"Things of Stylized Beauty":
The Novels of Sudhin N. Ghose and
the Fragments of an Indian Tradition
Sayan Chattopadhyay

Abstract: Sudhin N. Ghose's tetralogy of novels, published between the late 1940s and 1950s, was once hailed by reviewers as among the best representations of Indian English literature. Now, however, Ghose and his novels have been almost completely forgotten. The disappearance of a body of work praised so highly just five decades ago is a curious phenomenon. Even more curious is the strange and persistent mis-categorisation of Ghose's novels. From the moment of their publication, the novels have been (mis)read as autobiographies, and thus have never been explored as part of the otherwise thoroughly mapped terrain of twentieth-century Indian English fiction. This article brings renewed focus to Ghose's novels and probes the causes of their initial success and subsequent failure to achieve widespread circulation, attract a substantial amount of critical attention, or even find a place in the category of Indian English fiction. It is an attempt to read the novels as part of the canon of twentieth century Indian English fiction and the larger context of the metropolitan "alterity industry" through which the image of "traditional" India has been produced and consumed for the last two centuries. It is also an attempt to explain why Ghose's novels stand out as unique specimens that do not easily conform to any available category of Anglophone Indian literature.

Introduction: Addressing a Blind Spot

Sudhin N. Ghose (1899–1965) is a rare instance of a twentieth-century Indian English novelist who has been almost completely forgotten. Such oblivion is intriguing given that, since the 1930s, the novel

has emerged as the defining genre of Indian English literature. It has received an enormous amount of critical attention; since the 1971 publication of Meenakshi Mukherjee's seminal study, *The Twice Born Fiction*, numerous monographs have mapped the history of the genre as it has unfolded over the past century and a half. Mukherjee's work makes brief mention of Ghose, but more contemporary studies, such as Priyamvada Gopal's recent survey of Anglophone Indian fiction and Makarand Paranjape's attempt to reconstruct the canon of twentieth-century Indian English novels, completely disregard his work. However, despite such neglect, he cannot be simply dismissed as an obscure figure. During the late 1940s and 1950s Ghose published four novels within a six year span, each of which was highly praised by contemporary reviewers both in Britain and America. Indeed his work formed an integral part of the first major wave of Indian English fiction that reached its apex during the mid-twentieth century. Novelists such as Mulk Raj Anand, R. K. Narayan, and Raja Rao began publishing in the 1930s, and over the next two decades novelists including Aubrey Menen, G. V. Desani, Bhabani Bhattacharya, Attia Hosain, and Kamala Markandaya joined the ranks. Ghose was one of the most prominent writers among this new group of novelists who either wrote from within or had spent a considerable part of their formative years in Britain. Recently at least two studies have focused exclusively on South Asian writers writing from Britain: Susheila Nasta's *Home Truths* and Ruvani Ranasinha's *South Asian Writers in Twentieth-Century Britain*. Yet, although Ghose lived and worked in London for the final twenty-five years of his life, neither text refers to him.

The only major publication of the last decade that mentions Ghose is a history of Indian literature in English edited by Arvind Mehrotra. Leela Gandhi, who authors a chapter in the text on novelists of the 1930s and 1940s, concludes her section on Ghose by noting that "[w]hile Ghose has been effectively forgotten within India, his work was well received in Europe and North America. However, few critics regarded his tetralogy as novels, preferring to praise them as memoirs or autobiographical sketches" (189). Gandhi's appraisal is both slightly misleading and suggestive of the enigma that surrounds Ghose's reputation (or rather the

absence of it) as a novelist. It is misleading because she seems to suggest that Ghose has been "effectively forgotten" *only* in India, whereas Ghose has been as completely erased from the memory of readers and literary critics in the West. Interestingly, however, Gandhi refers to Western reception of Ghose in the past tense—Ghose *was* well received in Europe and North America. This leads to the inevitable question as to why the initially favourable response to his work has not translated into substantial scholarly attention. The answer is somewhat ambiguously suggested by Gandhi—the critics who praised Ghose's writings preferred reading them as autobiographies while dismissing them as novels. In what remains the only book-length study on Ghose, Shyamala Narayan makes a similar observation:

> In spite of responding to the language, many reviews show a misunderstanding of Ghose's work; the *Times Literary Supplement* reviewed all four novels in the section devoted to "Biography and Memoirs". . . . Even the National Library, Calcutta, one of the few libraries in India to have all four novels, does not file them under fiction; the *National Bibliography of Indian Literature* . . . does not include Ghose in the section devoted to Indian fiction in English. (12)

This suggests that Ghose's work has been persistently denied the category of fiction and has therefore remained outside the purview of the otherwise thoroughly mapped field of Indian English novels. The problem of categorisation, however, raises further questions. Firstly, why is Ghose's fiction "misunderstood" as autobiography? Secondly, even if his fiction contains autobiographical elements, why should that push them outside the category of mainstream Indian English novels? In this essay, I explore Ghose's ambiguous "non-novels" by setting them against the author's life which purportedly informs them, and also against the backdrop of the twentieth-century Indian English fiction and processes through which they were produced and consumed. In doing so I seek to bring into focus a forgotten novelist and his work and explain why a blind spot has developed around them.

The Vanishing World of "Traditional" India

Indian writers of literature in English have regularly migrated to the centre of the British Empire since the late eighteenth century when Sake Dean Mahomed, the first Indian author of an English book, travelled to Brighton. However, the influx of Indian authors reached its height during the 1940s and 1950s as the empire began to dissolve.[1] Ghose was both a part of this influx and an exception to its pattern of migration. He made his initial journey from India to Britain as an undergraduate student in the 1920s but soon moved to continental Europe where he first studied science and then art history before completing a doctorate in literature at the University of Strasbourg.[2] Mary Weiser, Ghose's partner for the last twenty-five years of his life and a Jewish refugee from Austria, writes in her unpublished memoir that, after completing his studies, Ghose remained in Europe rather than "going home and marrying some suitable girl from an old Indian family" as was expected of him (Weiser).[3] While working for the League of Nations in Geneva, Ghose married Yvonne Lolita, a French woman. It was an act of disobedience for which his father promptly disinherited him. His rebellion further weakened his tie with his home and with India, which he did not visit again except very shortly in 1957.[4] Thus, when Ghose returned to Britain in 1940 as a refugee escaping the rising tide of Nazism, he was probably the only Indian author to arrive from continental Europe.[5] To Weiser, who met the forty-one year old Ghose in London in the summer of that year, he appeared to be a "learned Continental gentleman" who had long made Europe his home and who had immersed himself in the study of "every aspect of Western culture, be it history, philosophy, religion, art, literature, science." Indeed, by the time Ghose met Weiser, he viewed India as little more than a nostalgic presence, less of an actual country than an exotic fairyland of imagination "peopled by ghouls, bhuts and demons, figures of Indian myths, all kinds of talking animals, women in colourful saris and tinkling anklets, dhotied and turbaned men sitting under the banyan tree telling each other wise tales" (Weiser).

