Coast as the land endowed with "the gold, silver, copper, lead and petroleum" which are awaiting the arrival of "white men of a particular type to work and export [them] successfully—men endowed with luck. Pluck, patience and tact" (227). In the same chapter, Kingsley depicts the Ancobra, "a river which penetrates the interior, through a district very rich in gold and timber and . . . petroleum," (229) waiting for the technology of the West for their extraction from the mines. Kingsley further shows how European countries such as Britain, France, Spain and Portugal are in competition with one another in order to conquer the land in Africa. She writes, "The regions of richest oil are not in our possessions, but in those of Germany, France, Spain, and Portugal, namely the

Cameroons and its volcanic island series, Fernando Po, Principe, and San Thome" (233). The expression "the richest oil are not in our possessions" presupposes that Kingsley is employed by British Empire as an agent to expand the colony of Britain in Africa. She admits that English have always been "rapacious landgrabbers . . . and where after all is the harm in it?" (254).

European colonial travel writers see the natural resources of colonized lands as belonging rightfully to civilization and mankind rather than the indigenous people who inhabit those lands. Frederick Lugard, the British governor of general of Nigeria "considers the European powers to be "custodians of the tropics" and "trustees of civilization for the commerce of the world" (qtd. in Spurr 28). Under the guise of a humanitarian, Kingsley shows how France and Germany appropriate the rich African region:

> I always admire a good move in a game or a brilliant bit of strategy, and that was a beauty; and on our head now lie the affairs of the Congo Free State, while France and Germany smile sweetly, knowing that these affairs will soon be such that they will be able to step in and divide that territory up between themselves without a stain on their character—in the interests of humanity—the whole of that rich region, which by the name of Livingstone, Speke, Grant, Burton, and Cameron, should now be ours. (354)

France and Germany's ability to divide the land themselves "without a stain on their character" suggests that they are expert land grabbers who approach Africa in the guise of humanitarians, indicated by "in the interests of humanity." Extolling the strategy adopted by France and Germany, Kingsley makes the readers see British rapacious eyes on the Congo areas.

Under appropriation, I have so far pointed out two strategies by which the non-western world is made to invite invasion—"one that of nature, which calls for the wise use of its resources" and the other "that of humanity, which calls for universal betterment" (Spurr 34). Colonial intervention also responds to a third calling, "that of the colonized, who call for protection from their own ignorance and violence" (34). One possible way to gain knowledge is through learning the language of the colonizer. The white colonizer makes the colonized see him as "his ruling man, rich, powerful, and honoured" (151). The ruled begins to imitate him and "goes to the mission-school classes to read and write, and as soon as an African learns to read and write he turns into a clerk" (151).

In order to show grammatical forms of appropriation, David Spurr cites Roland Barthes who claims that nomination is "first procedure of distraction" (32). Building on the Barthes' idea of nomination, Spurr forms an argument: "Nomination and substantivisation may also be seen as grammatical forms of appropriation: by naming things, we take possession of them" (32). In chapter twenty one, Kingsley describes Kruboys' behaviors and activities in a greater detail. Kingsley is not happy with the name of a Kruboy, whose name is You-be-d-d. His name being improper, protracted and calling for change of some sort, she "christened him Smiles" (240). She chooses an English name for her western audience. In other words, she constructs an Africa, understandable to targeted audience.

Associated with filth and defilement, the rhetoric of debasement is concerned with the text's reproduction of myths about the non-west that creates an image of a foreign place that is somehow abhorrent or dangerous to Europeans. The common themes associated with debasement—"dishonesty, suspicion, superstition, lack of self-discipline—are reflected more generally in societies characterized by corruption

xenophobia, tribalism, and the inability to govern themselves" (Spurr 76). Likewise, "social problems in health and sanitation, unemployment, or population growth come to be associated with individual filth, indolence, and sexual promiscuity" (77). The belligerence of Arab nations, for instance, is traced to the violence and fanaticism of the Arab character.

