Hacettepe University Graduate School of Social Sciences

English Language and Literature Department

IDENTITY FORMATION AGAINST OPPRESSION IN ROBERT BAGE'S *MAN AS HE IS* AND *HERMSPRONG; OR, MAN AS HE IS NOT*

Meriç DEBELEÇ

Master's Thesis

Ankara, 2024

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ÖZET

DEBELEÇ, Meriç. *Robert Bage'in Man as He Is ve Hermsprong; or, Man as He Is Not Romanlarında Baskıya Karşı Kimlik Oluşumu*. Yüksek Lisans Tezi, Ankara, 2024.

Bu tez, Robert Bage'in (1730-1801) İngiltere içindeki ve dışındaki her türlü baskıyı eleştirmek, İngiliz feodalizmi ve kolonyalizminin baskıcı ve sömürgeci düzenler olduğu fikrini ifade etmek için *Man as He Is* (1792) ve *Hermsprong; or, Man as He Is Not* (1796) romanlarındaki kahramanların kimlik inşasını ve sömürgecilik karşıtı söylemi kullandığını ileri sürmektedir. 18. yüzyıl İngiliz edebiyatı kanonuna dahil edilmemiş olmasına ve 20. yüzyılda akademisyenlerden az ilgi görmesine rağmen, İngiliz romancı Bage İngiltere hakkındaki reformcu görüşleri ve İngiliz feodalizmi ve kolonyalizmi hakkındaki sömürgecilik karşıtı görüşlerinden dolayı önemli bir yazardır. Bage, baskıcı, sömürgeci ve yayılmacı zihniyeti eleştirmekte, bu zihniyete meydan okumakta ve bu zihniyeti feodalizm ve kolonyalizme atfetmektedir. Dolayısıyla, bu tezin iddia ettiği üzere, Bage aristokratik, ataerkil, feodal ve kolonyal gibi her tür baskıya karşıdır. Feodalizm ve kolonyalizmin baskıcı geleneklerine ve değerlerine karşılık, 18. yüzyılın sosyal, politik ve felsefi yenilikleri ile şekillenen reformcu görüşlere sahiptir. Çoğunlukla Jakoben edebi akımına atfedilen Bage, Amerikan Devrimi, Fransız Devrimi ve bu tarihi olaylardan kaynaklanan özgürlükçü ve bireyci fikirlerden etkilenmiştir. Bu nedenle, tezin giriş kısmı Bage'in hayatını çağdaşlarına ve eserlerini ürettiği çağın tarihsel arka planına istinaden değerlendirmektedir. Ek olarak, baskı karşıtı ve sömürgecilik karşıtı söylemleri kolonyalizm, post kolonyalizm ve milliyetçilik konseptlerine atfen incelemektedir. *Man as He Is* ve *Hermsprong*, Bage'in bu romanlarda bireysel kimlik ve aristokratik grup kimliği arasındaki çatışmayı resmederek her türden baskı, sömürü ve zorbalığı nasıl eleştirdiğini tartışmak için sırasıyla iki bölümde analiz edilmektedir. Bu tez, yazarın baskıyı eleştirisini incelemek için sömürgecilik karşıtı teoriyi hem metaforik olarak hem de doğrudan kullanmaktadır. İlk bölüm, *Man as He Is* romanında aristokratik değerleri reddedip baskı karşıtı ideolojiyi benimseyen genç bir aristokratın tecrübe ettiği kimlik değişimini analiz etmektedir. İkinci bölüm, *Hermsprong* romanında ana karakterin baskı karşıtı ideolojisinin feodal bir İngiliz köyüne yerel otoritenin baskısına rağmen yayılışını incelemektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler

Robert Bage, Sömürgecilik karşıtlığı, Kimlik, Kolonyalizm, Baskı, *Man as He Is*, *Hermsprong; or, Man as He Is Not*.

ABSTRACT

DEBELEÇ, Meriç. *Identity Formation against Oppression in Robert Bage's Man as He Is and Hermsprong; or, Man as He Is Not*. Master's Thesis, Ankara, 2023.

This thesis argues that Robert Bage (1730-1801) uses anti-colonial discourse and the identity formation of the protagonists in his novels *Man as He Is* (1792) and *Hermsprong; or Man as He Is Not* (1796) in order to criticize all kinds of oppression in and out of England and to express his view that English feudalism and colonialism are oppressive and exploitative orders. The English novelist Bage, though not included in the canon of the eighteenth-century English literature and drew little attention from the twentieth century scholars, is a significant author because of his reformist views about England and anti-colonial ideas about English feudalism and colonialism. Bage criticizes and challenges the oppressive, exploitative, and expansionist mindset, and ascribes this mindset to feudalism and colonialism. Accordingly, as this thesis claims, Bage stands against all kinds of oppression such as patriarchal, aristocratic, feudal, and colonial. As opposed to the oppressive traditions and values of feudalism and colonialism, he has reformist views shaped by the social, political, and philosophical novelties of the eighteenth century. Commonly belonging to the Jacobin literary movement, Bage is influenced by the American Revolution, the French Revolution, and the ideas of liberty and individuality that stemmed from these historical events. Hence, the introduction chapter of this thesis evaluates Bage's life with respect to his contemporaries and the historical background of the era when he produced his works. Additionally, it examines anti-oppression and anti-colonial discourses with reference to the concepts of colonialism, postcolonialism, and nationalism. *Man as He Is* and *Hermsprong* are analysed respectively in two chapters to discuss how Bage criticizes all kinds of oppression, exploitation, and tyranny by portraying the conflict between individual identity and aristocratic group identity in these novels. This thesis uses the anti-colonial theory both metaphorically and directly to examine the author's criticism of oppression. The first chapter analyses the change of identity experienced by a young aristocrat who refuses the aristocratic values and adopts an ideology against oppression in *Man as He Is*. The second chapter examines the spread of the protagonist's ideology

against oppression in a feudal English village in spite of the oppression of the local authority in *Hermsprong*.

Key Words

Robert Bage, Anti-colonialism, Identity, Colonialism, Oppression, *Man as He Is*, *Hermsprong; or, Man as He Is Not*.

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INTRODUCTION

This thesis aims to conduct an analysis of anti-oppression ideology in Robert Bage's novels *Man as He Is* (1792) and *Hermsprong; or, Man as He Is No*t (1796) by arguing that the author uses the anti-colonial discourse and the identity formation of the characters to criticize and reform the oppressive nature of feudalism and colonialism, the dominant institutions of the eighteenth-century England. The thesis discusses that Bage exposes the oppressive values and traditions of feudalism and colonialism in *MAHI*[1] through the individual identity formation of the protagonist, and he challenges these institutions in *Hermsprong*[2] through the reforms made by the protagonist in a microcosmic English community and its metaphorical decolonization. As per the argument, in the introduction, anti-colonial theory and discourse, and the concept of identity formation are introduced along with a brief mention of the concepts of colonialism, postcolonialism, and nationalism. Anti-colonial theory is used at times metaphorically and at times directly to examine Bage's stance against oppression in the selected novels. The historical background of the eighteenth century, and Bage's life, work, and reformist views are examined to establish a framework for the argument. The chapters following the introduction combine anti-colonial discourse and identity formation to shed light on anti-oppression issues and stance in the selected novels.

In Bage's novels, the main idea is conveyed through anti-colonial discourse while identity formation serves as a means to develop and articulate this anti-colonial discourse. In other words, anti-colonial discourse and concept of identity formation complement and depend on each other. For this reason, anti-colonialism and identity formation are introduced respectively in the introduction. Defining anti-colonialism both as a discourse and theory requires an overall grasp of colonialism and postcolonialism. Accordingly, these two theories and how they relate to anti-colonialism are explained as a starting point. After forming a theoretical framework of

[1]*Man as He Is* (1792) will be abbreviated as *MAHI* for the remainder of this thesis.
[2]*Hermsprong; or, Man as He Is No*t (1796) will be abbreviated as *Hermsprong* for the remainder of this thesis.

anti-colonialism as a theory that stands against all types of tyranny and oppression, the works of Albert Memmi, Frantz Fanon, and Aimé Césaire, three famous anti-colonial theorists, are examined comparatively. Subsequent to anti-colonial discourse and theory, identity formation through which the anti-oppressive issues are conveyed in the selected works is explained.

Identity and the process of identity formation must be examined separately. Thus, they are evaluated respectively in terms of their stance for or against oppression and tyranny. Additionally, individual identity and group identity are evaluated with respect to whether they practice or face oppression. In light of these criteria, analysing the formation of an identity requires the understanding of the era in which a certain identity is formed. Therefore, the introduction presents the socio-political, economic, and cultural backgrounds of the eighteenth-century England, and partially Europe. Close attention is paid to the interactions between the realms of society, politics, culture, philosophy, and literature, all of which became intermingled and inflicted crucial effects on individuals, communities, and societies. The accumulation of the developments in the eighteenth century had big impact on the novel genre, especially on the Jacobin novels of the time. Referring to these developments, Bage presents a comprehensive social and political atmosphere of the eighteenth century England by using the anti-colonial discourse and identity formation.

Without misdirecting the scope of this thesis with a detailed history of colonialism, it is necessary to explain how colonialism relates to anti-colonialism. In the broadest sense, colonialism is an expansionist mindset driven by the search of economic and political benefits (Osterhammel 17). When put into practice by a dominant power such as England or the continental Europe, colonial mindset transforms to colonization. Colonialism was established and started to be practiced in the sixteenth century (Lehning 44). It started as a form of exploitation in colonies where “penetration [into local economy and material resources] was assisted by colonial regimes that administered poor regions for the benefit of economic interests in colonizing societies” that stood at distant metropoles (Massey et. al. 445). Additionally, colonialism is a hub

of power that assembles various oppressive dynamics such as paternal, political, and capitalistic under "a single legal and social entity" (Wallerstein 4).

Oppression and exploitation, the fundamental means and ends of colonialism, epitomize everything that anti-colonialism protests and resists. Yet, such broad definition of colonialism should not overshadow its "totalizing structure of brutality, violence, objectification, racism, and exclusion" (Scott, *Conscripts of Modernity* 6). Jurgen Osterhammel offers one of the most thorough and detailed framework of colonialism in *Colonialism: A Theoretical Overview* (1997). Apart from Osterhammel's structural examination of colonialism, different concepts are established by scholars who seek holistic explanations of colonial practices. Patrick Wolfe puts forth "structural genocide," which is comprised of "spatial removal, mass killings and biocultural assimilation" ("Settler Colonialism" 403). With social domination theory, Jim Sidanius and Felicia Pratto call the repressive practices of dominant groups as "systematic terror" that "enforce[s] the continued deference of subordinates toward dominants" (41). Mary Louise Pratt claims that colonial violence and repression served as "testing grounds for modes of social discipline which… [were] imported back into Europe in the eighteenth century" (36). Finally, a rather more direct approach is that of Frantz Fanon, who describes colonialism as "naked violence … [that] only gives in when confronted with greater violence" (*The Wretched of the Earth* 23). All these conceptions examine the colonial legacy through the reciprocal relationship between the dominant and subordinate. Likewise, anti-colonialism is suitable to examine all kinds of oppression because it is the encompassing "critique of the dominant … whose … oppressive practices continue to script the lives of [both][3] the subordinate and colonized" (Simmons and Dei 68). Identifying and exposing oppressive and exploitative practices are central tasks. It is also very important to understand how they operate. To do so, colonialism must be put into a theoretical framework lest its colossal legacy overburdens the anti-colonial analyses. In this framework, colonialism is perceived as a hub of oppression and exploitation. This hub can operate in various spheres in many different ways such as in a family, tribe, community, feudal territory, and overseas empire; or through physical, psychological, patriarchal, social, and racial oppression.

[3] It is important to emphasize that anti-colonialism not only deals with the colonized peoples, but also with all the oppressed and unfortunate peoples.

Colonialism does not solely mean seizure and exploitation of resources through physical imposition and political power (Osterhammel 15-17). Its extensive dynamics work for the complete suppression of an entire community, society, or nation. In other words, suppression is not limited to economy. It includes identity, culture, traditions, psychology, history, and many more aspects that make up an integrated group of peoples. Christopher J. Lee argues that colonialism is "characteristically … a local manifestation of a broader imperial endeavour" that is not at all limited to spatial exploitation and local rule (438). James Anderson, the editor of the periodical titled *The Bee* (1790-94), sets the aim for British imperialism to seize "every individual of the human race" through English trade and language (viii-xi). So, trade and language are among the tools of domination that accompany physical imposition and political power. Although colonialism's motives, other than exploitation, manifest complete world domination, its foundation still rests on exploitation of raw material in the colonized lands (Osterhammel 71). The colonizer deploys different tools of domination for specific socio-political, economic, and cultural aims (Tignor ix). Together with violence, these tools vary from imposition of religion to promise of salvation and welfare and aim to rob "an entire society … of its historical line of development and … [transform it] according to the needs and interests of the colonizer" (Osterhammel 15-17). However, as a theory that challenges colonialism, anti-colonialism ventures beyond merely resisting to colonialism, and supports decolonization along with objecting to all kinds of tyranny and oppression.

Besides its praxis and proactivity, anti-colonialism is applicable to textual analysis. Dealing with colonial legacy through textual analysis is often ascribed to postcolonialism. However, postcolonial theory is akin to anti-colonial theory because they have many functions in common. Both theories adopt universality and encourage the inclusivity of different cultures and identities. They also expose and deconstruct colonial narratives. Apart from these, both theories give "rise to different cartographies, and geographies," and seek "celebratory configurations of the geo-self" (Simmons and Dei 70-71). In other words, they examine the colonized and oppressed cultures and identities that are overlooked in colonial narratives. In addition to examination, both theories rejuvenate, centralize, and celebrate the cultures and identities that were either

harmed or destroyed by the effects of colonialism (Bhabha 86-87). Centralizing the lost and endangered cultures and identities also means providing them an area of expression. In *Colonialism/Postcolonialism* (1998), Ania Loomba asserts that a more thorough comprehension of postcolonialism "allows us to incorporate the history of anti-colonial resistance … to imperialism and to dominant Western culture" (16). All in all, postcolonialism and anti-colonialism make inroads to seek more embedded and in-depth ways of decolonization -such as decolonization of the mind, the history, and other fields of study- other than those driven by armed struggle.

Despite these similarities, postcolonialism and anti-colonialism diverge in some core aspects. Their interplay is discordant. Even though anti-colonialism is often regarded as one of the "under-acknowledged predecessor[s] to postcolonial theory," its approach to colonialism differs from postcolonialism (Elam). On one hand, postcolonial theory explores the dynamics behind the fall of colonialism and functions "more flexibly as the contestation of colonial domination and the legacies of colonialism" (Loomba 19). On the other hand, anti-colonialism is in an active strife to relinquish colonialism and all oppressive practices in general. Another difference between these theories is timing since postcolonial theory may tend to be retrospective at times in its engagement with colonialism and its legacy. However, anti-colonial theory makes focal interventions and immediate responses "to wrestle with the political and philosophical legacies of colonialism" (Getachew and Mantena 360).

Anti-colonialism prioritizes the realities of oppression through the examination of historical documents, oral accounts, or literary texts that deal with oppression and bear colonial legacy. In a way, it aims to "set global hybridization in motion" by the reconsideration of the different "meanings and histories of colonialism" (De Alva 242). At the core of any anti-colonial text or movement lies a sense of individuality that is amalgamated with reaction and proactivity. Individual and communal articulations are significant matters for anti-colonialism. They help discredit the colonial or despotic grand narratives that speak to people instead of speaking for them.

Originally inspired by resistance and disobedience, anti-colonialism "existed from the first [colonial and expansionist] encounters, to the violence on the frontiers of European expansion, to the resistance to colonial occupation, and through to the demise" of colonialism (Page 21). The primary objective of anti-colonialism is to challenge all forms of oppression and tyranny. Although anti-colonialism often implies independence movements that aim to resist and remove the colonizer from the occupied lands, it is also possible to define it as "a generic rhetorical device to describe that which is against" oppression (Lee 436). In the face of tyranny and oppression, anti-colonialism offers different forms of resistance such as physical, spatial, textual, ideological, and political. Considering the wide range of critical perspectives it offers, "anti-colonialism must be recognized … as a significant phenomenon in defining the political history of the modern world" (Lee 437). Thus, anti-colonial theory has become a significant tool for literary criticism and analysis, as well.

Anti-colonialism provides effective tools and new perspectives for literary criticism. Firstly, it exposes the legacies of colonialism while simultaneously challenging them. By this aspect, anti-colonial theory remains open for extension "beyond the colonial period itself" and maintains its relevance by "writing to speak to the political present … [and] restoring and politically mobilizing the past" (Lee 440). In other words, it has the ability to conduct "historical investigations … [that] tend to belong more to a 'new international history' than … to colonial history" (Jansen and Osterhammel 24). This is specifically important because "recounting the past is a social act of the present done by men of the present and affecting the social system of the present" (Wallerstein 9). Secondly, anti-colonialism can surmount the "institutionalisation and subsequent valorisation of English literary study … [in] a shape and an ideological content developed in the colonial context" (Viswanathan 2-3). Aimé Césaire points out that the colonial discourse is established by the "novelists of civilization … their false objectivity … chauvinism … racism … depraved passion for refusing to acknowledge any merit in the non-white races … [and] obsession with monopolizing all glory for their own race" (55-56). Thus, colonial fiction produces "modes of imaginative expansion … [and] intellectual strategies for reconceptualizing the world on the grandest possible scale" (Ellis 492). Yet, anti-colonialism seeks and encourages

examples of narratives, from past and present, that subvert colonial discourse and mindset.

In accordance with anti-colonial theory's "explicitly political tone of opposition … [and] radical critical force of opposition," Albert Memmi, Frantz Fanon, and Aimé Césaire demonstrated vital and overt challenges to colonialism and colonial discourse (Hiraide 12). These writers are introduced respectively as the leading anti-colonial figures in the following paragraphs. They aimed to make solid political impact and "dwelt on the inescapability of race … [which] confers power, privilege as well as punishment simultaneously" (Simmons and Dei 78). Similar to their ideas, Immanuel Wallerstein describes the colonial relations as "a caste system in which rank and hence reward was accorded on the basis of race" (4). Memmi, Fanon, and Césaire accepted the inescapable impact of race while seeking political impact. Another common aspect of these figures is that they extended the proactive nature of anti-colonialism to literary dimension. To clarify, they produced "counter theoretical narrative[s]" that raised voice against the colonial dynamics and presented a "radical critique of the dominant" (Simmons and Dei 67-8). Examining national and social identities and contexts, the works of Memmi, Fanon, and Césaire intersect within the anti-colonial theory. All three have challenged the demarcation between the Western civilization and others. Furthermore, they exposed and criticised the falsities of colonialism while celebrating and examining new hybrid identity formations.

Albert Memmi is a twentieth-century Tunisian thinker, philosopher, and author. *The Coloniser and the Colonized*[4], for which Memmi is widely known, is a significant work for anti-colonial studies. In the book, Memmi draws a line between the oppressors and the oppressed individuals and groups. In Memmi's own words, the aspiration behind this attempt is "to show all the real complexities in the lives of the colonizer and the colonized" (9). Therefore, he "first had to understand the colonizer and the colonized," which brought about an understanding of "the entire colonial relationship and situation" (3). With this aim, Memmi draws in depth and distinctive psychological and social portraits of the colonizer and the colonized. His dialectical approach to the opposing

[4] The book was first written and published in French with the title *Portrait du colonisé, précédé par Portrait du colonisateur*. It was translated into English in 1965.

fronts of colonialism is established on an individual framework. Memmi primarily focuses on the interaction between the institution of colonialism and the individuals situated in the midst of it. Thus, his concern is how individuals are affected by colonialism. The individual experience of colonialism can juxtapose different forms of oppression such as racial, ethnical, territorial, social rank-based, gender-based, and age-based. Encompassing all these hierarchical groups, being the colonized is a mode of living under constant oppression, suppression, and exploitation. It is a condition that results in an inability to become independent and form an individual identity. Hence, seeing that "all the oppressed are alike in some ways," anyone under oppression can be referred as the colonized (Memmi 5).

Understanding the interaction between the institution of colonialism and individuals is helpful in two specific ways. Firstly, it can direct the colonizer into questioning his motifs and deeds. The colonizer may find himself under a self-scrutiny and question his nation's colonial legacy. To achieve this, narratives can aim to reform or eradicate oppressive figures and institutions. Memmi contemplates the possibility of reformation by asking if the colonizer, "once he has discovered the import of colonization and is conscious of his own position … is … going to accept them? … Will he be a usurper and affirm the oppression and injustice to the true inhabitant of the colony? … Will he adjust to this position and his inevitable self-censure?" (62). Therefore, anti-colonial narratives can help one question one's social, cultural, and political position; if not reach to a full recognition and acceptance of it. They can also disturb the oppressor, showing him "the misery of the colonized and the relation of that misery to his own comfort," and that his "easy profit is so great only because it is wrested from others" (Memmi 51). The objective is to arise guilt, enlightenment, and reformation in the colonizer. Accordingly, Memmi establishes a psychological portrait of the colonizer who is in constant doubt, discomfort, mistrust, and identity crisis. For him, colonialism corrupts the colonizer's personality just as it corrupts the colonizing nations and societies. (Memmi 155). Gazing at his corrupt portrait, the colonizer is provided with an opportunity to confront his falsities through this kind of narratives.

Secondly, the interactive approach can inform and inspire oppressed individuals and communities about acknowledging and challenging the oppression that overburdens them. Accordingly, this paves the way for oppressed individuals to readjust themselves within the colonial dynamics they are situated in, and recognize "their own emotions, their revolt, their aspirations" (Memmi 5). Hence, Memmi's approach to colonialism is crucial for explaining anti-colonial identity formations. Although he claims that his original scope was "to understand … [himself] and to identify … [his] place in the society of other men," his readers informed him later that "this portrait was equally theirs" (4). Consequently, his individual exploration of colonized-self became a role model and thought-provocation for oppressed peoples. Memmi concludes that the colonized "must conquer himself and be free;" transcending all the binding forces, such as nationalism or religion, that have active role in identity formation (196). With these perceptions in mind, in order to better understand Bage's criticism of diverse forms of oppression, this thesis metaphorically employs the archetypes of the colonizer and the colonized that are established by Memmi. Namely, Bage's tyrannical aristocratic characters are related to the archetype of the colonizer.

Frantz Fanon is another anti-colonial writer and theorist who focuses on individuality. Born in Martinique in 1925, Fanon is a Marxist thinker and psychiatrist. Fanon believes that colonized individuals are kept under an illusional control. They are deceived into admiring the colonizer as their superior and are forced into inferiority complex. Fanon not only scrutinizes how the oppressed people are deprived from basic human rights and aspects, but also encourages collective resistance through armed struggle along with individual class-conscious enlightenment. The enlightenment refers to an individual's eventual recognition of the carefully structured colonial dynamics of exploitation in which he or she is situated. Accordingly, Fanon addresses the non-European or colonized peoples[5] in a collective manner, warning that "European achievements, European technology and European lifestyles must stop tempting us and leading us astray" (*The Wretched* 236). His words suggest that the foundation of colonization depends on dynamics larger than a colony. In other words, what lies beneath the colonial practices is a deep-rooted and universal mindset with its oppressive means and

[5] His target audience is separated as such here because not all non-European peoples are colonized.

exploitative end. Fanon's treatment of oppression as a universal issue corresponds with Bage's multifaceted and universal treatment of oppression under the titles of anti-aristocracy, anti-patriarchy, anti-feudalism, anti-slavery, and anti-colonialism. For this reason, Fanon's *The Wretched of the Earth* (1961) is at times referred to in this thesis.

Aimé Césaire is another important anti-colonial thinker and author born in Martinique in 1913. His *Discourse on Colonialism* (1950) has been a significant book for the anti-colonial theory. Césaire's personal and professional background is worth mentioning as he "served in the French National Assembly after the Second World War and sought … a federal model of decolonization" (Lee 443). Jansen and Osterhammel assert that Césaire, who is one of the intellectuals who started the movement of Negritude, was "unsparing in … [his] critique of colonialism; racism, and Eurocentrism" (45). Moreover, *Discourse on Colonialism* made overt calls for decolonization of lands and minds. Robin Kelly classifies Césaire among "artists and intellectuals who dare to imagine a radically different way of living," which means resisting oppression and exploitation and avoiding docile compliance (28). Colonialism aims to suppress all cultures and identities that diverge from its expectations and presumptions. In other words, it demands docility of the intellectuals of colonized countries. So, defiance is significant in rising against such demand by producing an intellectual capacity[6] -which incapsulates a different way of living- to hold a steadier position against colonialism. A steady position is pivotal to resist colonialism because colonialism has never been a mediative and tolerative practice. Aiming to demolish any social order, identity, or culture outside itself, colonialism always justifies the exploitation and oppression of the colonized. Its justifications are always accompanied with denial of such practices as genocides, rapes, unjust detentions, and bribery (Césaire 39).

Confronting such practices, and initially colonialism, with a rigid anti-colonial position, Césaire asserts that "no one colonizes innocently … no one colonizes with impunity … a nation which colonizes … a civilization which justifies colonization … is already a sick civilization … which is morally diseased" (39). He calls attention to the degradation of the colonizing nations, societies, or communities. Accordingly, this

[6] Like those of Memmi, Fanon, and Cesaire, whose defiant works emerged from questioning the norms and practices of those who colonized their motherlands.

thesis draws upon Césaire's perspective on the self-degradation of the oppressor while dealing with Bage's antagonization of the aristocracy in *MAHI,* and the archetype of savage noble in both chapters. Along with his emphasis on the moral degradation of colonizing nations and societies, Césaire ironically admits

> that it is a good thing to place different civilizations in contact with each other … it is an excellent thing to blend different worlds … for civilizations, exchange is oxygen … the great good fortune of Europe is to have been a crossroads, and that because it was the locus of all ideas, the receptacle of all philosophies, the meeting place of all sentiments, it was the best center for the redistribution of energy. (33)

This excerpt signifies the hypocrisy of Europe and European peoples in struggling to keep civilization away from all peoples and societies other than themselves. Coming to contact with other cultures and peoples is dramatically misunderstood and ill-conducted by Europe. In other words, Europe does not come to contact with them, but enforces and imposes such contact that serves its benefit; namely, it colonizes. Any interaction between the colonizer and the colonized is driven merely by exploitation and profit of the former. Thus, Césaire questions the exchange of cultures between the oppressor and the oppressed because an exchange that is motivated by domination is merely built around such dichotomies as the superior and the inferior, the master and the servant, or forward and backward. Such dichotomies aim to label and humiliate the victims of colonialism in order to solidify colonial control. Thus, it becomes the preordained destiny of colonized peoples to be deprived of their culture and identity as the "humanity [is] reduced to a monologue" by the colonizer (Césaire 74). In other words, the colonizer's imposition of his own culture on colonized peoples destroys the cultural variety and local colours in the colonized societies and communities. The colonizer's oppression also hinders a dialogical environment since the colonized has no voice.

Colonized peoples are never allowed by the colonizer to have a distinct identity lest it could cause resistance against the colonial regime. This is why they are deprived of their identity as "colonialism forces the colonized to constantly ask the question: 'Who am I in reality?'" (Fanon, *The Wretched* 182). The colonized individual is left in a state of confusion and feels lack of belonging. Hence, he or she becomes prone to be manipulated, abused, and exploited. Identity is a means for the colonizer to maintain

control over the colonized. Simultaneously, it is a threat for the colonizer because it can awaken the social and cultural memory of the colonized. Remembering can provoke resistance against oppression. As a result, oppression of identity is a defence mechanism that keeps control in a colony. In an interview with Césaire, René Depestre, Haitian poet and thinker, stresses the importance of identity by stating that "it is equally necessary to decolonize our minds, our inner life, at the same time that we decolonize society" (94). This necessity suggests that decolonization is a process that includes memory, cultural heritage, psychology, and individualism. These components constitute individual and collective identity, which are equally important to stand against oppression.

With these theoretical perceptions in mind, the relation of anti-colonial discourse with identity formation must be explained. Group identity -which are national identity and social identity- and individual identity are the types of identity referred to in this thesis. Individual identity formation is centralized for the analysis of the protagonists in Bage's novels. Still, the thesis engages with the national and social identities, too. "As a way of knowing and understanding … the self beyond the governing ethic of Euro-modernity," anti-colonial theory is inherently related to individual identity (Marlon and Dei 72). Namely, the concept of self is pivotal for the anti-colonial theory. The universality of anti-colonial theory also has a vital role in individual identity formation. Universality allows an individual to think and live beyond the norms and expectations of the specific community or society he or she is placed in. Thus, anti-colonial narratives prioritize the themes of individual values of judgement and codes of conduct, both of which are important for individual decision making. Essentially, individual identity represents one's unique position in the face of one's community, society, nation, and the globe. Although individual identity does not mean the total independence of a person from a wide variety of external factors, it distinguishes a person from other persons and groups of peoples. Ernest Gellner believes that culture[7] and identity are an individual's "real entrance-card to … human dignity, to social participation" (*Culture, Identity, and*

[7] Gellner takes up culture as the dominating element in one's identity formation. However, as explained in the next few paragraphs, many different elements and factors can manipulate identity formation depending on certain context or conditions.

Politics 16). When they are not imposed by a hegemonic regime[8], culture and identity enhance one's agency, and encourage an authentic identity formation.

An important question about identity formation is whether it is "the strength of individual identification or the strength of collective identification" that matters more in the process of formation (Miller and Ali 241-42). On one hand, the degree of an individual's identification[9] with his or her nation is measured with free-will and choice. Full identification with nation often indicates lower agency while a selective and sceptical one indicates higher agency. On the other hand, to what degree a nation identifies[10] an individual is associated with the degree of state control and predetermination of identities. A nation can have big impact on the identities of its citizens through such means as state apparatuses, propaganda, tradition, military power, patriotism, ultimatum, fear, oppression, etc. In short, there are numerous tools that can be utilized by a nation to be able to identify its individuals.

The way an individual interacts with a group is interdependent and reciprocal. This poses the problem that analysing "different dimensions of identity in a single index … can have a distorting effect on the results" of that particular analysis (Miller and Ali 254). So, adopting a single perspective to analyse identity formation may fall short. Therefore, it is crucial to establish a specific and circumstantial comprehension of the multiple dynamics operating in the particular place and time of the process of identity formation. These dynamics, such as social, cultural, communal, or national, are in constant interaction within the process of identity formation. Likewise, an individual is in constant interaction with these dynamics. The interaction between an individual and the dynamics can be mediative or manipulative.

[8] Cultural and nationalistic propaganda is a good example of such imposition of a hegemonic state over individuals.

[9] The word identification derives from the verb "identify" in active voice with the meaning of "belonging to a particular category" (Oxford English Dictionary). So, in the case where the individual identifies with a nation, the nation is in a passive role.