Thus, unlike many of his contemporaries who arrived in the metropolis from India and who were often deeply involved in the on-going nationalist movement,[6] Ghose was largely detached from the realities of

his native country. In fact, as a "Continental gentleman" living with a Jewish immigrant, the Second World War was a much more important affair for him than the Indian independence movement. For Ghose the war threatened not merely Europe but the whole of humanity, and he considered the "total defeat of the Axis Powers . . . [to be] the conditio sine qua non for salvaging *human civilisation*" (War Diary; emphasis added). Since Ghose viewed Indian nationalist politics primarily through the lens of the Second World War, the reluctance of Indian leaders to support Britain unconditionally in the war to save "human civilisation" appeared to him to be an act of treachery.[7] Indeed both the war and the Indian independence that followed in its wake merged together for Ghose into a single period of catastrophe that destroyed not just western civilisation but the world-system that included what he considered to be "traditional" India. Hence, when near the end of the 1940s Ghose started writing his first novel, he explained his motivation in the following words:

> [I]t seems to me that in these days of changing values, some one ought to take the necessary steps of telling both India and the outside something of India's traditional heritage (which runs the risk of being destroyed by the on-rush of unexpected incidents of violence and of so-called modernism). . . . My first fruit has been a novel in an autobiographical form entitled "AND GAZELLES LEAPING" . . . which attempts to tell something of the traditional ways of "educating" a Bengali child in the neighbourhood of Calcutta. (Letter to Giuseppe Tucci)

Importantly, Ghose classifies his work as a "novel in an autobiographical form," and we will return to the connection between his fiction and autobiography. Before that, however, it is necessary to unpack the concepts of modernism and tradition that Ghose evokes. Ghose's association between modernism and an "on-rush" of violence clearly links the former with the Second World War. However, Marshal Berman's study of modernity[8] demonstrates how similar images of a violent modernisation dissolving the world as it is known appear throughout the nine-

teenth century in works as diverse as Goethe's *Faust*, Marx's *Communist Manifesto*, and Baudelaire's prose poems. Berman connects the perception of modernity as a maelstrom of change with the capitalist economy and bourgeois world order, whose very essence was marked by a constant "state of perpetual becoming" (16). The two great wars of the twentieth century were the deepest crisis faced by this world order, and though Berman argues that bourgeois order managed to survive to the present day, Ghose—located within the maelstrom of the Second World War—viewed the break with the past as clear and absolute. The British Empire in India disappeared at the war's end, and with that disappeared what Ghose considered to be "traditional" India.

That Ghose views the concept of "India's traditional heritage" (Letter to Giuseppe Tucci) as intertwined with the British imperial order is evident in the way he depicts traditional education in *And Gazelles Leaping*. The novel presents a unique kindergarten run by a European missionary, Sister Svenska, whose students, including the child protagonist, "came from all corners of the Indian Empire" (Ghose, *Gazelles* 178). This fusing together of the image of traditional India with the idea of Britain's Indian Empire can be traced back to the discourse of the Raj as it was remoulded during the second half of nineteenth century. A significant change in the way political authority was represented in India followed the Sepoy Mutiny. The Mughal king at Delhi, who had been retained by the East India Company as a ceremonial figurehead, was ousted, and Queen Victoria was established as the *Kaiser-i-Hind*—the new monarch of India. The vacuum created by the missing Mughal ruler was felt not so much in terms of administration as in terms of what Ronald Inden describes as the "cultural symbolic constitution": "[It] embraces such things as classificatory schema, assumptions about how things are, cosmologies, world views, ethical systems, legal codes, definitions of governmental units and social groups, ideologies, religious doctrines, myths, rituals, procedures, and rule of etiquette" (Inden qtd. in Cohn 173). In other words, the cultural elements that contribute to a sense of an established tradition were threatened by the removal of the Mughal king. In response to this crisis a new tradition was invented for India. An imperialist discourse

was forged in which Queen Victoria was projected as the ceremonial head of all Indian royal families. She thus became the new anchor of Indian tradition whose rule brought together the diverse ethnicities, cultures, societies, and religions of India within a single cultural-symbolic constitution.[9] This newly invented tradition was grafted over the pre-existing socio-political order and ritualistically solemnised through the Imperial Assemblage of 1877. In this highly symbolic ceremony, "before . . . a mixed audience of Indians in their 'native costumes' and British in their frock coats and uniforms" (Cohn 194), viceroy Lord Lytton stood on behalf of Queen Victoria "represent[ing] the only authority which could hold together the great diversity inherent in the 'colonial sociology'" (Cohn 193).

It is this reconstituted image of traditional India as a land of extreme diversity, unified only under the imperial sceptre of Queen Victoria, which is reflected on a miniature scale in the "traditional" kindergarten of *And Gazelles Leaping*. Much like the diverse gathering that marked the Imperial Assemblage, the parents of the children in Sister Svenska's kindergarten come from varied social, cultural, and economic backgrounds: "They would seldom agree with one another on social and political issues. On problems of religion any agreement was impossible. On other questions, their opinions were equally at variance. They spoke different languages at home. Their tastes and standard of living had little in common" (Ghose 187). The only point of commonality between the parents is "that their children went to Sister Svenska's kindergarten" (187). For Ghose, the "violence of modernism" in the wake of the Second World War not only threatened to dismantle the British Empire but also this image of traditional India held together by the empire. Thus, in 1947 with India on the verge of independence, Ghose began writing his novels to preserve for posterity the imperialist image of "traditional" India.

Metropolis and the Processes of Manufacturing Tradition

The paradox that underlies this image of tradition is of course that it is not "Indian" but is instead manufactured in the metropolis and exported to the periphery. This association between the Indian tradition

and the imperial metropolis was subtly underlined by the six-month-long visit of the Prince of Wales to India, a few years before the connection was more strongly reinforced by the Imperial Assemblage of 1877. In a gesture imbued with deep irony, the Prince gifted Indian dignitaries with a copy of Max Müller's English translation of the *Vedas*, recently published in Britain (Cohn 182). The image of a member of the British royalty giving Indian subordinates a translated and mass-produced version of a text that is considered, at least by Hindus, to be the repository of traditional Indian wisdom, symbolised a new reality. The gesture suggested that the centre of Indian tradition had shifted from the court of Delhi to the imperial metropolis in London.