Similar to classification, the rhetoric of debasement basically helps to make a clear distinction between the colonizer and the colonized. Since it aims to illustrate the lowest qualities of the colonized, this rhetorical strategy justifies the western intervention or domination of other countries. The following expression by the French colonial administrator Albert Sarraut bespeaks why western intervention is mandatory:

> Without us, without our intervention . . . these indigenous populations would still be abandoned to misery and abjection; epidemics, massive endemic diseases, and famine would continue to decimate them; infant mortality would still wipe out half their offspring; petty kings and corrupt chiefs would still sacrifice them to vicious caprice; their mind would still be degraded by the practice of base superstition and barbarous custom; and they would perish from misery in the midst of unexpected wealth. (qtd. in Spurr 77)

Right in the introductory chapter, Mary Kingsley depicts Africa as a dangerous place to Europeans. She mentions that prior to visiting Africa she endeavored to collect as much information about Africa as possible through her friends, but majority of them were unknown to it. The only information she collected involved, "Oh, you can't possibly go there; that's where Sierra Leone is, the white mans grave, you know," "deadliest spot on earth" and "I wouldn't go there if I were

you" (1). These warnings given by Kingsley's friends reduce African land to a graveyard that generates terror in the readers. Similarly, in chapter three entitled "Voyage Down Coast" Kingsley speaks of horrifying danger in the West Coast of Africa:

> The more you know of the West Coast of Africa, the more you realize its dangers. For example, on your first voyage out you hardly believe the stories of fever told by the old Coasters. That is because you do not then understand the type of man who is telling them, a man who goes to his death with a joke in his teeth. But a short experience of your own, particularly if you happen on a place having one of its periodic epidemics, soon demonstrates that the underlying horror of the thing is there, a rotting corpse . . . (32)

In this extract, Kingsley equates Africa with a cemetery through the horrendous image of "a rotting corpse." Africa is debased through the signifiers such as danger, mystery, disease and death.

In chapter one while travelling from Liverpool to Sierra Leone and the Gold Coast, Kingsley constructs a negative image of The Gold Coast. Referring to the Gold Coast, says Kingsley, "seen from the sea it is a pleasant looking land. The long lines of yellow, sandy beach backed by an almost continuous line of blue hills, which in some places come close to the beach, in other places show in the dim distance. It is hard to think that it is so unhealthy as it is, from just seeing it as you pass by" (14). From a distance, Gold Coast is so hypnotizing that imperial eyes cannot resist the temptation. But the "unhealthy" Africa betrays them, transforming their temptation into frustration. However, Kingsley does not associate this problem with African's filth, indolence and sexual promiscuity as done by Spurr in *The Rhetoric of Empire*.

Travels in West Africa is constituted by twenty two chapters spreading over two hundred and sixty six pages. Among them, the last chapter is entitled as "Disease in West Africa" in which she very clearly gives two reasons why Africa remains undeveloped despite having immense natural resources—one because of the labour problem and the other owing to "the deadliness of the climate" (258). She writes, "Other parts of the world have more sensational outbreaks of death from epidemics of yellow fever and cholera, but there is no other region in the world that can match West Africa for the steady kill, kill, kill that its malaria works on the white men who come under its influence" (259). Kingsley reiterates what one of her friends before she visited Africa said of West Africa, "the deadliest spot on earth."

In the same way, the West Africans are portrayed as being highly superstitious. Kingsley in the chapter eight entitled "Fetish" provides a detailed description of the superstitious activities practiced by local people. "One thing about Negro and Bantu races," writes Kingsley, "is very certain, and that is that their lives are dominated by a profound belief in witchcraft and its effects" (154). The Calabar peoples are said to believe in the existence of four souls in human being: the soul that survives death, the shadow on the path, the dream-soul and the bush-soul. When a person falls sick, it is because his bush-soul is furious at being neglected and a witchdoctor is immediately called in to attend to the sufferer. The witchdoctor diagnoses this disease as being the cause of complaint and prescribes certain offerings to the offended one. If the offering does not work well on the bush-soul, the patient dies. Another peculiarity about the bush-soul is related to the old people who are highly esteemed among the Calabar tribes. Their longevity is connected to their possession of powerful bush-souls.