[10] The verb "identify" is used in active voice with the meaning of "to ascertain or assert what a thing or who a person is" (Oxford English Dictionary). In the case where a nation identifies an individual, the individual is in a passive role.

Firstly, an individual can examine, judge, and filter the values offered by the dynamics around him or her in a mediative manner. Miller and Ali describe this mediative and selective approach as a "dimension of national identity distinct from both attachment and pride" (245). One is a critical patriot if one is willing to distance himself from or criticize certain actions of one's nation. Mediative identity formation is based on rationalism and objectivity. Secondly, an individual may be manipulated into adopting premeditated elements from his or her group. In manipulated identity formation, there is little or no room for individual selection, judgement, or filtering. Instead, "blind patriots,"[11] as Ervin Staub puts it, show "unquestioning positive evaluation, staunch allegiance, and intolerance of criticism" (Schatz, et al. 153). Under oppression, the former identity formation is more prone to show resistance whereas the latter often complies with docility and assimilation. Degree of identification is the main determinant of the type of interaction between individuals and institutions.

Among the dynamics with which individuals may interact and identify, culture and nationalism hold important positions. Individuals can be driven either to mediative or manipulative identity formation as a result of their interaction with their culture and nationalism. Culture and nationalism are concepts that can shape each other. However, there appears a small nuance. Culture is a core element in the formation of a nation since "common memories, [and] a shared past" are the elements "which bind men and help form a nation" (Gellner, *Culture, Identity* 6). Culture always tends to affect nation-building. However, in the case of a nation that shapes the culture, manipulation or oppression may appear. Any attempt to establish a unified national culture may necessitate the suppression and elimination of local cultures, customs, and communities. In the absence of locality, culture transforms to a central social decorum that the citizens must obey in order to avoid seclusion and isolation. Thus, culture becomes institutionalized and standardized due to the combination of "cultural and civic understandings of national identity" (Miller and Ali 247). To clarify, national identity is reinforced with a civic culture in this combination. Thus, civic culture produces absolute socio-political standards to which individuals and communities must adopt in order to avoid becoming second class citizens and neglected peripheries. In other words,

[11] Or "uncritical patriots" as Miller and Ali put it in "Testing the National Identity Argument" (2013).

once culture is converted to an "entrance-card," as Gellner puts, anyone who remains outside are automatically deprived of "human dignity … [and] social participation" (*Culture, Identity* 16).

To go back to nationalism, there are two basic perceptions to understand it. One designates national identities as "artificial constructs, imposed by states or by dominant ethnic groups on unwilling minorities" (Miller and Ali 237). This perception is similar to the definition and practices of colonialism. The other views national identity as participation in a collective movement that can lead a national public to its goals (Marshall, *Class, Citizenship* 101-102). Two possible results, which are explained respectively, emerge from these perceptions. Firstly, national identity may disrupt the social justice among the peoples of a nation. Such situation may produce oppression and exploitation. Secondly, as opposed to the first result, a nation may prosper under a solidified national identity. National identity can unite peoples in reinforcing the welfare state by ascribing them the duty "to support common projects … fulfil the needs of fellow members … [and] sustain institutions" (Miller 73). Anti-colonialism relates such arguments about national identity -especially the second one- to various historical events such as the independence of India in 1947, the Algerian War of Independence between 1954 and 1962, or the disintegration of Yugoslavia into seven different nations in a period ranging from 1980's up to 2000's (Jansen and Osterhammel 5, 18). These examples of decolonization were inspired by national identity and nationalistic feelings.

As for the relation of anti-colonial discourse and identity formation in the selected novels in this thesis, the author's stance against oppression is conveyed through the position of the protagonists' individual identities in the face of national and social identities. An individual identity shaped by anti-colonial discourse serves as the channel for anti-oppression. Christopher J. Lee pays attention to the individuality of anti-colonial struggle by stressing "individual ethics as the starting point for broader struggle through non-violent, anti-colonial resistance," which is a matter of "personal conduct" (444). In other words, individual awareness stimulates collective actions. Similarly, Adria K. Lawrence defines the interaction of individuals and anti-colonialism as the "causal link between identity and action" (11). Both Lee and Lawrence emphasize the

important role of individuals in a collective anti-colonial movement. When a colonized individual recognizes the oppression and exploitation subjugated to him or her, he or she tends to share this quiet feeling of uneasiness with a peer, and thus the seeds of collective unrest are planted. Consequently, more individuals become cognizant of the colonial project and the individual contribution they can make to an anti-colonial movement.

Individual agency is required for any individual contribution or participation to an anti-colonial movement. Jurgen Habermas thinks that individual agency can be achieved by putting up an "independent, internal resistance to … one-sided views of the world and of society" (*The Theory* 294). Likewise, anti-colonial discourse depends on an individual's scepticism about or refusal of all monological impositions of ideas or contexts. Thus, it argues that the oppressed peoples must "insulate [themselves against] … unwarranted incursions by systemic imperatives" so that they do not "accept them as the sole rationales of social life" (Grewal 195). Grewal unintentionally defines colonialism here. Furthermore, his idea of one insulating oneself against oppression is akin to René Depestre's call for decolonizing the mind (94). Ultimately, it can be argued that the prerequisites of anti-colonial discourse and identity formation are awareness, scepticism, and disobedience.

Awareness, scepticism, and disobedience are significant indicators of the anti-colonial discourse and identity of the protagonists in Robert Bage's *Hermsprong* and *MAHI*. On one hand, the protagonist of *Hermsprong*, Charles Hermsprong, exercises a consistent and active resistance to "systemic imperatives" (Grewal 195). His individual identity is shaped in accordance with his own free-will and choices. On the other hand, the protagonist of *MAHI*, George Paradyne, aims to achieve such individualism as Hermsprong's by struggling to liberate himself from the oppressive institutions that surround him. Hermsprong stands out as the embodiment of a well-established individual identity that challenges oppression whereas Sir George is in an individual identity formation process during which he struggles against oppression. In both novels, oppression appears in different forms such as prejudice, racism, abuse, traditional norms, scaremongering, mannerism, outdated values, exclusion, and lack of tolerance.

Bage's anti-colonial protest is directed to all these different forms of oppression. Such forms of oppression are challenged by the individual identity and anti-oppression ideology of Hermsprong. Meanwhile, they are used as means through which Sir George rejects his aristocratic identity and background.

A comparative reading of Bage's selected novels is helpful to comprehend the social and political stances ascribed to the protagonists. *MAHI* "identifies the 'bad guy' and carries with it a radical critique of the dominant" through its broad catalogue of English and European characters who demonstrate "antics and oppressive practices" of the oppressor (Simmons and Dei 68). Meanwhile, *Hermsprong* presents a unique anti-colonial identity who reforms a corrupt community shaped by the oppressor. Bage's comparison of the condition of man as he is and as he is not carries with it "the intent of speaking to particular experiences of oppression and resistance" (Simmons and Dei 72). Thus, in order to observe the author's anti-colonial perspective in *MAHI* and *Hermsprong*, it is necessary to explain the historical, social, political, philosophical, and literary backgrounds of the eighteenth-century England and Europe. Along with inspiring Bage to construct his plots while writing *MAHI* and *Hermsprong*, these historical incidents had impact on individual identity and anti-colonial identity formations of his protagonists.

Considering the variety of printed material along with high literary production, the eighteenth-century English literature can be marked as a rich and transitionary period. (Earle 10). Non-fiction texts also flourished in the form of newspapers, magazines, journals, pamphlets, and many more miscellaneous texts such as "conduct books," spreading information rapidly in the urban areas (Armstrong 14). Textual richness was accompanied with articulation of new ideas, which made the eighteenth century a transitionary period. The change took place in almost each realm of the English society. There was technological advancement, political revolution -metaphorically and literally-, change in literary traditions, economical flourish, improvement in human and women rights, and fluctuation in social classes (Rogers, "Honor" 2-3, 10). Fluctuating social hierarchy also caused an uncertainty driven by questions revolving around national and social identities and order (Habermas, *The Structural* 19). The sense of belonging to a

group seemed to be in decline in an increasingly individualistic environment. In line with the developments during and particularly at the end of the eighteenth century, there appeared "a wider discourse by which England's emerging middle class attempted to define itself and redefine its role in British society," and individuals were in continual effort to make a "re-evaluation of … [their] place in society" (Rogers, "Honor" 5). Scepticism, logic, and reason were prioritized in philosophical and political matters. Accordingly, there emerged the philosophical and political novels of such literary figures as Thomas Holcroft, Mary Wollstonecraft, Elizabeth Inchbald, Georgiana Cavendish, Charlotte Lennox, William Godwin, Mary Hays, Eliza Fenwick, and Robert Bage.

Besides literature, new philosophical, social, and economic perceptions were put forth by such figures as Thomas Paine, David Hume, Jean-Jacques Rousseau, Edmund Burke, Thomas Reid, and Adam Smith. Most of them were influenced by the American Independence and the French Revolution. However, they differed in their opinions of these events. Jean Jacques Rousseau, John Locke, and Thomas Paine supported these events whereas David Hume and Edmund Burke protested them (Gregory 18-19). One common trait of these figures was their scepticism, which made even "philosophy itself questionable and problematic, a topic of investigation and argument rather than dogmatic acceptance or complacent certainty" (Merrill 4-5). Questioning the changing senses of nation, social order, individualism, and identity, they contemplated an individual's social and moral position in a community or society. A type of individual free from the premeditated and predominant national and social identities of the time was appearing. Unless an individual confined himself or herself to a monologic perspective, such as patriotism or aristocracy, a liberal and universal individual identity could be formed.

In spite of the disseminating notions of liberty and individualism, eighteenth-century England and its literature were not short of colonial narratives and oppressive discourse. "Discursive colonialism" prevailed inside and outside England with "every decision of style, topics, print size, page format, and… the particular frame of its textual community" (Klancher 25). England's colonialism and oppression were parallel with

the internal class-based[12] oppression that produced a variety of social identities in the country. Although there was not a well-established class system in the eighteenth-century England, society had different layers. Asa Briggs states that the "eighteenth-century writers… spoke of 'interests,' of 'ranks' and 'orders,' and very generally of 'the labouring poor' or of 'the People'" (65). As for audience, even though literacy remained comparatively low in eighteenth century England, there was a growing "reading class" in Leslie Stephens' words (23-4). Due to the rise of the novel genre and the popularity of travel literature, England could build a national identity that supported its colonial aims by literary works[13] set around the transatlantic missions of "free-trading merchant adventurers seeking to establish and protect profitable lines of trade and commerce" (Ellis 491). These narratives reflected England's colonial aims in an age of political turbulence, at the end of which the French Revolution (1789-1799) changed the world fundamentally.

Following the enlightening Renaissance period and the turbulent religious and political landscape of the seventeenth century, eighteenth-century England underwent discordant social, political, and economic developments together with the rest of Europe (Marshall, *Eighteenth Century England* 1). For instance, there were many political upheavals that were mainly shaped around the conflicts between the parliament, which hosted frequent disputes between Whigs and Tories, and the crown (Thompson 141-42, 144). Social, political, and economic unrest created demand for reformation. Literacy and reading habits of the lower middle and working classes were in simultaneous rise with their growing poverty, resulting from "the constant fluctuation of wages and by periodical unemployment" (Lackington 387; Hauser 52). However, the rise of literacy also eased the poor conditions of people from all social classes by motivating them through the news of England's overseas successes and growing national wealth. Such news galvanized their dreams of finding better socio-economic positions (Stephens 15).

[12] Class refers to a particular group of peoples who live in the same place and under similar socio-political and economic conditions. Additionally, see Edward P. Thompson's essay "Eighteenth-Century English Society: Class Struggle without Class?" (1978) for the social order of the eighteenth century.

[13]Some popular examples of these are *Robinson Crusoe* (1719) and *The Life, Adventures, and Piracies of the Famous Captain Singleton* (1720) by Daniel Defoe, *The Expedition of Humphry Clinker* (1771) and *The Adventures of Roderick Random* (1748) by Tobias Smollett, etc. The protagonists in these novels act in line with nationalistic codes of conduct.

As explained above, eighteenth-century was a time period of changes, developments, new perceptions, and reforms in England. Socially, bourgeois was slowly rising to become the dominating social group at the time (Habermas, *The Structural* 19-20). Politically, the French Revolution started as the independence of American colonies of Britain was just being acknowledged by the world, and especially by England. Economically, manufacturing, and later industrialism, started to flourish, creating a bourgeois class of growingly rich magnates and poor labourers who were in "mutual dependence for the sake of life and nothing else" (Arendt 46). Philosophically, the idea of individualism was being combined with the growingly popular issue of independence (Davidoff and Hall 18-9). Thus, the literature of the time started to pay burgeoning attention to the notions of individualism and independence, matching the human-centred agenda of the time.

In order to understand the reason for the rise of the idea of individualism, it is necessary to explain the demographic structure of eighteenth-century England. Although there was a shift from rural to urban in terms of settlement, the power and influence of the nobility was still felt in the countryside. However, their power decreased over the course of the century mainly due to the rise of urbanisation and industrialism in England (Speck 339-41). Especially with the late industrial developments, the countryside was being exploited by London, the biggest industrial and trade centre in England and the world at the time. The countryside was internally dependent on the legal and economic dynamics of London. Externally, it was affected by an increasingly capitalistic global economy to which London served as a gateway. Standing "at the centre of distribution for agricultural, as well as manufactured, goods," London "dominated economic life far more completely than it has ever done since" (Rogers, "Social Structure" 41).

Although capitalism had not appeared in its fully developed form, exploitation was practiced in England by "the penetration of capitalist economic relations into peripheral, noncapitalist societies" (Massey et. al. 444). On one hand, proto-capitalism imposed harsh conditions on the rural workers, whether agricultural or industrial. Rural peoples were oppressed by local authority since "their property, the fruit of their industry … [was] entirely at the disposal of their lords" (Wollstonecraft 10). On the other hand,

capitalism offered possibilities of financial prosperity to the urban traders and manufacturers. So, rural communities suffered oppression while urban middle class had the chance to get rich. Immanuel Wallerstein's world-system theory can shed light on the dichotomy between urban and rural. In light of world system theory, the centre prospers whereas peripheries labour for the sake of the centre (15-16). Same applied for the relationship between London and the countryside in the eighteenth century England. The privileged group of the core culture was predominantly aristocratic because they had manufacture and trade connections with London, and the rest of the world. They produced in the countryside, but made profit through London. As a result, local economy suffered from recession and higher inflation whereas aristocratic manufacturers and traders got wealthier. As the local economy got weaker, countryside workers and commoners were reduced to a disadvantaged peripheral population due to the contrast of higher prices and lower wages.

Due to feudal rule, political authority, too, was scattered to the peripheries of the eighteenth-century England. The country's administration was a supranational model as feudalism kept the most of its political power and influence until the nineteenth century. Although London was the political centre of England, many other smaller units of power actively functioned in England since it

> remained a land of elites and … traditional patterns of authority and deference survived almost intact. Half the land under cultivation was owned by 5,000 people; and almost half of that amount belonged to the lucky 400 families who thus took an unquestioned place in national or local affairs … if Parliament embodied one kind of social elite, equally the local magistracy, who carried wide administrative and supervisory powers, in every corner of life, performed a separate ruling-class function in the shires. (Rogers, "Social Structure" 41)

The aristocracy had the economic and political authority in peripheries of England, which were smaller units of administration. Peoples of different English rural communities were situated "betwixt and between … [different] positions assigned and arrayed by … custom, conventions, and ceremonial" practices (Turner 95). Considering the polarized and liminal life-styles of different groups of rural peoples, one cannot draw "a picture of social harmony … [in which] class conflict [is] softened by deep ties of kinship and communal assent" (Rogers, "Social Structure" 41). The aristocratic local

authorities of feudal areas were often oppressive and exploitative to their vassals (Binney 57-8). So, people were not living in traditional agrarian society in harmony. There was a territorial and disjointed order in the countryside. This peripheral, liminal, territorial, and scattered mode of administration is somehow similar to that of the colonizer in the colonies.

Indeed, the relationship between the aristocratic rulers and their vassal in the rural peripheries has the dynamics of internal colonialism. Accordingly, Bage shows his anti-oppression stance through the colonial situation that is internal to England. Robert J. Hind, an early theorist of internal colonialism, asserts that "the decisive social divisions" in internal colonialism depend "upon an urban-rural nexus" (545). The relationship between the urban and rural spheres is, respectively, central and peripheral. Therefore, the conflict between the centre and peripheries lays bare the exploitative structure of feudalism. Katherine Verdery explains that internal colonialism discusses "juxtaposed spatial entities in terms of their contrasting internal social arrangements" which can be examined through the "historically rooted economic and cultural differences between cores and peripheries internal to a single political unit" (378-79). Michael Hechter, one of the first scholars to theorize internal colonialism, also stresses Wallerstein's world-system theory. He builds an internal colonial model that

> posits altogether different consequences resulting from heightened core-periphery interaction. According to this model, structural inequalities between the regions should increase, as the periphery develops in a dependent mode. Individuals of the core culture are expected to dominate high prestige roles in the social structure of the peripheral regions, as is the situation in overseas colonies. The bulk of the peripheral population will be confined to subordinate positions in the social structure. (344).

Hechter's analysis of core and periphery is inspired by the oppressive and exploitative relationship between the colony and distant metropole. It is important to underline that he does not limit this oppressive and exploitative relationship of the dominant and subordinate to racial and ethnic difference. "Core culture" in the internal colonialism theory encompasses both the colonizer and the feudal lord. So, the financial, social and political inequality of the dominant and subordinate encompasses both feudalism and colonialism as oppressive and exploitative institutions. Accordingly, the parallelism

between feudalism and colonialism is not limited to financial exploitation but it can also be observed in social and administrative spheres.

The conditions of particular administrative territories put the peoples of those territories under oppression and exploitation. Although feudalism and colonialism are separate rules, they have common modes of social order and administration, both of which result in oppression. Colonialism and feudalism also cooperated with each other as "the connection of *imperial* with *royal* authority … [was] highly variable … [and] royalty were both financially and symbolically invested in early European colonisations" (Loomba 10). For this reason, the political and financial cooperation of feudalism and colonialism is worth brief mention prior to delving into the parallelism between their oppressive and exploitative inner dynamics.

In the eighteenth-century England, "fortunes were increasingly derived from overseas trade … [and] the East and West Indian trade, banking, and brewing produced important families" (Wasson 40). Considering that England's overseas trade was mostly conducted by colonies and colonial routes, trade was hand in hand with the expansionist and exploitative policy of the political centre of England. Edward P. Thompson discusses the cooperation of many institutions in overseas trade. In the following excerpt, he explains how colonial wealth was accumulated on privileged groups and individuals:

> Great financial and commercial interests … required access to the State, for charters, privileges, contracts, and for the diplomatic, military and naval strength required to break open the way for trade. Diplomacy … or licence to trade in slaves … took the form of bribes not only to the king's ministers and mistresses, but also … to the king.
>
> We are habituated to think of exploitation as something that occurs at ground level, at the point of production. In the early eighteenth century wealth was created at this lowly level, but it rose rapidly to higher regions, accumulated in great gobbets, and the real killings were to be made in the distribution, cornering and sale of goods or raw materials (wool, grain, meat, sugar, cloth, tea, tobacco, slaves), in the manipulation of credit, and in the seizure of the offices of State. (139)

His detailed analysis shows that the aristocracy had many reasons to eagerly support colonial activities of England. Their profit depended on safe trade routes, which enabled

the seizure and transportation of goods and raw materials. Raw material was then seized, transported, and processed into goods, moving "manufacture … up in the scales of wealth" (Thompson 141). The wealth acquired by colonialism amounted to welfare in England. However, this wealth was limited to privileged groups. Specifically, colonial wealth served for the aristocracy -who were inconsiderate about the welfare distribution in their estate, land, village, or region- to become richer (Mann 53). Feudalism and colonialism worked together to increase their political impact and financial gain by operating "slavery and 'feudalism' in the periphery, wage labor and self-employment in the core" (Wallerstein 87).

The circulation of wealth among the royalty, aristocracy, and state was a model of predation and profit. This model was based on the cooperation of the colonial predation of the state and the feudal predation of the aristocracy for the sake of profit. "Predation and production… were engaged in close, sometimes symbiotic" relationship in this model, and the state, royalty, and aristocracy reaped mutual benefits by means of it (Mann 54). The aristocracy was regularly granted permanent benefits as "*acts of parliament*" worked "to increase the property of the rich" (Wollstonecraft 58). While helping a privileged group to get richer, this model caused the imbalanced "mixture of internal weakness and external strength … [a principal issue] thrown up in mid-eighteenth-century high politics" (141-42). The internal weakness was poverty due to greedy local administrators who acquired increasing wealth by financially exploiting and socially oppressing their subjects. The individuals of agrarian and working class communities were rendered silent in the face of oppression and exploitation. So, policies and social order inside England was based on oppression and exploitation. Meanwhile, England's external strength, too, depended on oppression and exploitation of colonized peoples thanks to "its effective military, naval, diplomatic and imperial presence" (Thompson 141).

Due to the imbalanced wealth distribution mentioned above, disharmony was evident in feudal modes of ruling. Along with ill welfare distribution, the disharmony derived from oppression, imposition, and unjust treatment of peoples of different feudal communities. These were practiced by feudal lords whose social and administrative

influence was maximized in their own territories though lower nationwide. Similarly, although the colonizer "knows that in his own country he would be nothing; he would go back to being a mediocre man," he had high authority in the colony he served in. Without the authority and power granted to him by the colonizing nation, the colonizer is nothing as an individual. At this point, the similarity between a feudal lord and an imperial officer reappears, so does the correlation between feudalism and colonialism.

The territorial and liminal experiences of peoples under feudal rule are very similar compared with those under colonial rule. Kathleen Wilson points out a domestic regulation that functioned inside and outside England, both in feudalism and colonies. She claims that this regulation

> was taken on by masters and mistresses as well as governors and councilors, upon whose ability to 'see like a state' depended the reproduction of national manners, the organization of coercive labor regimes, the exertion of moral and intellectual suasion, and the imposition of social hierarchies among their various charges. (1300)

Feudal units and colonies acted predominantly self-regulating, though strictly as "a truly British territorial class" (Cannadine 5). The territorial domination of the English ruling elite was common for feudalism and colonialism. Just as the aristocratic territoriality shapes the lives of rural peoples, the colonial territoriality shapes the lives of the colonized peoples.

Although a colony had a symbiotic bond with the distant metropole, it seldom carried an identical image of the distant metropole it was attached to. It had unique internal dynamics. A colony was "not just something that happens from outside a country or a people," but a universal mindset and order that "can be duplicated from within" (Loomba 16). In other words, inner dynamics of a colony could be performed in microcosmic or macrocosmic scales to achieve similar outcomes as colonialism. For instance, a father can employ the tactics used by the colonizer in order to increase his authority over his family and render other family members docile. Thus, feudalism depended on the same dynamics as colonialism or patriarchy. It was a tyrannical mode of administration practiced by an absolute authority whose license to rule was either

self-granted or hereditary. Therefore, both rural peoples of feudal England and those in a country colonized by England were under similar social, political, and economic oppression of the ruling elite.

The social, political, and economic dimensions of oppression need to be explained respectively for comprehending their effect on identity formation. Firstly, social oppression was the result of the perception of agrarian rural communities as second-class citizens. In line with their "pejorative judgement on the peasantry," the aristocracy and nobility believed that the rural workers did not represent true Englishness (Fanon, *The Wretched* 65). The same applied to the working class peoples. In a way, common peoples of rural communities were dissociated from their national identity. Their relation to their country, culture, and identity were mediated by their local masters. Local masters demanded the deference of their vassals by the consistent support of the gentry (Thompson 163). Such form of oppression was identical to that of the colonizer practiced on the colonized. Hence, the oppressor and social impositions hindered an individual from defining his or her individual identity. As a result, one was isolated and dissociated from one's individual identity. By constant scrutiny, the colonizer kept the colonized in continuous doubt about identity and sense of belonging (Cesaire 91).

Secondly, the political oppression of rural peoples derived from the fact that they lacked political representation. Similar to the pejorative social presumptions about rural peoples, the political presumption was that they were not entitled to full representation in the front of the king and the parliament. The House of Commons was overshadowed by the House of Lords in terms of political influence. Feudal landowners and the nobility, who were "uninterested in the details of parliamentary business," had complete independence whether to represent the people living on their lands or not (McCahil 15-16, 18). The English aristocracy were not subjected to any strict inspection of the king or the parliament (Cannadine 5). Parallel to the lack of representation of English rural communities in the political centre, the colonized peoples, too, were never truly represented in the distant metropole that governed them. The colonizer, whether in the form of a diplomat, missionary, soldier, imperial officer, or a local colonial

administrator, never listened to the colonized communities or individuals. When he listened, he obscured what he heard when reporting to the colonizing country.

Thirdly, the economic oppression of rural peoples depended on the exploitation of labour, high taxes, and high inflation (Wallerstein 84). To put it simpler, the case was the unfair distribution of national wealth. Local rulers were the channel between the national wealth and the rural peoples. Therefore, they applied gratuitous taxes[14] since "aristocratic recommendation greatly influenced the appointments" of tax collectors, kept wages at minimum, and manipulated local economy (Ward 110; Gregory 24). Clergymen's support, too, was important for maintaining economic hegemony (Cannon 65). John E. D. Binney also emphasizes the territoriality of taxation policies as the taxes varied "unevenly as between county and county, hundred and hundred, and even between parish and parish" (57). In addition to these, sinecures, which costed the public great deal[15], were distributed to the sons and kins of landowners, lords, and peers (Cannon 139-40). So, feudal administrators were fully authorized in the economic matters of their territory. Identically, colonial administrators had the authority to impose taxes and manipulate wages (Page 326, 573-74).

Considering the facts mentioned above, it can be said that oppression and exploitation prevailed inside England in form of feudalism, and outside it in form of colonialism during the eighteenth-century. Yet, 1790s witnessed the decline of feudalism and arising scepticism towards colonialism, both of which were reflected in Bage's selected novels. The reasons for the decline of feudalism can be explained briefly in three steps. Firstly, the financial power of the members of the aristocracy was becoming insufficient to maintain a feudal socio-political order. Although they still maintained a decent financial position in the eighteenth century, their income was comparatively low. Even the minimum income of a magnate was higher than the highest income of a member of the aristocracy (Rogers, "Social Structure" 44). Secondly, the political impact of the

[14] According to William R. Ward, the local disputes on taxation were common in different counties of England in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Notably, he names Derby as one of the places where taxation disputes occurred the most (36). Robert Bage spent his entire life in Tamworth, which is located between Derby and Birmingham, the mere places that he frequented. So, the taxation disputes may have influenced Bage into portraying his aristocratic characters as financially greedy and manipulative.

[15] These highly comfortable, privileged, and profitable positions were granted for life and did no dramatic public good (Cannon 139-40). So, they can be regarded as burdens upon public wealth of the time.

aristocracy was decreasing as "the capitalist, or the mercantile and manufacturing class had superseded the older land-owning aristocracy as the dominant class in the national life" (Gregory 26). Another reason for the decrease of their political power was their unjust and outdated rule. So, the number of aristocrats who could actively participate in the country's administration went lower and lower (Rogers, "Social Structure" 44). Thirdly, prompted by the circumstances above, the aristocracy ceased to be the representative image of England because the nobility no longer possessed nationwide social respect.

Along with the factors above, it was the popularity of the arising concepts such as liberty, individualism, civic-state, and cultural homogeneity[16] that caused the fall of the aristocracy. Likewise, it was these concepts that escalated the anti-slavery campaigns conducted by William Wilberforce or Sons of Africa movement leaded by Olaudah Equiano. Both the decline of feudalism and anti-slavery trends are inherently anti-colonial reactions. Articulating ideas against the aristocracy and colonial activities marks an "ideological break with paternalism" that was initiated by the "the intellectual culture of the dissenting middle class" of the 1790s (Thompson 163-64). Arnold Hauser views this cultural dissent as "the emancipation of middle-class taste from the dictates of the aristocracy" (46). Cultural dissent in England had special importance at a time when there was not a holistic resistance to feudal oppression except territorial riots, and thus the majority of rural peoples were still deferent to their masters. Eventually, societal changes and literary dissent of 1790s invalidated the hegemony of the aristocracy and enabled the criticism of inhuman practices of colonialism. The traditions of deference and obedience were weakened with views that "render[ed] men susceptible of their rights" (Coleridge 25).

Common people of England, especially those in rural communities, had to connect to the world outside their isolated microcosm in order to get acquainted with the ideas of

[16] The predominant ideas about ethnicity and heritage were diminishing with the emergence of a laissez faire economic order. This economic order also had impact on the traditionally shaped social norms and values of the time. Individuals were slowly realizing the possibility to actualize themselves regardless of their ethnic, religious, hereditary, social, and cultural origins. For individualism, see *An Inquiry into the Human Mind* (1764) and *Essays on the Intellectual Powers of Man* (1785) by Thomas Reid. For the decrease of traditional norms, see *Common Sense* (1776) by Thomas Paine. For laissez faire economy, see *The Wealth of Nations* (1776) by Adam Smith.

individualism, liberty, and rights. These views needed audience and articulation. In other words, qualified readership was necessary along with a dialogical literary atmosphere. According to Jon P. Klancher, the interaction between intellectuals, writers and audience was quite intense

> in the 1790s, [as] the radical 'corresponding societies' … held meetings, and the radical pamphlets and periodicals … composed [a] network … Thomas Paine's *The Rights of Man* could not have reached its 50,000 readers (for part I) and eventually 200,000 readers (Parts I and II combined) without… adhoc distribution … [and] insurgent public discourse. (27)

As a result of the extensive network of printing press, fiction assumed an important role in 1790s. Notably, both readership and literature fulfilled this role by adapting to the revolutionary atmosphere that appeared at the end of the eighteenth century (Earle 10).

One group of writers who assumed the role of educating the public about new ideas was Jacobin novelists. While Thomas Paine's ideas were "the paradigm for Jacobin novelist," their fiction centralised such themes as "inalienable natural rights, the citizen as a self-determining entity … government as a contract … [and] the empowerment of the individual" (Johnson 100, 103). Besides the themes above, such Jacobin novelists as William Godwin, Mary Wollstonecraft, and Helen Maria Williams protested slavery, slave trade, and colonialism in their works. Godwin writes against slavery openly for several times in *Enquiry Concerning Political Justice* (1793) (Lamb 674). In fact, he finds it "the most deplorable perversion of reason" to believe that "any species of slavery … [is] favourable to virtue" (Godwin, *Political Justice* 294). In *A Vindication of the Rights of Men* (1790), Mary Wollstonecraft calls slavery an "abominable mischief" (51). In addition to them, Helen Williams is the boldest in addressing the issues of slavery and colonialism in her poems "The Slave-Trade" (1788) and "Ode to Peace" (1786). In the latter poem, she accuses England with the following lines: "My Country! when with tyrant-hosts combin'd — / O, hideous conquest, had thy sword prevail'd, / And crown'd the impious league against mankind!" (Williams 34-36).

