Notes to Chapter 1

1. This is a famous question in the colonial world cited by A.P Thornton in his book *Imperialism in the Twentieth Century* (1978: 56).

2. The women’s rights movement, which aimed at bringing about equality for woman in the social structure has had a long history of struggle, varies from one country to another. In United States, for example, it began with the Seneca Falls convention in 1848; see Nancy E. McGlen and Karen O’Connor in their book, *Women’s Rights: The Struggle for Equality in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries* (1983). For a quick survey of women in modern England, see Jacqueline Eales’ *Woman in Early Modern England: 1500–1700* (1998). For a sociological study of its development, see Barbara Ryan’s *Feminism and the Women’s Movements* (1992). Women’s participation in politics only occur in the twentieth century, in England in 1917, in America in 1919 and in France, 1945; see Patricia Branca’s *Women in Europe since 1750* (1978) for details. Especially important for this study is the statement made by Florence Denmark in *Who Discriminates Against Women?* (1974), which runs as follows: “not all men discriminate against women” (p.5).


5. By this I mean to say that many post-colonial critics such as Edward Said, among the most prominent ones, based their works on their own experiences (and their outrages) dealing with the notion of colonialism, beginning with the realization that Orientalism, in modern history, is a project designed by the West to have control over the East in many areas be it politically, socially or academically. The most antagonistic writing on the issue is found in Aimé Césaire’s *Discourse on Colonialism* (1951). Closer to home, Zawiah Yahya’s *Resisting Colonialist Discourse* (1994) argues that the colonial mentality continues to be apparent in the teaching of literature in Malaysia and the author has elaborately discussed the colonial mentality in the work of a writer like William Somerset Maugham. Zawiah warns that Malaysians should be aware of this colonial agenda in academia, of which she was a product but lately has come to realize its danger to the national education system. She has duly proposed a way out.

6. According to Shlomo Avineri, Marx’s interest in Asia dates from 1853, when the parliamentary debates about the renewal of the East India Company charter drove him to an extensive study of the Company’s history and Indian social conditions in general, when Marx was the regular London correspondent of the *New York Daily Tribune*. Going through Marx’s articles on Asia, particularly India, I have roughly estimated that he would have only spent sparingly less than few months each year in India (maximum of five months in 1857), China, and Middle Eastern countries throughout 1853 until 1859. For details, see Shlomo Avineri’s *Marx on Colonization and Modernity* (1969).

7. The nature and meaning of globalization has become one of the most intense debates in today’s academic and world community. One of the vital questions is whether states are as important as they once were to the organization of human
affairs. The story of globalization is "crossing national boundaries and connecting the world on an unprecedented scale and with previously unimaginable speed," writes David Held in his *A Globalizing World? Culture, Economics, Politics* (2000). Globalisation, which is actually the process of internationalization, started within the pre-colonial times and intensified during the colonial era. However, stresses Stefanie Knauder in her book, *Globalization, Urban Progress, Urban Problems, Rural Disadvantages: Evidence from Mozambique* (2000), alongside with the process of internationalization and globalization continues now, as in the previous periods, a process of marginalization of large parts of the developing countries from the benefits of globalization. James Cécora warns us that "globalization is leading to rapid, largely uncontrolled amassing of wealth and power by international corporate and financial oligarchies which, abetted by neoliberal economic policies, have succeeded in superseding forces of supply and demand on 'free markets' by organizing and controlling the markets themselves" (p. 112). For social and other perspectives, see the edited work of Joseph A. Camiller and Chandra Muzaffar in *Globalization: The Perspectives and Experiences of the Religious Traditions of Asia Pacific* (1998), especially in the speech delivered by the former Deputy Prime Minister of Malaysia, Dato' Seri Anwar Ibrahim. For the ambiguity it causes, Graham Thompson concludes, "globalization is one of the great myths of our time" (quoted in Held, 170).