In fact by the time the Prince of Wales visited India, a metropolitan "alterity industry"[10] was already established in Britain, "producing" India through various scholarly projects of codification, translation, and compilation.[11] Beginning in the early twentieth century, Eastern and more specifically Indian literary and spiritual traditions were regularly "produced" even by non-academic publishers to meet the demands of an insatiable mass market.[12] During the early 1900s, for instance, John Murray debuted their successful *Wisdom of the East* series comprising 122 booklets sold for five shillings each. The early decades of the twentieth century also saw European orientalists replaced as mediators of India and Indian tradition by those Indian intellectuals who were either situated in the metropolis or who had spent a significant number of years there. These Indian intellectuals acted as native informants for the metropolitan publishing industry, which released works ranging from Indian autobiographies to theses on Indian philosophy and aesthetics as specimens of "anthropological" literature. Ranasinha observes that, by the 1930s, Allen and Unwin had already published an entire range of such "anthropological" texts—including Gandhi's autobiography, Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan's philosophical writings, and Anand's essay on the Hindu view of art— that narrativised India for metropolitan readers. From the 1930s onwards a consistent flow of Indian English novels entered the category of "anthropological" texts, and by the end of the twentieth century it was essentially through such novels that India was represented and consumed within the metropolis.[13]

Ghose's four novels, *And Gazelles Leaping* (1949), *Cradle of the Clouds* (1951), *The Vermilion Boat* (1953), and *The Flame of the Forest* (1955), were part of this burgeoning industry of mass-manufacturing an exoticised India. Indeed, Ghose seems to have been more in sync with this alterity industry and its processes of constructing an image of traditional India than most of his Indian contemporaries. This is evident in the way he deliberately changed the name of the artist who illustrated his novels. Ghose discovered Canadian artist Elizabeth Carlile at an open-air exhibition of amateur artists in London and invited her to illustrate his first novel. Ironically, Carlile, who illustrated Ghose's Indian tetralogy, had never been to India and had no expertise in the area. Ghose provided her with constant instruction and modelled her illustrations on images of "traditional" India. He also changed her name from Elizabeth Carlile to the more Indian sounding "Sriamati Arnakali." In fact, the advertisement placed by publisher Michael Joseph on the pages of the *Times Literary Supplement* to promote Ghose's *And Gazelles Leaping* announces her as an Indian artist: "The autobiography of an Indian childhood, an enchanting story of a small boy and his friends and adventures, illustrated by the Indian artist ARNAKALI E. CARLILE" (*And Gazelles Leaping*). The advertisement, apart from falsely declaring Carlile to be Indian, also ambiguously declares that *And Gazelles Leaping* is an autobiography. The identification of Ghose's first novel, and then subsequently the whole of his tetralogy, as autobiography, reveals yet another aspect of the metropolitan production of "traditional" Indian literature.

Graham Huggan observes that works of literature produced by third world authors are typically marketed and consumed within the metropolis as "autobiographical" narratives. This reduces their contents to the particularities of the lived experiences of non-metropolitan and therefore non-normative lives. However, Huggan notes, the otherness of the non-metropolitan lived experience is simultaneously domesticated and made useable for the metropolitan readers who discover in these works a sense of "traditional" pre-modern society "that the dominant culture either professes to lack or that it claims to have lost, and for which it feels a mute nostalgia" (156). Ghose's novels seem to have successfully, although very briefly, put metropolitan readers in contact with such a

source of nostalgic pre-modern culture precisely at a time when post-war gloom was compounded by the disintegration of the British Empire. As Weiser writes: "In 1949, when GAZELLES came out, the public was tired of war and destruction, of the horrors of the concentration camps, the massacres in newly independent India, the grey everyday without winter warmth and luxury, and was ready for a simple, gentle tale in an exotic setting, joyful, loving and positive" (Weiser). Weiser notes that *And Gazelles Leaping* was very well received and "every week brought packets of reviews from newspapers and magazines all over the country, and nearly every one was favourable" (Weiser). Ghose's efforts to extend his first novel into a series also met with equal approbation, and a literary review in *The New York Times* claimed *The Vermilion Boat* to be the crowning glory of what had so far been achieved in the field of Indian English literature: "though there have been good books written by Indians in English . . . usually something has been lacking. . . . Now at last something that can be called greatness has been achieved. 'The Vermilion Boat' can be put beside the works of Marcel Proust and Lady Murasaki. There is no higher praise" (Payne). Such praise suggests how closely Ghose was integrated within the metropolitan alterity industry and its process of narrativising "traditional" India for the metropolitan readers. Yet a closer examination of his novels reveals Ghose's deep sense of uneasiness towards the process through which "tradition" is narrativised and indeed the very idea of "tradition" itself. In his tetralogy, this uneasiness manifests itself through the ambivalent relationship between the protagonist and the figure of the storyteller, which recurs repeatedly throughout the four novels as an embodiment of the world of tradition. I explore this theme of ambivalence in Ghose's tetralogy by approaching it through Walter Benjamin's influential essay "The Storyteller," which provides an important critical framework to analyse the discordant narrativisation of tradition in Ghose's novels.

The Storyteller
Like Ghose, Benjamin considers modernity to be a violent incursion leading to the disintegration of "tradition" in the twentieth century. According to Benjamin, the impact of modernity as experienced during

the first half of the twentieth century was so radical that it created a sense of complete rupture from the past. He writes that "[a] generation that had gone to school on a horse-drawn streetcar now stood under the open sky in a countryside in which nothing remained unchanged but the clouds, and beneath these clouds in a field of force of destructive torrents and explosions, was the tiny, fragile human body" (84). Benjamin observes that one of the most representative figures of the past world that has vanished with the arrival of violent modernity is the storyteller. The storyteller, as described by Benjamin, is in essence a pedagogue. He retells stories from the past by interpreting them in the light of the present situation and thereby making them "useful": "The usefulness may, in one case, consist in a moral; in another case consist in some practical advice; in a third, in a proverb or maxim. In every case the storyteller is a man who has counsel for his readers" (86).

His act of storytelling thus establishes a dialectical relationship between the past and the present. Tales culled from the past and delivered in the form of proverbs, maxims, and counsels become useful and practicable in the present moment. In making use of these tales, however, the present also re-enacts the past and is enfolded within it. For Benjamin, the repetition of the past in the present and the continuous enfolding of the present within the past forms what he terms an unbroken "chain of tradition" (97). Apart from the relationship that the storyteller establishes with the past and tradition, Benjamin's essay also focuses on the relationship between the storyteller and the listeners, since the act of oral storytelling presupposes a "community of listeners" (90). Like the chain of tradition, which mediates between the past and the present, this relationship is also interpreted dialectically. It is as part of a community of listeners that the storyteller gathers the various proverbs, maxims, and legends that he passes on to a new generation of listeners and potential storytellers by repeating stories of the past. Hence, the storyteller and listeners are perceived by Benjamin as forming a homogenous and unified community with shared values and collective experiences that can be taken up and transmitted as stories by anyone within it. To use Andrew Benjamin's words, "[t]here is an identity-giving reciprocity between storyteller and community" (128).