Along with these figures, other famous Jacobin novelists are Thomas Holcroft, Elizabeth Inchbald, Mary Hays, Eliza Fenwick, Charlotte Smith, and Mary Robinson

(Lynch 442). Additionally, Bage is commonly regarded as a Jacobin novelist although he is considered not politically active enough to be one (Moran 52-3). The degree of radicality in these writers' call for revolution and reform varied. However, they all dealt with such sensitive and critical matters as independence or revolution. Consequently, Jacobin novelists received many arrows of criticism from the conservative Anti-Jacobins (Johnson 117). Their works combined politics, philosophy, and fiction in an

> alarming effect, according to conservative commentators, [who were] vexed … by how figures such as William Godwin and Mary Wollstonecraft followed up treatises with novels. In the changed circumstances of the 1790s, the effort to yoke novels to more serious and edifying discourses appeared to many an intolerably indecorous act. (Lynch 440)

In other words, their aim to reform individuals, crowds, and institutions was viewed dangerous by many. The thought-provoking dissent in their fiction sparked "a revolution in the art of the novel" (Kelly 19). Besides, their works offered a dialogical and "*enjoined*" experience rather than projecting a "self-confirming discourse … upon the public" (Klancher 22). To clarify, they did not propagandize revolutionary ideas or convey revolutionary teachings to their audience. Instead, they presented free and open debate of ideas in an unbiased way in order to turn the audience to active participants of the socio-political dialogue in their novels.

Jacobin novelists were eventually "suppressed with a high hand" as a result of the growing fear of the increasingly violent French Revolution, and ended up prosecuted by government and received public backlash (Gregory 29). Some other reasons for their suppression and prosecution were their discussions of "the most radical reforms" and "transgressions of discursive boundaries" in their fiction (Lynch 440). Gary Kelly juxtaposes the experiences of the Jacobin novelists with their ideological stance by stating that they

> came to share in a complex of values and beliefs … [They] had direct personal experience of social, moral, or legal oppression. They opposed tyranny and oppression, be it domestic, national or international, spiritual or temporal; they were against all distinctions between men which were not based on moral qualities, or virtue; and they were utterly opposed to persecution of individuals, communities, or nations for their beliefs on any subject. (7)

In a way, pursuit of liberty and individualism united the Jacobin novelists. Accordingly, as Deidre S. Lynch states, they "committed to writing in the service of reform," and used fiction to make "political denunciation and expose the manifold forms of" oppression (443).

Unlike the other Jacobin novelists, Bage "remained outside the turmoil of London political and literary life," and his fiction had been successfully covert as he escaped any trial or arrest (Kelly 6, 11). He gave larger esteem to righteousness and virtues than to money as "trade, which is thought to corrupt the mind, made no such impression upon his" mind (Hutton 478). Correspondingly, integrity, honour, devotion to truth, benevolence, generosity, and unremitting affection of a father, are some attributes that are often reported about Bage (Scott, *The Novels of Swift Bage and Cumberland* xxiv). Yet, the social and financial oppression he had been under is reflected in his letters to his fifty-year friend William Hutton. Sir Walter also mentioned that Bage's political views were affected by the problem he had with excisemen, who confiscated the papers Bage produced in his mill without any apparent reason (xxvi). At this point, it is necessary to introduce Bage's biographical details and literary style in order to understand his perception of the era. The most reliable and detailed biographical information about the Birmingham author still remains those provided by William Hutton in *Monthly Magazine* in January 1802. A similar account of Bage is provided in a memoir written by Catherine Hutton, who is William Hutton's daughter. This memoir is located in Sir Walter Scott's preface about Bage in *The Novels of Swift, Bage, and Cumberland* (1824).

Bage was born into a middle-class family in Derby in 1728 (Lawler 1). He had been a promising student. Besides his early education, Bage mastered French and Italian, learnt music, and took mathematics lessons as an adult (Lawler 1). After marrying at his twenty-three, he ran a hereditary paper mill business in a small parish called Elford located around Birmingham until his death in 1801 (Scott, *The Novels* xvii). Although he had ups and downs in business, he lived a peaceful and domestic life (Hutton 478). He wrote his first novel at the age of fifty-one. Notably, all his novels except *MAHI* and

Hermsprong were written in epistolary form. His first four novels served as a period of maturation for his last two, both of which "show a steady gain in literary merit" according to Allene Gregory (166). Though Bage had been involved in intellectual pursuits long before writing novels, it is the common claim that financial loss in his business led him to take the pen (Gazda 1-2, 6; Scott, *The Novels* xviii). A different perspective can also be found in a short biography of Bage written by Hermione Ramsden. After reporting that "Bage lost a considerable portion of his fortune," she claims that "it was partly as a distraction from these pecuniary troubles that he wrote his novels" (292). This corresponds with William Hutton's account that Bage started to write lest the "distress of mind would overcome him" (479).

Bage has never been included in the English literary canon. This may have depended on two reasons. Firstly, his political opinions were subversive in terms of their call for reformation and antagonization of the existing order. Secondly, his most read works, *MAHI* and *Hermsprong,* were dominated by political and philosophical opinions, which outweighed his literary merits. Yet, his views on the English and European community and identity are significant. In spite of living secluded from London's political and literary scene, Bage's political views and humanitarian stance are reflected on his novels. He was deeply influenced by the impacts of the American Revolution and the French Revolution, which "have at last crystallized Bage's very liberal sentiments into a genuine radicalism" (Gregory 168). The ideology behind The French Revolution corresponded with Bage's radical dislike and mistrust of the aristocracy, too. Ideology dominated Bage's literary motives. The common perception was that he "fulfilled the traditional role of the author according to neo-classical standards of criticism—he could both teach and delight" (Kelly 25). Sir Walter Scott also emphasises that Bage aimed to "to extend and infuse his own political and philosophical opinions …[rather] than merely to amuse the reader with … a fictitious tale" (xxvi). Delight and amusement characterized Bage's fiction whereas reformation was the central component of it.

Apart from these attributes, social conditions and behaviours are scrutinized in detail in *MAHI* and *Hermsprong*. Bage exposes the oppressive and "residual features of the world that was slowly lost," and celebrates "dynamic processes which spawned the

emergence of a new society [that was] (already well advanced in 1770)" (Rogers, "Social Structure" 39-40). Instead of merely reporting his impressions about the socio-political scene of the era, Bage exposes tense socio-political dynamics in *MAHI* and *Hermsprong*. The prevailing English and European identities and societies are critically scrutinized and challenged in these novels. Although his fiction hosts a broad diversity of characters, Bage categorizes them mainly as good and evil (Kelly 28). Yet, there is a small number of grey characters in his fiction. Bage's portrayal of characters, their interactions, and their relationship with bigger institutions derives from the influence he took from the era along with the abovementioned struggles he faced. The re-evaluation of these issues in *MAHI* and *Hermsprong* reveals the author's anti-colonial concerns, which were the ill-treatment and exploitation of those who are socio-politically, financially, and culturally oppressed. Accordingly, this thesis claims that Bage exposes and challenges oppression and exploitation by antagonising the traditional English and European values and identities in *Man as He Is* and fictionalising an independent and universal identity shaped by the novelties of the age in *Hermsprong*. In line with Bage's protest of oppression and exploitation, the selected novels are analysed within the context of the anti-colonial theory.

The thesis is comprised of two chapters. The first chapter examines the exposition of oppressive and exploitative agents and institutions in *MAHI*. The analysis uncovers the oppressive, dysfunctional, and outdated institutions of feudalism and colonialism in the eighteenth-century England. The group identity produced by these institutions and nursed by patriotism is discussed in the selected novel in respect to its conflict with individual identity. In this respect, the protagonist Sir George Paradyne's individual identity formation is pivotal for the chapter. In its examination of the group identity formed by feudalism and colonialism, the chapter takes the colonial heritage and mentality behind this group identity into consideration. In the novel, the author's criticism of feudalism and colonialism is presented through the antagonization of the English and European characters, archetypes, traditions, communities, and societies. *MAHI* is both satirical and sceptical about certain English and European behavioural patterns and discourse, which cannot even be fully comprehended by those who perform it in the novels. In the novel, Bage criticizes the English nation and society while

simultaneously contemplating how they can be improved; and thus, *MAHI* is an attempt to find the balance between satire and didacticism. Though the novel criticizes many layers of the eighteenth-century English society, the focus of attention is the aristocracy. The protagonist, Sir George, stands against not only the oppression of aristocracy, but also against that of patriarchy and slavery.

Bage's anti-colonial discourse is apparent in the historical references and socio-political messages of *MAHI* and its protagonist's opposition to tyranny and oppression of all kinds. Anti-colonial discourse and ideology against oppression are conveyed through the change in Sir George's identity. Due to the fact that *MAHI* centralises the clash between dominant group identity[17] and oppressed individual identity, Memmi's archetypes of the colonizer and the colonized are employed in the chapter. The dominant group identity is represented by the aristocracy who represent oppression and exploitation while the oppressed individual identity is represented by the protagonist of the novel. Hence, the aristocratic characters are situated at the centre of the oppressive and expansionist mentality that shaped the colonial pursuits of England, whilst Sir George rejects their oppression. Therefore, Sir George is discussed in the chapter both as the literal and metaphorical representative of anti-oppression and anti-colonial resistance, respectively. His resistance is performed by denying his premeditated national identity. In other words, it is the triumph of his individual identity against his group identity. The triumph of his individual identity brings Sir George closer to an anti-colonial figure. In order to analyse the clash between group identity and individual identity within the anti-oppressive context, the chapter makes use of the parallelism between colonialism and feudalism, which is mentioned in the introduction.

The second chapter examines the anti-oppressive resistance and challenge in *Hermsprong*. Metaphorically, it views the setting of the novel, a small rural village, as a colony, and the protagonist's ventures to get rid of the aristocratic oppression as an attempt to decolonize the village. The resistance and challenge to oppression are

[17] The group identities examined in this thesis are categorized into national identity and social identity. Both types require belonging to an in-group. Moreover, as mentioned earlier in the introduction, these two types are in constant interaction with each other. The interaction can be mediated by many elements such as culture, patriotism, pride, or history.

performed by the protagonist Charles Hermsprong, who is “the exponent of Bage’s most extreme doctrines” (Gregory 169). In other words, the opposition is articulated through Hermsprong’s rigid individual identity, strict code of conduct, and no compromise policy. Therefore, the enlightenment against oppression and metaphorical decolonization in the village stem from the spread of Hermsprong’s anti-colonial discourse and ideology in the village. Compared with the expository nature of *MAHI*, in which the aristocracy and its corrupt values are put to scrutiny, *Hermsprong* demonstrates a direct and overt challenge to the English society and its values. Hence, the latter novel has anti-patriarchal, anti-aristocratic, and anti-feudal discourse. Metaphorically, the chapter argues that Bage builds an anti-colonial analogy in *Hermsprong* by presenting these issues in a feudal village ruled by an aristocrat, who is no different from a colonial ruler. Additionally, in this chapter, the class struggle in the novel is examined through the lenses of the ideology against oppression, anti-colonial discourse, and master-servant relationship. Bage’s last novel is considered to be the most articulate and “notable of all for its socio-political” messages (Gazda 58). Structured around a typical love story that ends happily, it is a philosophical and satirical novel that raises moral, social, religious, economic, and political questions in a radical manner. It aims to subvert and reform paternalism, feudalism, and colonialism, the dominant English and European institutions of the time. Additionally, it is Bage’s claim that pursuing ranks and titles corrupts individual morality.

As the spokesperson of his author, the protagonist possesses an agency and power that can tackle corruption and oppression. Hermsprong’s ideology against oppression, anti-colonial discourse, and individual identity provide a voice for Bage to challenge the English national and social identities simultaneous with speaking for the oppressed, unfortunate, and subordinate. Essentially, Hermsprong’s agency derives from a proactive anti-colonial stance. In spite of many obstacles he faces in the novel, proactivity allows Hermsprong to resist to the dominant and impose direct reformations in the microcosmic English society he is situated in. Some of these reformations can be listed as helping the village in time of a disaster, supporting and advising the exploited miners of the village, directing the English law into righteousness, or persuading an unwilling lord into marrying his daughter without any physical imposition or lawful

impediment. As a result of the resistance and reforms of the protagonist, the village is metaphorically decolonized, which demonstrates the author’s overt criticism of and challenge to the oppression, which looms over the institutions of feudalism and colonialism.

CHAPTER I
CLASH OF ARISTROCRATIC GROUP IDENTITY AND INDIVIDUAL IDENTITY IN *MAN AS HE IS* (1792)

This chapter argues that Bage uses the anti-colonial discourse and the identity formation of the protagonist of *Man as He Is* in order to criticize feudalism and colonialism as oppressive institutions. For this purpose, it examines the conflict between individual identity and group identity, which instigates The individual identity formation of the protagonist against oppression in the novel. In *MAHI*, the aristocratic characters represent imposed group identity, which stands for England's patriotic and colonial national identity, whereas Sir George Paradyne, the protagonist, represents individual identity with his stance against imposed group identity. Substantially, Sir George's individual identity becomes the embodiment of the ideology against oppression and, metaphorically, anti-colonial resistance in the novel. Thus, the chapter reveals the protagonist's transformation from belonging to a premeditated group identity to forming an individual identity against any kind of oppression. In consequence of the incidents he witnesses and people he meets throughout the novel, Sir George is eventually disheartened from the mindset and practices of the aristocracy and his nation with a growing lack of belonging to these institutions, which nurture English nationalism.

The novel exposes and antagonizes the aristocracy, patriarchy, feudalism, slavery, and colonialism, all of which support and practice oppression and exploitation. Moreover, it examines the values and identities established by and around these institutions. Drawing upon the relation between them as mentioned in Introduction, the chapter relates the institutions of feudalism and colonialism in its analysis. Accordingly, it claims that Bage sympathizes with those oppressed by feudalism in England simultaneous with those oppressed by colonialism overseas. In the novel, the aristocracy is the representative of oppression, exploitation, and colonial mindset. Bage suggests that the abusive overseas policies and mindset of the aristocracy, or the savage noble, draws a tyrannical image of England in the world stage. While some characters represent the

despotic values and practices of feudalism and colonialism, some other characters oppose these values and practices in the novel. Since Sir George rejects the oppressive and exploitative group identity imposed on him and forms an anti-colonial individual identity, he belongs to the latter group. Accordingly, Bage presents his criticism of colonialism through Sir George, who experiences a transformation in his identity by rejecting the aristocratic group identity that is imposed on him.

Sir George is a wealthy character who belongs to the aristocracy, and hence he feels a certain attachment to his nation, though it is not at a patriotic degree, at the beginning of the novel. Prior to being sent to the grand tour that makes up the majority of the novel, Sir George believes that "the present times were in all respects the best which England had ever known" (Bage, *MAHI* 38). The nationalistic feelings and patriotic advises of his family have indeed an important role in this belief. Accordingly, at the beginning of the novel, he represents the proud colonizer, or in Memmi's words "the colonizer who accepts," which means a person from the colonial country who "seeks to legitimize colonization" (89). However, as a result of his travels, he becomes disillusioned with his nation, rejects the aristocratic group identity, and feels guilty because of England's colonial legacy. Sympathizing with the colonized and oppressed people, he adopts anti-colonial identity and becomes, as Memmi typifies, "the colonizer who refuses," which means "either withdrawing physically from those conditions [of colonialism] or remaining to fight and change them" (63). Considering that Sir George leaves England at the end of the novel, he withdraws physically from the oppressive institutions of feudalism and colonialism.

Initially, Sir George's displeasure with the behaviours, practices, and the mindset of the aristocrats and the colonizers starts during his travels in England in the first volume of the novel. For the most part of the novel, his stance against oppression develops through passive observations and interpretations rather than explicit reactions against the aristocratic and colonial characters. He, for instance, resorts to stoic silence and rejection against the impositions of his uncle. Or, in another instance, even though he despises the colonial mindset of Mr. Birimport, Sir George does not stop his sister from marrying him. However, he is eventually able to overcome this passive stance as he gets

to hear first-hand accounts about the harsh realities of oppression and colonialism through the stories of Miss Zaporo and Benjamin Fidel. These characters and their stories intensify his dislike of oppression and tyranny, and drive him to take the radical action of isolating himself from the English society. So, firstly, Sir George's displeasure with the aristocratic group identity initiates his development of an ideology against oppression, and it is followed by his individual identity formation. Secondly, the harsh realities in the stories of oppressed peoples finalize the process of his identity formation and solidifies his anti-colonial stance. His identity formation is affected by both the enforcers and the victims of oppression, tyranny, and colonialism. At the end of the novel, Sir George's transformation makes him tear apart the ties that bind him to his nation and the aristocratic group identity.

MAHI is a four volume novel that tells the adventures of Sir George. Written in a total of one hundred and twenty two chapters, the novel is told by an omnipotent third person narrator who at times addresses the audience, too. While the love story around which the novel is centred indicate that it is a sentimental novel, the rich debates about politics and philosophy indicates that *MAHI* can also be categorized as a political novel or a philosophical novel. Since the narrative is centralized around the individual development of the protagonist beginning from his twenty-first year, family is a key institution that is criticized early in the novel. After inheriting wealth and title from his deceased father, young Sir George is left to the care of his mother, Lady Mary Paradyne. She is "the domineering mother" and a "repulsive … [and] overbearing caricature of mother love" (Gazda 94). Another traditionalist and despotic family member is Lord Auschamp, Sir George's uncle, who metaphorically stands for the archetype of the colonizer. These figures are the domestic despots of the novel because they try to keep Sir George under their control, and hence shape his identity in accordance with their social and political expectations.

Despite paternal despotism, Sir George's independent and sceptical nature allows him to question paternal authority and dogmatic teachings. His scepticism derives from the fact that Sir George does not comply with the normative archetype of a young aristocrat. Typically, young aristocrats comply with anything that enhances their social rank and

brings financial rewards. Sir George, however, does not give importance to money and luxury, and also refuses the corrupt governmental office that is offered by his uncle. Furthermore, he deviates from the in-group traditions and values of the aristocracy. His behaviours, and ultimately his life, are shaped by questioning the norms of feudalism such as deference, nepotism, luxury, wealth, corruption, and boast. This deviation results in conflict between Sir George and his family members. As a result of the conflict, he is sent to a grand tour for "knowing the world" (Bage, *MAHI* 14). Common to the rich families of the feudal times, a grand tour was "performed in style with a tutor, servants and horses, each year of the tour ran away with thousands of pounds" (Mingay 138). Hence, a tutor is sought in order to assist and educate Sir George in his travels. In spite of the protests of Lady Mary and the Lord, a convict named Mr. Lindsay is chosen to tutor Sir George, who insists on this decision.

Before going abroad, Sir George and Mr. Lindsay decide to travel in England to observe the rural life. Moving around mid-west England, they eventually travel down to South. The travellers criticize "the tyranny which subjects" rural working class "to incommodious and ugly habiliments," namely; heavy labour (Bage, *MAHI* 42). In contrast to the poor conditions of workers, they observe that the aristocrats live in growing luxury. Mr. Lindsay points out the issue of luxury and unfair wealth distribution, saying that he would prefer "the beginning of the eighteenth century … when wealth was more moderate, and more equal;— when coxcombry, now swelled into a deluge entered the land in a gentle current" (Bage, *MAHI* 44). Even though Sir George and Mr. Lindsay frequently argue about a lot of different topics, the latter is a role model for the former in terms of simplicity, rationality, and modesty throughout the novel. In his treatment and mentorship of Sir George, Mr. Lindsay is open-minded and argumentative rather than patronizing and despotic. In a way, Mr. Lindsay's open-mindedness, which Lady Mary and the Lord lack, is inspirational for Sir George's character. For this reason, the Lord is worried that Mr. Lindsay may affect his nephew and decrease his control over him. Regardless of the Lord's dislike of Mr. Lindsay, the latter's teachings of simplicity, rationality, and modesty help Sir George develop empathy and tolerance towards the oppressed and unfortunate.

After a while, Sir George and Mr. Lindsay encounter Miss Colerain and Miss Carlill in a village near Southampton. Sir George falls in love with Miss Colerain. Henceforward, the novel is built around the theme of love as Sir George is in constant effort to win Miss Colerain's heart, and they end up marrying. In fact, the novel ends with a triple marriage of Sir George and Miss Colerain, Mr. Lindsay and Miss Carlill, and Mr. Bardoe and Sir George's sister, Emilia. The couples leave England for Paris after marrying. Sir George travels to, respectively, Germany, Austria, France, and Italy, and undergoes a moral corruption that begins in London, and ends in Italy. During his travels, he fluctuates between various vices and virtues (Gazda 106). Meanwhile, he meets a wide variety of people from different cultures and geographies, and observes them, their stories, and their behaviours "with mental and bodily eyes" (Bage, *MAHI* 38). Characterization in the novel is the main tool for Bage to articulate his anti-colonial thoughts. He develops his characters by observing a wide range of English and European traditions, values, and identities. Therefore, Sir George's observations of the people he meets are significant for his identity formation.

According to Bage, pride, despotism, oppression, repression, exploitation are the main issues related to feudalism, slavery, and colonialism. Therefore, Bage criticizes the archetypical colonizer's despotism and pride metaphorically through the aristocratic and colonial characters portrayed in *MAHI*. Contrary to these, he presents Sir George as the embodiment of an ideology against oppression and mouthpiece of anti-colonial discourse. The characters in *MAHI* can be divided into three groups. Firstly, the aristocratic characters Lady Mary Paradyne, John Fielding, Count Colliano, Marquis de Valine, Mrs. Mowbray, and Miss Brixworth cause Sir George's dislike of pride, hypocrisy, and mimicry. Secondly, the colonial characters Lord Auschamp and Mr. Birimport[18] make Sir George realize how the dynamics of oppression and exploitation function. Additionally, Warren Hastings is an important historical figure used by Bage in his criticism of colonialism. Thirdly, the anti-colonial characters, or victims of oppression, Miss Zaporo, Benjamin Fidel, and Master Colerain enlarge Sir George's perspective about oppression and exploitation. His interactions with these characters

[18] Both the Lord and Mr. Birimport belong to the aristocratic group, too. However, they are categorized here as colonial characters because they embody Memmi's archetype of the colonizer.

have significant role in Sir George's anti-colonial identity formation, which will be explained in detail in this chapter.

As a result of his travels, during which he forms an individual identity, Sir George is estranged from oppressive and exploitative institutions and values. Eventually, he has the "liberty to pursue his … own life project" without being strictly bound by a dominant group identity (Biró-Kaszás 82). Despite having been raised as a noble Englishman, the abovementioned scepticism of Sir George allows him to establish a more tolerant and universal world view. Universality and tolerance are important aspects that contribute to his stance against oppression and his identity formation. The chapter examines these two aspects while discussing the stories of Miss Zaporo and Benjamin Fidel. As mentioned before, open-mindedness and scepticism facilitate Sir George's developing resistance against oppression because anti-colonial discourse necessitates an individual to constantly question an existing order and its status quo. According to Bage, dissent is the principal way that leads to the betterment of a society. Thus, Sir George's scepticism and ability of critical thinking allows his betterment. As the novel proceeds, he increasingly reflects the anti-oppression stance of Bage. So, in *MAHI*, Bage speaks to people on collective level by telling the betterment of an individual.

In the novel, Bage's overtly critical ideas about the institution of feudalism are combined with the suggestive, and at times direct, protest of England's colonial policies and slavery. Although *MAHI* is not an anti-colonial novel, anti-colonial theory is applicable to it because the criticism and protest in the novel extend "well beyond formal politics to resistance [on textual level,] in realms of language, religious faith, gender, class, and culture" (Lee 438). Despite his protest of many institutions and practices of England, Bage "never advocated an overthrow of the government, but only that its corrupt practices should be abolished" (Gazda 143). Yet, even though Bage was not a revolutionist, his call for reformation can be analysed through anti-colonial theory since *MAHI* is inspired by his "hatred of tyranny … tyrants … [and] the attitude of submission" (Moran 77). Out of his dislike of tyranny and submission, Bage targets the aristocratic group identity along with feudalism simultaneous with criticizing the

overseas colonial presence and policies of England. In this sense, the analysis of the author's anti-colonial discourse in *MAHI* can reveal the varied forms of oppression in the novel.

Oppression and exploitation in relation to identity formation are examined under three titles, which are domestic despotism, premeditated formation of group identity, and individual formation of anti-oppressive individual identity. Prior to being related with the institutions of aristocracy and colonialism, oppression and exploitation are introduced in the domestic sphere in *MAHI*. From the Middle Ages to the age of nation states, family had been an eminently patriarchal institution in England (Schochet 6). Thus, Bage believed that the root of oppressive and exploitative practices was family. Moreover, patriarchal authority, through which a traditional family functions, empowers all the institutions criticized in *MAHI*. Patriarchal discourse can both create and maintain power. Accordingly, patriarchal authority in family allows the preservation of a "historical standard of identity [that] was based on the notions of continuous tradition" (Zake 227). The norms and regulations of a community or a society are regenerated and protected in a patriarchal family, which is a significant apparatus of the oppressor. Hence, Bage does not "frame his tyrannic portraits in a larger political milieu, preferring to illustrate them within domestic contexts," thinking that "the domestic unit reflects the larger social and political institutions of England" (Moran 77).

A family is the smallest and first authorial unit in the formation of a premeditated group identity. Namely, family nurtures patriotism, which supports oppression and exploitation as an ideology. When considered as a patriotic institution, family becomes a hub of oppression and exploitation. By means of patriotism, oppressive and exploitative mindset is successively passed on from family to communities, feudalism, and colonialism. Subsequently, oppression and exploitation become hereditary national practices that are imposed on individuals all through their lives starting from family. In other words, patriotism allows the practice of oppression and exploitation in families, communities, feudalism, and colonialism.

It is necessary to understand patriotism as a premeditated group identity. In premeditated identity formation, the individual is neither selective nor informed about the constituents of that particular group identity. In other words, a premeditated national and social identity is the dogmatic accumulation of traditional, non-negotiable, and limited values that are integrated in line with the socio-political agenda of the centre (Parsons, *The Social System* 369-70). In *MAHI*, premeditated identity and its imposition are criticized through dysfunctional and outdated attributes of English and European discourse, problematic and comical situations, and the antagonization of the aristocracy. By putting some certain English and European behaviours in question through the representatives of the savage noble identity, the novel criticizes aristocratic and colonial extravagance, corruption, and expansionist mindset. Additionally, the novel antagonizes the corrupt patriotism of the aristocratic group identity. Witnessing the corruption of the aristocracy, Sir George starts his search for an individual identity, and consequently forms an individual identity against oppression at the end of the novel. He isolates himself from the English society, and thus from England's colonial heritage and mentality.

To explain how Bage portrays domestic despotism as a reflection of feudal and, metaphorically, colonial despotism in a small scale, it can be started with a brief mention of how he viewed the institution of family in his life. Although he gave importance to marriage and a peaceful domestic life, "he had no regard at all … for the traditional virtue of respect for parents" (Gazda 140). Advocating that parents must give room for the identity formation of their children, he equalled imposition of values to tyranny. Accordingly, he treated his sons "as men and equals, and allowed them that independence of mind and conduct which he claimed for himself" (Scott, *The Novels* xxiv). This indicates his belief in mutual respect and esteem between individuals regardless of their age, nationality, or social position. Since domestic despotism hinders individual identity formation and violates mutual respect, it is portrayed as the origin of tyranny in *MAHI*. Bage idealizes the free development of individual identity rather than inheriting a traditionally oppressive and dogmatic identity from family. Likewise, *MAHI* exemplifies the dangers of patriarchy and patriotism in family.

Thompson focuses on how patriarchy and patriotism are inherited and regenerated in a family, community, or society by resorting to Max Weber's ideas. He states that Weber's "locus for analysis is posited in the familial relations of the tribal unit or household" which empowers the "relations of domination and dependency … [that] come to characterize a 'patriarchal' society … [or] ancient and feudal forms of social order" (Thompson 134). So, the values, traditions, codes, and rules of a family can transcend the domestic sphere and give shape to an entire socio-political order. In another analysis concerning this issue, Michael McKeon stresses the binding force of patriarchy on the reciprocal relationship between the state and family. He considers patriarchy "as a theory of political obligation… [that imposes] upon subjects a subordination" to a kind of authority that is similar "to that of family members to the male head of the household" (11). Similarly, Bage centralizes traditional households and feudal units in his fiction in order to relate patriarchal despotism and colonial despotism with each other.

Jacobin novelists often made moral investigations of private spheres. They believed that the values exercised in the private sphere transcended the domestic environment. Bage's contemporary author William Godwin describes his novel *Things as They Are; or, The Adventures of Caleb Williams* (1794) as "a study and delineation of things passing in the moral world ... [and] a general review of the modes of domestic and unrecorded despotism" (*Caleb Williams* 312). Likewise, Bage scrutinizes the domestic moral environment of his time and exposes despotism on microcosmic level. In these microcosms, domestic oppression serves as a gateway to bigger systems of oppression and exploitation since "the 'little' realm of domestic was able to sustain the 'great' themes of public discourse" (Mckeon 645). Hence, a moral and socio-political examination of domestic despotism helps Bage criticize feudal and colonial despotism.

Bage introduces the Paradyne family as the heart of domestic conflicts at the beginning of *MAHI*. Giving a detailed account of the distant past of the family is deliberately avoided. Instead, a brief account is given about how Sir Jeffery Paradyne and Lady Mary, Sir George's parents, got married. The considerable wealth of Sir Jeffery is particularly stressed. However, the domestic harmony of the Paradyne family is told to

have shattered when Sir Jeffery died on a ship accident along with his two eldest sons. In spite of this tragic event, Horatian type of satire is observed in the presentation of familial background as follows:

> When the antiquity of a family is once established, it seldom renders any very material service to it to enquire why the original honours were bestowed, or how supported; satisfied, therefore, with having built upon a solid foundation, the right of looking down upon the common herd; I pass over from the reign of Henry the second to that of George the third, without taking the trouble with comparisons. (Bage, *MAHI* 6)

The narrator skips a broad period of lineage due to the fact that Bage puts the sense of nobility and lineage to test humorously by pointing out the lack of enquiry about heritage. The essential challenge is aimed at nobility, their titles, and feudalism, which are made up of tradition, deference, and dogmatism. These aspects hinder the public from questioning why a noble family became noble and understanding how they dominate the socio-political order.