The Niger Delta tribes are represented as having a strong belief in the idea of reincarnation. Explaining why a person dies, Kingsley speaks, “he may have had a bad illness from some cause in his previous life and, when reincarnated, part of this disease may get reincarnated with him and then he will ultimately die of it. There is no medicine of any avail against these reincarnated diseases” (155). She further states that the belief in witchcraft is the major cause of more African deaths than anything else. The backwardness of Africans is ascribed to their strong belief to superstition. Kingsley confidently declares that the African “will never advance [their culture] in the line of European culture. The country he lives in is unfitted for it, and the nature of the man himself is all against it—the truth is the West Coast mind has got a great deal too much superstition about it, and too little of anything else” (257). Kingsley’s assertion of the Africans calls for the western intervention for educating them or elevating them to the level of the Europeans.

“Areas of darkness” is the phrase Spurr uses to qualify the rhetoric of negation by which the Other is conceived as absence, emptiness and nothingness by the Western writers. He argues that this rhetorical trope leads to the formation of two principles: “first, negation serves to reject the ambiguous object for which language and experience provide no adequate framework of interpretation; second. . . negation acts as a kind of provisional erasure, clearing space for the expansion of the colonial imagination and for the pursuit of desire” (92-93).

Spurr basically discusses the rhetoric of negation in terms of space, history and language of the colonized peoples. Indigenous people are presented as inhabiting atemporal space; their culture is timeless and without history and their language is reduced to a babble. Mary louise Pratt calls this phenomenon “deterritorialization,” the process of removing time, history and context from a culture and reducing it to an

inventory of attributes. Unlike Europeans, the local people of Africa become trapped in a timelessness that is seen as intrinsic to their culture and way of life. To show how negation operates, Spurr cites Charles Darwin, who in the conclusion to his *Journal* issued in 1839, records the most impressive scene from the vast and empty lands of Patagonia:

> They are characterized only by negative possessions; without habitations, without water, without trees, without mountains. . . . Why then, and the case is not peculiar to myself, have these arid wastes taken so firm possession of the memory? . . . I can scarcely analyze these feelings: but it must be partly owing to the free scope given to the imagination. (91)

Though descriptive outwardly, Darwin's imagery of nothingness in Patagonia actually serves his official purpose, the colonization of the natural world by scientific knowledge. Kingsley disperses negative spaces throughout her narrative. One such scene from *Travels in West Africa* is about the West Coast of Africa which, to her, is analogous to the North Pole, a place lacking human habitation:

> The West Coast of Africa is like the Arctic regions in one particular, and that is that when you have once visited it you want to go back there again; and, now I come to think of it, there is another particular in which it is like them, and that is that the chances you have of returning from it at all are small, for it is a Belle Dame sans merci. (6)

Comparing West Coast of Africa with the Arctic regions, Kingsley provides an ambiguous picture of Africa—a place devoid of all facilities required for the human habitation on the one hand, and also a place having a tantalizing or hypnotic effect on the other. Moreover, she ascribes feminine quality to Africa, indicated by the

metaphor of “a Belle Dame sans merci,” a woman beautiful enough to arrest the lusty and rapacious eyes of the colonizers and at the same time a merciless being capable of destruction like death.

While describing the great regions of mangrove-swamps, Kingsley follows what Richard Harding Davis teaches, “To tell what the place is like, you must tell what it lacks” (qtd. in Spurr 96). Having invested much of the spaces on the negative construction of the natives, Kingsley finally renders the land as devoid of eating things, “And the region is practically foodless” (37).

The rhetoric of negation implies that the indigenous people have neither history nor place, constituting the past as absence. Nor do they speak the language of the civilized humanity. One of the many Europeans Spurr cites in his book to discuss the absence of history is Hegel, who finds Africa unhistorical: “What we properly understand by Africa, is the Unhistorical, Undeveloped Spirit, still involved in the conditions of mere nature” (98). By denying history to the Africans, Hegel seems to suggest that it belongs only to Europe. Whereas Kingsley does not directly deal with history of the local people in Africa, she does bring this into discussion through the concept of time, which is inclusive of past, present and future. According to her, “Divisions of time the Bubi can hardly be said to have, but this is a point upon which all West Africans are rather weak, particularly the Bantu “(28). Here the dichotomy of presence and absence is clearly seen. Kingsley removes the time, history and context from the culture of the Bubi and the Bantu peoples as apposed to her own, characterized by the presence of time evidenced in the very diary-like memoir.