According to Walter Benjamin, the process of storytelling disappeared with the arrival of modernity. The violence of the early twentieth century fragmented the community of listeners into isolated "tiny, fragile human bod[ies]" (84) with unique individual perceptions that could no longer be folded within the shared collective experiences of the community and connected with the chain of tradition: "For never has experience been contradicted more thoroughly than strategic experience by tactical warfare, economic experience by inflation, bodily experience by mechanical warfare, moral experience by those in power" ("The Storyteller" 84). "The Storyteller" is written as a kind of a funeral dirge to the vanishing world of the community of listeners and to the storyteller who held it together.

Interestingly, however, around the very time that Benjamin announced the death of the pedagogic storyteller, many of the Indian authors publishing within the metropolitan alterity industry were foregrounding the figure of the storyteller and the process of oral storytelling in their attempt to represent "traditional" India. This attempt is most strongly evident in Rao's *Kanthapura* (1938). As Rao explains in his preface, the novel is structured as a retelling of a grandmother's tale in which the reader participates as a listener: "It may have been told of an evening, when as the dusk falls, and through the sudden quiet, lights leap up in house after house, and stretching her bedding on the veranda, a grandmother might have told you, newcomer, the sad tale of her village" (viii).

More than a quarter of a century after *Kanthapura* was published, Narayan's *Gods, Demons and Others* describes the figure of the pedagogic storyteller in the form of a village pundit even more vividly. As Narayan writes, the community of villagers gathers around this "very ancient man, continuing in his habits and deportment the traditions of a thousand years" (3), and listens enchanted to stories selected from a formidable repertoire of myths and legends. Through these stories, the past is connected with present realities and the characters in the tales are perceived as "prototypes and moulds in which humanity is cast, and remain valid for all time" (4). Ghose's novels are perhaps the most sustained and complex exploration of the storyteller and the process of narrativising tradition published between the 1930s and 1960s.

Individualism and the Chain of Tradition

Ghose's four novels, which form a continuous bildungsroman, focus on a nameless, orphaned protagonist from boyhood to maturity as he journeys from Sister Svenska's kindergarten to his native village in Penhari Pargana and finally to Calcutta. However, it is difficult to provide a plot summary of the novels because, as Mukherjee observes, "there is no story as such: only an intricate design of myths, allegories, fantastic and supernatural episodes, delightful character sketches, extravagant situations of comedy, which add up to suggest the slow unfolding of the personality of the central character" ("The Tractor" 112). The structure of the bildungsroman loosely holds together this "intricate design," but the linear progression of time characteristic of a bildungsroman is frequently suspended to incorporate numerous digressive narratives and pages of myths and folkloric tales Ghose uses in this unique mode of narration to connect pivotal moments in the protagonist's life with a communally shared chain of tradition. As a result, each narrative continuously oscillates between two poles. On one hand, the structure of the bildungsroman foregrounds the unique and personal aspects of the protagonist's journey to selfhood. On the other hand, the bildungsroman is counterpoised by the various myths, proverbs, folklores, and legends that disrupt and resist the outward movement of the protagonist towards isolated individualism and connect him to a homogenous community of listeners.

Ghose's first novel, *And Gazelles Leaping*, opens in the fictional space of Rani Nilmani's estate, which lies in the interstices of isolated city life and gregarious village life and thus highlights the tension between individuality and community. The estate is described in the title of the novel's opening section as the "last village" that has survived unchanged for more than a hundred and fifty years "in the midst of sprawling suburban Calcutta" (Ghose 63). This space, which is the site of Sister Svenska's school, is simultaneously inhabited by the cosmopolitan plurality of the protagonist's schoolfellows and their parents, who come from different corners of the Indian Empire, as well as by the traditional village pundit who narrates and interprets stories to a closely-knit community of listeners:

> The Pundit came from Puri, Juggernath in Orissa—the famous
> seat of Hindu pilgrimage and of Sanskrit learning.
>
> He used to visit the bookbinder occasionally, and whenever
> he came there would be a cluster of attentive listeners round
> him in the shop. (175)

The child protagonist, seated among the group of attentive listeners in the bookbinder's shop, hears the pundit discourse on the mythic figure of Pramatha, who fashioned Man by kneading earth with brine and placing the dough into different moulds: "Therefore, men are as different as the moulds of Pramatha and those coming out of the same mould react in the same way even if they come from the ends of the earth" (177). Such stories inform the protagonist's worldview as he seeks to negotiate the plurality of the society that surrounds him. Viewing the community of Rani Nilmani's estate through these myths, he concludes that the parents of his school friends, in spite of their socio-economic and cultural differences, form a homogenous unit because "Pramatha, the Kindler of Knowledge, had put our parents into the same mould before he breathed life into them" (188).

However, the tales of homogenous community the child hears from the storyteller often sit uneasily alongside his experience of living within the cosmopolitan society of exiles and émigrés. Since the novel is narrated from his perspective as a child, the lives of the parents and anything beyond Sister Svenska's school and its immediate surrounding is deliberately kept beyond sharp focus. Yet, even during the course of his regular interactions with his schoolfellows, he is able to grasp the parents' sense of alienation. For instance, the father of his Chinese friend Tu Fan is an intellectual who fled China with the rise of communism and now works as a rickshaw puller in Calcutta. Tu Fan's father's sense of displacement is conveyed to the protagonist through Tu Fan's inherited nostalgia for the lost home in China. This vaguely perceived sense of alienation also makes the protagonist nostalgic about the sights, sounds, and fragrances of his native village in Penhari Pargana that he left behind when he came to Rani Nilmani's estate as an orphan: "at night, before dropping to sleep, I would long for the familiar touches of my native

village. . . . Oh! What would I not have given to steal back to my village in the quiet of the night" (32).