The nobility's domination of the socio-political order depended on the reciprocal relation between the family and the state which "went back, in English political writing, at least as far as Hobbes and the writers of the Commonwealth period" (Kelly 48). The issue was quite relevant in the eighteenth century England, too, as William Blackwell, in 1765, stresses the importance of "due regulation and domestic order of the Kingdom, whereby the individuals of the state, like members of a well-governed family, are bound to conform their general behaviour to the rule of propriety, good neighbourhood and good manners; to be decent, industrious, and inoffensive in their respective state" (162). The parallel between family and state strengthened the integration of the centre and peripheries. The most important role of family was preserving the harmony between centre and feudal units by distributing the central ideology. Thus, as mentioned in Introduction, integration of the central ideology to peripheral communities is significant for the stabilization of feudalism (Parsons, *The Social System* 248-49). There are two ways to comprehend the relationship between the state and family. One is the liberal, or proto-capitalist, view that can encourage individualism. The other type is the traditional, or feudal, view that discourages individualism.

The liberal view considers the state as a family whose members' welfare is entirely secured by the governing body that uses patriotism or nationalism as a mechanism for integration (Maleŝević and Haugaard 127). In the liberal view, participation is voluntary, which makes it similar to a modern system of welfare state. Moreover, it is voluntary participation that encourages individualism in the liberal view of state as family. On the other hand, feudal view designates each family as a representative organ of the central power. Francis Bacon, who had influence on the writers and ideas of the Commonwealth period, highly favoured the feudal type of relationship between the state and family. Quoting Aristotle, Bacon claimed that

> mean and small things discover [and represent] great better than great can discover [and represent] the small; and therefore Aristotle noteth well, that the nature of *every thing is best seen in his smallest portions*, and for that cause he inquireth the nature of a commonwealth, first in a family, and the simple conjugations of man and wife, parent and child, master and servant, which are in every cottage. (81)

He expected the smaller units of administration to internalize the nobility as a socio-political role model. In such approach, the state is constantly reproduced in the smallest power unit, family. Bacon believed that such system is both self-sufficient and efficient. Nonetheless, a lecture of John W. Slaughter about Bacon's fanaticism of the crown explains the latter's biased sympathy for such approach. Slaughter claims that Bacon was the "champion of the royal prerogative in its most reactionary and absolute construction. He linked his personal fortunes to the Elizabethan regime, and to the Stuart dynasty, and he prosecuted, with an almost fanatical zeal, any and all who lifted voice or hand against the royal authority" (56). So, Bacon profited from standing with the powerful, and it is such bias and fanaticism that Bage stands against. Since fanaticism, hostility, and pride are the defining characteristics of a group identity, they are the hereditary features of the aristocratic group identity within the context of feudalism.

In light of the perspectives on the relationship between family and state, an aristocratic family serves as a micro-state that sides with power and produces patriotism. Families of rank and fortune, and even the majority of the parliament, were bound to the royal family since "the King was still the recognized fount of power" (Marshall, *Eighteenth*

Century 150). In *MAHI*, the Lord embodies royal authority and metaphorically represents Memmi's archetype of the colonizer; and thus he wants to create a patriot out of Sir George, too, by compelling him to return from the grand tour "rather with an enlarged than a diminished affection for his own country" (Bage, *MAHI* 19). Furthermore, he wants Sir George to be a social and political ambassador of his country by acknowledging its superiority and tell people that England owes its merits to "the indulgent family upon the throne" (Bage, *MAHI* 19). He calls his nephew to the service of his nation. The Lord is an individual who is identified by his nation without questioning; not one who actively, freely, and objectively identifies with it. As Iave Zake stresses, the function of "nationalism is not merely an ideological promotion of collective interests. It also targets and produces the two aspects of individual selfhood - consciousness and embodiment" (243). The Lord's individual selfhood is entirely shaped by the dominant values of the governing centre, which makes him an uncritical patriot[19].

The relationship of the Lord and Sir George is built around the former's struggle to impose his uncritical patriotism to the latter by means of despotism. The Lord's despotism emerges from his expectations of "ancient patterns of deference, control and stability" in the name of patriarchal authority (Morgan 160). While communicating with Sir George, and later Mr. Lindsay too, he is frequently "offended by a want of a proper deference to his consequence" because he is unable to achieve total command on his nephew, and Mr. Lindsay, too (Bage, *MAHI* 20). In order to command Sir George into his plans, he follows strategies that can be metaphorically viewed as akin to those of colonialism. His main plan is to put Sir George into governmental office to keep him under political control, and arrange him a marriage to keep him under social control. The Lord seeks economic benefit, too, by trying to unite with a rich family through marriage since Sir George is the only male heir of the Paradyne family (Bage, *MAHI* 193). The Lord's strategy is similar to that of colonialism because they bear the similar means, same aims; only different ends. This similarity is established on metaphorical terms in the case of Sir George's interpersonal relationship with the Lord.

[19] For uncritical patriotism, see Introduction page 14.

The Lord's strategies to persuade Sir George are observed in three steps. Firstly, the Lord advises Lady Mary to reject Mr. Lindsay as Sir George's tutor. Since she is the legal guardian of Sir George, the Lord feels he can take advantage of her legal authority by guiding and advising her. Similarly, the colonizer's "advisory capacity" allows continuous diplomatic supervision of local authorities to stabilize the "politics of the domestic status quo" in colonies (Osterhammel 52). In the same vein, the Lord tries to keep Sir George and the Paradyne family under his control through Lady Mary. Secondly, after Lady Mary cannot reject Sir George's insistence on having Mr. Lindsay as his tutor, the Lord warns her that "the young man is irritable, and the too free laws of this country will support him in disobedience. We must be cautious. I must confess, too peremptory a tone lost us America" (Bage, *MAHI* 25). Metaphorically, it can be argued that the Lord views his nephew as a disobedient colony just like England's colonies in America. As a final resolution to make Sir George submit to his control, the Lord attempts to deceive him by nepotism, offering Sir George a corrupt office with good income (Bage, *MAHI* 29). This trick is similar to the colonizer giving relatively small privileges to the colonized[20] in order to suppress possible insurgencies (Fanon, *The Wretched* 23-24).

The Lord's impositions continue with trying to arrange a marriage to Sir George in the second volume of the novel. In-group marriage is another attempt to force Sir George into the "political, social, and cultural matrix of practice" of the aristocracy (McKeon xix). In-group marriages were important among the aristocracy for financial growth and pure bloodline. In chapter fourteen, the Lord organizes a supper, where a charming heiress named Lady Ann Brixworth is invited, in London. In love with Miss Colerain, Sir George is not impressed by Lady Brixworth. According to Sir George, her beauty is overshadowed by her shallow personality as "what she wanted in wit, she compensated by vivacity; and if her judgment was not of the most solid kind, she had very white teeth, and the prettiest pouting lip that could be desired" (Bage, *MAHI* 190). Another important reason why Sir George refuses to marry her is that it is not a decision taken by his free-will, but it is an imposition.

[20] Privileges were often granted to the local administrators so that they would act as mediators when necessary.

Following the attempt of arranged marriage, the Lord once more offers a governmental office to Sir George, stating that he "cannot help considering … [Sir George] sometimes as the probable heir to … [his] estate and title" (Bage, *MAHI* 192). "Fixed In the resolution of never engaging In political concerns at all; or with perfect freedom of judgment and of action," Sir George instantly refuses the offer (192). The Lord's offer and Sir George's refusal reveal the clash between a traditionally "assumed or imposed hierarchy" and the "predominantly civic understandings of identity" (Bhabha 5; Miller and Ali 247). To explain, Sir George's individualism makes him refuse to sit on a reserved office, fit into a premeditated order, and adopt a premeditated identity. In pursuit of his own designs and individual identity, Sir George is indifferent to a predestined political position granted by nepotism. Similarly, he is not eager to marry Lady Brixworth for her family's fortune. With these in mind, it is safe to say that the Lord views his nephew as a colony and looks for "improvised exploitation of opportunities" (Jansen and Osterhammel 7). Yet, the Lord's attempts only end up revealing the corrupt nature of English political order to Sir George, and thus increasing his dislike of the aristocratic group identity.

Lady Mary's authority falls slightly short compared to the patriarchal authority of the Lord. She frequently seeks the support of the Lord's patriarchal authority by complaining to him about Sir George's obstinacy (Bage, *MAHI* 163). Although the interpersonal relationships between the characters are interpreted through the archetypes of Memmi in the chapter, the Lord and Lady Mary -aiming to control and manipulate Sir George's identity formation- together resemble, in Fanon's words, "the colonist who *fabricated* … the colonized subject" in order to achieve the best exploitative outcome from colonies (*The Wretched* 2). Sir George is vulnerable to Lady Mary's despotism because she arises sympathy and guilt in him by abusing his love and respect towards her. She is constantly frustrated with Sir George's ungratefulness, and hence complains that "if mothers could but forsee how their pains and tenderness would be rewarded, they would spare themselves a world of anxiety" (Bage, *MAHI* 34). So, Lady Mary is despotic because she wants to control Sir George's emotions. This is her difference from the Lord, who wants to control Sir George's socio-political and economic position. Together, Lady Mary and the Lord try to control each aspect of Sir George's identity.

Another despotic attribute of Lady Mary is anger, which is observed when she throws a knife at her nurse and injures her arm (Bage, *MAHI* 369). Earlier in the novel, it is stated that the servants and nurses in Lady Mary's house view themselves as "slaves to pride and caprice … [since,] to keep Lady Mary at the highest pitch of good humour required only … to subject the wills of all about her to her own" (Bage, *MAHI* 183). So, the workers are under constant psychological and social oppression of Lady Mary. The knife incident indicates that she is also prone to violence. All in all, the Lady's despotism does not only apply to her relation with her children, but also to her household management.

In addition to the incidents above, Lady Mary forces her daughter Emilia "to marry Mr. Birimport, a repatriated nabob … who's himself of marked tyrannical tendencies" (Kelly 47). Lady Mary's selection of husband for her daughter is significant because Mr. Birimport is a tyrannical character who represents colonial authority and oppressive mentality, which are supported by the Lord and Lady Mary. Forced marriage was a common issue in the eighteenth century England. In 1712, an entry from *The Spectator* viewed such marriages as an act of tyranny by asserting that "a Parent who forces a Child … into the Arms of a Clown or a Blockhead, obliges her to a Crime too odious for a Name" (Addison and Steele, no. 437). Likewise, Emilia is forced to marry a tyrant. In this aspect, it can be argued that she represents colonized lands and peoples whose free-will is taken away. Besides violation of free-will, she is exploited as a tool in "legitimating the genealogical transmission of property" because the Lord and Lady Mary are tempted by Mr. Birimport's wealth (McKeon 122).

On account of the impositions on him and his sister, Sir George is quite worried and indignant. As Moran claims, Bage believes that "when a parent abuses his power and authority, his child can consider the contract void" (134). Therefore, Sir George starts questioning his attachment to his family due to the despotism of the Lord and Lady Mary; hence, his individual identity formation against oppression is rooted in his family, traditions, and heritage. He is not eager to "take the world as it is," which is the Lord's advice to him (Bage, *MAHI* 194). Consequently, he cannot "develop a type of consciousness that enables" him to "self-identify as 'real' subject" in aristocracy and

become a full member of this group (Zake 20). As mentioned above, an individual inherits patriarchal and patriotic -both of which are premeditated- identities from family. By virtue of premeditated identity, feudalism is preserved as the dominant order. However, Sir George is disappointed by the premeditated aristocratic identity imposed on him, and he refuses to comply with it. His individual identity formation is a process that lures him out of the aristocratic group identity.

The principal reactions of Sir George to the impositions of his family are disillusionment and isolation, which facilitate his individual identity formation. He realizes that he was misinformed about the national and social group identities he was supposed to inherit. In socially standardized, closed, and dogmatic societies, public knowledge is passed on to next generations in private realm through the institution of family. In such societies, knowledge is not distributed but "deeply embedded in … daily experience" and the private sphere, and thus "self-conscious examination" is discouraged (McKeon xix). Simply put, knowledge is dogmatic and standardized in traditional societies. Therefore, family, in which "modesty, resignation, submissiveness" are taught, is a pivotal ideological apparatus of the ruling elite in distributing dogmatic and standardized knowledge (Althusser 156). In his family, Sir George is encompassed by such knowledge. While this encompassment is supposed to shape his identity, it rather ends up with contributing to his increasing disillusionment and isolation. His growingly insufficient sense of belonging to the aristocracy leaves his identity detached from the tradition that defined him from his birth. Becoming detached from patriotic and aristocratic traditions[21] leaves Sir George's identity incomplete. McKeon resembles the feeling of incompleteness to Locke's distinction of the epistemological and ontological projections of knowledge, arguing that

> the separation of subject from sovereign is like the separation of the knowing subject from the object of knowledge because it involves an experience of detachment, an awareness of oneself as a singular entity over against the context of one's customary and taken-for-granted embeddedness. (12)

[21] In this context, patriotism represents a national identity whereas the aristocracy represents a social identity.

In this situation, the individual loses the context of his or her identity. The separation from the embedded values that nurtured the identity causes gaps in that identity. The individual is left as a singular entity without any social, national, and cultural attachment. In consequence, Sir George seeks different attachments to redefine his identity. Resisting the identity imposed on him, he shapes his own individual identity, and finds a separate and free voice. Correspondingly, he adopts the anti-colonial ideology slowly and inadvertently as the result of his disillusionment and detachment from his premeditated identity. The feeling of incompleteness as an individual initiates his anti-colonial enlightenment. His resistance to his family, the aristocracy, and feudalism is parallel with the colonized resisting the identity and social order imposed on them by the colonizer.

Sir George's escape from the aristocratic group identity is facilitated by his transformation to a type of "man [who] is not fully identified with his role, and can if he wishes divest himself of his role" (Gellner, *Thought and Change* 154-55). Regardless of the expectations and impositions of the Lord and Lady Mary, Sir George deviates from his role in an age when kinship functioned in the form of strict deference. In feudal England of the eighteenth century, the nobility embodied Englishness, projected crown authority, and produced patriotism (Marshall, *Eighteenth Century* 29-32). Therefore, patriotism was passed on to generations within the aristocracy from the "virtue of descent or cultural affiliation" (Miller and Ali 241). In the Paradyne family, it is the Lord's duty to pass on patriotism to Sir George with the aim of making him "both a product and a tool of nationalism" (Zake 218). Therefore, Sir George is sent to the grand tour as a patriotic subject in order to represent his nation and impose his national identity on the people of the countries he visits. He is expected to serve for the expansionist agenda of colonialism; nonetheless, Sir George's national identity is lost due to his detachment from the patriotic and aristocratic traditions.

He is then isolated from the English society, particularly from the aristocracy, whose values do not suit him. Throughout Sir George's adventures, the aristocratic characters try to draw Sir George away from Bage's "ethical system … [where] 'virtue alone can secure true happiness'" (Gregory 175). However, Sir George breaks his ties from this

group at the end of the novel. He even breaks ties with his family and resigns from his role as a son by saying "I never had a mother … Since I am not allowed to make my own house a peaceful abode, I will make it no abode; for I see not why I should longer perform the duty of a son, to the mere name of a parent" (Bage, MAHI 461). Starting in his family and continuing in the grand tour, Sir George's transformation ends up in his isolation. Finally, he resorts to a secluded life in Paris after marrying Miss Colerain at the end of the novel.

To have a better grasp of Sir George's transformation, the premeditated aristocratic group identity imposed on him by his family and surroundings must be understood. Although the aristocracy carry the characteristics of a rigid group identity, they "often described themselves as a race" (Doyle 6). The thoughts of a proud marquis in *MAHI* exemplify this mindset as he flaunts about the lands he owns and declares the nobility as the "elect, upon whom … [the heaven] showers down all earthly blessings" (Bage, *MAHI* 199). Nobles identify themselves as a race because of their hereditary identity. Nobility also bears the undertone of nationalism because they view themselves as the representative group of the empire; therefore, as patriots, they produce a national identity, too. The same elitism, national identity, and in-group mentality is found in colonies as "the most crucial distinction in British colonial sites" was "who had access to the rights and privileges of Englishmen, and who did not" (Wilson 1299).

The aristocratic group identity is defined by and serves for the central ideology and mindset of the British empire. As mentioned in Introduction, the central ideology of the empire is exploitation of rural workforce at home and the exploitation of the colonies abroad. Both the aristocrat and the colonizer are extensions of the ideology and mindset of the empire, which are often regenerated by an "ultimate dependence on generalized learning" (Parsons, "Evolutionary Universals" 341). To put it differently, expansion and exploitation are constructed as the standardized policy and narrative of the empire. As Mouzelis suggests, dominance of a central mindset and discursive power is not limited to ideology or education, because

> the combination of 'penetrative' administrative technologies and relations of domination in unmediated fashion concentrating material and non-material

> resources at the top constitutes a mode of domination which has an elective affinity with nationalism. From this perspective, nationalism can be conceptualised as a discourse adopted by political elites for promoting, institutionalising, and legitimising a mode of domination characterised by deep, unmediated state penetration of the periphery and the massive concentration of material and symbolic resources at the top. (126)

In this perspective, the administrative strategies and policies of the political centre are aligned with the material and symbolic resources. The goal is to accumulate material and symbolic power at the top in the hands of the political centre. In the feudal eighteenth-century England, administrative policies and strategies, and symbols of power were based on such concepts as bloodline, landownership, traditions, deference, religion, racial and political supremacy, and colonial expansion. Once conveyed publicly through such apparatuses as family, education, newspapers, periodicals, and literature, these concepts evolve into patriotic values[22] that can be used as tools of empire-building and expansion (Althusser 144-45).

In England, the abovementioned values were enforced on the society by the aristocracy. On one hand, the identification of the local elites with the monarch helped them rule their vassals and produce patriots out of them. On the other hand, these values were enforced by the colonizer in the colonies. Value enforcement depends on the mutual trust of the local rulers -like the aristocrat, the colonizer, or the slave trader- and the discursive centre -the monarch[23]. In England, this value system was also backed by law as "the mosaic of local legal practices of feudal England … [functioned as] the common law … [and] rights [were] based on local custom, possession, and reciprocal feudal obligations" (Harris 177). This constitutionalized locality, or territoriality, was also reflected on England's colonies as "the predominance of the mother country was accepted without question … As Englishmen the early colonists had taken with them certain political rights. Each colony had an elected Assembly which granted taxes and assumed pretty much the same functions as the British House of Commons" (Marshall, *Eighteenth Century* 18). So, the common aspect of a feudal area and a colony is the

[22]Values in feudal context mean what Althusser calls ideology in capitalistic context.
[23]See pages 23-24 in Introduction for the cooperation between the monarch, the feudal administrator, and the colonizer.

local or territorial rule in which the ruler is free to enforce -and even interpret- the laws and authority of the political centre.

At this point, the local rulers belong to a group identity. As mentioned in the previous two paragraphs, they embody political authority and powerful in-group values. Local rulers, as a socio-political group, are criticized by Bage for overburdening their subjects with oppression. As exemplified in the novel, the aristocracy is criticized through the sharp clash of values between the older and younger generations. The following passage reveals Sir George's disobedience to aristocratic authority:

> Lord Auschamp had the mortification to find Sir George a most indocile scholar in the great school of politics. He never could make him comprehend that great political truth, that power is always right; and the consequent necessity of supporting government in all its motions. So untractable was his pupil in these particulars, so obstinate in opposition, that the smiling politeness of Lord Auschamp would sometimes give way to angry conceptions; and suffer him to be surprised into very uncourtly language. (Bage, *MAHI* 10)

The Lord expects total recognition of his authority, which is a common expectation in feudalism; therefore, immediately upon Sir George's disobedience, the Lord becomes aggressive. He gives a similar reaction to Mr. Lindsay, who confronts the Lord due to an insult directed at himself. Disobeying aristocratic authority, Mr. Lindsay states that neither a Lord nor "any man [can insult him] with impunity" (Bage, *MAHI* 30). The Lord's anger to a person who defends himself from insults is identical to that of the colonizer. Accordingly, in the novel, the Lord is the representation of the colonizer. Similar to a feudal landlord dogmatically possessing "the specific identities of the colonial masters" such as the protector, judge, patron, employer, uncle, police, tyrant, tax collector, and father of his subjects, the Lord is the enforcer of his in-group values (Hind 554).

In the novel, the institutions of feudalism and colonialism are antagonized through the aristocratic characters and their interpersonal relationships and interactions with Sir George. Although Moran claims in his dissertation that "Bage's primary criticism is of men rather than institutions," this claim must be reconsidered with specific attention to three points (116). Firstly, Bage portrays many in-depth characters rather than

stereotypes. This enables Bage to make an extended criticism by exposing the defects of his characters in detail. Secondly, either as a reformist or revolutionist, Bage was cautious in criticising institutions. Thomas Holcroft's trial[24] was a sufficient warning for writers who held reformist views. Not only writers but also "printers and booksellers all over the kingdom were hunted out for prosecution" (Hazlitt 160). The pressure put over Bage alone was enough to discourage him from overtly criticising any English institution. Thirdly and most importantly, Bage targeted larger units of power, groups, or institutions while criticising individuals. Corruption and reform start from microcosms, such as a family or village, in his fiction. Despotism can and does go beyond microcosms to the public sphere. Accordingly, Bage portrays the mobility of oppression from private to public, and from feudalism to colonialism.

In his critique of Europe's colonial legacy, Aimé Césaire warns that the colonial mentality "*cannot but bring about the ruin of Europe itself*, and that Europe, if it is not careful, will perish from the void it has created around itself" (74-75). Concerning the corruption and ruin of Europe, Thomas Paine calls the aristocrats "brigands" and "sycophants" (401). Similarly, Sir George's experiences with and stance against the aristocratic characters are reactions to the social corruption and political corruption that harm England. He is directly victimized by those who benefit from corruption. Namely, Mr. Fielding and Count Colliano's plot in France against Sir George, who ends up in prison as a result of this plot, exemplifies how fraud can bring financial gain, and how trust can be exploited. Another example is the Lord trying to use Sir George through nepotism for a steadier political position, which is very likely to increase his wealth, through corruption. The incidents above teach Sir George the important lesson of not trusting in the aristocracy. They are also important for his individual identity formation because he then sees the corruption in the socio-political status and wealth of the aristocracy. Accordingly, these incidents constitute the early phase of Sir George's anti-colonial identity formation.

Colonialism bears the same corruption, through which Mr. Birimport has accumulated considerable wealth from his colonial duty in the East India Company. Like the corrupt

[24] The Jacobin novelist Holcroft was put on trial for "high treason" in 1794 for participating in the Society for Constitutional Information, a reformist group known for their political dissent (Hazlitt 157-59).

aristocratic characters in the novel, Mr. Birimport is criticised for unjust enrichment. As mentioned above, Sir George's dislike of wealth and prestige is increased because of the characters who acquire wealth and prestige by corrupt means. Gap of income, social segregation, and difference of living conditions are common features of feudalism and colonialism. In feudalism, the aristocrat's wealth accumulation depends on the heavy labor of his vassals. In colonialism, the colonizer's wealth accumulation depends on the heavy labor of either the colonized or slaves. Therefore, in both feudalism and colonialism, "the upper class constitutes a kind of subsociety" whereas the lower ranks, who are sedated by deference and paralyzed by harsh living conditions, are excluded from the same societal community (Parsons, "Evolutionary Universals" 344).

According to Bage, the aristocracy, as a high rank subsociety, and their identity are nourished by foppery. Foppery is an excessive lifestyle performed by privileged social groups. Thus, it is another element that plays significant role in Sir George's disillusionment from the aristocratic group identity. Paine ascribes foppery to titles, stating that "titles are but nick-names, and every nick-name is a title. The thing is perfectly harmless in itself; but it marks a sort of foppery in the human character, which degrades it" (131). As a supporter of the American Revolution, Bage adopted some ideas of Paine. The degrading effects of titles and foppery are criticized in his fiction. By portraying the foppery of both English and European characters, Bage "wished to satirize the tendency of the English nobility to ape the fashions and attitudes of their European cousins" (Kelly 32). He believed that foppery and apery, or mimicry, were common features of English and European high societies.

The issues of foppery and apery are satirized in *MAHI* through a high society dinner that leaves Sir George estranged, bored, and vexed. During the dinner, "very wise observations were made … concerning French wines, French sauces, and French cambrics" (Bage, *MAHI* 190). Hence, by referring to French vines, sauces and, cambrics, it is suggested that it is only small trivialities that make up the conversation of a high society dinner. Through these details, Bage mocks the social rituals of high society. In another instance, he ironically defines a simple correspondence as "the essential business of greatness … [conducted by] important cards and messages … [that

take] one porter … to receive, and two footmen to deliver" (Bage, *MAHI* 188). By so, the symbolic meaning ascribed to the ritualistic performance of such a simple action as correspondence is criticized. In addition to foppery, mannerism and luxury are disregarded by Bage. He believes that the entire aristocratic discourse is made up of "whim, frolic, and profusion" (*MAHI* 267). Contrary to foppery, Bage advocates simplicity, as he "shared with Rousseau and Godwin the belief that many of the artificial accretions of civilization could be dispensed with, for the betterment of mankind" (Fletcher 48). Therefore, his criticism of foppery initially targets the lifestyle of the ruling elite in feudalism; and he suggestively criticizes the ruling elite in colonial order, too. For Bage, similar to the aristocrat, the colonizer aped his European counterparts, gave ritualistic importance to his atrocities, and lived in luxury.

Through Sir George's refusal of the aristocratic group identity, *MAHI* calls for the reformation or abolishment of the oppressive and corrupt feudal order. According to Bage, England's political, economic, and judicial systems were overshadowed by corruption, nepotism, abuse of titles, and despotism. John R. Green points out the corrupt English politics of the time by stating that "never had the need of a representative reform been more clearly shown than by a coalition which proved how powerless was the force of public opinion to check even the most shameless faction in Parliament … [or] borough mongers who usurped its representation" (788-89). The quotation highlights the lack of representation of the peoples, especially in rural areas. Lack of people's representation and corrupt institutions are also Bage's concerns. Another main concern in *MAHI* is the image of England abroad. Thus, Bage claimed that the aristocracy, as a corrupt, greedy and privileged group, misrepresented the democracy of England in the world.

Despite coming from a privileged aristocratic background, Sir George defends a proto-democratic order in which "individual freedom from arbitrary rule is the defining task of government and political society" (Merrill 5). His understanding of individualism is noticeable in the following statement: "I hope … to build my own system upon general history and the rights of man; not borrow it ready formed … [not] from any teacher—from any advocate of despotism, or of license" (Bage, *MAHI* 26). He defends the

notions of individualism and free government, which were popular at the end of the eighteenth century. Contrary to these notions, the aristocracy in *MAHI* is presented as "villains … [who] are not required to control and improve their dangerous character traits" (Moran 106-7). As the ruling elite, they stand as obstacles to any socio-political development. Their obstinacy, resistance, and protest of any change or reform derived from their profit from feudalism, colonialism, and slavery. For instance, the aristocracy were the strongest enemies of the American Independence. They condemned Thomas Paine's *Common Sense* (1776) and *Rights of Man* (1791). Likewise, they were in fear and panic about the French Revolution (Bernstein 147-49). In addition to these, their successive refusals of bills for the abolishment of slavery throughout the 1790s illustrated the obstinacy of the aristocracy (Hochschild 252).

The obstinacy ascribed to the aristocratic group identity is criticized and mocked in *MAHI*, which simultaneously underestimates the power and impact of the aristocracy. Although feudalism still functioned in daily life and politics, *MAHI* exposed the follies of the aristocracy, aiming "to theorize absolutism … [and] render it vulnerable" (McKeon 5). With the incidents in the novel, which are analysed in the next pages, Bage does not just intend to teach moral lessons; he also demonstrates the corrupt and despotic behaviours of the aristocracy, and antagonizes the corrupt and despotic characters. Bage's attack on the English socio-political order ranges from "gentle satire of social follies and shams" to "passages of vigorous denunciation directed against specific evils in the body politic" (Gregory 168). His satire of the aristocracy can be categorized into political, social, and cultural[25] levels. Socially, *MAHI* accommodates impostors, fops, parasitic young rakes, savage nobles, immersive vanity, gambling, and ignorance. Culturally, *MAHI* mocks and criticizes duels, abuse of title, patriotism, and hypocrisy. Politically, Bage's main targets are nepotism and corrupt office along with the colonial legacy[26] and practices of England. All these criticized social, cultural, and political aspects are attributed to the aristocratic group identity. As mentioned before, Sir George rejects this group identity because he does not want to be associated with its corruption but rather prefers to adopt an incorrupt individual identity.

[25] Political corruption is not repeated since the pivotal issues, nepotism and corrupt office, were previously discussed in relation to the Lord.
[26] Colonial legacy of England is discussed separately further in the chapter.

To start with social satire, the main incident is the betrayal of Sir George by the group he travels with in a great deal of the third volume of the novel. This group is comprised of Count Colliano, Mr. Fielding, Mrs. Almon, and Mrs. Hammet. The count, who is "void of that retrogade course of sentiment," is an impostor (Bage, *MAHI* 342). Mr. Fielding, whose "docility and reverence for the precepts of wisdom" are admired by Lady Paradyne, is a rake who inherited a fortune from his grandmother (Bage, *MAHI* 184). Lastly, Mrs. Almon and Mrs. Hammet, who join the group in Belgium, are the runaway wives of two Russian noblemen. This group travels in Europe and participates in high society events while gambling and drinking excessively. After a while, Sir George starts to feel distanced and irritated from his depraved companions, who decide to plot against him. They eat up Sir George's money to gamble, drink, spend money on luxury, and they sign up bonds to people on behalf of him behind his back. Left in debt, Sir George becomes a "dupe of impostors, and … imprisoned by their villany" (Bage, *MAHI* 346).

Sometime after the betrayal, Sir George finds that Count Colliano was an impostor who turns out to be a barber from Napoli. Moreover, the Marquis, who reveals this information to Sir George, also exposes his own imposter, whom Sir George met in London. The real marquis states that "the manners of the great are easily copied, proud as they are of them" (Bage, *MAHI* 350). This teaches Sir George that the nobles are ordinary people whose manners and rank can be imitated in "a society in which the ownership of land alone conveyed social prestige and full political rights" (Marshall, *Eighteenth Century* 29). More importantly, it makes him question why they are, as ordinary men, subjected to privileged treatment. Additionally, the bitter fate of Mr. Fielding is a didactic example that shows Sir George the result of a glamorous and lavish lifestyle, and social corruption. When he sees Mr. Fielding in Germany, the latter is left like a "debilitated animal" after being deceived by Count Colliano (Bage, *MAHI* 431). Mr. Fielding is similar to a mimic man, in the colonial context, who imitates the behaviours and lavish lifestyle of his master; and thus ends up with being forsaken to poverty by his master, Count Colliano.