10. For a brief introduction on Karl Marx, see the introduction to Eric Hobsbawn's *Karl Marx: Pre-Capitalist Economic Formations* (1964), (see under Karl Marx). See also G.D. H. Cole's Introduction to Karl Marx's *Capital* (1972).
15. My original contention was to analyse the development of the colonial agenda in Swettenham’s and Clifford’s writing in that they have to convince the reading public of the worthiness of their works in relation to the imperial idea. The expansion of British influence politically and literarily speaking into the Malay States owed much to the vision of these two men. Their characters and visions were also echoed in Lord Curzon’s speech that “our familiarity, not merely with the languages of the people of the East but with their customs, their feelings, their traditions, their history and religion, our capacity to understand what may be called the genius of the East, is the sole basis upon which we are likely to be able to maintain in the future the position we have won” (Said, 1978: 214). It seemed that the sensitivities and the abilities of
the authors to comply with the imperial idea was the basic benchmark to its positive reception of their publications, or else, the authors themselves have devised a special way to ensure its reception, for instance, their stands as eyewitness to a historical event of the Empire. The ability to do so would ensure the better reception of the publications and the failure to do so would prove otherwise. By analyzing the selected stories from each publication, I hope, to show how the authors, while projecting the images of the natives as they have witnessed them as colonial officers on the one hand, they seemed to be actively measuring the receptive levels of their works in the eyes of the British audience on the other. Since my concentration will be on the selected short stories, here are some categories of what the stories contain. It should be noted here that for the rest of the thesis, the following four categories should serve as an important guide to measure the intensity of the colonial discourse analysis in the works of the two authors. First, the stories provide justification for the intervention in the colonized lands. In many cases, the authors make use of the Preface and/or the Introduction to substantiate his authoritative position. Secondly, there are short stories which describe images and representation of the natives and their characters as uncivilized and backward. Thirdly, the stories highlight the barbarity and lawlessness of the colonized people under the native rulers. Fourthly, in the attempts to install law and order and the sound British administration, there emerge in the stories the heroic images of the colonizers participating in the civilizing mission of the Empire. In the case of the authors under study, all the above categories are present in their works of fiction except that in any given publication, some categories are more apparent than others. My aim here is to prove that there seemed to be a conscious process of reflection, perhaps negotiation, on the part of the authors as to what is acceptable to the British audience or the metropolitan centre and what is not, rather than the authors simply continuously presenting what they wished to present about the peripherals. Hence, there are indications that suggest both the authors and their works of fiction need to go through a certain form of ‘trial and error’ as to ensure what they are presenting is in accordance with the imperial idea. In other words, the authors’ works had to go through some form of metamorphosis in order to ensure the works are in tandem with the ideology of the readers of the metropolitan centre. What I hope to achieve here is that the analysis of the works will reflect the process of maturity of the imperial idea that the authors seemed to be actively engaging and experiencing on the actual setting, Malaya, as their colonial outpost. At the second level, the works of the two authors, since it was written during the era of colonialism could be regarded as literature which contributed significantly to the imperial idea, which according to Shamsul Islam in his *Chronicles of the Raj* "fostered the imperial idea by creating and popularizing a corresponding body of myths or stereotyped images" (1979: 5) of the colonized nation and population. I will argue that after a certain period of writing, after experiencing both success and failure, the authors seemed to grab the ideal ways of presenting their works, hence, better representing the natives to the accepted level, agreeable both to the framework and stereotypical images of colonized subjects as understood by the metropolis and the imperial idea. What will become obvious is the fact that the more the authors agree with what Edward Said (borrowing from Foucault called discourse, or ‘colonial discourse’), the more acceptable their stories