The protagonist's feeling of alienation is deepened when, near the end of the novel, the image of harmonious community constructed through the storyteller's tales is violently ripped apart. A communal riot breaks out in the neighbouring city of Calcutta, highlighting the anarchic possibilities inherent within a plural community. The violence seeps into the sheltered "last village" as a "hideous procession of mangled bodies" (225). In witnessing this procession of mutilation and death from within a group of children, the protagonist becomes locked in incommunicable horror as "none of us dared even whisper, let alone talk or cry" (224–25). None of the stories he has heard about the community and its collective identity can help him understand the situation. Thus, he registers the communal violence as a series of unanswered questions: "Why did the riot start? Whom did it profit? The Hindus? The Mussalmans? The Sikhs? Or the Parsees? Or anyone else?" (225). Bits and pieces of the storyteller's proverbs and myths come to mind, but they too are transformed into questions in the face of the crisis:

> A house divided against itself must fall. Was the crash coming?
> Did the angels weep? Did the demons laugh? What was this human folly?
> 'To avert Doom,' the Thunderer counselled, 'practice Charity, Restraint, and Piety.' Did the angels, the demons, the mortals recall that? (226)

In *Cradle of the Clouds*, the locale shifts from Rani Nilmani's estate to the protagonist's native village in the remote south-eastern slopes of the Chotanagpur plateau, as he returns to stay with his aunt Mashi-Ma. Despite its remote location, the village is as much an interstitial space as the estate. Situated in the Red Valley of the Penhari Parganas, the village has grown by deforesting the region and pushing the hunter-gatherer tribes of Santals to the neighbouring Blue Hills. The site marks a frontier between two very different kinds of society, one agrarian and the other tribal, living together in an uneasy peace. The village's position as a pre-modern society in a post-independence India aspiring to technolog-

ical and industrial modernisation underscores its role as a frontier territory. People regularly visit the village from distant cities proposing to set up gasometers, or to sell wireless radios, or to preach over loudspeakers the benefits of the somewhat oxymoronic "Free and Compulsory Higher Education" (Ghose, *Cradle* 32) that will provide the children of the village "a higher standard of living" (32). To these occasional visitors seeking to modernise and change their lives, the villagers "declared indignantly that what was good for their fathers and grandfathers ought to be good for their children and grandchildren" (32). But while the villagers can resist intrusions of modernity in the form of gasometers and radio sets more or less successfully, they are rendered helpless in the face of a more invasive government project. During the 1940s, the Indian government—in one of its first major post-independence industrialisation projects—began building dams over the Damodar River that flows through the Chotanagpur plateau, and in the process displaced thousands of native inhabitants.[13] The spectre of such a dam wiping out the village in Red Valley and disintegrating the traditional community haunts the entire novel.

The only bulwark against these aggressive invasions of modernity and change is Punditji, the holy man of the village. As a staunch traditionalist, Punditji believes that "a sudden and radical change in our traditional way of living would bring about a disintegration of our moral and spiritual life. He would, therefore, have nothing to do with the projects of modernizing the Red Valley" (86). Ghose depicts Punditji as an incredibly learned man who is not only a great Sanskrit scholar and a repository of traditional wisdom but is also well versed in European languages. Like a pedagogic storyteller, he transforms his immense store of knowledge into useful stories and counsels for villagers who come to him seeking spiritual guidance as well as advice on "questions affecting the price of potatoes, brinjals, and cucumbers" (48). However, the village community faces a more immediate threat than that of modernisation when it fails to rain. The crisis increases as the drought pushes the agrarian village to the brink of complete disintegration. Villagers are forced to drive their cattle to more and more distant pastures and to seek jobs in the cities. In a development reminiscent of Narayan's more

famous novel *The Guide*, the villagers decide to try to ward off the impending disaster by performing a ritual to bring rain, and it is this ritual that marks the culminating point of the novel.

In his essay "Tradition and Experience," Andrew Benjamin notes that the process of "re-telling" stories, as described by Walter Benjamin, is closely connected with the enactment of rituals because "the continuity of ritual is the repetition of the storyteller" (127). Thus, like the storyteller's tale, which links past and present through a chain of tradition, rituals connect a present problem with a similar crisis in the mythic past. The past, in turn, provides a solution, or rather the process through which a solution can be reached, and this process is re-enacted in the present as a ritual. Hence, when rain does not come to the Red Valley, the villagers seek answers in folklore. A solution is found in the legend of a similar drought that threatened the village of Brindaban, where the Hindu god Krishna lived as a child. To escape the drought the villagers rallied around Krishna's elder brother Balaram, who performed a ploughing ceremony to bring rain. *Cradle of Clouds* ends with the villagers in Penhari Pargana repeating the ploughing ceremony of Balaram, which results in a heavy shower and reintegrates the community. Thus, very much like the process of storytelling, the enactment of the ritual creates a unified community. Moreover, the protagonist enacts the role of Balram in the ceremony and gains an exalted identity within the community. The villagers claim him as "our Balaram" (253) who leads them out of the crisis and assures their continuity as a community. But the moment in which the protagonist becomes most closely integrated within the village community is also a moment of acute embarrassment for him. He feels he has been "robbed of [his] birth-name" (250) and is troubled that no one "bother[ed] to ask [him] what [he] thought of this method of despoiling a human being of his own appellation" (250). Throughout the novel, he had retained the sense of alienation that he developed as a child in Sister Svenska's kindergarten. Upon returning to the Red Valley, he sympathises with the outcast Santals of the Blue Hills and counts Kumar, the village potter and last of the Santals to remain in the Red Valley, as his best friend. Kumar finds the protagonist to be a kindred soul: "'You are an exile here like myself,' he [Kumar] said.

'You do not really belong to the Red Valley, otherwise you would not have shown so much fondness for the Blue Hills. We are brother-exiles and we shall have to stick together'" (102). The protagonist's isolated individual identity is compromised when the villagers claim him as "our Balaram." However, the tension between the alienated protagonist and the community is left unresolved in the novel. The story of the protagonist's integration within the village community is told in a flashback and is thus made to coincide with the moment in which he moves out of the pre-modern world of traditional storytelling and the close-knit village community to pursue higher studies in Calcutta.

As the protagonist enters the fragmented space of modernity represented by the city of Calcutta in Ghose's third novel, *The Vermilion Boat*, it dawns on him "that the backwoods had been left behind and it was time for me to shake myself up to greet modern civilization, electricity, gas and what not, along with the distinctive signs, 'Hindus only' and 'Mohammedans only'" (Ghose, *Vermilion* 53). In this fragmented society, the isolated protagonist becomes completely alienated. His personal experiences, which had repeatedly been folded within the collective experience of the community through proverbs, myths, and legends, now come unstuck. Thus, when he falls in love with his Latin teacher Roma, his experience of sexual awakening mystifies him. He is no longer involved as a listener in the process of pedagogic storytelling, and the experience remains unexplained. Finally this novel experience of love comes to haunt him in the form of bizarre nightmares of snake-like slimy creatures wriggling in a silvery sea of mercury. To get rid of his threatening nightmares, he follows the advice of his friend Tu Fan and visits an old temple dedicated to the snake goddess Manasa. Like the pre-modern spaces depicted in Ghose's previous novels, the temple is shadowed by a sense of transience and the threat of modernity. The city corporation has decided to demolish the temple and build "[s]omething in ferro-concrete lined with alabaster slabs" in its place (208), and by the time the protagonist arrives, "the work of modernizing the Temple of the Snake Goddess Manasa had already begun" (208). As one of the temple's final visitors, he enters the premises that anachronistically survive like the "last village" of Rani Nilmani's estate, and immediately finds himself reconnected