Culturally, Bage criticizes the aristocracy through the practice of duelling. Although Sir George rejects to be identified as an aristocrat, he is used by Bage to satirize such an outdated and barbaric practice, which is attributed to the aristocrats, and thereby the colonizer. When Sir George protects Miss Colerain from an abusive landlord called Mr. Claverly, he grabs Mr. Claverly by the collar, shakes him, and pushes him away (Bage, *MAHI* 106). Knowing that Sir George has financial power and a high rank in society, Mr. Claverly does not respond to this. Later, Sir George tells Mr. Lindsay that he is willing to accept a duel if Mr. Claverly asks for one. Conquered by the societal pressure over duelling, Sir George believes that he would be "posted in town and country coffee-houses; kicked, or ready to be kicked out of every society; affronted in conversation; insulted by big looks" if he refuses a duel (Bage, *MAHI* 111). He sees duelling as a means of protecting his honour. Mr. Lindsay protests this idea, serves again as the sound of reason, and tries to persuade Sir George in the following passage:

> This point of honour, which all who reason upon it consider as savage, and derived from savage ancestors, is dependant for its support, only upon a mode of thinking. Were it essentially necessary for the peace of society, how subsisted the polished Greeks and brave Romans without it? how subsist, at this day, the European Turks, and all the asiatics? how, the middle and lower ranks of our own people? Is their peace disturbed by the want of this polite barbarism? or are their societies much stigmatized for rude behaviour? No. It is alone the all accomplished Christian— European— Gentleman— on whom is bestowed this flattering compliment. (Bage, *MAHI* 113)

Mr. Lindsay claims that duelling is a barbaric practice. Moreover, directly referred as an inherent tradition of the English and European aristocracy, duelling is suggested to be outdated. Notably, Mr. Lindsay ascribes this barbaric and outdated custom solely to English and European high societies, the colonizers. Duelling is initially a public display of violence that is practiced for asserting dominance. Thus, it is parallel with the colonizer using public violence to assert dominance and maintain control in the colonies.

In another incident, duelling demonstrates the futility and triviality of national pride. A Polish nobleman and Mr. Fielding exchange insults to their nations in Latin. After Mr. Fielding insults Polish people by calling them dull, the Polish nobleman is enraged. The pair sort the matter out through a duel next morning. They shoot two rounds at each

other, miss their targets, and make peace. Resulting with their "honour satisfied," the practice is used in order to ridicule national pride (Bage, *MAHI* 268). In fact, Bage criticizes any national identity that is nurtured by ostentation, pride, and caprice. Furthermore, he emphasizes the absurdity of an event in which two men who were determined to shoot each other in one minute, "praised each other's valour, and went back to town arm in arm" in the next (268).

What catches Bage's attention in such ritualistic social incidents is the hypocrisy and the "shared amnesia … the collective forgetfulness" among the members of the aristocracy (Gellner, *Culture, Identity* 6). Hypocrisy, outdated social rituals, and cultural codes constitute the English and European behaviours that are criticized in *MAHI*. Bage considers that "a reformation of morals and manners on all levels of society" was possible "only when all Englishmen agree on proper values can society be moral and government just" (Moran 79). Yet, he is aware that it is nearly impossible to reach such consensus. Consequently, rather than underlining the merits of a reformed society, he exposes the defects of the English and European values, morals, and manners. On one hand, the defects of society are conveyed through social and national identity. On the other hand, the possible merits of reformation are embodied in Sir George's individual identity formation. There appears the conflict between premeditated group identity and individual identity. Namely, the process of Sir George's transformation from the aristocratic group identity into an individual anti-colonial identity presents the conflict between these identities in the novel.

Since Sir George supports "the cause of liberty and free will," he is in conflict with the strict and dogmatic aristocratic values, morals, and manners, all of which aim to restrict free-will and individualism (Bage, *MAHI* 215). Isolated from his national identity and aristocratic background due to the conflict above, Sir George inclines to anti-colonial ideology. Dogmatic values of feudalism such as rural patronage, patriarchy, traditions, and deference are viewed by him as impediments to his liberty. Besides, he detests excessive and luxurious fads, fashions, and flattery. Flattery is an important aspect through which ingroup pride is manifested and shared among the nobility. Bage satirizes this aspect as a ritual of in-group approval when the Count and the Marquis

"praise their respective countries, their chateaus, each other, and themselves" in the second volume of *MAHI* (Bage 200). Sir George's irritation with flattery, isolation from the aristocracy, and objection to their values make him realize that these are mere remnants and epitome of a system that is diminishing in importance. Furthermore, his anti-colonial enlightenment is the cause of his realization that the aristocracy is not as impactful, strong, and especially noble as it is thought. Sir George, indeed, can see the decline of the aristocratic power and values hidden under their façade of pride. Similarly, once the oppressed can "discover the … system that has choked him and reduced him to silence," he can resist and challenge the impositions (Fanon, *A Dying Colonialism* 32). In the novel, Sir George, too, can resist and challenge the aristocracy and its tyranny as a result of his growing awareness.

According to Bage, the defining characteristics of the aristocracy are tyranny, apathy, luxury addiction, political corruption, systematic exploitation, colonial mindset, and a constant "contempt for the lower orders" (Kelly 32). All these defining characteristics are attributed to the archetype of savage noble[27]. The savage noble embodies any tyrannical person who takes part in a system of oppression and exploitation. Bage associates his aristocratic and colonial characters with savage noble. Although Bage sees many aristocratic practices as savagery, there is not any direct reference to savage noble in *MAHI*. Rather, savage noble is a term put forth in this thesis. Thus, within the context of this thesis, both a feudal landowner and the colonizer are savage nobles. Hence, both feudalism and colonialism are savagery. Likewise, Césaire claims that "slowly but surely, the [European] continent proceeds toward savagery" (36). The cruelties and atrocities of savage nobles stem from their corrupt social identity and expansionist national identity. Similarly, Kelly argues that colonialism decivilizes the colonizer and pulls them "deeper and deeper into the abyss of barbarism. The instruments of colonial power rely on barbaric, brutal violence and intimidation, and the

[27]The term is inspired from the famous archetype "noble savage," which was popularized in the eighteenth century through the ideas and writings of Voltaire and Jean Jacques Rousseau (Fairchild 48, 120-121). As examples, see *Émile* (1762) by Rousseau and *L'Ingénu* (1767) by Voltaire. Originally, noble savage idealizes nature, wisdom, primitivism, and simple values of existence. In this chapter, the term is reversed into 'savage noble' to stress the irony of noblemen having extravagant, violent, barbaric, and primitive patterns of behaviour and action.

end result is the degradation of Europe itself" (8-9). Thus, savage nobles are degraded because of their own actions.

As previously mentioned, English lords supported slavery, and their successive refusals of bills for abolition of slavery to defend the "traditional imperial interests" of England made them historical representatives of the savage noble (Ryden 179). Surely, these refusals must have upset Bage, who was a philanthropist and could not bear the colonial practices and legacy of his country. In fact, Sir George's increasing discomfort and guilt towards the end of the novel could be a reflection of Bage's anguish about slavery and colonialism. Bage condemns materialism, tyranny, mannerism, expansionism, and luxurious lifestyle of the savage noble in *MAHI*. Combining all the negative attributes above,

> Bage considers the Administration corrupt, negligent, and inefficient. He believes that popular elections are reduced to a farce. His final warnings and denunciations, however, are directed not against tyranny and oppression but against the growing extravagance and love of display. The luxury and ostentation of those who have accumulated large fortunes have corrupted all classes of society. (Gregory 178)

Therefore, Bage was irritated with the degeneration of his nation. He loved his country as a loyal dissenter and a critical patriot. Accordingly, he tries to explain what is good and what is bad for England in his works. In one of his earlier novels, *Barham Downs* (1784), Bage discusses the ill administration and policies of the time by asserting that "the Crown has acquired too much influence by the worst of all possible means--corruption.--Our representatives endanger their healths by too long sitting ... Ministers carry their generous contempt of money (public money, we mean) into an extreme" (294). In the same vein, he expresses in *MAHI* his concern about "hereditary nobility" pulling England down along with itself[28] since it "was contrary to reason and harmful to true liberty" (Doyle 4).

The savage noble belongs to both social and political spheres. On one hand, the aristocrats in *MAHI* are obsessed with fine manners and flattery. On the other hand, they are possessed by savagery in forms of blind rage, unmanaged and erratic emotions,

[28] See Introduction pages 27-28 for the decline of feudalism in the eighteenth century.

corruption, tyranny, pride, and outdated codes of honour. Dorothy Marshall explains how savagery can co-exist with nobility by stating that "an education based on the classics" and "the civilizing influence of the Grand Tour, gave to the nobility … sophistication and polish. [However,] it did not prevent them from attending a public execution or glorying in the mangling ferocity of fighting cocks" (2). The colonizer is situated in a similar contrast. Michael Mann's following comparison of brutal settler colonialism[29] and milder neo-colonialism explains how violence and savagery always aid colonialism regardless of the method:

> The settlers had displaced and often exterminated the native populations, seized their lands, and then put their capitalist skills to work on a presumed terra nullius, an 'empty land' filled with abundant natural resources … The British Empire … did tend to become milder… [as] slavery was abolished… [and] cruelty in newer colonies was exposed in the British media … [Yet,] rebellions [still] brought *savage repression*[30], with mass killing of males and sometimes of women and children too. (61)

British colonialism is mild only until resistance, because "the state always had to have the last word; every provocation was to be punished with retaliation" (Osterhammel 59). Thus, the most authentic portrait of the colonizer can be drawn in cases of rebellion. In colonialism, violence is always there, though hidden under "*plausible deniability*" (Sidanius and Pratto 43). In their social dominance theory, Jim Sidanius and Felicia Pratto define plausible denial as "the ability to practice discrimination" and violence "while at the same time denying these practices" (43). Regardless of the denials, the colonizer resorts to hostility, abuse, violence, and even genocide as soon as his agenda is disrupted (Harris 169, 179).

Correspondingly, Bage's aristocratic and colonial characters are prone to savagery or retaliation whenever their thoughts, views, and schemes are challenged. As long as the unchallenged, these characters are comfortable with their ingroup values, manners, and norms that were mentioned earlier. However, they react with savagery and rage to people from outside their social milieu. Any opinion or attempt that challenges the

[29] For settler colonialism and the violent methods through which it was conducted, see "Settler Colonialism and the Elimination of the Native" (2006) by Patrick Wolfe, and *Settler Colonialism: A Theoretical Overview* (2010) by Lorenzo Veracini.
[30] Italics added by me.

savage noble is ignored, undermined, or retaliated. Ingroup pride, discrimination, patriotism, and racism are the commonest and most ancient[31] aspects of both the aristocrats in the novel and the colonizers (Burke, "The Wild Man's Pedigree" 259-78). The savage nobles of Bage correlate with the colonizer in terms of tyranny.

One strong evidence of this correlation is the mention of Warren Hastings in *MAHI*. Hastings was a notorious English imperial officer who served in colonized India and later was put on a trial in England (Rolli 2-5). Even though Bage criticizes the overseas presence of England in *MAHI*, the most overt colonial tyrant of the novel, Mr. Birimport, admires Warren Hastings and his actions. The mention of Warren Hastings and the character Mr. Birimport are also direct and overt indications of Bage's anti-colonial stance in *MAHI*, because both of them directly engage with colonial practices. Mr. Birimport is depicted as a tyrant even in his marriage as Emilia Paradyne has "become a recluse" after marrying him (Bage, *MAHI* 204). Hence, he directly represents colonial practices, ideology, and legacy of England with his patriotism and symbiotic bond with his nation. A tyrant such as Mr. Birimport, whose identity is shaped by the political and economic pursuits of his country, oppresses and exploits the colonized as an ideological and ontological extension of his nation. Colonialism and its sustainability depend on a strong bond between the state and its representative actors[32]. In light of this, Mr. Birimport has a strong bond with the state, and he is an executor of the colonial policies of his country.

Mr. Birimport served for the East Indian Company for a long time. It is not stated whether he was under the command of Hastings; nevertheless, Mr. Birimport is a passionate defender of the notorious colonial ruler. He even denies the claims of Hastings' murders and justifies the bribes Hastings took (Bage, *MAHI* 204-205). Accordingly, the time he spent in the Indian colony shaped his identity and made him a commanding and tyrannical man. Judging Mr. Birimport's identity as rude and odd, a close friend of him tells Sir George that Mr. Birimport

[31] For Eurocentric and racist anthropological and scientific assessments of the Western scholarship over the course of the history of European Science, see *The Wild Man Within: An Image of Western Thought from the Renaissance to Romanticism* (1972) edited by Edward Dudley and Maximillian E. Novak.
[32] As mentioned earlier, the Lord is another good example of this bond.

> acquired more things than money [in India]. A habit of command, which he can scarce remember to lay aside when speaking to free people. An overbearing pride, which renders it necessary to his own happiness, to be always the dictator of the company.— It is perhaps to some little affronts he has received, on account of too magisterial a behaviour… He must domineer some where. Englishmen will not let him do it abroad[33]; so he stays at home to indulge himself in this humour. (Bage, *MAHI* 206-207)

This excerpt suggests that colonial legacy has not only brought financial gain, but also produced proud and tyrannical individuals whose identities have been shaped by the colonial mentality. Considering that pride is a trademark feature of the English aristocracy, it is also hereditary just like the colonial mentality. Fanon describes the French colonial presence in Algeria as "*European feudal interests*," which validates the bond between colonialism and feudalism (*A Dying Colonialism* 29). Dorothy Marshall also stresses the bond between colonialism and feudalism by stating that the colonizer had "built on and recreated the English aristocratic tradition" in colonies (243). Likewise, Bage considers colonialism and the colonizer the same with feudalism and the aristocrat. Thus, as both a colonizer and an aristocrat, Mr. Birimport embodies the bond between colonial group identity and aristocratic group identity in Bage's *MAHI*.

Mr. Birimport's desire for maintaining feudal deference and colonial subordination of the oppressed people reinforces his assertive identity. One example of his assertive identity is when he wants to dominate a Scottish servant. In this case, he resorts to his aristocratic authority, which is identical to his colonial mindset. Yet, his attempt faces anti-colonial resistance. With the following words he says to his servant, he reflects his colonial identity: "Sir … you are here to act; not to think. I desire to instruct you … I wish no body to take the trouble of thinking here, but myself. It is sufficient that I assign you and the rest of my domestics, the executive power; the legislative I chuse myself" (Bage, *MAHI* 209). His statements indicate that Mr. Birimport's daily life is shaped in respect to the set of values that are dictated by colonialism. In other words, he adopts the same authorial position in England as he used to be in a colony. He does not ascribe thinking to the servants or the colonized; instead, their only job is to toil. Furthermore, Mr. Birimport's distribution of executive power to servant and legislative power to

[33] Abroad is used to indicate the status of one being "away from one's home" (*Oxford Dictionary*).Mr. Birimport can act like a tyrant at his home, but cannot do the same in English public. This also suggests the hypocrisy of Englishmen who support colonialism whereas defending liberty at home.

master reflects the method of governance in the British colonies. To explain, local administrations, such as Indian *rajas*, were utilized by the colonizer for easier governance and less resistance from the colonized (Osterhammel 51). Notwithstanding, similar to the resistance of the colonized, the Scottish servant does not yield to tyranny in the face of Mr. Birimport's magisterial behaviour. Thus, he quits without acknowledging the superiority and authority of the colonizer. Otherwise, the colonized is destined to be dominated as long as he does not raise a voice against the colonizer (Osterhammel 41-42). Accordingly, the servant challenges Mr. Birimport's, or the colonizer's, pride and patriotism by disregarding his authority.

After hearing Mr. Birimport's thoughts about Warren Hastings and his treatment of a servant, Sir George merely takes pity on Mr. Birimport rather than taking action against tyranny. Although he lacks action, Sir George, "whose taste it was to see man in all his attitudes," is interested in and supportive of the oppressed peoples and their independence (Bage, *MAHI* 389). His lack of action is partly because he tries to remain calm in decision making, and objective in judging and interpreting people. To keep his mind as independent as possible, he avoids being conquered by any dogmatic idea. Notwithstanding, two interactions in the last volume of *MAHI* have crucial impact on his anti-colonial identity formation. The first one is his encounter to a former Transylvanian countess named Miss Zaporo in Italy, and the second one is his conversation with a former slave named Benjamin Fidel in England. The former makes Sir George face with his nation's hypocrisy whereas the latter teaches him tolerance. By means of these occasions, Sir George discovers and acknowledges his sympathy towards the oppressed and the unfortunate. The stories of Miss Zaporo and Benjamin Fidel, which articulate the perceptions and agency of oppressed individuals from different geographies, affect Sir George's anti-colonial identity formation (Lee 439).

To begin with, the first encounter makes Sir George aware of the hypocrisy of England about the notion of liberty. Historically, this hypocrisy was fed by English nationalism and justified by myths of scientific progress and human rights. To explain, although the image of philosophically enlightened empires and notion of human rights appeared towards the end of the eighteenth century, colonies were still hubs of violence (Harris

169), and feudal communities were struck with poverty (Marshall, *Eighteenth Century* 35). Disturbed by the hypocrisy of the aristocrats, Thomas Paine states that

> this wax-work order has assumed the name of aristocracy; and the disgrace of it would be lessened if it could be considered as only childish imbecility. We pardon foppery because of its insignificance, and on the same ground we might pardon the foppery of Titles. But the origin of aristocracy was worse than foppery. It was robbery. The first aristocrats in all countries were brigands. Those of latter times, sycophants. (Paine 401)

Paine believed that feudalism was an order of exploitation, and hence the aristocracy was its instrument, which tried to protect the feudal status quo at the end of the century by resisting enlightenment of any sorts. In this aspect, feudalism empowered colonialism again because the protection of the quo helped the colonizer, who rules by the royal pride and authority inherited from the aristocratic lineage[34] (Blussé 158, 169; Osterhammel 58). Therefore, Bage expressed through Miss Zaporo's story that England and Europe failed in bringing development and human rights to their colonies; and hence, they did not practice what they promised.

Bage believes that it is England's hypocrisy to support the notions of freedom and liberty at home but disregard them abroad, especially in its colonies. The contradiction between England's internal ideology and external practices is criticised through Miss Zaporo's story. Count Zaporo, Miss Zaporo's father, was a righteous feudal ruler[35] who has been in conflict with the central power. In consequence, the Count's castle is attacked by the Emperor and his family is displaced. In accordance with the destructive consequences of tyranny, Miss Zaporo criticizes England's indifference by satirically asserting that Transylvania is "a scene too remote perhaps to have interested the generous English, who, free themselves, wish freedom to mankind" (Bage, *MAHI* 398). She accuses England of turning blind eye to the violations of human rights and freedom

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[34] The connotation between lineage and "social power, prestige, and privilege" of the colonizer can also be grounded on the concepts of "s*ocial dominance orientation*" and "legitimizing myths" (Sidanius and Pratto 32, 39-40).

[35] Transylvania was a feudal area, connected to the Habsburg monarchy, that hosted four main ethnic groups, which were "Hungarians, Szeklers… Saxons… [and] Romanians," in the eighteenth century (Verdery 381-82). The ethnicity or nationality of the Zaporo dynasty is left unknown by Bage. However, it is the narrator's observation that Miss Zaporo was "drest nearly In the Hungarian mode" (Bage, *MAHI* 390).

in the central and eastern parts of Europe. At this point, England's ideology of liberty at home contradicts its lack of intervention to war and conflict abroad.

Mann identifies the "central ideological thrust of British … imperialism" as "the paradoxical claim to be entitled to dominate less fortunate peoples by virtue of being the freest peoples on earth" (65). Similarly, Maleŝević and Haugaard assert that "only at home that liberty was the order of the day while in the empire it was sadly neglected"(12). The neglect refers not only to colonialism but also to the lack of humanitarian aid and interference to lands in war. Contrary to a peaceful approach or interference, promoting war and conflict helped the colonial British Empire maintain its financial benefits. In other words, England's external policies are mostly shaped by its colonial pursuits. So, it only interferes with the situations from which it can benefit. Jurgen Habermas also points out the limited availability of European democracy. For a more universal distribution of democracy, he designates the main challenge for Europe as "to *conserve* the great democratic achievements of the European nation-state, beyond its own limits" ("Why Europe Needs a Constitution" 6). To put it differently, Habermas views the preservation of democracy and human rights as a universal mission of England and other European nation-states. Parallel to this, Miss Zaporo seeks for her country the basic achievements of "formal guarantees of civil rights … [which are the] precondition of both an effective private autonomy and of democratic citizenship" (Habermas, "Why" 6). However, she is disappointed by the indifference of England and English people to the oppression that her people are subjected to.

Miss Zaporo believes that her father "fought to relieve his country from oppression" (Bage, *MAHI* 390). Historically, Transylvania had been under the control of the Habsburg monarchy, which was ruled by the notorious Joseph II between 1765 and 1790. He is often considered as an enlightened absolutist whose tyranny overshadowed his reforms, which originally aimed to relieve people from oppression (Durant 355, 357). His despotic policies and heavy taxations in the territories of the Habsburg monarchy ended up in a turmoil in which "the nobles blamed him for the uprising, [and] the peasants blamed him for its failure" (Durant 361). In light of this, it is very likely that Count Zaporo, whose "vassals … loved him," fought to defend his vassals against

the oppression of the Habsburg monarchy (Bage, *MAHI* 398). Robert J. Hind defines "Transylvania's unequivocally colonial status within Austro-Hungarian empire" as a case of internal colonialism (351). Similar to his criticism of feudalism in England, Bage criticises Joseph II's feudal oppression. Thus, Bage asserts that the Austrian and Hungarian nobility "have been desirous of liberty themselves; but unwilling to grant it to their vassals," which is similar to England's clashing internal and external policies (*MAHI* 409). Whether in England, under the rule of the Habsburg monarchy, or in colonies, Bage believes that oppression is "inherent in the very structure of society, the direct and inevitable result of the existing system," which is feudalism (Gregory 177).

The unfortunate fate of Miss Zaporo and her country deeply influences Sir George as he "had too generous, too feeling a heart, not to be moved with extreme compassion … [and] shall never forget" (Bage, *MAHI* 412, 414). As a result, he offers Miss Zaporo a refuge in England since she has no one left to depend on. He aspires to compensate for England's indifferent approach to the insurrections that affected many lives including that of Miss Zaporo and her family in Transylvania. However, Miss Zaporo refuses the offer. Later, Sir George seeks a relative of hers, so that she is not completely alone in the world, and finds one. Miss Zaporo is brought together with her uncle, who did not know whether she was alive or not. At last, Sir George's benevolence is motivated by nothing but his sympathy towards the oppressed and unfortunate. More importantly, Sir George finally decides to take an action rather than passively observing and interpreting the oppression and tyranny around him. Different from his earlier pride, this proactive stance of Sir George is due to his feelings of guilt and self-blame because of the colonial fame, legacy, and oppression of his country. Thus, his scepticism in questioning his country's legacy starts to harvest his anti-colonial identity and reactions.

As for Sir George's interaction with Benjamin Fidel, his sympathy for the oppressed and sense of guilt are accompanied with tolerance. As mentioned earlier in the chapter, at the beginning of his travels, Sir George is proud of his country in terms of "civilities … human manners and improvements" (Bage, *MAHI* 38). However, as a young aristocrat, Sir George first detests the so-called fine manners of the English aristocracy as a result of his interactions, which were mentioned before, with the aristocratic

characters. Following his disillusionment with the aristocracy, meeting and talking to a former slave gives him a deep understanding of the atrocities and inhumane results of England's overseas policies and slave trade. He, then, as a more experienced individual, witnesses how England dispossess slaves and colonized people of their freedom by means of colonialism and slave trade. In contrast to Mr. Birimport, Benjamin is the embodiment of a victim of colonial heritage and mentality. Accordingly, Benjamin's late appearance concludes the "conflict of freedom and restraint" in Sir George's mind (Kelly 45). Teaching Sir George what freedom is and how his country violates it abroad, this incident has a big impact on his anti-colonial identity formation.

Initially, Benjamin Fidel is Miss Colerain's servant. She loves and trusts Benjamin, who equally loves and respects his mistress. However, she has to leave him behind to escape the local gossips and abuses she faces because of her company with Sir George. Later in the novel, Benjamin is employed by Sir George in Hampshire, where the latter is "in a proper state of misanthropy, for the purpose of a recluse" (Bage, *MAHI* 472-73). As slave trade was popular at the end of the eighteenth century, Sir George takes interest in Benjamin in midst of melancholy and burnout (Bage, *MAHI* 480). Historically, the issue of slavery became a popular problem after "[William] Wilberforce brought in a bill … [which] was promptly defeated by the Liverpool slave merchants [and the House of Lords] … for the abolition of the slave trade" in 1788 (Gregory 27). Simultaneous with the anti-slavery movement conducted by English intellectuals and members of the parliament, the Sons of Africa movement also emerged. The latter was initiated by African individuals who directly or indirectly experienced the conditions of slavery (Oldfield 64-6). These movements probably have impact on Bage's creation of Benjamin as a character in *MAHI*.

Benjamin is originally from Benin, which had been colonized and used for slave trade by several European countries including England for centuries. Historically, "roughly two million slaves were exported from … Benin, comprising one fifth of the total Atlantic slave trade" between 1640 and 1860 (Manning 9). In the novel, Benjamin is bought and taken to Jamaica as a slave by a Liverpool merchant named Mr. Benfield, who is not a cruel master. In fact, Benjamin believes that he "would not have take the

pleasure in de whip, if he did know a better vay to send a profitable cargo of the sugar into dis England" (Bage, *MAHI* 481). However, he becomes the property of his master's cruel son as a result of saving the young master from drowning. One day, Benjamin and his young master argue, and the master hits him. Enraged Benjamin runs to his old master's house to seek his advice and refuge. After his fate is discussed by the masters of different plantations, Master Colerain, Miss Colerain's father, decides to buy him.

After being bought by Master Colerain, Benjamin is given the management of a small plantation owing to the master's project of a less violent management of plantations. The plantation run by Benjamin prospers without any violence. By means of Benjamin's plantation, Bage contemplates how plantation system can bring profit without violence. Notably, Ulrich B. Phillips claims that plantation system was "the industrial and social frame of government, while slavery was a code of written laws enacted for … that system's purposes" (37). Colonies and plantations, more than hubs of oppression and exploitation, reflected the internal mode of administration of the country that run them. Therefore, Bage's imagination of a non-violent plantation implies his desire for a more democratic administration, better wealth distribution, and fairer working conditions in England. Following three years of successful plantation management, tragedy strikes Benjamin. After Master Benfield and his wife's deaths, their plantation is left to their cruel son, who casts eye on Benjamin's beloved. Since Flowney is in love with Benjamin, she refuses the young master. Unable to accept this refusal, the young master and his servant rape Flowney, and hence she kills herself. Left devastated, Benjamin shoots the servant of the young master and whispers to his dead beloved that "De whip is deirs in dis world; it is ours in de next" (Bage, *MAHI* 489). Making him confront the colonial legacy of England, the tragedy experienced by Benjamin leaves Sir George dismayed and guilty on behalf of his country and ancestry.

Another character dismayed by colonialism is Master Colerain, whose approach to Benjamin portrays tolerance to the oppressed and unfortunate. Moreover, owing to Master Colerain's stance against oppression and slavery, it is possible to argue that he is a role model for Sir George in developing an identity against oppression and slavery. To start with, Benjamin tells Sir George that Master Colerain "did hope to live to hear de

question [of abolishment of slavery] discussed by a Britain parliament" (Bage, *MAHI* 483). His hope is an overt reference to anti-slavery movement as the "activists understood that their best chance for reform was through parliament" (Ryden 163). Sympathy towards slaves is not the only attribute of Master Colerain. His most remarkable attribute is empathy because it produces tolerance when combined with sympathy. Since empathy is a more proactive feeling than sympathy, empathy can drive one to take action whereas sympathy may remain as an expression. It is Master Colerain's sympathy that makes him hope that slavery would be abolished. On the other hand, it is his empathy that makes him treat his slaves better and make an actual difference in their lives by giving them a chance to decide for themselves. Therefore, Benjamin expresses his gratitude to Master Colerain with the following words; "he did use to ask me many questions about de treatment of poor black, men; and de tears did often run down his cheeks when I did tell him. Oh! how I did love him for dat" (Bage, *MAHI* 485). The main reason why Benjamin loves Master Colerain is the utter sincerity behind his master's tears. Accordingly, Master Colerain's humane approach to Benjamin inspires Sir George, too, in terms of showing empathy and tolerance towards the oppressed and unfortunate.

In a social environment where "pleas for … toleration were seen as a veil for sedition," it was hard for one to defend tolerance towards peoples of different cultures in the face of patriotism (Kelly 50). Considering the authority and pressure of the aristocracy and gentry, an individual who held dissentient views could be excluded and even prosecuted in the group he or she belongs to. In light of this, the dissent and radical transformation of Sir George is the major topic of analysis in this chapter. At the beginning, he is a typical young aristocrat, only with the exception of his independent and sceptical nature. Regardless of his independence and scepticism, he is subjected to many impositions by his family and social milieu. He is then sent to a grand tour to represent his country as a part of the ruling elite; and he is expected from his family to come back with stronger patriotic feelings and attachment to his group identity. Yet, his experiences and people he meets in his travels help him develop an individual identity that is contrary to the group identity he is born into. At the end, he is not only alienated from the aristocracy but also witnesses the realities of patriotic pride, corruption,

oppression, exploitation, slavery, and colonialism. Through Sir George, Bage criticizes the oppressive structures of feudalism and colonialism because, among the aristocratic and colonial characters who are examined in the chapter, Sir George is the only one against oppression, and he is the mouthpiece of anti-colonial discourse.

Displeased with the dogmatic social identity and patriotism of the aristocracy, Sir George is under the pressure of his family. Thus, he is in conflict with the institutions of family and aristocracy. In order to overcome this conflict, which drives him to disillusionment and isolation, Sir George forms his individual identity. His disillusionment and isolation are followed by his individual enlightenment, which drives him to sympathy, understanding, and tolerance towards the oppressed and unfortunate. The sense of enlightenment and transformation experienced by Sir George can be inferred as "a shift in status from … [being] a 'political subject' who undergoes 'subjection' to royal authority to … [becoming] an 'ethical subject' who reflects upon his or her condition of 'subjecthood' and thereby lays the ground for the growth of a reflexive and autonomous 'subjectivity'" (McKeon 12). Hence, by establishing Sir George as an autonomous subject, Bage demonstrates his stance against oppression in *MAHI*.

To conclude, Sir George's escape from the dogmatism and patriotism of the aristocratic group identity leads him to adopt an individual identity against oppression, which opposes the aristocracy, patriarchy, tyranny, and slavery. By means of anti-colonial discourse, Sir George is estranged from dogmas and impositions, and thus adopts liberties. According to Bage and as stated by the narrator, man, as he appears to be, "is yet an imperfect being" (*MAHI* 458). As a young, inexperienced, and imperfect being, Sir George undergoes a set of experiences that lead him to his individual identity. Although there is not a climactic point where he instantly changes, each incident in the process of his individual identity formation builds up to an epiphanic finale where he decides to avoid being a part of any political, constitutional or legislative body of his country. He eventually retreats from the English society by moving to Paris, France, with his wife, Miss Colerain. Asserting that patriotism is "born of ignorance, and nursed by absurdity," he exposes the pride, greed, and patriotism of the English aristocracy in

practicing oppression and exploitation (Bage, *MAHI* 467). As final resolution, Sir George aspires to "pursue honest designs by honest means" as an individual who is redeemed from "luxury, ease, indolence, and imbecility … ferocity, stupidity, and boast" (Bage, *MAHI* 467).