are to the readers. In other words, the more the authors create the myths and stereotyped characters or subjects, and articulate it well with the imperial idea, the more appealing and highly receptive the publication becomes to the British public and vice versa. With such receptions, the authors earned some monetary gains and literary fame at the same time. What seem to emerge also at this point is that the literary productions of the two authors provide instances of cultural production (Greenblatt, 1991) to support the imperial idea and form the colonial identities. Fanon (1961), Said (1978) and Bhabha (1994) would agree that this is constructed, rather than a given. The production of a such literary construct have become what Foucault considered as “effective instruments for the formation and accumulation of knowledge—methods of observations, techniques of registration, procedures for investigation and research, apparatus of control. All this means power, when it exercised through these subtle mechanisms, cannot but evolve, organize and put into circulation a knowledge, or rather apparatus of knowledge, which are ideological constructs” (Foucault, 102). It must be remembered that such constructed-ness requires some forms of idealism, which, is fundamentally important to the maintenance of the empire itself. The authors must be the believers of such idealism first, or as A.P. Thornton puts it, “imperialism was a faith and emotion before it became a political programme” (Darby, 1987: 32). The authors have to lay out their faith and idealism of the imperial idea before presenting their works as a way of convincing the targeted readers. In one respect, the dissemination and the reception of such knowledge testify, on the one hand, that the knowledge is not free from the operation of power as our authors were the colonial officers first, the writer second, and always, as a Marxist would understand it, inter-dependent with economic and social reality on the other. In another respect, the analysis of the works by the two authors will lead us to see both discourse of modernity and perpetuating colonial discourses (if we regards it as the dissemination of knowledge) on the one hand, the exercise of colonial power and the complex interactions with the imperial idea or idealism on the other. As Leela Gandhi puts it, the text such as the ones produced by these colonial officers “more than any other social and political product, it is argued, are the most significant instigators and purveyors of colonial power…” (1998: 142). The authors were the agents who permeated the ideology of imperialism and actively involved in the production of the discourse itself. Their writing, in Boehmer’s words, signifies “an attempt at both extensive comprehension and comprehensive control” (1995: 97) of the colonized people and civilization. Their works also serve the objectives of Société Asiatic programme to “draw attention of the public, by means of a periodic collection devoted to Asiatic literature, to the scientific, literary, or poetic productions of the Orient and those of the same sort that produced regularly in Europe; to those facts about the Orient that could be relevant to Europe, to those discoveries and works of all kinds of which the Oriental peoples could become the subject” (Said, 1978: 165). As Christopher Norris writes in Deconstruction Theory and Practice that “knowledge was a product of the human mind ... there is simply no access to knowledge except by way of language and other related orders of representation” (Norris, 1982: 5), Edward Said may further argue that when it comes to the Orient, “representations [are] framed by the whole set of forces that brought the Orient into Western learning, Western consciousness, and later Western empire”
(Said, 1978: 202-3). And we must realize, at the same time that the texts produced as the production of discourse, as Foucault writes, “is at once controlled, selected, organized and redistributed by certain numbers of procedures whose role is to ward off its dangers, to gain mastery over its chance events, to evade its ponderous, formidable materiality” (Foucault, 1987: 52). The two colonial officers’ writings, Foucault adds that such discourse is “heavily policed cognitive systems which control and delimit both the mode and the means of representation in a given society. Accordingly, colonial/Orientalist discourses are typical of discursive activity whenever they claim the right to speak for the mute and incomprehending Orient, and, in so doing, relentlessly represent it as the negative underground image or impoverished ‘Other’ of Western rationality” (Gandhi, 1998: 77). The analysis of the authors’ developmental process of writing will lead us to see clearly the whole process of production and dissemination of the imperial idea in Malaya took place and undergo the process of appropriation through the negotiation among the three triangular elements mentioned earlier. It was not quite a unified phenomenon as Said has demonstrated in his Orientalism. However, I considered my reading of various post-colonial critics in this thesis such as Micheal Foucault (discourse), Antonio Gramsci (hegemony), Edward Said (representation), Gayatri Spivak (subaltern), Mary Louise Pratt (contact zones) and Abdul R. JanMohamed (Manichean allegory), just to name a few, valuable and helpful.