with the traditional world he has left behind in his village. A *pujarini*, or female acolyte, guides the protagonist through the temple, which has numerous myths, legends, and stories depicted on its walls, stairs, columns, and domes. The temple acts as an architectural equivalent of the chain of tradition, and the *pujarini* assumes the role of the storyteller, mediating between the mythic past, as depicted in the images and carvings on the walls, and the present. She explains the symbolic meaning of the stories and parables contained within the temple in the form of "anamorphosed mosaics, which when viewed from a particular angle gave recognizable images. 'Otherwise,' I understood—and saw for myself—'they appear to be nothing but meaningless chaos'" (215). His visit to the temple starts the protagonist on a journey back from the isolated existence of modernity, haunted by the "meaningless chaos" of anamorphosed images and personal nightmares, to the world of the storyteller in which the mysteries of personal experiences are explained through the mythology, legends, and stories handed down from the distant past.

Ghose's fourth novel, *The Flame of the Forest,* more fully expands on the idea of a return from modernity. The protagonist, in search of a vocation in Calcutta, meets Myna the *kirtani* (literally one who performs devotional songs), a woman who had also participated in the ploughing ceremony in Penhari Pargana. Once part of the community that claimed the protagonist as "our Balaram," she appears once again to integrate him within a traditional community. Myna invites the protagonist to come and listen to her *kirtans*, and he finds himself sitting amidst a community of listeners as he had sat as a child in the bookbinder's shop listening to the stories of the pundit from Puri:

> The listeners sat in respectful silence, carefully attending to every word that came from Myna's lips, to the minutest modulation of her voice, and to her slightest gesture. They heard what every one of them knew by heart: a tale told so often that it had no novelty whatsoever. Yet they listened with such rapt attention that a stranger, were he there, would have thought a new mystery was being revealed by a Sybil to a hypnotized throng. (Ghose, *Flame* 93)

Of course, the mystery of these twice-told tales, like that of all of the storytellers' narratives, lies not in their novelty but in their repeatability; with every repetition, individual listeners are reconnected with the shared tradition of the community. As in *Cradle of the Clouds*, this moment of integration is linked to events that ultimately lead the protagonist away from the community. In *The Flame of the Forest*, the outward movement is initiated when the protagonist meets an amateur photojournalist eager to interview the *kirtani* for an American weekly, *Life-in-Technikolor*. The protagonist subsequently finds employment with the journal as a contributor whose job is to present "traditional" India through explanatory captions of "lurid technicolor photographs" designed to "regale culture lovers in America" (97, 127). Whereas in earlier novels the protagonist occupies an isolated position within the community as an exiled individual, in *The Flame of the Forest* he occupies the ambiguous space of a native informant who is situated both inside the community as a listener and outside of it as a mediator, translating and narrativising the traditional society for metropolitan audiences. Even as the protagonist leaves Calcutta at the novel's end and goes in search of the *kirtani* to accept her as his spiritual preceptor and re-integrate within the fold of the traditional society, his impulse upon meeting her is that of a journalist mediating Indian tradition for metropolitan "culture lovers." He finds Myna as part of a troupe of masked women performing a traditional form of "mystery play with songs and interludes of religious dancing" (282) and spontaneously shifts into the role of native informant: "I regretted not having a camera with me. I was suffering from *déformation professionelle* and still thinking of my photo-reportages for *Life-in-Technikolor*. Even with an ordinary camera I could have produced a wonderful article about the masked women beating cymbals" (285).

If there is any element of autobiography in Ghose's tetralogy, it is to be found in the protagonist's tortuous progress from life as a child orphan, to life as an exile within a traditional community, to life as a journalist for an American publication, who mediates between his traditional community and metropolitan readers. It reflects Ghose's own journey from an émigré disowned by his family and alienated from the new India to a third world author narrativising India from the metrop-

olis. The protagonist's journey, however, also emphasises the dilemma inherent in the metropolitan alterity industry, which reduces the narratives of traditional India into decontextualised "technicolor" images with explanatory captions.[15] Thus, at the end of *The Flame of the Forest*, the protagonist gives up his job of translating traditional society into photo-reportages for the consumption of metropolitan readers. He attaches himself to Myna, becomes her flautist, and accompanies her in her recitals of legends and myths. For Ghose, however, such a reintegration within the traditional community of storytellers and listeners proved impossible. As a refugee located in the metropolis he was keenly aware that "the on-rush of unexpected incidents of violence and of so-called modernism" had swept away the traditional world of the storyteller and the chain of tradition that kept it together. His tetralogy is thus less a story of the protagonist's journey from alienation to integration and more a conflicting narrative that highlights the difficulty of such integration. In his novels, the homogenous community of listeners and the pre-modern space they inhabit are forever under threat. The seamless continuity of tradition evoked through the process of pedagogic storytelling is repeatedly broken down in the face of violence and modernity.

Conclusion: Intricate Design of Redundant Stories
Ghose's response to the breakdown of tradition closely parallels Walter Benjamin's response as described by Hannah Arendt: "Walter Benjamin knew that the break in tradition and the loss of authority which occurred in his lifetime were irreparable, and he concluded that he had to discover new ways of dealing with the past. In this he became the master when he discovered that the transmissibility of the past had been replaced by its citability" (43). As noted, the image of traditional India that Ghose believed to be disappearing was an imperialist version of a tradition invented during the nineteenth and early twentieth century in the metropolis. Consequently, the stories, fables, myths, and legends on which Ghose draws to re-create the "traditional" world of "Indian" storytellers is largely derived from translations and collections of orientalist writings produced in the metropolis. This is evident from the lists

of acknowledgements that precede each of his novels, which refer to the works of authors such as Edwin Arnold, Arthur Macdonell, Arthur W. Ryder, and Sarojini Naidu.[16] Ghose's acknowledgements demonstrate that he is trying to preserve a tradition—no longer transmissible because of the disintegration of the old imperial world-system—by recovering it piecemeal from various sources of orientalist literature. The collage through which Ghose incorporates these different fragments of citations makes his novels not pedagogic "re-tellings" of the storyteller but rather collations of stories which have been made redundant by the violent incursion of modernity and the disappearance of the "traditional" world. Hence critics such as Mukherjee have characterised Ghose's novels as having "no story as such" but merely an "intricate design" of myths, legends, allegories, and supernatural episodes (112). In this, Ghose's novels closely resemble the work of the poor schoolmaster Wutz of Walter Benjamin's essay "Unpacking My Library," who wrote books because he wanted to collect them. As Benjamin observes, "[o]f all the ways of acquiring books, writing them oneself is regarded as the most praiseworthy method" ("Unpacking" 63). Wutz is not a writer but a collector, and so is Ghose; his novels are an attempt to collect for himself the fading world of traditional India, as produced through orientalist literatures by the metropolitan alterity industry. Arendt observes that Benjamin was also imbued with this same spirit of the collector:

> who, by taking possession of things . . . establishe[s] himself in the past, so as to achieve, undisturbed by the present, 'a renewal of the old world'. And since this 'deepest urge' in the collector has no public significance whatsoever but results in a strictly private hobby, everything 'that is said from the angle of the true collector' is bound to appear 'whimsical'. . . . (47)

The collector's desire to establish himself in an undisturbed past perhaps explains why Ghose's novels, despite being products of the metropolitan alterity industry, never attained widespread circulation. They were ultimately akin to "a strictly private hobby" informed by the inevitable whimsicality of a collector, which troubled even his most sympathetic readers. Hence the poet Allan Laing, whom Ghose termed his "guru,"

complained after reading one of his novels: "The story is a very slender thread on which you take every opportunity to hang philosophical discussions, fascinating but (in a novel) largely irrelevant descriptions of the flora and fauna of Calcutta and the Penhari Parganas, pages of information about the architecture of Calcutta, and vast quantities of Indian legendary lore" (Laing's letter to Ghose).With time, the disconnect between the reader and these "largely irrelevant" fragments of the lost world of traditional India that Ghose collected for himself has increased. His little circulated and largely forgotten novels now exist, to use the comparison suggested by one of his reviewers, as outmoded oriental tea boxes, which were once fashionable collector's items in the West. They are "things of stylized beauty . . . adorned with intricate designs in gold and mother of pearl" ("Review") which are very different from the mass-produced chutney jars in which fragments of yet another vanishing India is served by one of the most famous Indian English novelists, Salman Rushdie.

Notes

1 Nasta's "'Voyaging In'" describes how mid twentieth-century Britain experienced a large influx of Indian authors as well as a wave of writers and artists from various other parts of the fast-declining empire, especially the Caribbean.

2 His thesis was published under the title *Rossetti and Contemporary Criticism*.

3 Weiser's memoir, housed in the British Library, is unevenly paginated; thus, to avoid confusion, this essay does not provide corresponding page numbers when quoting her work.

4 Ghose was invited to head the department of English in Viswa Bharati University in Shantiniketan. The visit, which lasted a few months, ended in bitterness and humiliation. He became involved in a tussle with another professor at the university and had to eventually cut short his stay in Shantiniketan when some students manhandled him.

5 Authors such as Anand, Bhattacharya, Hosain, Markandaya, and even the Kenyan-born Desani arrived in Britain directly from the Indian subcontinent.

6 Anand was the most politically active among the Indian English authors in Britain during the 1930s and 1940s and was associated with both the left wing Progressive Writers' Association and Krishna Menon's India League. However, Indian authors such as Singh and Menen were actively involved with Indian nationalist politics as they unfolded in the metropolis during the decades leading to the independence of India in 1947.

7 It is interesting to contrast Ghose's attitude with that of Anand, who was in Britain during this time. Anand found it extremely distressing to associate himself with the BBC Eastern Service and its propaganda efforts to mobilise India's support in the war during a time when Indian nationalist leaders were being so humiliatingly disregarded by Governor General Linlithgow. For a discussion on the ambiguous stance adopted by the Indian nationalist politicians towards the Second World War, see Sarkar's *Modern India* (349–413), and for an elaboration on Anand's personal dilemma, which was informed by the ambiguous attitude of the nationalist leaders in India, see Ranasinha's *South Asian Writers* (35–36).

8 Though modernism and modernity have, since the late twentieth century, often been carefully distinguished, this distinction is clearly not present in Ghose's concept of modernism, and Berman too consciously conflates the various ideas of modernism, modernity, and modernization in his exploration of the modern world of bourgeois capitalism.

9 India as a land of extreme ethnographic diversities itself was an invention of this new imperialist discourse. Attempts following the mutiny of 1857 to "scientifically" know and classify Indian society resulted in a transformation of India into a "museum" of numerous races, castes, and occupational groups with apparently fixed and unchanging identities. For further discussion of this issue, see Metcalf (113–59).

10 I borrow this term from Huggan's *The Postcolonial Exotic* as a short hand to indicate the process through which works narrativising the "difference" or "alterity" of the colonial margins are commissioned, produced, and consumed within the metropolis.

11 The most important nineteenth-century text published in the metropolis that "invented" Indian society and Indian history for the British audience as also for the colonial administrators was Mill's *The History of British India*. For an analysis of the "creation" of India through British orientalist literature during the late eighteenth and nineteenth century with special reference to Mill's history see Majeed's *Ungoverned Imaginings*.

12 For further discussion of the twentieth-century development of the metropolitan alterity industry with specific reference to South Asia, see Ranasinha's *South Asian Writers* (15–67).

13 Blaise's review in the *New York Times* describing Rushdie's *Midnight's Children* as a novel that "sounds like a continent finding its voice" has become one of the most well known expressions of how by the late twentieth century Indian English fiction came to metonymically represent India to the West.

14 Nehru was the central figure in post-independence India to envision a modernisation that would make India into a technologically autonomous country (see Khilnani's *The Idea of India*). The Damodar Valley Corporation project in the Chotanagpur plateau was simultaneously one of the greatest achievements and

the biggest failures of this Nehruvian vision of modernity (see Nandy's "Dams and Dissent").

15 The dilemma of presenting India to Western "culture lovers" by reducing it to truncated and decontextualized narratives reappears in a small section in Roy's iconic novel *The God of Small Things*, which was written almost half a century after Ghose's tetralogy. In it, Roy writes about the anguish of a *kathakali* dancer who has to present amputated versions of dance performances, which are traditionally depictions of long epical narratives, to suit the "imported attention spans" (Roy 231) of foreign tourists keen on sampling "that Regional Flavour" (127). For an analysis of the figure of the Kathakali-man through the lens of Benjamin's essay "The Storyteller" see Bahri's "Geography Is Not History."

16 Arnold was the author of the nineteenth-century poem *The Light of Asia*, which remains one of the most popular representations of Buddha's life in the West. Macdonell and Ryder were both renowned Sanskrit scholars of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, who between them published translations of a number of classic Sanskrit texts in English including the *Panchatantra* and *Bhagvad Gita*, as well as a history of Sanskrit literature. Naidu's poems were among the most romanticised and exotic versions of "traditional" India produced in the metropolis during the first two decades of the twentieth century. The English poet Gosse famously introduced her poems to metropolitan readers by noting that they were "luminous in lighting up the dark places of the East" (qtd. in Naravane 19).