CHAPTER II
ENLIGHTENMENT AGAINST OPPRESSION AND METAPHORICAL DECOLONIZATION IN *HERMSPRONG* (1796)

This chapter argues that, within the anti-colonial discourse of *Hermsprong*, the protagonist Charles Hemsprong's ideology against oppression represents Bage's stance against feudalism and colonialism as oppressive institutions. It metaphorically interprets the novel as a story of decolonization in the microcosm of a feudal village in England. The village of Grondale is ruled by an aristocratic tyrant called Lord Grondale, who represents local authority and embodies Memmi's archetype of the colonizer; and it is later decolonized by Hermsprong. Although Hermsprong's individual identity has been formed before he arrives in the village, his conflict with the local authority of the village and the incidents he experiences cement his stance against oppression, and makes him the leader of the metaphorical anti-colonial resistance in the novel. Accordingly, his benevolence and sympathy with the oppressed gains him the trust of the peoples of the feudal village ruled by internal colonial dynamics. The effect of his ideology against oppression on the villagers and the result of this effect, which is the trust and support of the villagers to him, is significant for Hermsprong in his struggle against the oppressive local authority of the village. By basing on the parallelism between feudalism and colonialism, this chapter claims that the village represents a colony. Therefore, within the context of anti-colonial theory, it analyses how both domestic and local tyranny are handled, the archetypes of the colonizer and the colonized are represented, anti-colonial discourse is used, and consequently decolonization occurs in the novel. The aristocratic and local characters, the microcosmic setting of the novel, and the institution of feudalism shaped within colonial oppression and ideology contribute to Bage's discussion to question the oppression inflicted by patriarchy, feudalism, and colonialism.

Since the chapter focuses on Bage's criticism of oppression through the clash of individual identity and group identity, the reactionary anti-colonial identity of Charles

Hermsprong is the central issue. Different from Sir George in *MAHI*, Hermsprong has an individual identity resisting any kind of oppression from the beginning to the end of the novel. Moreover, he has an anti-colonial stance that is originated in his upbringing and education among indigenous peoples of America, which is discussed in detail further in the chapter. As he is raised in a colonized society and away from the colonizer's mentality, Hermsprong despises any kind of oppression and tyranny. Hence, his stance against oppression becomes stronger as he initiates a radical change in the village, which is tyrannized by aristocratic authority. The chapter analyses how Hermsprong's individual identity and anti-colonial stance initiates the process of metaphorical decolonization in the village by resisting to the internal colonizer and affecting the members of the community by making them realize the oppression they are under. The reforms that lead to the decolonization of the village occur on collective level, and they are conducted by a non-English character with a rigid individual identity. Ironically, in the context of internal colonialism theory, an English community, where the Lord, who fits into the archetype of the colonizer, oppresses his own people, is infiltrated and seized by a non-English anti-colonial hero. Furthermore, the anti-oppressive hero seizes the village in order to save it from the tyranny of the Lord, and metaphorically banish colonialism instead of superseding the colonizer.

Written in three volumes and a total of eighty two chapters, and narrated by a character in the novel, *Hermsprong* is a philosophical and political novel influenced by the revolutionary ideas of the era. Along with philosophy and politics, it deals with such themes as tyranny, oppression, exploitation, freedom of speech, logical debate, nativism, gender roles, independence, and liberty. Debate is frequently used in the novel as a narrative tool in dealing with the wide variety of issues above. Mostly, they take place between Hermsprong and the English characters in the novel, signifying the clash of values between non-English identity and English identity. Despite the multifarious topics, the narrative is centred around a love story. Regardless of the microcosmic setting of the novel, the narrator states at the beginning of the novel that the story is not only told "to instruct the good people of England" but also for the sake of "tolerable universality" (Bage, *Hermsprong* 57). The emphasis on universality indicates that Bage aims to deal with the issues above on a scale larger than a village.

Universality seeps into this remote feudal village with the arrival of an outsider "who turn[s] out to have high birth that has been hidden" (Rogers, "Social Structure" 47). Although Hermsprong is of noble European origin, which is revealed later in the novel, he is raised as a complete stranger to English and European customs, values, and discourse. Having grown up in America among indigenous people, with native American values and education, Hermsprong arrives in Europe for the first time at the age of sixteen. After seven years of travelling half of Europe on foot, he arrives in England and does not "find it more suited to … [his] taste than the rest of Europe" (Bage, *Hermsprong* 255). However, he stays in England for Miss Campinet, whom he saves from a horse accident after setting foot on the Grondale village. In time, they grow fond of each other and fall in love, which initiates the central conflict of the novel because she is Lord Grondale's daughter. The Lord is not pleased with his daughter's relationship with the stranger.

After the horse accident, the first person Hermsprong encounters is the Reverend Doctor Blick, who dislikes Hermsprong and views him as a mysterious stranger who knows no authority. Short after this, Hermsprong meets the narrator of the novel, Gregory Glen. The more Mr. Glen gets to know Hermsprong the more he idolizes him. In the great deal of the first volume, Hermsprong meets different people in the village. Much to the Lord's distaste, the villagers start to like him. He performs such good deeds as preventing a naïve young girl from going away with a rake, and helps the villagers physically, spiritually, and financially during a devastating storm. His good deeds are argued as reforms further in the chapter. Besides his reforms, Hermsprong's efforts for the betterment of people help him gain a position among the village community. The trust and support gained by Hermsprong is significant against the Lord's dislike of him, which turns into animosity and hostility in the second and third volumes of the novel. The Lord does everything in his power to prevent Hermsprong from coming together with his daughter. Moreover, he wants to send Hermsprong not only out of the village but also out of England. His means of oppression on the young lovers range from arranging a marriage for Miss Campinet to accusing Hermsprong of being a French spy. Besides the lovers, the Lord tyrannizes his house and the villagers. Yet, Hermsprong does not yield to this tyranny. He makes no compromises, even for his beloved, as he

tells Miss Campinet that he hopes she "will not require of the sacrifice of integrity to pride; or meaner still, to money" (Bage, *Hermsprong* 234). The novel ends with the marriage of Hermsprong and Miss Campinet. Furthermore, the village is emancipated from tyranny as the Lord dies.

In the same vein as the previous chapter, the aristocracy represents oppression and exploitation in this chapter. The chief aristocratic villain, the Lord, practices despotism both in his household and the village, where traditional values and practices of feudalism and colonialism reign. Accordingly, the chapter firstly analyses the Lord in terms of how he represents colonial identity with reference to the examples of his tyranny and oppression on, respectively, domestic and local spheres. It continues with analysing how the oppressive order is overthrown with the arrival, resistance, and victory of the anti-colonial hero, Hermsprong. The process of colonialism is reversed in *Hermsprong* with the non-English anti-colonial hero's overthrow of oppression and colonialism in an English village. Bage goes beyond the individual enlightenment of the protagonist that occurs in *MAHI*, and articulates his belief in collective change in *Hermsprong*.

The chapter analyses the oppression, anti-colonial resistance, and decolonization in the selected novel in three phases. Firstly, it explores how tyranny and despotism function in the domestic sphere and the local sphere. The inhabitants of the Grondale manor and the village of Grondale are under the oppression of the Lord. Accordingly, these spheres are examined in relation to the institutions of feudalism and colonialism. Additionally, the impact of the gentry and the institution of religion on the preservation of tyranny and despotism is scrutinized. Ultimately, the village is viewed as a colony within the context of anti-colonial theory. Secondly, the chapter discusses the colonizer and the colonized, who respectively represent oppression and resistance. The Lord and Hermsprong are considered with regard to their being the representations of the colonizer and the colonized, and hence aristocratic identity and indigenous identity. Furthermore, the chapter evaluates Bage's portrayal of the struggle of the oppressed and unfortunate groups such as women, workers, low ranks of society, or younger generations. Thirdly, Hermsprong's infiltration into the village is interpreted as the

beginning of decolonization in the village. Here, the anti-colonial hero is in constant effort to reform the existing order by touching the lives of groups or individuals regardless of their social rank or gender. Hence, the novel contemplates the improvement of a corrupt community and overthrow of tyranny. For this purpose, it portrays the social, political, intellectual, cultural, and philosophical infiltration of an individual identity into a collective entity. The improvement of the village is a progress, in which Hermsprong's ideology against oppression inspires the villagers towards decolonization, whereas the overthrow of oppression and tyranny is the result. The protagonist has the subversive power and agency to change the existing order while protecting his identity from any change.

Bill Ashcroft et al. point out an important issue about early examples of subversion in fiction by asserting that "it is characteristic of these early post-colonial [or anti-colonial] texts that the potential for subversion in their themes cannot be fully realized … they are prevented from fully exploring their anti-imperial potential" (6). *Hermsprong* exemplifies this statement because it has never been involved in English literary canon as a result of its subversive messages that criticize England. For the same reason -the subversive messages that criticize England- it is a text that is open for anti-colonial analysis. Remarkably, such criticism of English society, feudalism, and colonialism is made in the novel by an English author. Although Lois Whitney claims that there is no need to look "for a consistent system of thought in" *Hermsprong*, Bage's references to the heated events of his time, partisan defence of liberty, and portrayal of subversion suggest otherwise (270). The socio-political and cultural issues of the 1790s, such as liberty, equality, and freedom of speech, are embedded in Hermsprong's identity. Unlike Sir George's passive anti-colonial stance in *MAHI*, Hermsprong's proactive nature incorporates "political philosophy," which is anti-colonial ideology, with "practical philosophy," which reforms the oppressive order in the village (Biró-Kaszás 90). Thus, Hermsprong serves Bage's effort to fictionalize a decolonized village due to the emergence of the anti-oppressive ideology in the microcosm of village.

While discussing the relation of literature to ruling class, Peter U. Hohendahl argues that literature "either supports the ruling class, or subverts and opposes its position"

(619). As a subversive narrative, *Hermsprong* tries to bring oppressed individuals and groups in the critical consideration by voicing their conditions and realities. Grand narratives, on the contrary, are often the works that speak to people rather than speaking for them. They can safeguard the socio-political status quo of a society in a certain period (Sartre 87). Authors and critics can promote and protect the socio-political and cultural agenda of the political centre[36]. In this manner, Sir Walter Scott's attempt to regulate the literary atmosphere of England is exemplified below in his attack to Bage:

> The habits of the lower classes are far from affording, exclusively, that rich fruit of virtue and generosity, which Mr Bage's writings would teach us to expect. On the contrary, they are discontented … with the hardships of their situation, occupied too often in seizing upon the transient enjoyments which chance throws in their way, and open to temptations which promise to mend their condition in life … at the expense of their morals. (xxviii)

Scott, as seen above, refrained from granting a voice to lower ranks of society. Instead, these people were deemed immoral and voluptuous. Besides despising the lower ranks regardless of belonging to the same national community and ethnicity, Scott claims that women's role merely includes "their right to the exercise of that maternal care … the wholesome and mitigating restraint … [and] their power of protecting us when young, and cheering us when old" (*The Novels* xxx). Thus, Scott criticizes Bage for disrupting the role of women as the latter's female characters are intelligent and courageous enough to resist and confront patriarchal authority, and hence the oppressive aristocrats.

Hermsprong subverts patriarchal and aristocratic authority by challenging despotism in domestic and local spheres. In the village's "boundaries fixed in structure between classes of individuals, between structurally high and low, powerful and powerless, male and female," the male aristocrats have power and means of oppression (Gilead 184). In addition to the patriarchal oppression of the Lord over the female characters in the domestic sphere, his oppression of his vassals and exploitation of the workers is apparent in the public sphere. Mckeon formulates how despots can operate in the same manner, but in different spheres:

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[36] Hohendahl puts specific attention to the effective role of literature in state formation and nation building by asserting that "the complex process of canon formation played a significant role" in these issues (629).

> As we pass from the most public to the most private realms … our trajectory also describes the separation process as a devolutionary movement "downward," a progressive detachment of the normatively absolute from its presumed locale in royal absolutism and its experimental relocation in "the people," the family, women, the individual, personal identity, and the absolute subject. (xxii)

Hence, tyranny and despotism are reflected on both the socio-political order and the smaller units in that order. In this study, therefore, the smaller units can be a colony, a village, a mine, or a family, all of which are run by tyranny, which produces absolutist rulers and obedient subjects. In light of these, the Grondale manor and the village bear striking similarities to a colony.

Domestic despotism stems in the Grondale manor from the traditional gender roles that cause oppression. As mentioned above, dynamics of power, domination, and oppression function in many different spheres of the society. Hence, patriarchal power and domination mirror the bigger and more extensive operations of domination such as feudalism or colonialism. This puts family in the same denominator with a feudal village and colony, which are inherently patriarchal social orders ruled by paternal figures who must always already be respected and obeyed. Likewise, Zake claims that patriarchy uses "familial gender roles" as "justifications for… [paternal] power," which is a practice similar to the Lord's domestic despotism on his daughter (Zake 234-35). Therefore, Gary Kelly defines the Lord as "the most thorough-going of the parental tyrants" (45). In the same vein, this thesis views the Lord as the representative of the archetype of the colonizer, which is be elaborated further in the chapter. The Lord has no limits in oppressing his daughter and her confidante, Miss Fluart, who makes frequent and long visits to the manor. His threats to Miss Campinet to make her give up her love for Hermsprong and his detainment of Miss Fluart exemplify the Lord's domestic despotism.

The Lord's approach to his daughter is similar to the colonizer, who wants to seize the physical and psychological advantage over the colonized through impositions, insults, and disdain. The despotism subjugated to Miss Campinet is due to the Lord's ambition to keep his daughter under strict control and restraint. He aims to achieve control and

restraint by anger, commands, and expectations conveyed as impositions. The difference between an expectation and imposition is what separates a parent from a tyrant. To explain, the Lord's expectation of obedience is not open to discussion. He imposes his tyranny on her when he gives orders: "Obey me, you have a father. If otherwise, I have not a daughter" (Bage, *Hermsprong* 270).. The Lord treats her daughter like a slave as he, "inflamed with rage," orders her to "walk in, and wait … [his] permission to go out again" (Bage, *Hermsprong* 144). He has no paternal sympathy with his daughter throughout the novel. Hence, his despotism is not motivated by a paternal instinct of protecting his daughter from harm. On the contrary, the Lord commodifies his daughter by thinking that Hermsprong is "on the hunt for" a fortune, and saying that his daughter "would be a pretty catch. A lucky hit" (Bage, *Hermsprong* 143). His ill vocabulary is not limited to this instance as he even blames Miss Campinet for coquetry (144). Along with commodification and insults, the Lord also undermines his daughter's intelligence by pointing out the "artless simplicity" of her (Bage, *Hermsprong* 175).

The Lord's oppression gets more threatening when he declares that he will kill his daughter if she gets married without his consent. After reading a letter sent by Hermsprong that openly challenges his authority, the Lord summons Miss Campinet, threatens her, and forces her into an arranged marriage to a man she despises:

> Instead of the polite irony with which he used to torment her, he now abused her in the vulgar tongue with all the power of language … swore, yes swore, he would stab her with his own hand… sooner than she should be Hermsprong's. Finally, he gave her his last… and peremptory orders to prepare for immediate marriage with Sir Philip Chestrum. Three days he would give her, to return to duty and chearful obedience. On the fourth, it should be solemnized even by force; if she were still so foolish and obstinate to render force necessary. (Bage, *Hermsprong* 290-91)

The Lord's abuses and threats towards his daughter resemble the colonizer's transition from "calm superiority (as is sometimes assumed [by the colonizer]) … [to] a mood often closer to a siege mentality" (Darwin 6). The verbal abuse of the oppressor is soon accompanied with a physical threat. Thus, the Lord does everything to impose his authority on his daughter. Ultimately, these impositions, abuses, and threats end with the submission of his subject, since, "trembling at her father's fury, and shocked by his

menaces, Miss Campinet dared not to utter a syllable in reply; but receiving her dismission" (Bage, *Hermsprong* 291). Similar to a colonized individual, she is silenced into submission, and rendered defenceless against tyranny. The terrified Miss Campinet is conditioned to view any "intention to have a will of her own" as "an offence … her father would be little inclined to pardon" (Bage, *Hermsprong* 236).

Contrary to Miss Campinet, Miss Fluart has free will and courage. Although the Jacobin novelists "generally supported the dominant idea that women needed to repress their desires," Bage depicts Miss Fluart with a tremendous courage and freedom of articulation (Rogers, "Honor, Privilege, and Class Anxiety" 10). Nonetheless, she takes her share of the Lord's oppression. She is subjugated to sexual abuse and physical detainment by the Lord. In one instance, Miss Fluart pretends that she is attracted to him in order to persuade the Lord to allow the marriage of Miss Campinet. However, one night, the Lord makes advances to Miss Fluart, and invites her to a private room, "the pavilion," which is decorated with mirrors and obscene paintings. After sitting on a luxurious sofa, she is entrapped by the Lord as

> she was rising to leave the pavilion, when, his lordship, in the most gallant manner possible, claimed a fine, due he said, by the custom of the manor, from every lady who honoured that sofa by sitting upon it. His lordship meant simply a kiss … the lady seemed to feel an alarm … and was intent only upon running away, whilst his lordship was intent only upon seizing his forfeit. A fine muslin apron was ill-treated upon this occasion; a handkerchief was ruffled, and some beautiful hair had strayed from its confinement, and wantoned upon its owner's polished neck. (Bage, *Hermsprong* 184)

The depiction of Miss Fluart's clothes suggests that the Lord attempts to undress and rape her under the pretence of a kiss. Remaining cunning and alert, Miss Fluart hardly escapes the Lord. Shamelessly, the Lord attempts to rape a girl at the age of her own daughter and calls her "quite a prude" for refusing a kiss (184). The Lord's attempt to rape a woman under his rule and so-called protection is another parallelism with the colonizer, who, as a historical fact, raped women in colonies (Wolfe, *Settler Colonialism* 164). Both the Lord and the colonizer attempt to sexually abuse the women under their rule under the pretext of the women's vulnerability and need for protection.

Besides the Lord's rape attempt, Miss Fluart is once more victimized when she is detained while helping her friend. As the Lord is determined to make Miss Campinet marry Sir Philip, Miss Fluart, Hermsprong, and Mr. Glen set up a plot to deceive the Lord and Sir Philip. During the marriage ceremony, Miss Fluart, whose face is hidden under a handkerchief, takes the place of Miss Campinet. Shocked and humiliated, the Lord and Doctor Blick decide to detain Miss Fluart, asserting that "this impertinent young woman should never leave this house till she had atoned for her evil doings" (Bage, *Hermsprong* 299). In spite of their lawyer's warning that there is no justifiable cause to detain her, the Lord detains her. Similar to palliating his rape attempt as an innocent kiss, the Lord claims that law should justify her detainment. However, strikingly, Miss Fluart escapes this unlawful detention as narrated in the following excerpt:

> 'Out of this house you shall not stir, till I deliver you up to due course of law.'
>
> 'And, pray, my lord, by what authority do you pretend to confine me? Watson, you are my servant now. I order you to follow me. We are under the necessity of leaving this hospitable house by force. Stand off, my lord.'
>
> His lordship now began to bawl out for his servants. The butler ran, the cook, and two footmen.
>
> 'Stop this woman," said his lordship; "stop her, I charge you.'
>
> 'Let me see who dare,' said Miss Fluart, producing a pistol, and almost overturning his lordship as she passed.
>
> 'Seize them, I command you,' said the enraged Lord Grondale.
>
> No one obeyed; and the intrepid Miss Fluart walked on to the hall door, which she opened herself unimpeded even by the porter. (Bage, *Hermsprong* 302)

Jansen and Osterhammel lay emphasis on the role of women in anti-colonialism by pointing out that "in many anticolonial movements, individual women, women's rights organizations, and other associations run by women … did play a conspicuous role, including in cases of armed struggle" (51). Correspondingly, here, with her intelligence and boldness, Miss Fluart exemplifies the women in the struggle against oppression since she demonstrates resistance and armed struggle against the oppressor.

The other form of tyranny tackled in *Hermsprong* is local despotism experienced by the villagers, who are tyrannized by the Lord, similar to those peoples in the colonies. Through this, Bage condemns "aristocratic tyranny over the lower and middle classes" in general (Moran 77). Along with the Lord, who represents the aristocratic tyranny,

Bage criticizes the system that allows the powerful "to look down on the lesser inhabitants of this best of worlds, with a due consciousness of his great superiority" (Bage, *Hermsprong* 72-3). Besides his tyranny, the Lord is careless about the administration of his land and the well-being of his vassals. As "a man who has received his peerage for the delivery of his Cornish boroughs into the Government interest" (Kelly 45), the Lord is "seldom at his country seat, till a long fit of gout, a consequent debility, and the advice of his physicians" require him to return to the village (Bage, *Hermsprong* 73). He is so indifferent and arrogant to his subjects that he does not even "receive the bows of his humble tenants" after a sermon, which is supposed to be a social bonding activity that brings together all ranks of a community (Bage, *Hermsprong* 165).

As a man who rejects any kind of oppression and despotism, Hermsprong is disturbed about the condition of the commoners despite the fact that they "labour incessantly for happiness" (Bage, *Hermsprong* 210). Exploitation of the lower ranks of the society is criticised in his reproachful comment about England: "You have built cities, no doubt, and filled them full of improvement … and of poverty also, if poverty be improvement … [it is] in vain for you to boast your riches" (Bage, *Hermsprong* 158). Here, progress is designated merely as a proto-capitalistic system of exploitation. Hermsprong's argument against improvement is based on the limited availability of a happiness that is based on money. According to him, common peoples are either socially or financially oppressed. Through Hermsprong's views, Bage aims to remind the commoners or the lower ranks of the society of their rights in the face of the unfair treatment they are subjugated to. According to Bage, similar to the fact that the colonized peoples must be aware of their human rights and freedom to resist colonialism, those oppressed because of the internal colonialism in England are destined for enlightenment about their rights and freedom.

For the sake of such enlightenment, a small but important role is cast to labour in *Hermsprong*. Bage witnessed the riots, commonly known as The Priestly Riots or Church and King Riots, in Birmingham in 1791. These riots were the result of the outrage against poor working conditions, poverty, low wages, high taxes, the church,

and the king (Rose 68-72). Pointing out the impossibility of knowing "the actual social consciousness of the inarticulate labouring poor," Thompson considers the riots in the eighteenth century as "class confrontation" or "fragments of proto-conflict" (134). Although speaking against the conditions of the workers of the time was not very common, Bage's riot scene reflects a class confrontation. Grondale miners' riot becomes a means for raising a voice against local exploitation. Within the context of anti-colonialism, it portrays the struggle of the colonized against the colonizer. In the third volume of the novel, the Lord is informed about the riot as follows:

> The miners were in a state of riot; the motive, dearness of provisions[37]. The second day's report was, that their numbers increased; that they threatened violence; that the magistrates durst not act. The third day's intelligence was still more alarming. There must be French agents amongst them. The fourth, that they were coming to pull down all lords' houses, especially Lord Grondale's; for he was a miner; had gotten rich by the sweat of their brows, and for any good he had ever done, they had never heard of it. His lordship justly alarmed, gave orders for an immediate journey to London. (Bage, *Hermsprong* 307)

It is understood from the passage that the Lord owns mines, runs them unjustly, and exploits the miners, and hence acts similar to a colonizer. Consequently, he resorts to escape the scene until the unrest is settled, just like many French nobles who tried to flee during the revolution in France (Tackett 484).

Notably, unrest among workers is unavoidable in anti-colonial movements, too, because both the workers and the colonized are exploited masses. Historically, workers in England caused problems, as "more than political movements, a wave of labour unrest rocked many British colonies" at different times (Jansen and Osterhammel 44). Since "the eighteenth-century worker had no political rights and though the Law recognized his legal equality with his social betters, lack of money made legal rights little but a mockery," the workers find the solution in rioting in *Hermsprong* (Marshall, *Eighteenth Century* 37). Even if, at the end of the day, the miners "disperse … without doing much mischief," they resist the exploitation as well as asking for equality (Bage, *Hermsprong* 307). Demands for equality, according to Jansen and Osterhammel's claim, is

[37] In the ironic mention of provisions, Bage either means short food supply or workers' inadequate pay checks.

conducted through the "anticolonial activities … in mining centers" as exemplified in the novel (46-7).

Colonial despotism and exploitation take place in a feudal village that has no difference from a colonized community. Therefore, the village is a microcosm of a colony in its own territory and with its own hierarchy in *Hermsprong*. For this purpose, a universal hierarchy system, that is applicable to power systems including feudalism and colonialism, is used. Sidanius and Pratto offer a system called "The Trimorphic Structure of Group-Based Social Hierarchy". They break it down in three branches:

> (a) an *age system*, in which adults and middle-age people have disproportionate social power over children and younger adults, (b) a *gender system* in which males have disproportionate social and political power compared with females (*patriarchy*), and (c) … an *arbitrary-set* system … [which] is filled with socially constructed and highly salient groups based on characteristics such as clan, ethnicity, estate, nation, race, caste, social class, religious sect, regional grouping, or any other socially relevant group distinction that the human imagination is capable of constructing. (33)

All three systems are active in *Hermsprong*. The elder characters such as the Lord and the Doctor always claim the superiority of their opinions and judgements. The issue of patriarchal authority has already been examined above in relation to domestic despotism. Finally, the aristocracy is portrayed as a socially constructed and privileged group whose power is based on estate and caste. The gentry is worth mentioning along with the aristocracy as Pat Rogers names the most salient groups of the eighteenth-century England as "nobility and gentry," and calls them a "well-recognized pairing" (45). He gives two reasons for their strength: "first, both groups had normally shared a similar education and belonged to the same moral and intellectual universe, with common habits of leisure and social practices. Second, both generally derived most of their money from landed property" (45). Moreover, Talcott Parsons believes that "the main cultural patterns that regulate the social, psychological, and organic levels of the total system of action[38] are embodied … in the religious tradition" ("Evolutionary Universals" 342).

[38] Within the context of *Hermsprong*, feudalism is a system of action. Namely, it is a well built and preserved status quo from which certain privileged groups protect and increase their privilege.

In line with these views, Bage believes that local tyranny is reinforced with religious doctrines and dogmatism. He views "priests and kings as fellow-conspirators to enslave the human mind. [Therefore,] references to the ignorance and corruption existing among the clergy of the Established Church are numerous" in his fiction (Gregory 173). Religious characters in Bage's fiction "are described as the roadies of a rich lord" and serve "as an excuse for the behaviour of their wealthy patrons" (Ramsden 292). Religion is the main tool of the aristocracy in legitimizing tyranny and protecting the status quo in the name of dogmatism. As a result of the strict dogmatism and feudal status quo in the eighteenth-century England, "a man of known democratic opinions could scarcely walk about his home-town without a demonstration of popular hatred" (Bryant 139). "Much devoted to his lordship" as the rector of the village, the Doctor embodies religious dogmatism in *Hermsprong* (Bage 74). Besides, he is a hypocritical penny-pincher and a corrupt clergyman. He is also a missionary who does no service to villagers except socio-political and religious impositions. In fact, as stated by the narrator, the Doctor "knows it is his duty rather to govern than to teach his flock; and he governs à la royale, with imperious airs, and imperious commands" (Bage, *Hermsprong* 107).

As per his duty to support the Lord and his hegemony, the Doctor feels "intitled … to make certain enquiries … when strangers come into" the parish (Bage 84). The Doctor's spiritual and social scrutiny functions to protect the Lord's authority since he is at the side of power. Accordingly, his prejudice against Hermsprong derives from patriotism that, as Figueiredo and Elkins put, "results from a personality orientation characterized by submissiveness, the glorification of superiors, and the distrust of" outsiders (181). The Doctor even glorifies the Lord by attributing a prophetic role to him by claiming that the more his vassals obey him, the more "they would be bestowed … to the praise and glory of God, than … they now are" (Bage, *Hermsprong* 142). On the other hand, he has reproach and animosity towards Hermsprong and his opinions throughout the novel. In fact, he warns the villagers about Hermsprong and his opinions in a sermon:

> If ever the church can be in danger, it is so now … The atheistical lawgivers of a neighbouring country, have laid their sacrilegious hands upon the sacred property of the church … the whole body of dissenters here have dared to imagine the same thing. These people … have been filling the nation with inflammatory complaints

> against a constitution, the best the world ever saw, or will ever see; against a government, the wisest, mildest, freest from corruption, that the purest page of history has ever yet exhibited. But … what can be expected from men who countenance the abominable doctrines of the rights of man? Rights contradicted by nature, which has given us an ascending series of inequality, corporeal and mental; and plainly pointed out the way to those wise political distinctions created by birth and rank. To this failure of respect to the dignitaries of the nation, and let me add, to the dignitaries of the church, is to be ascribed the alarming evils which threaten the overthrow of all religion, all government, all that is just and equitable upon earth. (Bage, *Hermsprong* 164-65)

The Doctor uses sermons[39] for the protection of the status quo, which is very similar to the Althusserian idea that sermons serve as the religious ideological state apparatus of the political centre (Althusser 177-78). His sermon is a display of power that elevates the ruling elite and invites the lower ranks of society into submission. As Sidanius and Pratto claim, the higher-status individuals endeavour to "maintain and enhance group status and power distinctions"[40] (94). Parallel with patriarchy, patriotism, feudalism, and colonialism, the gentry carries with it the desire to protect the status quo. Therefore, the Doctor generates social pressure and oppression in order to protect the status quo in the village. The eagerness to protect the status quo is another common ambition of feudalism and colonialism. The domestic, local, and religious oppressions practiced in the village are functional for maintaining order in the village, similar to a colony. In both systems, a certain privileged group or individual gains further privilege and accumulates wealth. In a colony, the primary groups or individuals are missionaries, bureaucrats, diplomats, other imperial officers, private companies, and slave traders, while in *Hermsprong*, they are the Lord and the Doctor, who are "seized with that capital disorder, the love of accumulation" of money in their own pockets (*Hermsprong* 107).

Figueiredo and Elkins characterize the pro-hierarchy behaviour of the privileged groups as "deference to authority and hostility toward weaker, marginal, or deviant groups" (181). Although Gellner claims that "sub-groups are fluid and ephemeral and do not compare in importance with the 'national' community," the aristocracy and gentry

[39] The impact of sermons on people was big and intense as those of Bishop Joseph Butler in 1740 sermons collected in *The Works of Joseph Butler* (1897) by William E. Gladstone. Specifically, a sermon quite similar to the Doctor's can be found on pages 258-59 in Gladstone's 1897 sermon collection.