As Spurr’s lenses testify, Kingsley produces the knowledge of West Africa and establishes a claim over her. Through the deployment of surveillance, appropriation, debasement and negation, she draws an ambivalent picture of Africa:

one associated with filth, defilement, danger, darkness and death and the other endowed with natural vegetation and resources. Both sides of the picture call for the arrival of the British to improve the lifestyle of the Africans and to utilize the natural resources.

Chapter Four

Orientalist Representation in *Travels in West Africa*: A Critical Discourse Analysis

At the very outset of this chapter, a question may arise as to why Kingsley's *Travels in West Africa* should be studied from the perspective of critical discourse analysis particularly discourse historical approach. Therefore, I would like to justify why critical discourse analysis is an appropriate theoretical lens to probe into travel writings such as Kinsley's *Travels in West Africa* prior to introducing critical discourse analysis. Commonly used as CDA, an abbreviated form, it has proved to be almost indispensable for my research, as it provides me with tools to examine the whole issue of language use by those in power from a different perspective. In particular, I have looked into the use of language from the perspective of the patient, to use semantic term and critically analyzed the language used by people in power who are responsible for maintaining hegemony in the society. A research without a critical eye on the way language--racist expression--is used in *Travels in West Africa* remains largely unexplored, incomplete and, therefore, unjustifiable. Critical discourse analysis provides a means of understanding how Kingsley's text is ideologically relevant in the nineteenth century. I side with Phadindra who believes in Wodak's contention that "texts are often sites of struggle in that they show traces of differing discourses and ideologies all contending and struggling for dominance," and language as such, "provides a finely articulated vehicle for differences in power within hierarchical social structures" (qtd. in Upadhyaya 22).

Nineteenth century European travel writings more often than not functions as a vehicle for colonial discourse, strategically representing non Europeans such as Asians and Africans in order to justify their subjugation, and their land as a site of

opportunity. First published in 1897, Mary Kingsley's *Travels in West Africa* is no exception. I commence this chapter with the contention that *Travels in West Africa* should be studied as a rhetorical text, that Kingsley's objective in depicting both the land and the people is to represent Africa inherently disponible, a term used by Mary Louise Pratt to indicate "available for improvement" through capitalism (*Imperial Eyes* 60). Working from this assertion, I, in this chapter, use the methodology of the discourse-historical approach developed by Martin Reisigl and Ruth Wodak to explore the development of racialized constructions of African identity and their ideological relationship to disponibility.

Beginning in disciplines such as semiotics and linguistics, the term discourse plays an increasingly significant role in contemporary social science. It has been eclectically used to refer to language use, larger units of language such as paragraphs, conversations, interviews and specific systems of meaning which form the identities of subjects and objects. Theorists such as James Paul Jee go to such an extent as to distinguish "Discourse" with a capital "D" from "discourse" with a little "d." Paul Jee uses "Discourse" with big "D" to refer to:

> Social languages [which] are varieties or styles of language used to enact specific socially situated identities and activities (practices) associated with those identities. But people enact identities not just through language, but by using language together with other "stuff" that isn't language. I use the term "Discourse," with a capital "D," for ways of combining and integrating language, actions, interactions, ways of thinking, believing, valuing, and using various symbols, tools, and objects to enact a particular sort of socially recognizable identity. (201)

Likewise, he reserves the word “discourse” with a little “d,” “to mean language-in-use or stretches of language (like conversations or stories)” (34).

James Paul Jee’s capital “Discourse” as a way of thinking, believing, and valuing comes closer to Norman Fairclough’s idea of discourse analysis which basically aims:

> to systematically explore often opaque relationships of causality and determination between (a) discursive practices, events and texts, and (b) wider social and cultural structures, relations and processes; to investigate how such practices, events and texts arise out of and are ideologically shaped by relations of power and struggles over power; and to explore how the opacity of these relationships between discourse and society is itself a factor securing power and hegemony (135).