16. Bushwhacking first appeared in 1901 but was reprinted in the United States by Harper & Brother Pub. in 1929. This study makes use of both 1901 and 1929 editions. To avoid any confusion, the discussion on “Part I: Recollections of the Pahang Disturbances of December 1890-September 1891” and “Part II: The Expeditions into the ‘Benighted Lands’, July to August, 1894, and March to June, 1895” is referred to the 1901 edition. The discussion on “Piloting Princes” is referred to the 1929 edition.

17. The last book was originally written separately and appeared as “Sally: A Study” in Blackwood Magazine, February 1904 and Saleh: A Sequel (1908) and was combined and reprinted in the United States with a single title Saleh: A Prince of Malaya.

18. I also have benefited a lot from the biographical works on the two colonial officers, namely, H.S. Barlow in his Swettenham (1995) and Henry Gailey in his Clifford: The Imperial Proconsul (1982). However, since my focus is on the discourse of modernity in the colonial authors’ works of fiction, not much of their biographies are touched upon in this thesis.

Notes to Chapter 2

1. Swettenham provides the statistical figure for the increase of revenue derived from an ad valorem export duty on tin. See “A New Method” in The Real Malay, p. 43.

4. See Ernst Cassirer's The Philosophy of the Enlightenment (1951) especially Chapter 1.

5. See the Preface of Ernst Cassirer's The Philosophy of the Enlightenment (1951).

6. Judge William Norris sat at the trial of Sunan, a Penang Malay in 1846 for committing amok. Sunan was sentenced to death although the issue of insanity was raised during the trial. For further reading, see Wazir Jahan Karim in her Emotions of Culture (1990:101-102).

7. By expert systems, Giddens means systems of technical accomplishment or professional expertise such as lawyers, doctors and so forth that organise large areas of the material and social environments in which we live today. See especially pp. 27-36 for details in Anthony Giddens' The Consequences of Modernity (1990).

8. The term amok has entered into English usage by the beginning of the eighteenth century according to Wazir Jahan Karim in her Emotions of Culture (1990). In this book, Prof. Wazir evaluates four cultural elements of the Malays of which only two concerned us here—amok and latah—from the psychological, or from the 'emotion' point of view. Her studies here are considered the most contemporary re-evaluation of the two traits of the Malays, perhaps, the most complete. For instance, she defines a few categories of amok. Yet, my thesis covers only what has been highlighted by the two colonial officers in their writings from the perspectives of modernity whereby the officers try to put a stop to such practices.


10. See Chapter 2 in Keith Thomas' Religion and the Decline of Magic (1971) where the author writes "Nearly every primitive religion is regarded by its adherents as a medium for obtaining supernatural power. This does not prevent it from functioning as a system of explanation, a source of moral injunctions, a symbol of social order, or a route to immortality; but it does mean that it also offers the prospect of a supernatural means of control over man's earthly environment. The history of early Christianity offers no exception to this rule" (p. 25).

11. This is an instance where Swettenham as a modern individual denies the supernatural capability of detecting the lost property even though Keith Thomas in the above book mentions such practices in the 17th century European society with many instances of successful story of detection of lost properties.

12. Swettenham fails to mention here (or to establish the historical parallel) that such prosecution of witchcraft also took place in the Middle Ages until the Elizabethan period. For further reading, refer to Chapter 14 of Keith Thomas' Religion and the Decline of Magic (1971).

13. Skeat uses the same letter in his Malay Magic (1967) to end his discussion on the matter.

14. For a brief history, see the Preface of Ernst Cassirer's The Philosophy of the Enlightenment (1951).
15. Apparently Clifford was not the first person to link the cause of amok with *sakit hati*. W.G. Ellis who served as as the medical superintendent of the Government Insane Asylum in Singapore published an article in *The Journal of Mental Science* in 1893 stating *sakit hati* as the preceding mental state before amok. For details, refer to Wazir Jahan Karim’s *Emotions of Culture* (1990: 106-107).


17. These figures refer to the Monthly Budgets of an official in Perak in 1903 provided in John Butcher’s *The British in Malaya, 1880-1941* (1979), Table 6 on page 79. The rate of exchange between Straits dollars to sterling is a dollar to 1s. 7 ½ d. in 1903, among the lowest exchange rate ever experience in this period. In 1872, a dollar was 4s. 6d. to a sterling and in 1902, it fell to as low as 1s. 6d. The exchange rate was fixed at 2s. 4d. in 1906. Considering the fact that Clifford wrote this short story in 1891 (he mentioned this year at the end of the story), the exchange rate could have been higher than 1s. 7 ½ d, hence, the fisherman’s income was more or less equal to the salaries earned by those who worked at any European household.


Notes to Chapter 3

1. I make the same argument in *Penang Hill in Colonial Memory: A Critical Perspective*, a seminar paper presented at the Penang Story International Conference held at City Bayview Hotel, Penang, 18-21 April, 2002.