[40] Sidanius and Pratto refer to the societal position of such individuals as "hierarchy enhancing social roles" (94).

predate England's sense of nationhood as ancient sub-groups (*Culture, Identity* 6). In any case, sense of nationhood reinforces the aristocracy's "ordained mandate to rule" and dominate vassals (Osterhammel 17). This ordained or divine right to rule can be explained by the notion of deference. Gregory interprets deference as a central binding force in feudalism:

> State and Church alike were established upon a principle of unquestioned authority. From serf to emperor, from friar to pope, every one had his foreordained place in the scheme of things, and his recognized superior to whom he owed deference … The keystone of the whole social and ecclesiastical structure was a revealed religion which included the divine right of kings. The recognition of the subordination of the individual to an authority external to himself penetrated every branch of human thought and activity. (31)

Deference functions in each realm of society and justifies oppression and exploitation. In such order, many "kinds of economic and social power were gained or enhanced" through abuse of rank and office, oppression, and labour exploitation (Thompson 141). Yet, common peoples in feudal order cannot benefit from the rights granted to them by their nation even though "membership" should be "unmediated by any … corporate segments of the total society" (Gellner, *Culture, Identity* 6). Instead, they are subjected to the arbitrary rule and labour exploitation of the local ruling elite, the strongest corporate segment of feudalism. Arbitrariness makes a feudal unit a unique socio-political formation that produces political, social, and economic power, each of which is relished by the ruling elite.

The same "arbitrary powers of local agents" in a feudal unit are also practiced by colonizers in colonies (Saada 98). Arbitrary local power "maintains itself, while making subjects unable to articulate themselves outside the realm of power that constitutes them" (Zake 219). In a way, the subjects of a feudal unit or a colony are confined into a limited social and cultural space. Social representation and political representation are inaccessible for the oppressed peoples living under such units of power. Their socio-political existence is trapped in the seized territory where they spend their entire lives. Their rights are suppressed by the local centre of power in line with the specific consuetudinary laws of the territory. Thus, through fictionalizing such local hegemony, Bage addresses the universality of oppression and exploitation, although he portrays

specific cases of despotism and tyranny on domestic and local scales. Accordingly, some fundamental attributes of internal colonialism, which are "political dependence, social inferiority, residential segregation, economic subjection, and juridical incapacity," are observed in *Hermsprong* (Hind 548). These attributes are found in the territory-specific experiences of the oppressed characters in the novel. Territoriality and specificity are important in the analysis of oppression because "specific modes of political domination … assume … a colonial rather than a class form… [And they] have to be analysed in terms of the specific relations of economic exploitation" (Wolpe 250). In context of the anti-colonial theory, the class-based hierarchy and the examples of colonial oppression in the village indicate that it can be taken not only as a feudal unit but also as a colony.

In the village, the Lord is the metaphorical representation of the archetype of the colonizer, and the oppressive and forceful nature of English colonialism. His treatment of women, socially inferiors, and vassals is parallel with the colonizer's treatment of the colonized. Fanon claims that "colonialism … strengthened or established its domination by an organized petrification" of the lower ranks of colonized communities, and thus colonies were "in a feudal state whose overbearingly medieval structure [was] nurtured by" oppression and exploitation (*The Wretched* 65). To put it simpler, feudalism and colonialism are indeed intermingled; so are the aristocratic landowner and the colonizer. Loomba points out that "royalty were both financially and symbolically invested in early European colonisations" for the sake of "wider class and social interests" (10). She further stresses the financial aspect of the cooperation by arguing that "the feudal lords … made English trade and colonialism possible" (10). Accordingly, the Lord can be categorized as the colonizer as he fits into Memmi's description of "the small colonizer [who] defends the colonial system so vigorously … because he benefits from it to some extent" (55). He is a small colonizer who governs a small community with oppression and exploitation. As Césaire points out, small colonial units, whether individuals or institutions, "perform as watchdogs of colonialism" (55). Even if he does not seek the interests of an overseas colony, the Lord, who oppresses and exploits his vassals in the village, is similar to Memmi's portrait of the small colonizer who protects "his very limited interests" along with serving for "infinitely more important" interests of his

country. (55). Thus, through the Lord and the village, Bage not only presents the feudal but also the colonial mindset and its overseas presence. Therefore, Bage's representation of the Lord and the village exemplify Memmi's idea that all the oppressors and "all the oppressed are alike in some ways" (5).

The Lord's name, Grondale, alludes to Grendel, the monstrous and tyrannical creature in Anglo-Saxon epic *Beowulf*. In the epic, Grendel and his mother are portrayed as monsters that pose threat to King Hrothgar's land and people (Carlson 358). By alluding to the monstrous and violent Grendel, Bage hints the unjust feudal oppression of the Lord with the colonial mentality (Jones 6). Throughout the novel, the Lord represents the white man who, according to Fanon, has "authority complex, a leadership complex" in a colony (*Black Skin White Masks* 73). He is obsessed with controlling the villagers to such an extent that when he is confronted with any hint of socio-political change he justifies himself by imposing his will and desires upon those over whom he has impact in the village (Sidanius and Pratto 83). Similar to the colonizer, who acts in anger and repulsion to achieve his exploitative goals, the Lord rules with "angry assertiveness" and "periodic fits of despondency" (Darwin 6). As the oppressor, he establishes a local and unjust authority over the villagers who are not different from the colonized. He is a local oppressor who resorts to arbitrary impositions in pursuit of socio-political and economic domination.

However, the Lord fails in dominating Hermsprong. For the sake of imposing his authority and control over Hermsprong, the Lord utilizes the institutions of religion and law. He believes in the necessity of having "the full weight of the aristocracy, the church, and the law behind" in his fight against Hermsprong (Perkins 45). For this purpose, the Lord has two malignant attempts. One is forced in-group marriage and the other is a false allegation that results in Hermsprong's trial. Apart from exemplifying the Lord's domestic despotism, the forced marriage, as mentioned earlier in this chapter, is a mean for selecting a wealthy husband for his daughter. However, his main motivation is his hatred for Hermsprong as he is an outsider. For the sake of the preservation of status quo, the Lord strictly demands a "stable hierarchy rather than mobility" because the wrong and alien culture[s]" are "menacing" for him (Gellner,

Culture, Identity 15-16). According to the Lord and the Doctor, the representatives of dogmatism, Hermsprong is a menace to the existing order because he is neither an aristocrat nor English; moreover, he is a stranger in the village.

As "status and political authority were closely linked in England," Ellis A. Wasson claims that money could grant access to both (28). Cannadine also points out that "the power élite was recruited from the wealth élite … [and] the status élite," and thus the aristocratic lineage ran "from land to status to power (18). So, social rank and money had a symbiotic relationship. The aristocracy possessed both. Thompson is another scholar who relates the power of the aristocracy and in-group marriages to wealth:

> The landed gentry are graded not by birth or other marks of status but by rentals: they are worth so many thousand pounds a year. Among the aristocracy and ambitious gentry, courtship is conducted by fathers and by their lawyers, who guide it carefully towards its consummation… [everything] could be translated into an equivalent in money … [in] the century in which money 'beareth all the stroke'. (138)

Landownership and inherent wealth enables the aristocracy to arrange almost every social, political, and financial order. The groups and individuals outside the patriarchal order of the aristocracy, such as workers, foreigners, and women, are constantly put in line with the social and financial aspirations of the aristocracy. Hermsprong differs from the Lord and hence the colonizer since he is not an aristocrat and does not live a wealthy life. Instead, he is the anti-colonial figure who rejects all the privileges in a hierarchical order that is shaped by authority and wealth. Therefore, Miss Campinet and Hermsprong's marriage is hindered by the Lord as he considers Sir Philip Chestrum as a suitable match for his daughter. Contrary to Hermsprong, Sir Philip is a "hereditary baronet … grown up in a family of high status" and wealth (Rogers, "Social Structure" 45). He is very eager to marry Miss Campinet despite her lack of affection for him.

Favourited by the Lord, Sir Philip is another character who represents the colonizer. He also serves as the foil to Hermsprong. Even though Sir Philip is constantly outwitted and outpowered by Hermsprong, he has the advantage of in-group favouritism. The position of a member of the aristocracy in feudalism and that of the colonizer in a

colonized country are similar. Memmi's analysis regarding the privileges of the colonizer in a colony is as follows:

> every colonizer is privileged … If he is in trouble with the law … justice will be more lenient toward him. If he needs assistance from the government, it will not be difficult … a window will be reserved for him where there is a shorter line so he will have a shorter wait. Does he need a job? Must he take an examination for it? Jobs and positions will be reserved for him in advance … causing disqualifying difficulties for the colonized. Can he be so blind … that he can never see that, given equal material circumstances, economic class or capabilities, he always receives preferred treatment? (56)

Thus, it can be stated that the colonizer's privileges are undeserved. Likewise, Sir Philip has the leverage in having Miss Campinet as his wife despite the fact that he is inadequate in many faculties. His inadequateness is obvious in his pursuit of Miss Campinet. Advised by his mother to visit the Lord and give "his lordship a full account of his lands and monies," he complains that he can never find Miss Campinet alone since Hermsprong's arrival (Bage, *Hermsprong* 259) Then, he explains the result of interrupting the lovers: "I told Miss Campinet she ought to give me more of her company and him less, he behaved so monstrous rudely, I was forced to swear the peace against him … he flung me over a rail; it was a mercy he did not break my bones" (259). In reality, all Hermsprong does is gently lifting Sir Philip and removing him from their way. The latter's hyperbolic depiction of a gentle lift aims at the pity and sympathy of the Lord. Accordingly, as Kelly argues, Sir Philip is "deformed physically to match his mental and moral smallness" since he has "the height of five English feet, but not equally. [And] his legs bore too large a proportion to his body" (32; Bage, *Hermsprong* 201).

The false allegations are the other means used by the Lord to victimize Hermsprong. The allegations against Hermsprong are reading *Rights of Man* (1791), being a French spy, and seducing his daughter. The Lord's primary motif is "to rid the country of that poison to his pride, that Hermsprong" (Bage, *Hermsprong* 225). The allegations are historically accurate as there were conservative citizens or political and literary figures who aspired to "track down political dissidents … and to try them for real or trumped up crimes" in England during the French Revolution (Kelly 10). Yet, the allegations

directed at Hermsprong are entirely baseless and hostile. Moreover, they indicate an acute anxiety about international conflicts that are directly or indirectly related to England. As an anxious patriot, the Lord points fingers and picks a scapegoat. Just as the colonizer is given the full authority[41] of the laws of the colonizing country[42], the Lord trusts that England's judicial system will back him up (Osgood 441). Thus, he gets his lawyer's help to put "inept efforts to pin charges of sedition and disaffection on" Hermsprong (Perkins 44).

To start with, the allegation of reading *The Rights of Man* is completely made up by the Lord's lawyer, Mr. Corrow. The impact of the American Revolution is evident as even the suspicion of reading Paine's ground-breaking work is seen enough to be put on a trial. Next, he is accused of being a French spy because he is spotted in the miners' riot that is mentioned earlier. In the twenty-second chapter of the third volume, Hermsprong is put on a climactic trial. Along with the accusations above, he is blamed for "matters of a private nature … civil injuries" such as disrespect, insulting purchase, interference into familial issues, and seduction (Bage, *Hermsprong* 309-10). As for the accusations, the base of Mr. Corrow's charges against Hermsprong is as follows:

> At a time when the nation is so greatly, excessively, and alarmingly alarmed, agitated, and convulsed; when danger is so clearly and evidently to be feared, dreaded, and apprehended, from enemies both exterior and interior, it behoves the magistrates of the several counties to be wakeful and vigilant in detecting, discovering, and bringing to condign punishment, all traitors who are working and hatching their wicked and diabolical plans in secret.
>
> A very terrible … and alarming riot has, as you well know, been set on foot in this county, and there are … manifold reasons to believe that it was raised, excited, and supported by secret emissaries from France. A person who calls himself Hermsprong… was seen many times amongst them, was heard to harangue them… was observed to give money [to rioters].
>
> … this person is not well disposed towards this government, in church and state, appears in various multitudinous modes and manners.
>
> He has also counselled and advised sundry subjects of this his majesty's realm of England, to migrate to America, and hath promised pecuniary and recommendatory aid and assistance to enable them so to do. (Bage, *Hermsprong* 308-9)

[41] A good example of full authority is Charles I's decision of giving Lord Carlisle the full authority of the Caribbean Islands in 1627 (Edwards 318).

[42] See Lauren Benton's comparative essay "Colonial Law and Cultural Difference: Jurisdictional Politics and the Formation of the Colonial State" (1999) for complex legal structures that favour the colonizing forces in the colonies.

The corrupt lawyer is aware that rendering "a man, with money in his purse, guilty of crimes he never committed, requires a superior fund of knowledge of the more tortuous parts of law" (Bage, *Hermsprong* 226). In other words, he admits that the Lord needs to be involved in corruption to defame Hermsprong. Siding with the power, he knows that "law is often written and enforced so as to favor … protect and maintain the interests of the dominants" (Sidanius and Pratto 42). Besides law, addressing the nationalistic feelings of people is another efficient method for accusing an innocent man. Hence, Mr. Corrow's plan is to blame Hermsprong for being the embodiment of the socio-political danger stemming from the French Revolution. Since patriotism "tend[s] to surface after major wars and large-scale national conflicts," the American Revolution and the French Revolution evoke the Lord's national pride and hostile prejudice against Hermsprong (Figueiredo and Elkins 172). He believes that the magistrates share similar feelings; however, Hermsprong's innocence is proved at the end of the trial.

The allegations against Hermsprong are significant for various reasons. At the end of the eighteenth century, it was known that the independence and revolution were bloody events that resulted in the overthrow of existing orders. In this century, allegations were used for scaremongering. The American Revolution was an injury to English pride and a political loss, though not for Bage, who views the independence as "the war that gained England the loss of its colonies" (*Hermsprong* 253). The French Revolution also arose various public views. Like Bage, there were "those who were inspired by the French Revolution to explore both the possibility of and the need for political and social reform" (Perkins 11). In opposition, there were those who remained cautious and, more often, fearful. The revolution turned the members of the latter group to "diehard[s] of the old order" whereas the former group "was suddenly found to be the agent of diabolical subversion" (Rose 68).

Anyone who directly or indirectly supported the revolution could be declared a traitor and put on trial. The allegations against Hermsprong indicate how easy it was to be put on trial for political reasons. In this direction, scaremongering was enough for evoking fear. The following excerpt from Edmund Burke's *Reflections on the Revolution in France* (1790) explains how threatening scaremongering was:

> What must they have felt, whilst … they heard of the slaughter of innocent gentlemen in their houses, that "the blood spilled was not the most pure!" What must they have felt, when they were besieged by complaints of disorders which shook their country to its foundations, at being compelled coolly to tell the complainants, that they were under the protection of the law, and that they would address the king (the captive king) to cause the laws to be enforced for their protection; when the enslaved ministers of that captive king had formally notified to them, that there were neither law, nor authority, nor power left to protect! What must they have felt at being obliged… to request their captive king to forget the stormy period of the last… assuring him of [his vassal's] obedience, when he should no longer possess any authority to command! (59)

Similar to the Doctor's sermon, such ecstatic warnings referred to the revolution to protect the political status quo. Furthermore, Burke aims to evoke empathy and sympathy of common peoples towards their masters lest they get overruled by revolutionary ideas. Besides, ambiguity and lack of order are put forth in order to scare people and turn them into defenders of the status quo. Contrary to such fear, Bage welcomed the new and liberating ideas inspired by the revolution. He believed that these views could reform individuals, society, and politics. Accordingly, revolution is a major event that inspires and empowers Hermsprong's unbent liberty and rigid identity, which will be explained and exemplified further in this chapter.

Considering the attempts to subdue Hermsprong, the narrative constantly scrutinizes and contests his socio-political position. The recurring contestation reflects Bage's effort to convey the theme of tyranny. Hermsprong's individual identity and anti-colonial discourse, which do not correlate with dominant English identity and feudal values, are the principal reasons why he is tyrannized. The same reason puts him in the position of a minority that is suspected and contested. With this in mind, the Lord's approach to Hermsprong is similar to the colonizer's archetypical approach to the colonized. Suspicion, contestation, and tyranny necessitate the colonized to "be constantly aware of his position, of his image; he is being threatened from all sides; impossible to forget for an instant the need to keep up one's defenses" (Beauvoir 317). Fanon further explains the fragile and uncertain position of the oppressed individuals in the following excerpt:

> The colonized subject is constantly on his guard … Confronted with a world configured by the colonizer, the colonized subject is always presumed guilty. The colonized does not accept his guilt, but rather considers it a kind of curse… But deep down the colonized subject acknowledges no authority. He is dominated but not domesticated. He is … by no means convinced of his inferiority. He patiently waits for the colonist to let his guard down and then jumps on him. The muscles of the colonized are always tensed. It is not that he is anxious or terrorized, but he is always ready to change his role as game for that of hunter. The colonized subject is a persecuted man who is forever dreaming of becoming the persecutor. (*The Wretched* 16)

Anti-colonial theory presupposes that there is the possibility of the roles of the colonizer and the colonized to switch only if the colonized gains awareness and alertness, which gradually leads to his disobedience to the colonizer. As the anti-colonial hero, Hermsprong remains aware and alert. Moreover, he is a well-read individual with a deep understanding of his rights. Thus, he guards his position and gradually steps up in the community. Each obstacle encountered by Hermsprong ends up with becoming a stimulant for him to disobey aristocratic and colonial authority.

From the very beginning, Hermsprong manages to unsettle the Lord whose complaints never end: "Though I told him I was Lord Grondale, he still spoke to me with the appellation of Sir; and had the impudence to tell me he did not mind my rank" (Bage, *Hermsprong* 82). Hermsprong is never shy to display his unbent anti-colonial identity against the Lord who represents the highest authority of the village. Hermsprong disregards titles and rank, and he does not recognize any titled authority. In one instance, the Lord inquires Hermsprong's identity. With "a kind of contemptuous smile" Hermsprong answers: "I am a man, sir … Not of authority … and I rejoice at it, since the possession [of authority or titles] is so little calculated to make mankind amiable" (Bage, *Hermsprong* 81). In a proud and stoic manner, Hermsprong sets his boundaries, and stresses his anti-colonial position clearly without asserting dominance.

Although Hermsprong's aim is not to assert dominance over anyone, the Lord is fearful for the possibility of losing his dominant position. Similar to the colonizer, a hint of disobedience is enough to panic him. Consequently, as the small colonizer, the Lord resorts to threats, plans, and the institutions of law and aristocracy. In a colony, the colonizer always feels protected and never doubts his authority over the colonized

peoples owing to his inherent trust in the distant metropole (Memmi 55). Likewise, the Lord puts an inherent trust in his privileged identity, but it is challenged by Hermsprong, leaving him unable to achieve the result he wishes. Even if the Lord declares that Hermsprong "shall have the most rigorous punishment the laws can inflict. He shall know what it is to steal an heiress," Hermsprong is left unpunished in the trial, and this makes him stronger against the oppressor (Bage 300).

Regardless of his strength against oppression, Hermsprong's socio-cultural and political manoeuvres are effective in maintaining his position. "Adaptive capacity" allows him to manoeuvre within different social conditions (Parsons, "Evolutionary Universals" 341). In other words, he achieves socio-cultural mobility and durability by means of adaptability. Socio-cultural mobility enables Hermsprong to convey, articulate, and impose his values on the English community, including the aristocracy and the clergy. On the other hand, socio-cultural durability avoids assimilation by simply refusing the prerequisites of the host culture. In these aspects, Hermsprong deviates from a traditional non-European character who is either robbed of his identity, his life, or both at the end. The primary earlier and later examples are William Shakespeare's Othello and Aphra Behn's Oroonoko[43]. Margaret Webster claims that even though Othello is trusted to run armies, "he would always be alien to" the Venetian society (236). Moreover, as Loomba points out, Othello is "a black man trying to live in a white society" (18). Therefore, Othello can neither maintain his identity nor overcome social isolation, and ends up with a tragic death. Similarly, although Oroonoko is "Europeanized" and granted the "mastery of European languages … cultures … [and] manners," he faces a tragic fate (Pearson 231). The failure of these outsiders indicate that wit, talent, good manners, wealth, or nobility are not enough to maintain a firm and everlasting position in an alien society or community.

With Hermsprong, Bage suggests that resistance necessitates a rigid position against the oppressor, which is possible through the anti-colonial stance. The characters exemplified above are not the embodiments of resistance or a voice of the oppressed.

[43] The examples presented are from seventeenth century. However, the non-European characters face similar treatments and isolation in eighteenth century English fiction, such as Friday in *Robinson Crusoe* (1719), or nineteenth century, such as Heathcliff in *Wuthering Heights* (1847).

Contrary to them, Hermsprong is a figure who refuses the European and English identities and seeks an independent position in a community he does not originally belong to and does not want to comply with. He draws a sharp line between himself and the target culture. In the case of any breach or intervention of his individuality, he resorts to unquestionable disobedience, intimidation, and even threat. The following letter of confrontation from Hermsprong to the Lord illustrates the former's open challenge to tyranny:

> Is it necessary to Lord Grondale that I should never know any thing personal of him, but his pride? Or hear, but of his meanness? … for what virtues may we depend upon Lord Grondale? For justice? when he can discharge an honest servant for simple obedience to his duty. For kindness? when he can prohibit his angelic daughter from all correspondence with his own venerable aunt… Is a vindictive spirit so necessarily a constitutional ingredient of noble blood … is the marrying a man of honour and probity so deadly a sin … of what quality is that pride, which bends to mean suspicions, and still meaner actions … You will be astonished at the presumption of an obscure person, daring thus to address a man of your rank and fortune. I claim, however, and shall always claim, the right to hear and see; the right to contemplate human actions; and the right to despise … some traits of your lordship … which would puzzle a Jesuit to justify, or a poet to turn to praise. (Bage 193-94)

As it can be understood from his tone, the anti-colonial hero attacks the Lord. Firstly, he ascribes such attributes as pride, meanness, injustice, vindictiveness, suspicion, stigmatization, indignation, and greed to the Lord. These attributes are dramatically similar to those of the colonizer. Secondly, he openly manifests his disgust of the Lord, kickstarting the process of reverse colonialism. In colonialism, the initial attempt of the colonizer is to draw a line between the source identity and target identity. Likewise, Hermsprong places his anti-colonial identity opposite to the identity of the colonizer, who is both corrupt and tyrannical.

In *Hermsprong*, the oppressor Lord is put under attack due to the fact that he always undermines and degrades his subjects. As Loomba claims, a colonizer considers the indigenous peoples as "mysterious, superstitious, uncivilised, backward. In other words, they are like children who need to be brought into line with the rest of the [parent] country" or the western world (15). As opposed to this colonial mindset built on prejudice, Bage grants the attributes in the previous sentence to the English nobility in

Hermsprong. Similar to *MAHI*, *Hermsprong* depicts the aristocracy as villains. The following depiction of a day in the life of aristocrats is an example of antagonism towards them. They are criticized for being

> a groupe of the most easy manners; so much alike, there was scarce a perceptible difference of character. Perfectly genteel in their address, and voluble … without much meaning; all gamesters … all victims of gout … Not men of hunting … their earliest hour of rising was eleven. By one they had compleated their toilets, and met to breakfast, after which they sat down to whist, in the sociable small way; that is, what they call guinea points. At five, our uniform party
>
> Tried all hors d'oeuvres, all liqueres defined.
> With spirit drank, and greatly daring, dined.[44]
>
> Leaving this pastime about nine, they indulged themselves with a few throws of the dice; resigning themselves with more liberality, and more directly to fortune, without presuming to interfere in her decisions … A light supper, and a little warm punch, concluded the evening, and carried them to repose, well satisfied with having spent the day in a gentlemanlike manner. Thus, not much indebted to wisdom … glided the even tenor of their lives; guilty of no actions which deserve a record, but in the annals of oblivion. (Bage 257-58)

According to Bage, this lazy, uneventful, lavish, unhealthy, and careless life-style makes the aristocracy a parasitic group. Similar to the image of colonized in the colonial mindset, the aristocracy are deemed the role of reckless and irrational parasites who can do no good. In that sense, the aristocracy's vision of themselves contradicts their reality. The colonizer, too, builds a positive image of himself by designating himself as the wealthy and rational saviour and protector of the colonized (Wilfley 213). With these attributes in mind, Hermsprong is an anti-colonial figure who reverses colonialism in two aspects. Firstly, he is equipped with wealth and rationality, which are originally self-granted to the colonizer. Secondly, he serves as the voice of the oppressed individuals and tyrannized micro community. The role granted to him in the narrative is to bring an English community, ruled by an aristocratic tyrant, in line with the universal values of freedom, democracy, and equality. Throughout this process, he remains patient, rational, strategic, and cautious contrary to the impulsive and irrational Lord.

[44] These lines are from Alexander Pope's *The Dunciad* (1742). However, Pamela Perkins states in a footnote that "the lines are slightly misquoted [as] Bage substitutes 'with spirit' for Pope's 'judicious'" (Bage 257). This alteration is probably made in order to stress the excessive drinking and eating habits of the group.

Hermsprong rejects any institution or identity that imposes authority; hence, he disregards both the aristocratic authority and the religious authority. During a religious argument between Hermsprong and the Doctor, the latter runs out of arguments and attempts to silence the former. “Red with anger,” he wants to pacify Hermsprong: “In a raised tone he said, ‘Let me tell you, young man —’”(Bage, 107). The Doctor presumes that he will get respect, obedience, and dogmatic approval due to his religious authority. The Doctor’s premeditated expectations are similar to the colonizer’s self-granted “capacity… to guide [the colonized] to goals it has never hitherto attained” (Gilmour 204). Yet, since the Doctor acts as a missionary, he is harshly warned by Hermsprong:

> ‘Stop, Sir,’ said Hermsprong, rising; ‘by what right do you presume to speak to me with the tone of a master? I owe you no obedience; and despise you for your tyrannical and contentious spirit … let another room be prepared … when the Doctor chuses to leave a place where he had no right to intrude…
>
> Mr. Hermsprong left the room as he said this, and was followed by Glen. (Bage, *Hermsprong* 107)

Similar to his letter to the Lord, Hermsprong resists oppression and manifests his disgust of tyranny. So, Hermsprong’s response is set as an example by Bage to all oppressed individuals. Following his verbal resistance, he requests the host to prepare another room. Hermsprong trusts the fact that the majority of the people in the room prefers his company, like Glen, who dutifully follows him. Ultimately the oppressor Doctor is physically removed from the space he wanted to dominate. Both in this example and Hermsprong’s letter to the Lord, Bage gives a non-violent “blow to the master who appears as owner and ruler, teacher and comrade” (Kelley 28).

In the context of anti-colonial theory, Bage formulates the clash of the colonizer and the colonized in the framework of native values versus English values. At this point, the story behind Hermsprong’s indigenous identity must be told. While creating Hermsprong, Bage merges the ideas of liberty and individualism with the native American ideals such as simplicity, modesty, connection with nature, and tolerance to all peoples. His anti-colonial identity begins to be shaped in his family long before his arrival in England; and hence, dates back to his growing up in an American native tribe.

At the beginning of the third volume, Hermsprong reveals his background and tells the story of his parents. His father is the son of a German man of rank and fortune. However, he is plotted against by his brothers and flees Germany for France. There he falls in love with Miss Ruprè, a French nobleman's daughter. After her father refuses their marriage, the couple decide to run to America. In Philadelphia, Hermsprong's father is warned about the danger of being caught and prosecuted by French officials. To hide, they settle in a native tribe near Michigan. Although it was not common for a European to adopt the language of the natives rather than imposing his own language on them, Hermsprong's father learns the native language. After a while, they settle among the natives. The head of the tribe expresses his trust in and regard for Hermsprong's father in the following speech when he addresses his tribe:

> Six moons ago, a man from the American people came … to strengthen peace betwixt us. He has learned our language. He loves our customs. He will reside with us a vast number of moons … We must build him a wigwam; large, that it may be unto us a storehouse of all the good things we want from the European people. He will be our friend. When we go to war, he will aid us with his counsel. When we return from hunting he will buy our skins. So we shall have… cloth to warm us in winter, and rum to cheer us. (Bage, *Hermsprong* 249)

Due to his mediative, peaceful, and tolerative approach, Hermsprong's father is well received in the tribe. Besides, the natives see him as a key to build a fruitful relationship with the Americans. Bage portrays an ideal relationship between peoples of different identities by means of the peaceful compromise between Hermsprong's father and the natives. In their experience, unexpectedly, a European interacts with a non-European identity without an inherent desire to dominate and exploit. Yet, unlike him, his wife starts to feel isolated, and guilty of sinning because of living in a non-Christian tribe. Consequently, she becomes the colonizer, believing that "she might be the agent appointed by God, for producing … salutary change in a whole people" (Bage, *Hermsprong* 249). By finding their beliefs absurd and despising them, she attempts to Christianize the women of the tribe. Her husband unsuccessfully tries to convince her that she would not despise the native people if she does not "think of converting them" (Bage, *Hermsprong* 252); yet, lack of tolerance drives her to grudge, repulsion, and anger, which, according to Memmi, are some attributes of the colonizer (110-11).

Along with his father's tolerant perception of and good relation with the natives, the chief impact on Hermsprong's identity formation is his nurture amongst the natives. Concerning Hermsprong's nurture, Lynch states that the character "absorbed his philosophical mentors' simplicity and indifference to the luxuries of civilization and carried these traits back to Europe with him" (446). Likewise, he establishes a "taste of savage politeness" while being educated by the natives during his father's adventures (Bage, *Hermsprong* 252). "Roaming up and down the world to pick up a little wisdom," Hermsprong becomes an adventurer himself, and also inherits his father's sympathy for America (Bage, *Hermsprong* 92). Accordingly, Bage presents America as "a discursive figure representing the possibility of European renovation and reconstruction" (Perkins 33). Furthermore, besides supporting independence, Bage gives importance to the preservation of indigenous identities. He is concerned about the fact that they are under constant threat of being colonized, annihilated, and remain as "voices stilled forever" (Césaire 74). Thus, Bage's character Hermsprong turns out to be the embodiment of Fanon's claim that it is necessary for the colonized to "invent a man in full" in order to resist colonialism (*The Wretched* 236). This also underpins the idea that identity formation is significant for the articulation and expansion of the anti-colonial ideology.

Another example of Bage's concern about colonialism can be given in one of his earlier novels. In his *The Fair Syrian* (1787), Captain Amington utters his regret for taking part in British colonialism of America in the following excerpt: "I pressed forward to the service of my country. Alas! Experience … have taught me, I could not have served it worse. Fatal to half the world … [is] the hour … we had enslaved America … Most fatal to ourselves" (32-33). As observed in this example, as well as the story of the slave in *MAHI*, Bage's fiction suggests that colonial practices must either be reconsidered or abolished.