Norman Fairclough’s discussion of the aim of discourse analysis as a way to explore opaque relationships between discursive practices and wider social and cultural structures shows his affinity with the idea of Ruth Wodak. According to her, the primary objective of critical discourse analysis is to analyze, “opaque as well as transparent structural relationships of dominance, discrimination, power and control as manifested in language” (204). She further explains that critical discourse analysis “studies real and often extended instances of social interaction which take partially linguistic form. The critical approach is distinctive in its view of (a) the relationship between language and society, and (b) the relationship between analysis and the practices analysed” (173). Highlighting the way language gains its power, she repeats:

> Language is not powerful on its own – it gains power by the use powerful people make of it. This explains why CDA often chooses the

> perspective of those who suffer, and critically analyzes the language use of those in power, who are responsible for the existence of inequalities and who also have the means and the opportunity to improve conditions. (10).

This obviously highlights the discursivity involved in discourses of travel writing and the subsequent impact on the people being represented.

Discourse Historical Approach to *Travels in West Africa*

As the very name suggests, consideration of the historical perspective is central to the discourse historical approach. According to Wodak "The historical context is always analysed and integrated into the interpretation of discourses and texts" (qtd. in Norstad 58). Apart from taking into consideration the elements such as historical context and genre, it also shows concern regarding the reproduction of racist discourse and the ideological issues brought forth by colonialism. Moreover, the discourse historical approach is essentially interdisciplinary, due to the fact that the study of language is only part of the analysis, and, as Wodak notes, "the non-linguistic theoretical approaches are not only needed as information, but deemed necessary to do justice to the complex phenomena under discussion" (qtd. in Norstad 49).

In "The discourse-historical approach," Wodak notes that "one of the most salient distinguishing features of the discourse-historical approach is its endeavour to work with different approaches, multimethodically and on the basis of a variety of empirical data as well as background information" (65). As the Wodak's statement shows, discourse historical approach is broad and multimethodical. In a dissertation of this nature, in which I have already applied two major theorists in the postcolonial studies, application of all different strategies practiced under the rubric of discourse

historical approach would be lengthy and tedious. Given the nature and scope of my dissertation, I have limited my studies to the analysis of the racial issues in the nineteenth century England by picking five out of the many different linguistic or rhetorical means by which persons are discriminated against in a racist manner.

To understand how racism is reproduced, we need to understand how it is constructed linguistically. Drawing on the extensive genealogy of discourse analytic approaches to textual analysis, most recently those related to critical discourse analysis and social inequality, practitioners of the discourse historical approach have narrowed its focus with respect to racist discourse to the following questions:

> How are persons named and referred to linguistically? What traits, characteristics, qualities and features are attributed to them? By means of what arguments and argumentation schemes do specific persons or social groups try to justify and legitimize the exclusion, discrimination, suppression and exploitation of others? From what perspective or point of view are these naming, attributions, and arguments expressed? Are the respective discriminating utterances articulated overtly, are they even intensified or are they mitigated? (Reisigl and Wodak, *Discourse and Discrimination* 44)

Based on these, the discourse historical approach considers five types of strategies, all of which are related to the positive construction of self and the negative presentation of Other.

"Referential" of "nominational" strategies, are those "by which one constructs and represents social actors: for example ingroups and outgroups."(45). Reisigl and Wodak indicate several ways this can occur, including "reference by tropes, biological, naturalizing and depersonalizing metaphors and metonymies, as well as by

synecedoches in the form of a part standing for the whole . . . or a whole standing in for the part . . . (45). Because of the significance and prevalence of nomination strategies, the discourse historical approach draws as well from the Theo Van Leeuwen's system network of representation, incorporating such categories as "passivization," "impersonalization," "collectivization," "backgrounding," and "objectivation" (*Discourse* 46-47).