2. There were some interesting events that took place during the year 1900. No publication appeared in 1900, the year Clifford was the governor. He was too busy executing instructions he received from Singapore or London, and to write the official reports on the progress of the policies being introduced. He probably wrote the first part and second part of his actual experiences in Pahang to record his memories of Malaya during the dullness of time spent as the governor of North Borneo but it was not published until next year. First published in 1901, Clifford possibly began writing *Bushwhacking* by the end of 1899, based on the endnote in 1929 reprint of *Bushwhacking* printed in the United States, which states, “In December, 1899, a motor-car in London was still a rarity” (1929: 4). Clifford was in England a few months earlier as the end of his Preface of his *In a Corner of Asia* suggests. The Preface states the following: Egerton Mansions, London, S.W. on July 17th, 1899. Both dates are important in noting the actual changes which took place in Clifford’s professional life as an administrator and as a writer of works of fiction. Clifford was on leave in England in autumn of 1899, “presumably as a reward for his outstanding services” (Gailey, 1982: 26), when he received an offer as the governor of North Borneo. Clifford accepted this position, quitting his position as a Resident of Pahang, even though Swettenham advised him against it. No one knows exactly why Clifford accepted this position; one may guess that the title as a governor for a man of thirty-four was not doubt appealing and the salary was attractive compared to
that of the Malayan Civil Service. As a person more senior than him, Swettenham knew exactly the nature of the governorship in North Borneo. The governorship fell under the jurisdiction of the high commissioner at Singapore and the decisions related to the area came from the Court of Directors in London. As the governor, Clifford was supposed to carry out the decisions and make reports of progress. He could not make decisions or even to alter it. Swettenham was right and Clifford, after almost one year resigned his position as governor of North Borneo. For further details, see K.G. Tregonning, *Under Chartered Company Rule: North Borneo, 1881-1946* (1958). In his resignation letter, his frustration shows especially concerning the limited power he exercised as governor. He says “I do not feel prepared to identify myself for a longer period than I can help with an administration many of whose methods I am unable to approve, none of which I have the power to alter or reform…” (Gailey, 1982: 29) (my emphasis).

3 See endnote 16, Notes to Chapter 1.

4. For the purpose of the discussion in this chapter, I am using the two publications separately to reflect the actual publications of *Saleh: A Study* and *Saleh: A Sequel*. The use of *Saleh: A Prince of Malaya* throughout this study, however, is convenient and is meant to refer to both publications together.

5. It would be interesting to compare the life of Tunku Abdul Rahman Putra Al-Haj (1903-1990), a prince of Kedah who received his education in England and came back to become the first Prime Minister of The Federation of Malaya (later Malaysia), with that of Saleh in *Saleh: A Prince of Malaya*. See Mubin Sheppard’s *Tunku: His Life and Times* (1995). See also Harry Miller’s *Prince and Premier* (1959), and Shariff Ahmad’s *The Untold Biography: The Great Patriot* (1993).

Notes to Chapter 4


2. These are among the main issues in sociological theories. The structural functionalist is always regarded as being politically conservative, unable to deal with change since it focuses on static structures of society; the alternative is conflict theories, which focuses on social structure. However, conflict theory has its own weaknesses. It has little or nothing to say about the individual actors and their thoughts and action. For this study, Marx’s and Weber’s theories fall under conflict theory, while Durkheim’s theory falls under the structural functionalist. Georg Simmel’s theory falls into none of these categories for his theory is a forerunner of post-modernist; however, his dyad and triad theory, the dialectic relationship in a society could be used to explain the conflicts that exist in society at the micro-structural level. For details, see George Ritzer’s *Modern Sociological Theory* (1996: 68-74).


4. Taboos are usually associated with embedded beliefs in the hidden power of nature, such as spirits and ghost, and involved mostly with the nature of women’s
affairs such as pantang (taboo) during pregnancy. See Heather Strange in her studies of women in Rusila, Terengganu in her Rural Malay Women in Tradition and Transition (1981) for details. However, a taboo, according to Haji Mokhtar bin H. Md. Dom in his Traditions and Taboos (1979) is something which is not acceptable to an individual or to a group or to society as a whole. When society regards a particular action or form of behaviour as improper, then its members are forbidden to do it. Running away from one’s husband is considered improper and perhaps is subject to social condemnation, which could amount to ostracism, in the traditional Malay society. Again, see Wazir Jahan Karim’s Women and Culture: Between Malay Adat and Islam (1992) in the chapter on divorce.

5. See Gullick’s Malay Society in the Late Nineteenth Century: The Beginnings of Change (1987) especially chapter nine. See also Wazir Jahan Karim’s Women and Culture: Between Malay Adat and Islam (1992: 156) where the author discusses the issue of outsider or orang luar being stereotypically less conforming.

6. In the paper entitled A Private Life of A British Officer (2002), my co-author and I argue that Swettenham, in a few short stories in the Unaddressed Letters (1898) is implicitly expressing his passion towards his secret lovers, rather than towards his wife, Sydney.