Bage's ideas about the colonial mindset and practices are discussed through some debates in *Hermsprong* in the metaphorical colonial setting. As there is an "interplay of different cultures and value systems" in the novel, they are brought into a discussion by debates, such as the debate among Hermsprong, Mr. Glen, and Mr. Woodcock (Hind 565). In this debate, Hermsprong challenges some assumptions of the Western

civilization. Notably, it is these assumptions that supposedly enabled the West to thrive and granted it the arbitrary authority to rule. Initially, Mr. Glen and Mr. Woodcock ask questions to Hermsprong about his being raised by the natives. The bias is evident as Mr. Woodcock regards the natives as one of "the untaught races of mankind" (Bage, *Hermsprong* 159). A common trait of the colonizer is to assume that the colonized peoples are either uneducated or inadequately educated (Ingrams 32; Said 211-12). Yet, Hermsprong remains calm and rational against these prejudices.

There are various arguments to discuss in their debates. Firstly, Mr. Glen mentions England's "progressive state of improvement for some centuries … [which] the aborigines of America have not" achieved (Bage, *Hermsprong* 158). He speaks with a tone of English superiority similar to that of Mr. Woodcock. Hermsprong objects to this statement by pointing out the poverty that haunts England. He stresses the inability to channel national wealth into social welfare (Bage, *Hermsprong* 158-59). According to Bage, despite England's cumulative improvement and profit at the end of the eighteenth century, there seemed no common social benefit that stemmed from it. He pays attention to the fact that England, though it tries to justify its colonial practices by claiming to bring improvement and profit to colonies, causes poverty for the colonized, and subjects them to violence. Hence, Bage draws attention to misdeeds of oppression and exploitation by analogizing the situation inside and outside England.

Secondly, when Mr. Woodcock deems "all that can be extracted from art and science" as another type of wealth, Hermsprong challenges this idea by mentioning the inability of those oppressed "by labour or poverty" to access intellectual pursuits (Bage, *Hermsprong* 159). In the following speech, he expands his argument about art and intellectual pursuits:

> Nature … is unable to furnish a rich European with a due portion of pleasurable sensations … All the arts are employed to amuse him … till … [they] are insufficient. Of this disease … you are here so terribly afflicted, the native Americans know nothing. When war and hunting no more require their exertions, they can rest in peace. After satisfying the more immediate wants of nature, they dance, they play; — weary of this, they bask in the sun, and sing. If enjoyment of existence be happiness, they seem to possess it … but more continued, and more uninterrupted. (Bage, *Hermsprong* 159)

Hermsprong, thus, stresses their uninterrupted nature in order to criticize the colonizer for intervening in the lifestyles and identities of indigenous people living in peace. As for Hermsprong, his anti-colonial identity is formulated by his dwelling in nature rather than possessing it and imitating it in form of any art or science.

Thirdly, once Mr. Woodcock ranks intellect as the "greatest of pleasures" of the Western Civilization, he also assumes that indigenous peoples do not have intellect (Bage, *Hermsprong* 159). Nevertheless, Hermsprong argues that even though the intellect of natives is constituted by "a less variety of subjects," it does not mean that "they derive less from intellect than" the English or the European (159). For supporting Mr. Woodcock, Mr. Glen asks whether the aborigines read or not. Hermsprong answers that they do not read. Then, he says that Hermsprong reads, and asks whether he would quit the pleasures of reading. As an answer, Hermsprong discusses the role of knowledge in the lives of different peoples:

> Reading is … a part of my existence. But, when with those people, my hours of reading were theirs of evening sport. My pleasure was perhaps more exquisite; theirs more lively. They ended with a salutary weariness, which disposed them to sound repose; I, with head-ach… is reading all pleasure? … Are there not amongst you, who read because they have nothing else to do? to pass, without absolute inaction, those hours which must be endured … is reading all profit? Is knowledge the sure result? Your contradictious disputations … in politics, in religion, nay even in philosophy, are they not calculated rather to confound than enlighten the understanding? Your infinite variety, does it not tend to render you superficial? … every man now has a mouthful of learning, but nobody a bellyful. In variety of knowledge, the aborigines of America are much your inferiors. [However,] what they do know … they know better. (Bage, *Hermsprong* 160)

Here, Hermsprong claims that the intuitive perception of natives is superior to the intellectual perception of the civilized Western man. The intellectual knowledge created and consumed by the latter is judged as superficial, speculative, and discordant. Hermsprong argues that the Europeans bypass the essence of life while being busy with such knowledge that results in nowhere but dispute. Thus, Western knowledge is viewed as a monological source that limits human perception and disables individualism. Hence, it is argued that Western knowledge is nothing but "contradictious disputations" that are "calculated" for the benefit of the powerful (Bage, *Hermsprong* 160).

Ultimately, in these debates, Hermsprong and the others dispute the notions of progress, wealth, art, science, and intellectual knowledge. In the clash of opposing perspectives, Hermsprong is the mouthpiece of the colonized whereas Mr. Glen and Mr. Woodcock voice and justify the colonizer. On one hand, the former does not engage in a heated argument and refutes the assumptions of the colonizer rationally and patiently. On the other hand, the latter use an interrogative and presumptive tone to persuade Hermsprong.

During the debates mentioned above, Hermsprong is able to come up with solid arguments, and cannot be dictated by anyone. He maintains his humility even when he saves Miss Campinet's life. In awe of Hermsprong's rescue of Miss Campinet, Mr. Glen says that he knows no man who can act so calmly and bravely in such a situation. In turn, the former answers that he knows many, but "not indeed amongst civilized Europeans" (Bage, *Hermsprong* 97). Placed "betwixt a state of nature and extreme civilization," Hermsprong's spirituality that derives from his indigenous education is accompanied with common courtesies and social codes (97). Socially, his straightforwardness, speech without flattery and rhetoric, and lack of ulterior motives help him gain the support of the villagers in a short time. Gradually, he gains the folks' support for overthrowing the oppression on them by decolonizing the village. Even the Lord's lawyer admits that Hermsprong's "reputation is … rising in the county. People of some consideration begin to talk of him, and give him credit for many virtues … I am not a man to be deceived by appearances. But … opinion is very powerful" (Bage, *Hermsprong* 291).

The support of the villagers to Hermsprong's ideas against oppression and his anti-colonial discourse grants him a reformative social role. By means of these reforms, the village goes through a process of social enlightenment. The reforms in *Hermsprong* are either collective reforms or individual reforms. As there is an underlying lack of compassion, virtue, and benevolence in the village, the subjects of the reforms are victims of either oppression and exploitation, or abuse. In his first novel, *Mount Henneth* (1781), Bage claims that "peace, equanimity, and the whole tribe of agreeable sensations are in the train of virtue only," and that virtue is an "action directed for the

benefit of mankind" (117). By means of virtue and benevolence, Hermsprong tries to mend a broken community by reforming it. Wealth is also functional for reformation of the community and standing against "degenerate and anti-social villains;" and Hermsprong advocates the "benevolent and charitable use of wealth" (Moran 124).

In the novel, there are two cases of collective reform made by Hermsprong's leadership. The first one is made with Hermsprong's aid to the victims of a storm that hits the village. Beyond charity, it is a moral and spiritual aid to a microcosm left deprived of general welfare. As the storm damages "the steeple," sets "fire to a cottage," and leaves "cottages … unroofed," Hermsprong runs to the help of the victims (Bage, *Hermsprong* 135). In the following excerpt, Miss Campinet tells how he manages the situation:

> A gentleman has been amongst the cottagers, ever since the dawn of day. All the labourers are at work to repair their respective damages. He promises their usual pay to all, and a gratuity over to those he finds most industrious. In the mean time, the butcher is stripped of his meat, and the baker of his bread, for the use of the women and children. His name is Hermsprong. (Bage, *Hermsprong* 136)

Hermsprong superintends the crisis by assigning tasks to those around him, including Miss Campinet. His benevolence is combined with his administrative skills. Meanwhile, the Doctor, whose spiritual and moral support is needed by the villagers to mend their devastation, arrives late to the scene. Furthermore, the Doctor does not help the villagers at all: "instead of seeking the cottage of despair, he turned another way, asked a few questions, received mortifying answers, for they were in praise of Hermsprong, and then took his way to" the Lord (Bage, *Hermsprong* 137-38). Meanwhile, the Lord is completely indifferent to the crisis that hit his vassals. Moreover, he calls Hermsprong's help an "ostentatious charity" made "in order to eclipse the lord of the parish" (Bage, *Hermsprong* 142). In relation to the careless and negligent approach of the two principal governing bodies of a feudal community, Hermsprong's palpable support to the victims is a reform.

The next case of collective reform is possible through Hermsprong's role in the miners' riot in the village at the beginning of the twenty first chapter of the third volume. A riot is reported to, the Lord, heralding that the workers may turn violent against their master,

which puts the Lord and the village at great risk. Yet, the workers return "peacefully to their labours" as soon as the news arrive (Bage, *Hermsprong* 307). No detail is given about the event at first; yet, in the next chapter, it is revealed that Hermsprong stops the rioters. During Hermsprong's trial, a young man steps forward to shed light on the issue. In the following passage, he reports what Hermsprong said to stop the rioters:

> My friends, perhaps it may be true that your wages are not adequate to the furnishing you with all the superfluities of life which you may desire; but … You must finish the horrid conflict by destroying each other. And why should you desire it? The rich have luxurious tastes and disease; if you have poverty, you have health. Add but content, and you have all that is worth having here.
>
> I wish … I was able to supply all your wants, and give you all your reasonable desires. But I am a single individual; you are many. If, however, there are any amongst you who have large families, now wanting food, I have some silver, and to such I freely give it. You … Sir, are a neighbour. Neighbours only can know one another's wants. To you I intrust this purse. There is honesty in your face. I am sure you will dispose of it among those who want, and want the most. (Bage, *Hermsprong* 314-15)

Riot is a circumstance that Hermsprong can easily use against the Lord by galvanizing the workers. Owing to his oratory skills and wealth, he could convince them to use violence. Nevertheless, he acts for the sake of public order and well-being of the village. Many riots of the time were "characteristically ephemeral" and had no "serious organisation or lasting effect" (Rose 288). Accordingly, Hermsprong knows that rioting will do no good for the workers. On the contrary, rioting had very heavy consequences such as imprisonment, hard labour, and being whipped (Hay 29). Moreover, landowners or magistrates could pile up a local militia and arm them with heavy artillery against the workers (Hay 31). If these were not enough, the army was "regarded as a valuable resource by local authorities" (Innes 61). Considering that the riot threatens the civil order of the village and well-being of the workers, Hermsprong's interference with the situation is a reform for the village.

As for the individual reforms, they are mainly driven by Hermsprong's compassion. It is stated in the novel that "the relation of the misery of others had a saddening power" over Hermsprong (Bage, *Hermsprong* 161). The first case of individual reform is experienced by the Lord's forsaken aunt, Mrs. Garnet. She is forsaken by her family because she was "said to have disgraced her family by marriage," which is a remarkable

detail because Hermsprong and Miss Campinet are tyrannized for the same reason (Bage, *Hermsprong* 173). Left as a widow, the desperate aunt wants to meet her niece, Miss Campinet. She sends Mr. Glen, who views her as a mother figure, to enquire the Lord's opinion of her. The tyrannical Lord tells Mr. Glen that "she has rendered herself still more despicable by her agent" (Bage, *Hermsprong* 162). Surpassing the previous effort, Hermsprong manages to introduce Miss Campinet to her aunt, who immediately embrace each other. However, the Lord forbids Miss Campinet to meet his "fool of an aunt" (Bage *Hermsprong* 176). Ultimately, Miss Campinet ends up under the same roof with her aunt after seeking from her aunt a "shelter from malevolence" (Bage, *Hermsprong* 303). The aunt regards Hermsprong as her son and sees him as "the warmest idolater of truth, the most determined enemy of duplicity" (Bage, *Hermsprong* 189). Her idealization of Hermsprong constitutes a reliable and trustworthy image of him in the eyes of Miss Campinet.

Other individual reforms made with Hermsprong's interference are experienced by Miss Sumelin and Mrs. Marcour. To start with, Hermsprong prevents Miss Sumelin, the daughter of the estimable Mr. Sumelin, from escaping with Mr. Fillygrove. Mr. Fillygrove is a foppish patriot who calls foreigners "stupid rascals" who do not "understand a word" (Bage, *Hermsprong* 119). After this comment, he faces the scorn of Hermsprong, who asks him the following question: "If it is stupidity in these people, not to understand your language; what is it in you, not to understand theirs?" (119). Hermsprong reminds him of the mutual and universal tolerance that the colonizer always lacks. Eventually, Hermsprong resorts to a plot in order to prevent Miss Sumelin from running with the rake, and helps her because of his "compassion for a respectable father, and a silly girl, who was probably running to misery for life" (Bage, *Hermsprong* 123).

Hermsprong's role as a benevolent master is apparent when he helps the victimized women such as Miss Sumelin who is mentioned above and Mrs. Marcour, who is another woman forsaken by her family because of love. Hermsprong tells her story to Miss Campinet in the twentieth chapter of the second volume of the novel. She and her husband Mr. Marcour run away and live happy for a few years. However, Mr. Marcour

is a naval officer and gets wounded in a battle. As a friend of Mr. Marcour, Hermsprong gives financial and emotional support to the couple. Listening to their story with grief, Miss Campinet offers her help as follows: “Promise … to inform me when I can [be of any help]; and impose what duty you please upon me” (Bage, *Hermsprong* 220). Hence, similar to the cases of storm and riot, Hermsprong draws people around him into goodness, virtue, and benevolence. In addition to the women in need of help, Hermsprong “comes to the aid of Mr. Wigley, who is being persecuted by his former patron Lord Grondale, embodiment of every private and social vice” (Kelly 38). Furthermore, he grants a life-long wage to Mr. Woodcock after he is made redundant by the Doctor. Hermsprong helps the virtuous people around him and hence actualizes Bage’s belief that “social and political institutions can be changed by virtuous individuals assuming powerful and influential positions in society” (Moran 141).

Hermsprong’ rise in the community does not depend on land ownership, money, or imposition. It depends on virtue, charity, simplicity, empathy, and compassion, which are the central qualities of his individual identity. He imposes these values on the community he sets foot in. As a result, the villagers identify themselves with Hermsprong. Epitomizing an anti-colonial ideal, he inspires people to seek liberties rather than becoming a tyrannical leader. Homi K. Bhabha points out the colonizer’s “discriminatory denial or disavowal of the colonized citizen’s right to be represented and recognized as a culturally clothed subject” (xxiv). Then, he asks whether “the subject [can] ever be a citizen in the true sense of the term … without the rights of representation and participation … in the public sphere” (xxiv). Bhabha’s idea about the colonizer is helpful to analyse Hermsprong’s social position and role in the village. He is, like the colonized, an alien who can never be a true and natural part of the colonialist society. For this reason, social acceptance is crucial for Hermsprong to decolonize the village. He needs to become a respected figure so that he gets the necessary social consent. Eventually, by reformations, he is recognized as a subject while rejecting the norms and practices of the English national identity. As exemplified above, it is through disruption of order that Hermsprong reforms the community and alleviates the poor conditions arising from oppression and exploitation.

The reforms allow Bage to be the voice for the oppressed individuals and groups. Éva Biró-Kaszás indicates that "the inclusion [of] all … the suppressed collective identities into the sphere of" social and cultural consideration and understanding is necessary for the protection of individual and collective human rights in a community (89). Similarly, in the village, Hermsprong tries to facilitate the inclusion of oppressed groups and individuals so as to protect their rights. Moreover, through Hermsprong, Bage integrates the universal social, philosophical, political, and cultural developments of the eighteenth century into his message and protest against oppression. From the perspective of the archetypical colonizer, Hermsprong is an external agent who emerges out of darkness to penetrate and disturb the existing order with his ideology against oppression. Hence, he jeopardises the position of the dominant group; namely, the aristocracy. Césaire claims that the colonizers "are less and less responsive to a tricky argument" and they turn away from them" (62). In other words, the colonizer always supports and maintains the existing order regardless of how imperative the need for reform is. Therefore, the Lord tends to avoid or escape when he is confronted with a sound argument of Hermsprong.

Similar to the colonizer, the aristocracy "never knew as much as the experts … about themselves … they knew even less in detail about the collective circumstances of their order" (Cannadine 22). Simultaneous to enjoying wealth and control, the aristocratic rulers are not aware of the bigger socio-political systems in which they are placed. Likewise, the colonizer is always trapped in a limited sphere. So, the aristocrat and the colonizer can never overcome mediocrity and match the universal socio-political and cultural merits of their time (Memmi 105). As a result, the local ruling elite loses footing when infiltrated from outside. Accordingly, the Lord, as the embodiment of tyranny, loses footing in the face of an outside challenge. Tyranny, domination, and segregation are impeded with the arrival of Hermsprong in the village. By supporting Hermsprong in his resistance against local authority, the village indeed saves itself from the tyranny, oppression, and exploitation of the Lord.

Eventually, the Lord yields to Hermsprong's claim of his daughter in his death bed. As a reflection of Bage's "intransigent attack on feudalism and the notion of aristocracy," the colonizer in the novel dies defeated (Allen 105). The holder of power and

practitioner of oppression is left powerless, without any no control, and is convinced of his tyranny and wrongfulness. Additionally, he repents that he has "been a hard father" (Bage, *Hermsprong* 336). Ultimately, this ideal scenario is metaphorically interpreted as the colonizer handing the colony over to the anti-colonial hero as

> he now held out his hand. Sir Charles took it with respect. He pressed it gently; Lord … returned the pressure. Sir Charles understood this as an expression of contrition, and he marked his sentiment of it by raising … [the Lord's] hand to his lips … his lordship … beckoned Miss Campinet to approach; he took her hand and motioned it towards [Hermsprong's]. Sir Charles caught it, and imprinted upon it a respectful kiss. (Bage, *Hermsprong* 336)

Hermsprong never compromises with the Lord throughout the novel whereas the Lord makes the biggest compromise with Hermsprong at the end. All the Lord's efforts to separate the lovers are ironically concluded with him uniting them with his own hands. The novel concludes with the victory of Hermsprong; however, more importantly, it results with the Lord's death, which means that the village is rid of tyranny. Bhabha claims that "decolonialization can be achieved only through the destruction of the 'compartmentalized' colonial system" (xiv). Likewise, the Lord's fall is compartmentalized in the novel[45]. Firstly, his paternal authority is challenged by his daughter. Secondly, he is undermined by the younger characters of the novel such as Miss Fluart, Hermsprong, and Mr. Glen. Thirdly, his feudal authority is under attack by Hermsprong. Once whatever that enhance and preserve colonial hierarchy are harmed, colonial order becomes vulnerable, and decolonization happens as in the village of Grondale.

Although Perkins stresses "the fairy-tale implausibility of *Hermsprong's* happy ending," the marriage is not miraculously granted to Hermsprong and Miss Campinet (28). Throughout the novel, they struggle to overcome oppression and overthrow tyranny. Bage aims to depict how a non-English character voices, manifests, and imposes his individual identity in the face of oppression. As a result, Hermsprong is recognized, accepted, and respected in an English community. Although he co-inherits the village through his marriage to Miss Campinet, he is not interested in

[45] The compartmentalization here depends on the trimorphic hierarchy structure as mentioned on page 90.

landownership. Hermsprong's main intention is to overthrow the oppression in the village, not to replace the oppressor. The sheer importance of the marriage at the end of the novel is that Hermsprong completes his settlement into a community to which he does not belong. Through marriage, he solidifies the position he has already gained in English society.

Conclusively, Hermsprong "slash[es] through the corruptions of European society" with his anti-patriarchal, anti-aristocratic, anti-feudal, and anti-colonial ideology, and challenges all kinds of oppression, tyranny and corruption (Perkins 33). Hence, this chapter discusses the author's criticism of the oppression and the oppressive institutions of feudalism and colonialism while basing its analysis on anti-colonial discourse and identity formation of the protagonist in the novel. Accordingly, in Bage's fiction, "institutions such as the church, the monarchy, and the aristocracy … [are] repeatedly and insistently invoked by such unsympathetic figures as" the Lord and the Doctor (Perkins 30). Reflecting the liminal and territorial events experienced by a small feudal unit of England, the events in the novel are gateways to universal oppression, which encompasses patriarchy, feudalism, colonialism, and slavery. Correspondingly, Moran stresses the notion of universality by stating that Bage "did not believe that the struggle for power occurring in that country was any different from the struggle for power in any political system" (74). Thus, this chapter argues that the novel's universal approach to oppression lays bare Bage's ideology against oppression and the anti-colonial discourse that he uses in the selected novels. It argues that the universal clash of the colonizer with the colonized is embedded in the interpersonal dynamics between the characters in *Hermsprong*. Although Hermsprong delves into the territory-specific circumstances of the village, he metaphorically decolonizes a universal problem. Therefore, the village is transformed into a reformed discursive space.

By reforming the malfunctioning systems and values of feudal England, Hermsprong represents the "simple virtues which … have been lost to an increasingly rich and luxury-minded England" (Perkins 33). Therefore, Bage questions the oppression, exploitation, and inhuman costs[46] behind the wealth and luxury of the English

[46]See pages 23-24 for the financial cooperation of the aristocracy and English colonialism.

aristocracy. As this thesis views feudalism akin to colonialism, it interprets the incidents in the village as an example of decolonization. As a political novel, *Hermsprong* demonstrates that the corrupt England can still be redeemed. As an anti-colonial narrative, it claims that oppression can be overcome by anti-colonial resistance, universal human rights, witty debate, and articulation. The Lord's anger, resentment, nostalgia, irrationality, and the ultimate defeat mark the demise of the oppressor and oppression. As a result of the metaphorical decolonization, the colonizer is left powerless, and dies representing English feudalism and colonialism with the awareness of his tyranny.

CONCLUSION

This thesis claims that Bage uses identity formation and anti-colonial discourse to criticize oppression along with the oppressive institutions of English feudalism and colonialism in his *MAHI* and *Hermsprong*. In context of anti-colonial theory, it investigates the conflict between the protagonists of the novels and the oppressive institutions of feudalism and colonialism in order to reveal Bage's political dissent and despise of patriarchal, aristocratic, feudal, and colonial oppression. Therefore, on one hand, it is argued that the institutions of feudalism and colonialism instigate a significant change in Sir George's identity in *MAHI*. On the other hand, in *Hermsprong*, the protagonist of the novel instigates a significant change in a feudal English microcosm, the village that resembles a colony. Both novels include plenty of exemplary incidents, settings, and characters to discuss the archetypes of the colonizer, the colonized, colony, oppression, and exploitation. Once these issues are analysed, it is apparent in the novels that Bage overtly rejects oppression of all forms, covertly protests England's colonial policies, and criticizes the internal colonialism of feudal England.

By supporting resistance against the oppressive English rule at home and abroad, Bage criticizes the inhuman effects of oppression such as segregation, dehumanisation, exploitation, physical and psychological violence, and racism. In doing so, he directly draws upon feudalism, and metaphorically points out at the problematic mindset of colonialism. In accordance with the parallelism between these two institutions, he believes that both feudalism and colonialism acquire profit through exploitation of resources and labour. Accordingly, this thesis argues that Bage depicts feudalism as a practice of internal colonialism. Along with his reaction to exploitation, Bage is concerned about the inhuman social, political, and cultural means through which resources and labour are exploited. The criticism of these means differs in *MAHI* and *Hermsprong* owing to the different individual identities and different identity formation processes of the protagonists of the novels. On one hand, Sir George's individual

identity formation in *MAHI* is possible at the end of a process during which he refuses his aristocratic identity, which he previously had as a member of the colonizing group. Yet, though he is subjected to a radical change of identity, Sir George does not intend for a radical attempt to change the society whose values and practices are refused by him. He breaks his ties with it by giving up his role as the son of an aristocratic family and moving out of England. On the other hand, Hermsprong has a very rigid and deep-rooted individual identity from the beginning to the end of *Hermsprong*. Unlike Sir George, he is not subjected to any change. On the contrary, he radically changes the community where he arrives in at the beginning of the novel. Prior to arriving in the village, Hermsprong is a traveller just like Sir George. Similar to Sir George, he is displeased with England's values and practices that are reflected in the microcosm of the village. Notwithstanding, Hermsprong does not depart the village, but reforms it instead by resisting and challenging the oppression and exploitation there.

By focusing on the different identity formations of the protagonists, the chapters of this thesis reveal the anti-colonial discourse used by Bage in the selected novels within two main arguments. Firstly, it is argued that Sir George's transformation in *MAHI* equals to metaphorical decolonization on individual level because he refuses his inherent national and social identities, cuts his ties with English and European politics and societies as a result of his travels, and adopts the ideology against oppression and anti-colonial stance. So, he undergoes an enlightenment as an individual while not having an effort to spread it to those around him. Secondly, it is argued that the metaphorical decolonization occurs on collective level in *Hermsprong*. The analysis of the changes that take place in the village and the lives of the villagers after the arrival of Hermsprong demonstrates that the village of Grondale, which is under the oppression and exploitation of the Lord, represents a colony. Therefore, it is argued that the village is decolonized by the protagonist. Having been raised as an individual with anti-colonial ideology, Hermsprong spreads his ideology to the village, and therefore initiates the collective enlightenment.

In light of Bage's shift from portraying decolonization on an individual level to demonstrating it on a collective level, an equally important finding of the thesis is that

the analysis of anti-oppression in, respectively, *MAHI*, written in 1792, and *Hermsprong*, written in 1796, reflects the change in the degree of intensity of Bage's criticism. According to this thesis, the novelist's transformation from "a moderate reformer in 1792" to "a full-fledged radical in 1796" is mainly due to the reactions in England to the French Revolution, and the supporters of revolutionary ideas (Moran 19). The subtle and indirect criticism of feudalism and colonialism in *MAHI* probably prevented Bage from being put to trial like his contemporaries such as Thomas Holcroft, William Godwin, Thomas Paine, and Thomas Hardy. He refrained from explicitly manifesting his revolutionary position in *MAHI*. On the other hand, the intense radicalism in *Hermsprong* was possibly inspired by the reactions against Burke's *Reflections* (1790), the democratic activities of the London Corresponding Society, and Godwin's *Political Justice* (1793). While writing *MAHI*, Bage did not want to give zealous support to revolutionary ideas stemming from the revolution. However, while writing *Hermsprong*, he was relieved to see that the "democrats in England regarded the victory of French democracy as an invigorating force of the British democracy movement" (Bernstein 166). Common to both novels, Bage's criticism of colonialism and England's colonial policies are reflected either metaphorically through interpersonal relationships, or through historical events and figures related to colonialism.

Regardless of the degree of his radicalism, Bage's support of democracy, equality, liberty, and individualism is apparent in both *MAHI* and *Hermsprong*. Thus, the antagonization of the institutions of feudalism and colonialism in these novels derives from the fact that these institutions violate the notions of democracy, equality, liberty, and individualism. In order to antagonize feudalism and colonialism, Bage creates characters that represent these institutions by their thoughts and actions; namely, their identity. Hence, the conflict between group identity and individual identity is one of the central arguments of this thesis. Group identity is used by Bage in order to epitomize the institutions of feudalism and colonialism. Just as the individual identity formation of Sir George and Hermsprong is crucial to, respectively, demonstrate and perform his anti-colonial ideology, Bage's aristocratic and colonial characters are equally important in serving as foils to the anti-colonial protagonists of the novels. Accordingly, the group

identity represented by the aristocratic and colonial characters in the novels is confronted by the individual identities of Sir George and Hermsprong.

In conclusion, the analysis of the ideology against oppression through anti-colonial discourse and identity formation in *MAHI* and *Hermsprong* reveals Bage's stance against the institutions of feudalism and colonialism, which depend on the oppression and exploitation of lower ranks of peoples. In both novels, Bage exposes and criticizes manifold forms of oppression, exploitation, despotism, and tyranny in different spheres ranging from domestic, local, national, and global. Inspired by the notions of liberty and individualism -which were popular in the eighteenth century political and philosophical environment and reached the peak of their popularity in 1790s- Bage presents his ideology and criticism through the anti-colonial discourse, and the identities of the protagonists in the selected novels. Since Robert Bage was underread at his time; and his novels have been rarely studied, this thesis aims to open a pathway for future studies about Robert Bage and his works. It underpins the facts that Bage's dissident, critical, and reformist ideas about his nation's internal and external policies make him stand out among other the eighteenth-century novelists and offer an alternative to the canonical works of the eighteenth century.

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Tarih: 27/06/2024

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GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE

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HACETTEPE ÜNİVERSİTESİ
SOSYAL BİLİMLER ENSTİTÜSÜ
İNGİLİZ DİLİ VE EDEBİYATI ANABİLİM DALI BAŞKANLIĞINA

Tarih: 27/06/2024

Tez Başlığı (Türkçe): Robert Bage'in *Man as He Is* ve *Hermsprong; or, Man as He Is Not* Romanlarında Baskıya Karşı Kimlik İnşası
Tez Başlığı (Almanca/Fransızca)*: ……
……..

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	Ad-Soyad	Meriç Debeleç
	Öğrenci No	N20139779
	Enstitü Anabilim Dalı	İngiliz Dili ve Edebiyatı Anabilim Dalı
	Programı	İngiliz Dili ve Edebiyatı Programı

DANIŞMAN ONAYI

UYGUNDUR.
Doç. Dr. Pınar TAŞDELEN

* Tez **Almanca** veya **Fransızca** yazılıyor ise bu kısımda tez başlığı **Tez Yazım Dilinde** yazılmalıdır.

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HACETTEPE UNIVERSITY
GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE

Date: 27/06/2024

Thesis Title (In English): Identity Formation against Oppression in Robert Bage's *Man as He Is* and *Hermsprong; or, Man as He Is Not*

My thesis work with the title given above:

1. Does not perform experimentation on people or animals.
2. Does not necessitate the use of biological material (blood, urine, biological fluids and samples, etc.).
3. Does not involve any interference of the body's integrity.
4. Is not a research conducted with qualitative or quantitative approaches that require data collection from the participants by using techniques such as survey, scale (test), interview, focus group work, observation, experiment, interview.
5. Requires the use of data (books, documents, etc.) obtained from other people and institutions. However, this use will be carried out in accordance with the Personal Information Protection Law to the extent permitted by other persons and institutions.

I hereby declare that I reviewed the Directives of Ethics Boards of Hacettepe University and in regard to these directives it is not necessary to obtain permission from any Ethics Board in order to carry out my thesis study; I accept all legal responsibilities that may arise in any infrigement of the directives and that the information I have given above is correct.

I respectfully submit this for approval.

Meriç Debeleç

Student Information		
	Name-Surname	Meriç Debeleç
	Student Number	N20139779
	Department	English Language and Literature Department
	Programme	English Language and Literature Programme

SUPERVISOR'S APPROVAL

APPROVED
Assoc. Prof. Dr. Pınar TAŞDELEN