European names, derogative names, denial of the name and sexism are few of the many referential strategies by means of which writers like Mary Kingsley exhibit their racist attitude towards the indigenous people of West Africa. The most fundamental form of rhetorical discrimination is that of identifying persons linguistically by naming them derogatively or vituperatively. Terminologies such as "nigger" and "savage" are more than sufficient to perform racist idea as they connotatively convey insulting meanings. Kingsley makes a profuse use of such terms in *Travels in West Africa*. In the very opening chapter entitled "Liverpool to Sierra Leone and the Gold Coast," Kingsley describes her journey by rickshaw which was being pulled by two Afro-Americans:

> It was pulled in front by two government negroes and pushed behind by another pair, all neatly attired in white jackets and knee breeches, and crimson cummerbunds yards long, bound round their middles. Now it is an ingrained characteristic of the uneducated negro, that he cannot keep on a neat and complete garment of any kind. It does not matter what that garment may be; so long as it is whole, off it comes. (12)

In this quote, Kingsley uses the rhetoric of somatisation which is realized through repeated somatonym or linguistic item "negroes" in order to show their demeaning

status. As a matter of fact, Kingsley's text is replete with racionyms such as "blacks," "bush negroes," bush-souls," and "dark-skin." In chapter twelve, she refers to the natives as "the savage" to denote primitivity or lack of civilization (140). But when it comes to addressing people from her continent, she shows her great reverence. For example, the name Nassau appears in the text in different forms as "Dr. Nassau" or "The Rev. Dr. Nassau" (4). In the chapter sixteen titled "Ascent of the Great Peak of Cameroons," Kingsley refers to a group of local women in terms of mental deficiency, "those foolish creatures" (202). Some of the names Kingsley assigns to local people include "Smiles," "Gray Shirt," "Singlet," and "Pagan" which are based on physical appearances of superficial behavioral patterns rather than personality. These names actually reduce the African individuals nearly to objects. The only way for Kingsley to understand them is through the process of christening. She must put them in terms understandable to the Europeans, fitting them within a scheme that is knowable and acceptable within ethnocentric British ideology. In so doing, she denies their humanity.

Sexist language can serve many different purposes on the side of the writers--psychological, social or political. "Linguistic exclusion," contend Reisigl and Wodak, "is not only strategically employed to conceal persons responsible for discriminatory activities, it has clearly discriminatory effects as in cases of sexist ignoring of women by not naming them" (47). Kingsley's use of reference items such as "man" and "he" (55) exclude women from their own male tribes. While Kingsley plays a feminine role while she is in England, she shows her masculine behavior in Africa. The fact that she is addressed as "sir" in Africa bears witness to this contention.

Closely related to reference, predicational strategies involve the use of "stereotypical, evaluative attributions of negative and positive traits in the linguistic

form of implicit or explicit predicates" (45). It is noted that some of the nominating terms can have the effect of being evaluative because "the pure referential identification very often already involves a denotatively as well as a connotatively . . . deprecatory or appreciative labeling of the social actors" (45). Predication is a process of assigning qualities to persons, animals, action and social phenomena. Predicational strategies are mainly realized by specific forms of reference, attributes, predicates, collocations, comparisons, similes, metaphors, synecdoches, metonymies, hyperboles and allusions. In the chapter XVII entitled "Ascent to the Great Peak of Cameroons," Kingsley describes a scene in which she becomes an object of gaze—the local people try to see her inside the room by pushing open the window shutters. But when she refers to them, she uses expressions such as "a mass of black heads" and "white teeth," a predicational strategy called synecdoche in which a part of something (black's white teeth and black heads) stands for the whole thing (black people). Likewise, Kingsley presents Smiles, a name christened by Kingsley herself and his friends as criminals: "frequent roll-calls were found necessary, so that crimes of Smiles and his fellows might not accumulate to an unmanageable extent" (240). The words "gang" and "liars" frequently occur in her narrative.