7. Swettenham could only suggest this theme of Malay’s hatred towards the death of raja in his work of fiction. To the Malays, any death would be treated with respect, more so the death of a raja, no matter what the raja’s behaviour was when he was alive. For a detail account of the customs related to the Malay Raja, see Panuti H.M. Sudijiman’s Adat Raja-Raja Melayu (1985) (lit. The Customs of the Malay King).

8. See M.A. Rauf’s A Brief History of Islam with Special Reference to Malaya (1964) which states “Although a Muslim may be permitted to marry a Christian according to the canon law, in Malaya a non-Muslim would-be bride has to confess the faith before she can be wed to a Muslim; and a non-Muslim boy who wishes to propose to a Muslim girl has to turn Muslim first, a rule which is not strictly observed among Muslims in neighbouring lands” (102). See also Judith Djamour’s Malay Kinship and Marriage in Singapore (1959: 11-12) especially the footnotes.


11. See Gullick’s Malay Society in the Late Nineteenth Century: The Beginnings of Change (1987) Chapters two to seven and chapter eleven are especially important.

12. Symbolic Interactionist concerns with the impact of meanings and symbol on human action and interaction, having the self as an important concept. Deriving mostly from George Herbert Mead’s idea on the tension between I, the spontaneous self, and me, the social constraints with the self, Erving Goffman’s theory focuses on an individual trying to maintain a stable self-image in front of the audience, in what he calls “dramaturgy.” For details, see George Ritzer’s Modern Sociological Theory (1996: 209-224).

13. Perhaps, Clifford intentionally provides less detail about local ladies in order to avoid being accused of having close relationship with them. If so, his wife who happened to accompany him (perhaps the first person to read the draft) would have suspected her husband of committing such an act.

Notes to Chapter 5

1. Mahathir argues that during the colonial era, there was no real relationship and harmony for there was no real contact between those races especially between the Malays and the Chinese due to the divide-and-rule policy implemented by the British. See Introduction to *The Malay Dilemma* (1970) for details.
3. Ibid. p. 29.
4. See Clifford’s ‘Part I: Recollections of the Pahang Disturbances of December 1890-September 1891’ and ‘Part II: The Expeditions into the “Benighted Lands,” July to August, 1894, and March to June, 1895’ in *Bushwhacking* (1901). The British also hired the Sikh Regiments to fight the Malay rebellions.
5. The term ‘a calling’ here has a religious connotation to it especially in Weber’s book, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*. For example, the author says, “The effect of Reformation as such was only that, as opposed with Catholic attitude, the moral emphasis on and the religious sanction of, organized worldly labour in a calling was mightily increased” (1904-1905/1930: 83). Mahathir does not use such term ‘a calling’ in order to persuade the Malays to work hard in the face of modernization but rather implicitly saying that working hard for the betterment of the Malays is essential to Islam, to argue against certain misinterpretations and practice of Islam in a certain rural areas where the Malays pay more attentions in preparing themselves for otherworldliness, and not this world. The way I use the term is much more value-free in that it may or may not possess religious connotation to it.
7. For a detail figures on the Malays and Chinese’s occupational patterns from 1881 until 1950s, see Tham Seong Chee’s *Malays and Modernization* (1977). See also a thorough sociological analysis of Charles Hirschman in his *Ethnic and Social Stratification in Peninsular Malaysia* (1975).
8. The perspectives from Singapore in the edited work by Yong Mun Cheong in *Asian Traditions and Modernization* (1992) provide valuable insight into the Chinese acceptance of modernization.
Notes to Chapter 6

1. My co-author and I have used the same argument in the seminal paper entitled *The Revival of the Jawi Peranakan* delivered at the Konferensi Akademik 2 at Ferringhi Beach Hotel, Penang, dated 20-22 December 2002.

2. This is an adapted excerpt from the *New Straits Times*, Wednesday, March 12, 2003 entitled “Malay” by Goenawan Mohamad, translated by Jennifer Lindsay. See Abdullah bin Abdul Kadir’s *The Hikayat Abdullah*, translated by A. H. Hill, 1970, p. 178.

3. See Zawiyah Yahya’s *Resisting Colonialist Discourse* (1994). She ends her book with ‘The only way for it (future research in the colonised reader-response theory) to go is forward’.