Works Cited

And Gazelles Leaping by Michael Joseph [publisher]. Advertisement. *Times Literary Supplement* 19 Feb. 1949: 116. *Times Literary Supplement Historical Archive*. Web. 16 Mar. 2012.

Arendt, Hannah. "Walter Benjamin: 1892–1940." Introduction. *Illuminations*. By Walter Benjamin. Trans. Harry Zorn. 1970. London: Pimlico, 1999. 7–58. Print.

Arnold, Edwin. *The Light of Asia or the Great Renunciation (Mahabhinishkramana)*: *Being the Life and Teaching of Gautama Prince of India and Founder of Buddhism*. London: Trench, 1892. Print.

Bahri, Deepika. "Geography Is Not History: The Storyteller in the Age of Globalization." *Native Intelligence: Aesthetics, Politics and Postcolonial Literature*. Minneapolis: U of Minnesota P, 2003. 200–46. Print.

Benjamin, Andrew. "Tradition and Experience: Walter Benjamin's 'On Some Motifs in Baudelaire.'" *The Problems of Modernity: Adorno and Benjamin*. Ed. Andrew Benjamin. London: Routledge, 1989. 122–40. Print.

Benjamin, Walter. "The Storyteller: Reflections on the Works of Nikolai Leskov." *Illuminations*. Trans. Harry Zorn. 1970. London: Pimlico, 1999. 83–107. Print.

——. "Unpacking My Library." *Illuminations*. Trans. Harry Zorn. 1970. London: Pimlico, 1999. 61–69. Print.

Berman, Marshall. *All That is Solid Melts Into Air: The Experience of Modernity*. 1982. London: Verso, 1983. Print.

Blaise, Clark. "A Novel of India's Coming of Age." *The New York Times* 19 Apr. 1981: BR1. *ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The New York Times (1851–2008)*. Web. 26 Mar. 2012.

Cohn, Bernard S. "Representing Authority in Victorian India." *The Invention of Tradition*. Ed. Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1983. 165–209. Print.

Gandhi, Leela. "Novelists of the 1930s and 1940s." *A History of Indian Literature in English*. Ed. Arvind Krishna Mehrotra. New York: Columbia UP, 2003. 168–92. Print.

Ghose, Sudhin N. *And Gazelles Leaping*. New York: Macmillan, 1949. Print.

——. *Cradle of the Clouds*. London: Michael Joseph, 1951. Print.

——. *The Flame of the Forest*. London: Michael Joseph, 1955. Print.

——. Letter to Giuseppe Tucci. 17 Aug. 1949. MSS EUR F 153/62. British Lib., London.

——. "Reflections on Gandhi's Birthday." 15 Sep. 1955. MSS EUR F 153/90. British Lib., London.

——. *Rossetti and Contemporary Criticism*. London: Bowes, 1928. Print.

——. *The Vermilion Boat*. London: Michael Joseph, 1953. Print.

——. War Diary Kept for Mass Observation. 1–15 Mar. 1942. MSS EUR F 153/19. British Lib., London.

Gopal, Priyamvada. *The Indian English Novel: Nation, History, and Narration*. Oxford: Oxford UP, 2009. Print.

Huggan, Graham. *The Postcolonial Exotic: Marketing the Margins*. London: Routledge, 2001. Print.

Khilnani, Sunil. *The Idea of India*. 1997. London: Penguin, 1999. Print.

Laing, Allan. Letter to Sudhin Ghose. 18 Nov. 1953. MSS EUR F 153/42. British Lib., London.

Mahomed, Sake Dean. *The Travels of Dean Mahomet*. 2 vols. Cork: Connor, 1794. Print.

Majeed, Javed. *Ungoverned Imaginings: James Mill's The History of British India and Orientalism*. Oxford: Clarendon, 1992. Print.

Metcalf, Thomas R. *Ideologies of the Raj*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1994. Print.

Mill, James. *The History of British India*. 10 vols. 1858. London: Routledge, 1997. Print.

Mukherjee, Meenakshi. "The Tractor and the Plough." *Considerations*. Ed. Meenakshi Mukherjee. Missouri: South Asia Books, 1977. 111–21. Print.

——. *The Twice Born Fiction: Themes and Techniques of the Indian Novel in English*. 1971. New Delhi: Pencraft, 2001. Print.

Nandy, Ashis. "Dams and Dissent: India's First Modern Environmental Activist and His Critique of the DVC Project." *Futures* 33.8–9 (2001): 709–31. Web. 14 May 2012.

Naravane, V. S. *Sarojini Naidu: Her Life, Work and Poetry*. New Delhi: Orient Longman, 1980. Print.

Narayan, R. K. *The Guide*. 1958. London: Heinemann, 1980. Print.

——. "The World of the Storyteller." *Gods, Demons and Others*. 1964. London: Heinemann, 1965. 1–10. Print.

Narayan, Shyamala A. *Sudhin N. Ghose*. New Delhi: Arnold-Heinemann, 1973. Print.

Nasta, Susheila. *Home Truths: Fictions of the South Asian Diaspora in Britain*. Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2002. Print.

——. "'Voyaging In': Colonialism and Migration." *The Cambridge History of Twentieth-Century English Literature*. Ed. Laura Marcus and Peter Nicholls. Vol. 1. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2004. 563–82. Print.

Paranjape, Makarand. *Another Canon: Indian Texts and Traditions in English*. New Delhi: Anthem, 2009. Print.

Payne, Robert. "With a Touch of Indian Magic." *The New York Times* 11 Oct. 1953: BR7. *ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The New York Times (1851–2008)*. Web. 26 Mar. 2012.

Ranasinha, Ruvani. *South Asian Writers in Twentieth-Century Britain: Culture in Translation*. Oxford: Clarendon, 2007. Print.

Rao, Raja. Foreword. *Kanthapura*. By Rao. 1938. New York: New Directions, 1967. Print.

Review of Sudhin N. Ghose's *And Gazelles Leaping. Journal Milwaukee*. Dec. 1949. MSS EUR F 153/151. British Lib., London.

Roy, Arundhati. *The God of Small Things*. 1997. London: Harper, 2004. Print.

Rushdie, Salman. *Midnight's Children*. London: Jonathan Cape, 1981. Print.

Sarkar, Sumit. *Modern India: 1885–1947*. Chennai: Macmillan, 1983. Print.

Weiser, Mary. *Sudhindra Nath Ghose: A Memoir*. 1999. MSS EUR F 153/137. British Lib., London.