Argumentation strategies involve the way that the text functions persuasively. Though this study views the entire text as a persuasive "organism," with different rhetorical activities occurring simultaneously in a coordinated manner, the discourse historical approach considers argumentation strategies in a narrower sense, primarily through the analysis of logical fallacies and topoi. Both of these lie at the heart of racist discourse, for "[i]f one looks at the structure of prejudices from an argumentation theoretical perspective, one can ascertain that in every racist, antisemitic, nationalist, ethnicist and sexist prejudice or stereotype there is inherent a

fallacious generalisation" (Reisigl and Wodak, *Discourse* 63). Frequently combined with fallacies, topoi are used to justify negative attributes, social and political inclusion and exclusion, and the "discrimination or preferential treatment of the respective persons or groups of persons" (45). Reisigl and Wodak cite the work of Kienpointetner in describing topoi as "parts of argumentation that belong to the obligatory, either explicit or inferable, premises. They are the content-related warrants or 'conclusion rules' that . . . justify the transition from the argument or arguments to the conclusion" (qtd. in *Discourse* 74-75). A common topos cited is that of "advantage" or "usefulness," whereby if an action is considered useful or beneficial, then it should be undertaken (75). The topoi used in *Travels in West Africa* typically revolve around the need for change, such as the alleged "backwardness," of the people or the "ancient" condition of the territory, both geologically and culturally. Other topoi are subordinated to this main goal, focusing on more specific concerns such as the people's purportedly vice-ridden nature, lack of education, and unfitness for self-governance, to name just a few. In the following passage from "Trade and Labour in West Arica," Kingsley justifies why development of trade is necessary:

> The development of trade is a necessary condition for the existence of the natives, and the discovery of products in the forests that will be marketable in Europe, and the making of plantations whose products will help to take the place of those he so recklessly now destroys, will give him a safer future than can any amount of abolitions of domestic slavery, or institutions of trial by jury, etc. If white control advances and plantations are not made and trade with the interior is not expanded, the condition of the West African will be a very wretched

> one, far worse than it was before the export slave-trade was suppressed. (256)

In the quote above, Kingsley creates a situation in which trade becomes indispensable for the survival of the indigenous people. As development of trade and plantation on the part of the natives are impossible, white intervention is a must for their rescue. Likewise, below is given a quote which is an extremely fallacious generalization:

> Prof A. H. Keane says – 'their inherent mental inferiority, almost more marked than their physical characters, depends on physiological causes by which the intellectual faculties seem to be arrested before attaining their normal development'; and further on, 'We must necessarily infer that the development of the negro and white proceeds on different lines. While with the latter the volume of the brain grows with the expansion of the brain-pan; in the former the growth of the brain is on the contrary arrested by the premature closing of the cranial sutures, and lateral pressure of the frontal bone.' You will frequently meet with the statement that the negro child is as intelligent, or more so, than the white child, but that as soon as it passes beyond childhood it makes no further mental advance. Burton says: 'His mental development is arrested, and thenceforth he grows backwards instead of forwards.' (252)

Prof Keane represents the black people as if they do not belong to the human species. To show that they are different species, unlike the whites who are human species, he discusses the way anatomy and physiology of the blacks function—contrary to the mental development of the whites, the blacks grow backwards. This is an extreme example of fallacious argument based not on logic but on racism.

Finally, “intensifying” or “mitigating” strategies are used to heighten or blunt the force of racist statements. Linguistically, they “qualify and modify the epistemic status of a proposition . . . . These strategies play an important role in the discursive presentation inasmuch as they operate upon it by sharpening it or toning it down” (Reisigl and Wodak, *Discourse* 45). Intensification and mitigation often occur through the degree of directness or explicitness by which the speaker utters a racist statement.

When Kingsley quotes in dialect the African speakers she meets, Africans are constructed as humorously primitive. For instance, one member of her party, whom she calls a “distinguished sportsman” for his ability to catch game, is quoted as describing his gaming practice thus: ‘“You go shoot thing with gun. Berra well—buy you no get him thing for sure. No sah. Dem gun make nize. Berra well”’ (61). She further continues, ‘“You fren hear dem nize and come look him, and you hab to go share what you done kill. Or bad man hear him nize, and he come look him, and you go fit to get share—you fit to get kill yusself. Chii! chii! traps be best!’” (61). While Kingsley gives lip service to praising the “distinguished sportsman” she also belittles him, mockingly representing (phonetically) his attempt at the English language. In other words, the expression “distinguished sportsman” appears to be genuine approbation, yet the eye dialect used by Kingsley presents such a vividly offensive image that the impact of the positive reference is negated, or “mitigated” in discourse historical approach terminology.

Chapter Five

Conclusion: The Imperial Discourse of *Travels in West Africa* and the Limitations of Discourse Analysis

Mary Kingsley's claim in her preface to *Travels in West Africa*--the true or objective description of her experience during the sojourn in Africa-- has inspired the writing of this dissertation. Her claim has made me question the validity of her statement and go through the text thoroughly. Consequently, I have come up with a hypothesis that Kingsley's visit to West Africa was actually motivated by her imperial desire.

Now, having analyzed the text from the perspectives developed by Pratt, Spurr, Reisigl and Wodak, I have reached the conclusion that my hypothesis has been validated. I have argued that Mary Kingsley's *Travels in West Africa* is threaded with the rhetoric of empire, allowing Kingsley to project her imperial eyes on the African land, people and animals. Using Pratt's concepts particularly seeing man, anti-conquest stance and planetary consciousness, I have shown in chapter two how Kingsley presents herself as an imperialist, aestheticising African landscape, posing innocence while consolidating hegemonic control and visiting the interior parts of West Africa. The contention that *Travels in West Africa* is the story of the empire gets further consolidated in chapter three which is informed by the concepts of Spurr devised in *The Rhetoric of Empire.* The text shows that Kingsley has used various rhetorical tropes such as surveillance, appropriation, negation and debasement in order to justify western intervention in Africa which is marked by absence, emptiness and death. Likewise, in the third chapter, I have clearly shown how Kingsley has expressed racism and inequality by deploying strategies such as nomination, predication, argumentation and intensification or mitigation.

Different threads of arguments drawn together in the preceding paragraphs challenge the traditional notion embedded in language: it is the transparent carrier of meanings. My analysis implies that language is no longer taken as a neutral entity; it is rather ideologically charged. Kingsley's choice of diction, argument and conclusion show that she is an epitome of British imperialism that seeks to eliminate the identity and existence of the non western people like Africans. Her abundance use of adjectives, politically incorrect words and her method of arriving at conclusion are of particular interest because they reek of racism and inequality. When it comes to addressing the white audience in her home country, Kingsley is very much selective in the use of words—honoured, powerful, intelligent and superior—that put them on a pedestal, clearly investing positive attitude in the language she uses.

The dissertation has provided me with an opportunity to assess different approaches I used to analyze the single nineteenth century travelogue. Using three different methodological tools—Pratt's imperial stylistics, Spurr's rhetorical tropes and Reisigl and Wodak's discourse historical approach, I am able to demonstrate how they express a common ideology that continues to impact the lives of people in West Africa. Although some of their concepts imbricate with each other such as Pratt's monarch-of-all-I-survey with Spurr's surveillance, they show how the travel writer's look is never pure or innocent. Discourse historical approach provided a flexible, yet theoretically sound framework for analysis that allowed me to maintain my orientation towards text, rhetoric and history. Achieving this goal, I argue, would not have been possible using a methodology other than the discourse historical approach. To the best of my knowledge, this project is unique in using the discourse historical approach, imperial stylistics and rhetorical strategies to analyze a literary text of such length.

Notwithstanding many similarities between the theories by Pratt and Spurr, this analysis also brings to the fore the limitation of one theory particularly Pratt's notion of monarch-of-all-I-survey which does not encompass the surveillance of interiors and the human body with different values as indicated in the Spurr's rhetoric of surveillance. Likewise, borrowing the term "contact" from linguistics, Pratt deploys contact zone "to refer to the space of imperial encounters" in which peoples from two different geographies come in contact with each other and "establish ongoing relations, usually involving condition of coercion, radical inequality, and intractable conflict" (8). While the term "contact" evokes positive connotation, she uses it to refer to conflicting or hostile relationship between the colonizer and the colonized. Moreover, as the analysis demonstrates, Kingsley does not have any intractable or coercive conflicts in West Africa. On many occasions, she rather shows her egalitarian behavior to the indigenous people. This shows how narrow Pratt's concept of contact zone at times becomes while making a critical inquiry into the text like *Travels in West Africa*.

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